Sándor Őze

APOCALYPTICISM IN EARLY REFORMATION HUNGARY (1526–1566)

Sándor Őze

APOCALYPTICISM IN EARLY REFORMATION HUNGARY (1526–1566)

MAGYAR
NAPLÓ

Budapest – Leipzig, 2015

Edited by Tamás Karáth and Péter Pál Kránitz
Translated by Tamás Karáth, Boldizsár Fejérváry, Dániel Said, Tibor Tarcsay and Éva Tulipán

Proofread by Mihály Imre
The English text was proofread by Miklós Bodóczky

The maps were edited by Attila Sasi
Editorial assistant: Erzsébet Simon
On the cover: copper engraving of Isaac Maior (c. 1620)

Publishers:
Leipziger Universitätsverlag GmbH, Leipzig
Magyar Napló Kiadó Kft., Budapest
DE ISBN 978-3-86583-901-5
HU ISBN 978-615-5465-63-5

Sponsors:
Prime Minister's Office
Hódmezővásárhely City Council
KAP15-050-1.1-BTK project titled *Határmentalitás, felekezet és identitás fogalmai és kérdései az Oszmán-Keresztény határrégióban a 16-19. században.* [Concepts and questions on denominations, identity and frontier mentality on the Ottoman-Christian border region in the 16th – 19th centuries.]
PKE: Confession and identity in the light of collective symbols on the Ottoman – Christian frontier in the 15–19th centuries. KAP15-050-1.1-BTK

But, beloved, be not ignorant of this one thing: that with the Lord one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day. The Lord is not slack concerning His promise, as some men count slackness, but is longsuffering toward us, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance. But the Day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night, in which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat. The earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up. Seeing then that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy manner of living and godliness, looking for and hastening unto the coming of the Day of God, wherein the heavens, being on fire, shall be dissolved and the elements shall melt with fervent heat? Nevertheless we, according to His promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.

(2 Peter 3:8-13)

CONTENTS

Acknowledgement 9
Introduction 11
Issues of Terminology 41
The exegetical tradition 52
The Impact of the Biblical Gog and Magog, and the "Antemurale" Topos in Hungary 57
Frontier Zone and Monastic Visions of the Apocalypse 77
Buda Is Not Lost: Catholic Apocalypticism in Hungary in the First Half of the sixteenth Century 102
From the non-denominational neutral Antichrist to the doctrine of the double Antichrist in Imre Ozorai's pamphlet 113
Crime and punishment from András Szkhárosi Horváth's protestant point of view 118
Apocalypticism and Theories of State 134
The empires of Daniel in András Batizi' world chronicle 144
The Emperor of the World 173
The apocalyptic models of the Reformation 185
The Future Has Begun: Helvetian Apocalypticism in Hungary in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century 206
The Qur'an during the Reformation 225
Apocalypticism in the Cognitive Sphere 237
Conclusion 255
References 270
Timetable 305
Maps. 307

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The chapters of this volume are the products of the past decade's work and researches, and for the most part have already been published in Hungarian. Apocalyptic thoughts regarding the Muslim-Christian border region and bufferzone of the sixteenth century manifested themselves as central parts of Hungarian historiography and culture of memory. The state that the Ottoman advance in the region and the more and more expansive Reformation created, furthered different denominations to look for guidelines in the apocalyptic books of the Biblie, for orientation in a time, when the imminence of the doomsday was an acknowledged fact. This book elaborates the reasons and effects of this phenomenon in the light of existing sources. I thank Dr. János Lázár, the Minister heading the Prime Minister's Office, István Almási, mayor of Hódmezővásárhely and Pázmány Péter Catholic University for their financial assistance. I thank professional proofreader of the volume, Mihály Imre and proofreader of the English text, Miklós Bodóczky. I also thank Boldizsár Fejérváry, Dániel Said, Tibor Tarcsay and Éva Tulipán, translators of the texts, the precise editors, Tamás Karáth and Péter Pál Kránitz, and also Erzsébet Simon, Attila Sasi, and all who facilitated the publishing of this book.

INTRODUCTION

This book explores apocalyptic thought in the context of questions concerning the formation of confessionalisation and national identity in early modern Hungary. I have been engaged in this research project for the last two decades with short interruptions.

Written almost twenty years ago, my first book on this topic dealt with the religious literature and authors from various denominational backgrounds, discussing the transformation of a topos and its relations to national identity in the sixteenth century, with a chapter on eschatology.[1] In 2006, I published my habilitation thesis that examines the mentality and identity of the people living in the frontier zone of the Hungarian southern borders.[2] Both books focused on those hard-to-define social groups – the paramilitary *hajdu* soldiers, border garrison troops and clerical intellectuals – whose identity has been debated by generations of Hungarian historians. Both my analyses of the spread of Reformation in Hungary have revised earlier theories and models of early modern social transformations.

This book investigates the concept of time in the early Reformation period with special focus on the following issues: What explains intense apocalypticism in the sixteenth century, and how did it affect Hungary? What was the source of apocalyptic concept of time in Europe, and specifically in the Kingdom of Hungary? What kind of exegetical and classical (humanist) argumentation was deployed in the era? To what extent was this apocalypticism typical of the early Reformation? Was the emerging Hungarian frontier mentality the consequence of the Turkish conquest or was it rather the consequence of a general European shift of mentality? To what extent was apocalypticism in Hungary affected by the Western European discourse of the modern nation-state formations?

Several of my publications deal with theories of the spread of Reformation in Hungary, and I also reviewed the interrelations of secular power and slants with

---

1 Sándor Őze, *„Bűneiért bünteti Isten a magyar népet". Egy 16. századi bibliai párhuzam elemzése a nyomtatott egyházi irodalom alapján ["God Punishes the Hungarian People for their Sins". The Analysis of a Sixteenth Century Biblical Parallel in Printed Ecclesiastical Literature*] (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1991)

2 Sándor Őze, *A határ és a határtalan. Identitáselemek vizsgálata a 16. századi magyar ütközőzóna népességénél* [Limits and the limitless. Examination of identity elements among the population of sixteenth-century Hungarian buffer zone] (Budapest: METEM – Historia Ecclesiastica Hungarica Alapítvány, 2006), Sándor Őze, "Az apokaliptikus gondolkodás az újkorban és Magyarországon," [Apocalpytic thinking in early modern Hungary] in *Nemzeti művelődés – egységesülő világ*, ed. Mihály Szegedy-Maszák, et al.(Budapest: Napkút kiadó, 2010), 223-251.

apocalypticism in the Hungarian historiography of the early modern era.[3] Therefore, I will not address these issues here unless they are relevant. I will refer to my earlier works only when my current stand on questions diverges from what I thought twenty years ago. In citing Hungarian examples I will rely on the same religious writings and historical source texts of frontier society that I used for my previous studies. This time, however, my approach will be different: I will analyse works written by typical figures of the era. I will be interested in the ways in which the apocalyptic views of these authors shaped their careers, as well as in the impact their writings made on their contemporaries.

This book relies on research exploring denominational conflicts in early sixteenth-century Hungary. In my book *Határ és határtalan* [Limits and the limitless] I have emphasized that the theories modelling the spread of Reformation and the denominational structure of the period, which I have reviewed and completed with my own emphasising the role of the frontier, cannot satisfactorily reconstruct the complex social changes.[4] None of the theories provides an exclusive explanation; the reception of Reformation ideology depended on particular regions and situations, and we have to count with decisive interactions and coincidences.

On the basis of international research and my own conclusion, Zoltán Csepregi has lately emphasized the role of an urban circle of humanists influential in the trade with Silesia and Saxony in the early spread of Reformation in Hungary.[5] Following Ferenc Szakály and Katalin Péter, he also assumes that it is hardly possible to extend the sources of the spread of Reformation beyond the volumes of *Monuments of Church History from the Era of the Reformation in Hungary,* compiled and edited at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century.[6]

This scholarly consensus has been challenged by Antal Molnár's recent project which has uncovered archival records and reports of the *Propaganda Fidei* and applied Shilling's theory of confessionalization to seventeenth-century Hungary under Turkish occupation.[7] Contrary to the established view that considered the

3 Sándor Őze, *Nemzettudat és historiográfia*[National identity and historiography] (Budapest: Hamvas Intézet, 2009)

4 Őze, *A határ és a határtalan*..., 100–101

5 Zoltán Csepregi, "A reformáció nyelve" [The language of reformation] (Academic doctoral dissertation, 2011), 276; Zoltán Csepregi, *Tanulmányok a magyarországi reformáció első negyedszázadának vizsgálata alapján* (Budapest:, 2013)

6 Vince Bunyitay, et al., *Egyháztörténeti emlékek a magyarországi hitújítás korából I–V.* [Church history monuments from the era of the Reformation in Hungary I-V.] (Budapest, 1902–1912)

7 Heinz Schilling, ed., *Die Reformierte Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland. Das Problem der „Zweiten Reformation". Wissenschaftliches Symposium des Vereins für Reformationsgeshichte 1985* (Gütersloh, 1986); Heinz Schilling, "Die Konfessionalisierung von Kirche. Staat und Gesellschaft- Profil, Leistung, Defizite und Perspektiven eines geschichtwissenschaftlichen

Catholic towns of the Hungarian Great Plain as exceptions, Molnár argues from seventeenth-century evidence that the presence of Catholicism in these towns had been continuous since the Middle Ages, and not the consequence of an early modern Counter-Reformation Catholic missionary activity.[8] While his source materials are unarguably representative for seventeenth-century denominational history, his method of transposing the evidence recoverable from these sources to the previous century raises methodological concerns. Thus, I can only maintain his conclusions regarding the limits of further research of the sixteenth-century Franciscan order: it is "hopelessly" difficult to find new evidence beyond those published in the late-nineteenth century *Monuments of Church History*.

Although I have attempted to involve other materials beyond the stock sources of sixteenth-century Reformation history, such as documents of military history and public history, I have ultimately given up the endeavour to extend the standard inventory of sources. In spite of this resignation, I still cherish the hope that one day a junior researcher will discover a significant group of sources under whose testimony the theories of this book and of other colleagues of mine will collapse.

The selection of authors and works discussed in this book are not only illsutrations of the complex history of the spread of Reformation in Hungary, but they also represent the variations according to region and social class. András Batizi and András Szkhárosi Horváth, for example, are both representatives of the broader Tokaj Wine Region (Upper Hungary and the Partium region, respectively), who first transmitted Wittenberg's concept of history in the Hungarian language.[9] György Szerémi's Latin epistle and Imre Ozorai's pamphlet in Hungarian originate from the lower clerical strata of Southern Hungary, and their works provide two different answers to the initial phase of Reformation. German-speaking urban culture is represented by Leonard Stöckel's sermons in Latin and Heltai's chronicle, as well as by Péter Méliusz Juhász's commentaries on the Book of Revelation. István Benczédi Székely's chronicle and Mihály Sztáray's biblical songs reflect the reaction of educated families to the Turkish conquest.[10] István Szegedi Kis's works guide us into the world of

Paradigmas" in *Katholische Konfessionalisierung*, eds. Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling (Gütersloh – Münster, 1995); Heinz Schilling, *Aufbruch und Krise.Deutsche Geschichte von 1517 bis 1648.* (Berlin, 1998); Heinz Schilling, *Ausgewählte Abhandlungen zur europäischen Reformations- und Konfessionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 2002)

8 Antal Molnár, *Katolikus missziók a hódolt Magyarországon I. (1572–1647)* [Catholic missions in Turkish-occupied Hungary, Vol. I. (1572-1647)] (Budapest: Balassi, 2002)

9 I do not analyze here Gáspár Károlyi's work entitled *Two Books*, as it has been frequently referred to in the past seventy years following Géza Kathona's excellent study (Kathona, 1943).

10 László Keveházi, *„A kereszt igéjét hirdetni kezdtem". Sztárai Mihály élete és szolgálata.* [„I started to preach the word of the cross". Mihály Sztáray's life and services] (Budapest, 2005)

border garrisons and the occupied territories, while the writings of Péter Bornemisza and István Magyari lead us into noble courts in various regions of the country.

In the chapters that follow, I will examine several layers of early modern Hungarian society from the aristocratic courts of Tamás Nádasdy, the Révais, the Massais, the Perényis, Bálint Török, Péter Petrovics and others, to the royal free cities, such as German-speaking Bártfa (present-day Bardejov, Slovakia) or the Hungarian-speaking Temesvár (present-dayTimişoara, Romania), to the market towns of Tolna, Laskó (present-day Lug, Croatia), Kálmáncsehi, Debrecen, Sempte (present-day Šintava, Slovakia), Nagyszombat (present-day Trnava, Slovakia), Sárospatak, to the people and priests of the frontier castles of Transylvania, as well as the outcast armed cowherds, the *hajdús*.

Initially, I was interested in the intellectual and ideological orientation of a society seeking a wayout from a historical cataclysm; in other words, I endeavoured to reconstruct processes that would contribute to a relatively homogeneous concept of collective identity that was to be considered as a source of Hungarian identity in later periods and whose components and deeply entrenched psychological mechanisms were to be reactivated in similar historical circumstances.[11] In this book I wish to demonstrate the role that the apocalyptic view of time played in this process.

In my previous book on the sixteenth-century Hungarian frontier zone I discussed how the system of several hundred frontier fortresses became the central organising element in the buffer zone between two religions, two civilizations, and not the least between the two superpowers of the period clashing in Central Hungary.

In this respect, the neighbouring territories living in relative peace and normalcy cannot be compared with Hungary, where a thousand-kilometre long and, occasionally, a hundred-kilometre wide belt of frontier fortresses stationing approximately fifty thousand regular and several thousands of irregular soldiers and support units was turned into a land of permanent warfare between the competing Christian and Muslim populations. More approapriate analogies are afforded by the regions in a similar historical situation. Despite its distance, the Persian border area, another traditional Ottoman frontier, mostly inhabited by Armenians, had similar characteristics in the sixteenth century. In addition, Ottoman territories, such as the Balkans in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries or the Iberian Peninsula, which became less significant by this time, also show similar features.

The line of castles did not only provide spatial orientation in contemporary Hungary, but they were also used as social and cultural benchmarks shaping the mentality of local society. As a result of freezing front lines, the persistence of "small wars" and

[11] Őze, *A határ és a határtalan*..., 13.

raids, as well as the acceptance of war as a natural part of life, the military frontier also became a key element of cultural memory. The frontier "perspective" gave sense to times of "peril" and "triumph", and it also determined which memorable events would be selected from the mass of past, to which the communities living there could anchor their cultural identities. The permanent threat as the ordinary experience of frontier life and people also crystallized an apocalyptic mentality and concept of time.

The educated intellectuals and the religious and political elite of the country (more precisely, of the states established on the territory of the former country) assessed their own situation in terms of the concepts of time and history as elaborated by the scholarly world of Europe. They applied theories combining theology, space and time to the specific Hungarian conditions. The age of sixteenth-century Reformation and the formation of early modern nation states witnessed the emergence of confessional wars in Europe devastating the hinterlands. This raises the question whether the appearance of apocalyptic literature was a consequence of the historical trauma.

Many scholars regard the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as the rise of apocalypticism in Europe. Some researchers extend the period to involve the Black Death of the mid-fourteenth century and the ensuing Schism and the Wycliffite and Hussite heresies, while others claim that apocalypticism as a world view was not a condition of crises, but a relatively constant perception present more or less intensely at any time of the Middle Ages.

Analysing pamphlets, a new means of communication in early modern Europe, Volker Leppin found that denominational struggles and the escalating apocalyptical fear of the Ottoman power, especially from the 1560s on, became the dominant themes in the German territories.[12] The themes of the German pamphlets significantly overlap with those of contemporary Hungarian literature. Since pamphlets have hardly survived from early modern Hungary, I have also involved printed sermons, songs and poetry which I have incorporated in the analyses of my previous book.

The Spatial and Temporal Frames of the Study

In accordance with current interpretations, Volker Leppin defines apocalypticism not as a particular Jewish, Classical Greek or Roman concept, but as any period believing in the imminent fulfilment of times and expecting Doomsday. He conceives of modern apocalypticism not as an individual or collective disaster, but as a cosmic catastrophe occurring in space and time. Early modern authors of apocalyptic writings

[12] Volker Leppin, *Antichrist und Jüngster Tag.Das Profil apokalyptischer Flugschriftenpublizistik im deutschen Luthertum 1548–1618* (Gütersloh, 1999)

emphasised the imminence of a new world whose spatial and temporal dimensions were radically different from those in earthly existence. Leppin argues that the vibrant coexistence of proximity and expectation is more prevalent in the apocalyptic view than the very belief in the end of times. Leppin investigates the intellectual world of German Lutheranism between 1548 and 1618, that is, from the end of the adiaphora controversy to the outbreak of the thirty years war.

The chronological frame of this book is determined by two outstanding dates of Hungarian history: 1526 and 1566. The choice of 1526 is rather obvious: the defeat of the Hungarian royal army at Mohács by the Turks with the subsequent death of King Louis II and the Ottoman conquest of Hungary. This date has generally been regarded the beginning of the Turkish occupation both in Hungarian and the Christian European historiography. The choice of 1566 (the death of Suleiman I) is slightly more arbitrary: the year marks the end of the major Ottoman victories and acquisitions in the region of Central Hungary. Two years later, the Treaty of Adrianople (present-day Edirne, Turkey) of 1568 suspended the hostilities between the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empire. The agreement confirmed the country's division into three parts and thus made the release liberation from ottoman rule impossible via political and diplomatic means. Under such circumstances, the remaining alternative was the apocalyptic expectation for the solution of the cataclysm, embracing the idea of a miserable and victimized country, "the small company of the elect", as an antithesis to the bygone Hungarian Empire and the stronghold of Christianity.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, the last of the generation born under the reign of Matthias had died. With the death of János Zsigmond, and the ascent of István Báthori to the throne the radicalisation of the religions ceased to escalate. Transylvania's peculiar system of religions becomes fixed, as well as the sovereignty of the principality (due to the Treaty of Speyer). The practical division of the religions is effected by the next generation.

I do not treat in the present work the specifically Partium-Transylvanian version of Antitrinitarian apocalypticism, partly because I have dealt with it in my 1990 book,[13] and partly due to the reason that in the last fifty years much effort has gone into augmenting the source material already used by Révész and Pirnát[14] – to little avail. Although the questions of research have been refined (e.g. Balázs's analysis of religious tolerance in Transylvania[15]), basic issues are moot point since the beginning

[13] Őze, *Bűneiért bünteti…*

[14] Imre Révész, *Debrecen lelki válsága, 1561–1571.* [Spiritual Crisis of Debrecen, 1561-1571] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1936); Antal Pirnát, *Die Ideologie der Siebenbürger antitrinitarier in den 1570-er Jahren*. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1961)

[15] Mihály Balázs, *Teológia és irodalom. Az Erdélyen kívüli antitrinitarizmus kezdetei*. [Theology and literature. The initiation of Antitrinitarianism outside of Transylvania] (Budapest: Balassi, 1998)

of the twentieth century. One such problem was formulated by Révész[16]: it is whether the "fanatic movement" could have been the result of Ferenc Dávid's prophesying the end of the world arriving in 1570. In any case, these questions go beyond the temporal limits of the present dissertation. This is also the reason why I have left out my article co-authored with Dobrovits. Although some of its material would have been extremely informative on the apocalyptic views of Hungarian Catholicism on the Turkish danger (especially in the light of my analysis of Bullinger, Bibliander, etc.), but it would have led us into the seventeenth century, to the oeuvre of Pázmány. However, I discuss the apocalypticism of Bornemisza up to 1572 because the nova of that year stoked apocalyptic expectations in Europe to a new height. Consequently, my temporal framework encompasses roughly two generations, during which Hungarian society had not yet realised that it was shoved for centuries on an immutable path. This age is a period of attempts to cope with the changed situation.

The geographical location of my study is the ever-changing area of lands radially altered by the Turkish occupation: my analysis deals with the patterns of religion, ideas and identity in these localities. The Hungarians of the age defined themselves as the inhabitant of the former Kingdom of Hungary (now torn into three); as part of the Hungarian-speaking community subscribing to Kézai's version of history (this included serfs); or as a privileged member of the most sizeable military society in Europe (several hundreds of thousands). He or she lived in a land where confrontationsdeciding the fate of the world would take place, fulfilling the biblical prophecies.

Roughly eighty per cent of the population of Hungary spoke Hungarian: in these contested lands, the ratio approached 100; and even after the conquest, speakers of Hungarian were the (perhaps relative) majority. Hungarian was a *lingua franca* from Dévény to Moldova, understood within a 1000-kilometre radius (and more or less even after 500 years). The alienness of Hungarian and its relative isolation from the West on the other hand creates an incomparability with the countries of Western Europe (e.g. with France, often treated as the standard). The language itself became the vessel of behaviours, the cultural codes and memes[17] of which were in place from the very beginning of Hungary, could only burgeon and flourish in later centuries.

The *lingua franca* of the age in Europe was Latin. In Hungary communicationwas conducted in Hungarian and German. I will employ Latin terminology, but the Ancient Greek, Syriac, Hebrew, Arabic and Turkish texts I use will be given in translation.

[16] Cf. Révész, *Debrecen lelki válsága…*

[17] Mihály Csíkszentmihályi, *A fejlődés útjai. A harmadik évezred pszichológiája* [Ways of development. Psychology of the third millennia] (Budapest: Nyitott Műhely, 2008), 154-178.

The reason for this that of these texts existed in Latin translation, and the Hungarian reader knew them in Latin. Thus it was the translation which was incorporated into the concepts, knowledge and discourse of the age.

Methods and approaches

My research focuses on the history of ideas, communication and their influence in the context of theological-political apocalypticism. With the fixation of the Muslim-Christian border a novel and atypical situation was formed, resulting in a crisis situation well fitting to apocalyptic thinking. The crisis was deepened by the shock Europe suffered by the schism of Christianity. My work is mostly based on the Assmans's method of research into cultural memory. Jan Assman analysed the Torah with this method as a written tradition, perceiving the cultural-religious collective memory to be "brazen wall" which protected the "Jewish nation", and helped the "space", never seen by the scattered groups of the Diaspora, to survive.

In my opinion the apocalyptic zeitgeist of sixteenth-century Hungary can be analysed with the same methodology precisely because its authors and actors were consciously building on Old Testament traditions, mixing them with mediaeval European and Hungarian elements and influences. András Farkas and his colleagues had, by the middle of the sixteenth century, found a tried and tested way to help the Hungarian populace through the six generations of Turkish occupation. The way is related to the aforementioned shock of the continent over the "schizophrenia" of Christianity, which brought with it all-encompassing wars unseen for hundreds of years – essentially causing genocide in the heart of Europe, whereas before this had been only typical on the Muslim frontier.

The system of research into the culture of memory also incorporated methods and much material from inter-religious studies, e.g. the theory of confessionalism, developed in German and popular in Hungarian scholarly circles from the 1990's on.[18] This, however, can only be applied to the material discussed here with regard to Hungarian peculiarities, and to a little extent. An internationally well-researched topic of the last decades was the "national places of memory", and its relationship with the Hungarian system of symbolism. This system arose from the constellation of certain elements, and became a national myth. Investigations into the culture of memory and collective memory were based on the sociological works of M. Halbwachs.

Today we are witnessing a war within the political system, fought for memory. This is the historicising of a single thread from the numerous parallel and many-faceted

[18] Winfried Eberhard, *Konfessionsbildung und Stände in Böhmen. 1478–1530.* (München, 1981)*;* Winfried Ebenhard, *Monarchia und Wiederstand: Zur ständischen Oppositionsbildung im Herrschaftssystem Ferdinands I. in Böhmen.* (München, 1985); Winfried Eberhard, *Humanismus und Renaissance in Ostmitteleuropa vor der Reformation.* (Köln–Weimar–Wien, 1996)

processes, filling history with panels, and the reinterpretation of history on the basis of teleological arguments – thus we can talk about political myths and the politics of myths. The re-evaluation of the past is always oriented towards the future.[19] If this aims to legitimise or stabilise a rule or a *status quo* (or alternatively, deconstruct and topple it), the important factor for political agents is the system of symbols and interpretative frameworks which they can marshal. Their application could be social mobilisation, or the polarisation or degeneration of groups by, for example, devaluation of certain ideas. By the culture of memory the elite can possess massive influence, or create of supply of power for politics by creating a collective identity, which politicians then pragmatically use as the basis of legitimisation. The memory lived is based on functional memory, which might be selective, collective, oriented towards the future, etc. Functional memory is intact until it is useful for someone; after it has played its role, its elements can be changed.[20] The connected events of a certain process, chosen by the group, are the ones which by their relationship with the group create the identity of the individual. Assman says:

> "Personal and individual identity also emerges and develops through reflection. Here, though, the process through which the individual is connected into a social and cultural network is essential and unavoidable. We can call this 'anthropological reflexivity'. It is the process that G. H. Mead (1934) described as "mutual reflection" (Thomas Luckmann) – the formation and stabilization of identity through identification with both "significant others" and with the image oneself mirrored by these others (T. Luckmann, in Marquard/Stierle 1979). Experience of oneself is always meditated; only experience of others is direct. Just as we are unable to see our face except in a mirror, we are unable to

[19] Alfred Heuß, „Geschichtliche Gegenwart", ihr Erwerb und ihr Verlust. *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, Nr. 7/1987, S. 389 - 401*,* Jan Assmann*, Das kulturelle Gedächtnis.* (München, 1997)*;* Rudolf Speth and Edgar Wolfrum, "Einleitung" in *Politische Mythen – Geschichtspolitik*. (Berlin, 1996); Pierre Nora, *Zwischen Geschichte und Gedächtnis.* (Berlin, 1990)

[20] Aleida Assmann*, Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisse.* (München, 1999), *Norbert Frei, Vergangenheitspolitik. Die Anfänge der Bundesrepublik und die NS-Vergangenheit* (München: C.H. Beck, 1996), 2., Eric J. Hobsbawm*, Nations and nationalism since 1780*, *Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), Tamás Hofer, ed., *Magyarok Kelet és Nyugat közt. A nemzettudat változó jelképei*.. [Hungarians between West and East. Changing symbols of national identity] (Budapest: Balassi,1996) Especially noteworthy for its exhaustive bibliography; Benedict Anderson, *Die Erfindung der Nation.Zur Karrierre eines folgenreichen Konzepts* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Fachbuch, 1996), Geofrey Hosking and - George Schöpflin, *Myths and Nationhood* (London: Routledge, 1997)

see our inner self other than by reflection, and it is the latter that creates awareness. Contact with others also entails contact with ourselves, and the self of personal identity is simply not available to us without communication and interaction. It is an awareness of oneself that at the time involves awareness of the expectations of others and our resultant obligations and responsibilities.

If contact with others is to lead to the formation of identity, the person concerned must like with them in a shared world of symbolic meaning. *This does not necessarily imply, however, that this shared world has to represent a collective identity. It only does so when the identity has been consciously formed and preserved.*"[21]

The concept of nation, its related topoi, and the Bible-based perception of history are not only the definitive elements of the cultural history of the age, but they are also the most basic items of cultural memory and collective identity.

The chapters of the present work discuss specifically Hungarian monastic views on being a frontier country and the Turkish threat, and move on to the replies of the Protestant Churches gave to the same issues, taking into account the age's political philosophies. The spread of early modern ideas can be primarily based on the European and Hungarian commentaries on the Book of Daniel. A closely related problem is that of the legitimacy of power, which will be discussed in light of the sixteenth century's exegetical works on the Book of Revelations and the legend of the Antichrist. After the analysis of the eschatological ideas of the various churches in Hungary three further issues will be investigated: first, the self-reflection of the numerous soldier-populace in the face of martyrdom will be treated. Secondly, the relationship of the Hungarian inhabitants of the border zone with Islam, and the influence of Hungarian exegeses of the Qur'an thereon will be discussed. Finally, the scientific outlook of the age on the eschatological model (created by theologians) will be scrutinised. All of these analyses will be based upon the reading of a contemporary apocalyptic work and by the biography of their authors.

Research History

The analyses of this book rely on the findings of Hungarian and international research groups with which I have closely collaborated: the Research Group of Cultural History

[21] Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) 116. Italics added.

at the Hungarian National Museum; the Renaissance-Baroque Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; the Department of Early Hungarian Literature of the University of Debrecen focusing on the history of rhetoric and national consciousness; the Südost-Institut of München, where I received a scholarship, and the GWZO Institute of the University of Leipzig, where I also held courses. My research was greatly inspired by the ethnographic exhibition *Hungarians between East and West*, organised by Tamás Hofer, which presented the transformation of the symbols of national identity as a result of an interdisciplinary research project. The research methods of the interdisciplinary study of the cultural backgrounds of denominational groups, especially influenced by the rise of the theory and school of 'Konfessionalisierung' from the 1970s on in Germany, were invaluable for my work. Lately, my approach has been reoriented by Volker Leppin's discussion of the impact of Reformation apocalypticism on identity formation in his *Antichrist und jüngster Tag* [Antichrist and Doomsday].[22]

The most important of all historico-theoretical debates concerning the early modern period is undoubtedly the "nation debate", initiated by Erik Molnár in the 1960s and closely connected to the ensuing "Mohács debate" (following the "iconoclastic" views of István Nemeskürty and Géza Perjés in the 1970s) and the "region debate" of the 1980s (which enfolded on the ground of Jenő Szűcs'ss conceptualization of the three regions of Europe).[23] These problematic scholarly discourses convinced me that, instead of carrying over Molnár's approach, I should rather return to the preceding generation of scholars of intellectual history: Kálmán Benda, József Deér and Károly Kerényi.

Benda's monograph on the history of Hungarian national consciousness[24]describes the origin and development of the idea of a missionary sense of Hungarian national identity from the thirteenth to the seventeenthcentury, and underlines its religious contents. Katalin Péter's research in the field of cultural history has drawn our attention to the practical and ideological contents in the background of events.[25]

[22] Leppin, *Antichrist und*….

[23] See Sándor Öze, "A Molnár Erik-vita és a Mohács-szindróma," [The Erik Molnár-debate and the Mohács-disorder] in *Variációk. Ünnepi tanulmányok M. Kiss Sándor tiszteletére*, (Piliscsaba: PPKE BTK, 2004), 360–427.

[24] Kálmán Benda, *A magyar nemzeti hivatástudat története a XV–XVII. században* [Hungarian national sense of vocation in the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries] (Budapest: Bethlen Nyomda, 1937), also: Kálmán Benda, *Habsburg abszolutizmus és magyar rendi ellenállás a XVI–XVII. században* [Habsburg absolutism and the resistance of the aristocracy in sixteenth and seventeenth century] (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1984), and: Kálmán Benda, *Magyarország történeti kronológiája I. A kezdetektől 1526-ig; Magyarország történeti kronológiája II., 1526–1848* [The historical chronology of Hungary, 1526-1848 in 2 vols.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983).

[25] Katalin Péter, *A magyar romlásnak századában* [In the century of Hungarian fall] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1975), also: Katalin Péter, *Papok és nemesek. Magyar művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok*

My study published in 1991 also contributed to this context: I analysed two components of an early national identity, the trauma of Turkish occupation and the behavioural reactions it triggered, in the extant texts of sixteenth-century sermon literature.[26] My habilitation thesis continued this work with the exploration of the same forms of behaviour and identity in the mentality of the frontier zone.

Mihály Imre traces the thematic and formal conventions of the *antiturcica* writings by sixteenth-century Hungarian humanist poets writing both in Latin and the vernacular to the historical concept of Lutheran theology, as well as the reinvention of the Ovidian genre of *heroides* in the Renaissance.[27] István Bitskey explains the zeitgeist and self-reflections of the age with the interpretation of the *topoi* of national fate and points out their significance in shaping and reinforcing collective identities.[28]

Research into the history of ideas, although looking back onto a considerable past, have begun to come to the fore only recently. The analyses of the last 20 years have focused mainly on the writing of literary histories, with especial attention on the history of forms.[29]

In Hungary the publication of sources, the composition of ecclesiastical histories and the research into apocalypticism began between the two World Wars, particularly under the aegis of Gyula Szekfű's fashionable school of the history of ideas. These

a reformációval kezdődő másfél évszázadból. [Priests and nobles. Studies in Hungarian cultural history from the Reformation onwards] (Budapest: Ráday Gyűjtemény, 1995), and: Katalin Péter, *A magyar nyelvű politikai publicisztika kezdetei. A Siralmas Panasz keletkezéstörténete* [The beginnings of vernacular Hungarian political publications. The origins of the *Weeping Lament*] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973).

26 Őze, *Bűneiért bünteti…*

27 Mihály Imre, *„Magyarország panasza". A Querela Hungariae toposz a XVI–XVII.század irodalmában* ["The lamentation of Hungary". The topos of *Querela Hungariae* in sixteenth and seventeenth century literature] (Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó,1995)

28 István Bitskey, "A nemzetsors toposzai a 17. századi magyar irodalomban" [The topoi of national fate in seventeenth-century Hungarian literature] in *Nemzet – identitás – irodalom. A nemzetfogalom változatai és a közösségi identifikáció kérdései a régi és a klasszikus magyar irodalomban,* ed. Péter Bényei Péter and Mónika Gönczy, (Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2005), 13–33., also István Bitskey, "História, emlékirat, önvallomás" [Historia, memoir, self-confession] in *Irodalom és ideológia a 16–17. században,* ed. Béla Varjas, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), 61–89., also: István Bitskey, *Pázmány Péter [Péter Pázmány]* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1986), 22–23., and Bitskey, *Virtus és religió. Tanulmányok a régi magyar irodalmi műveltségről* [Virtue István Bitskey, *Virtus és religió. Tanulmányok a régi Magyar irodalmi műveltségről*, [Virtue and religion. Studies on old Hungarian literature] (Miskolc: Felsőmagyarország, 1999)

29 See Bitskey, *A nemzetsors…*, and István Bitskey: "Virtus és poézis. Az önszemlélet és nemzettudat toposzai Zrínyi műveiben" [Virtue and poesy. Topoi of self-perception and national identity in Zrínyi's works] in *"Nemzet – identitás – irodalom". A nemzetfogalom változatai és a közösségi identifikáció kérdései a régi és a klasszikus magyar irodalomban,* ed. Péter Bényei and Mónika Gönczy, (Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2005) 13–33., 34–65.

concentrated on the development of the Hungarian consciousness of a vocation, which was parallel with increase of the Turkish danger in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The most important scholars were Benda,[30] Waczulik,[31] Horváth,[32] and Jászai.[33]

Another scholarly circle researching literary history was led by János Horváth, and its procession of Reformation literature provided valuable contributions to my analysis of the same topic.[34] A third school is that of Protestant historiographers of the Church. These continued the inherited researches of Protestant church historians, and they also gave an additional point of view to the topic's full analysis.

Research of apocalypticism was non-existent in the early twentieth-century Hungarian studies of history.The closest was perhaps Szekfű's afore-mentioned group of scholars, whose studies into the history of ideas was connected to the topic by their investigations of collective identity.[35] This they did by employing categories of art history, and they researched not only the history of politics and events, but also that of government, economy, society, culture, and ethnicities. They even took into account geographical situations, broadening "national history" into a "history of culture and civilisation".

Interbellum historiography was also dominated by the history of popular (lay) culture, which directed its attention of the history of small communities. This trend

30 Benda, *A magyar nemzeti hivatástudat…*, also: Kálmán Benda, *A törökkor a német újságirodaloma. A XV-XVI. századi német hírlapok magyar vonatkozásainak forráskritikájához* [German newspapers during the Turkish Age. Additions to the source criticism of the Hungarian aspects of fifteenth and sixteenth century German journalism] (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1942), and: Kálmán, Benda, *A Bocskai-szabadságharc.* [The Revolt of Bocskai] (Budapest: Művelt Nép Könyvkiadó, 1952). and: Kálmán Benda, "Habsburg politika és rendi ellenállás" [Habsburg policy and the resistance of the aristocracy] *Történelmi Szemle* 13, no. 3 (1970): 404–427.

31 Margit Waczulik, *A török korszak kezdetének nyugati történetirodalma a 16. században* [Sixteenth-century Western historiography of the early Turkish Age] (Budapest, 1937).

32 Magda Horváth, *A török a német közvéleményben* [The Turk in German popular opinion] (Budapest, 1937).

33 János Horváth, *A magyar irodalmi műveltség kezdetei* [The beginnings of Hungarian literary culture] (Budapest: Magyar Szemle, 1931), also: János Horváth, *A reformáció jegyében*. (A Mohács utáni másfélszázad története.) [Influenced by Reformation – the history of 150 years after Mohács] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1957), 2nd ed.

34 Gyula Szekfű, *Adatok Szamosközy István történeti munkáinak kritikájához* [Data for the criticism of the historiographical works of István Szamosközy] (Budapest: Barcza Nyomda, 1904), also: Gyula Szekfű, *A száműzött Rákóczi*.[Rákóczi in exile] (Budapest: Akadémia, 1913), also: Gyula Szekfű, *Bethlen Gábor* [Gábor Bethlen] (Budapest: Bíró Nyomda, 1929), and: Gyula Szekfű, *Magyar történet* vols. IV–VII (Hóman Bálinttal,)[Hungarian history (co-authored with Bálin Hóman) vols. III-V.] (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1929), 33.

35 Elemér Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon* [Ecclesiastical society in mediaeval Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971)

was headed by Elemér Mályusz, whose research into ecclesiastical and ideological history pointed out that Protestantism was not a movement percolating from above, but rather a counter-movement aiming for the Reformation of the increasingly profane mediaeval Church.[36]

Sándor Domanovszky's work made the parallels between Hungarian and Central/ Eastern European, mostly Czech and Polish developments plain. Like Mályusz, he also differed from the school of Szekfű greatly.[37] His work on the history of Hungarian culture was very useful for my research with its great amount of collected data. Imre Révész in his historiographical work focused on the ecclesiastical history of Protestantism, and on numerous problems of the history of Hungarian culture and society: the spread of Reformation in Hungary, its fight Counter-Reformation and royal absolutism, and the inner conflicts of Hungarian Protestantism.[38]

Jenő Zoványi is probably the single most influential person in the history of Hungarian Protestantism. His *Magyarországi protestáns Egyháztörténeti lexikon* [Historical Lexicon of the Hungarian Protestant Churches][39] is the only reference book thatgives a succinct and suitablyconcisedefinition of the concepts and data of Hungarian Protestantism.[40]

---

36 Sándor Domanovszky, "Hóman Bálint és Szekfű Gyula: Magyar történet IV–V. kötet. 16–17. század," [Bálint Hóman and Gyula Szekfű: History of Hungary. Vol. IV-V. Sixteenth and seventeenth centuries] *Századok* 63–64, no. 9-10 (1929–1930): 881–903.

37 Imre Révész, *Dévai Bíró Mátyás tanításai* [The teachings of Mátyás Dévai Bíró] (Kolozsvár, 1915), and Imre Révész, *Bod Péter, mint történetíró* [Péter Bod as historian] (Kolozsvár, 1916), Imre Révész, *A magyarországi protestantizmus történelme* [The history of Hungarian Protestantism] (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1925), Imre Révész, *A reformáció* [The Reformation] (Budapest: Magyar Szemle Társulat, 1932), Révész, *Debrecen lelki…,* Imre Révész, *Magyar református egyháztörténet 1520–1608* [Hungarian Calvinist Church History] (Debrecen: Magyar Református Egyház, 1938), Imre Révész, *Társadalmi és politikai eszmék a magyar puritanizmusban* [Social and political philosophy in Hungarian Puritanism] (Budapest: MTA, 1948)

38 Jenő Zoványi, *Tanulmányok a magyar protestáns egyház és irodalom történetéből.* [Studies on the history of the Hungarian Protestant church and literature] (Sárospatak: Steinfeld Nyomda, 1887), Jenő Zoványi, *A reformáció Magyarországon 1565-ig* [Reformation on Hungary up till 1565] (Budapest, 1922).

39 Jenő Zoványi, *Magyarországi protestáns Egyháztörténeti lexikon* [Lexicon of the history of the Hungarian Calvinist Church] (Budapest: Református Egyház Zsinati Iroda, 1977).

40 His main research topics were the cultural history and religious philosophy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and his works on the Heidelbergi Catechism, Ferenc Dávid, Gál Huszár, Juhász Péter Méliusz, and Bod Péter are noteworthy. See: Géza Kathona, "Károlyi Gáspár történelmi világképe. Tanulmány a magyar protestáns reformátori apokalyptika köréből" [The historical views of Gáspár Károlyi. A study of Hungarian Protestant Reformationist apocalypticism] in *Theologiai tanulmányok 75*, (Debrecen, 1943), also: Géza Kathona, "Tofeus Mihály kora szellemi áramlataiban" [Mihály Tofeus in the philosophical trends of his age]. in *Irodalom és ideológia a 16–17. században*, ed. Béla Varjas. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987).

Perhaps the most commonly cited texts in my research topic is are the treatises of Géza Kathona on Reformation apocalypticism and the history of ideas in the age.[41]

During and after World War II, history is most often approached from the social or economic perspective, due to the changes in the political situation. Research of ecclesiastical history is mostly pursued on the faculties of theology, as due to the nature of the system this branch of science was not endorsed. From this era it is the work Esze on Mihály Sztárai and the history of piety that hasgreatly helped my investigations.[42] The research of Makkai was extensive, and he dealt with the history of Transylvania in the Middle Ages and early modern times, as well as sixteenth- and seventeenth-century social and ideological history, and Protestant church- and cultural history. Bíró[43] and Bucsay[44] gave in their texts (authored together and individually) the summation of the Hungarian Calvinist Church and generally Hungarian Protestantism.

Forays into literary history further contributed to acquiringdeeper knowledge of the age. Áron Szilády's *Régi Magyar Költők Tára* [Anthology of Early Hungarian Poets] was crucial in this process, since it was his cataloguing, critical edition and annotation of the sixteenth-century Hungarian poets whence I foundmy first bearings

---

41 Tamás Esze, "Sztárai Gyulán" [Sztárai at Gyula] in *Könyv és könyvtár, 9*, ed. László Czeglédi, (Debrecen: KLTE Könyvtár, 1973), 89–194., also: Tamás Esze, *A református kegyesség múltja* [The past of Calvinist piety] (Debrecen: Református Egyház, 1957), 178–182.

42 László Makkai, ed., *Erdély öröksége. Erdélyi emlékírók Erdélyről.I–X.* [The inheritance of Transylvania] edited in collaboration with László Cs. Szabó, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1942), also: László Makkai, *Erdélyi városok* [Cities of Transylvania] (Budapest: Officina, 1940), also: Láaszló Makkai, *Erdély története* [The history of Transylvania] (Budapest: Renaissance, 1944), also: László Makkai, *A kuruc nemzeti összefogás előzményei. Népi felkelések Magyarországon 1630–32-ben.* [The precursors of the Kuruc national revolt. Popular rebellions in Hungary 1630-32] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1956), and László Makkai, foreword to *Bethlen Gábor emlékezete* [Memory of Gábor Bethlen] (Budapest: Helikon, 1980), also: László Makkai, *Debrecen város művelődéstörténete* [Cultural history of Debrecen] (Debrecen, 1984), and also László Makkai and András Mócsy, *Magyarország története 1526–1686* [History of Hungary 1526-1686] (Budapest, 1985)

43 Sándor Bíró, et al., *A magyar református egyház története* [The history of the Hungarian Calvinist Church] ed. in collaboration with István Szilágyi, (Budapest: Kossuth Kiadó, 1954), Sándor Bíró et al., *A magyar református egyház története* [History of the Hungarian Calvinist Church] (Budapest: Kossuth Kiadó, 1949).

44 Mihály Bucsay, *A reformátorok úrvacsoravitái* [Reformationists' polemy on the Communion] (Budapest: Bethlen Nyomda, 1942), Mihály, Bucsay, *Belényesi Gergely, Kálvin magyar tanítványa* [Calvin's Hungarian student, Gergely Belényesi]. (Budapest: Egyháztörténeti különkiadás, 1944), Mihály Bucsay, *Szegedi Gergely, debreceni reformátor, a kálvini irány úttörője hazánkban* [Gergely Szegedi, Reformator of Debrecen, pioneer of Calvisim in our country] (Budapest, 1945), Bíró, et al., *A magyarországi református…,* Mihály Bucsay, *A protestantizmus története Magyarországon* [The history of Protestantism in Hungary] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1985).

in the field of apocalyptic authors.[45] János Horváth's research encompassed all of Hungarian literature, thus including the cultural and literary significance and influence of the Reformation.[46]

The treatises must also be singled out. The first is the above-mentionedseminal work byRévész, *The spiritual crisis of Debrecen*, which also formed the basis of my working hypothesis. The second one is the Kathona's opus on Károlyi's *Two books* and sixteenth-century apocalypticism.[47] Further basic research was also conducted by the Calvinist Church's *Studia et Ecclesiastica* series from 1965 on.

From the Lutheran aspect of my works, Sólyom's work on Luther and the University of Wittenberg,[48] and the research of Fabiny[49]and Csepregi[50] on early Reformation and

45 Áron Szilády, *Régi Magyar Költők Tára* [Anthology of Early Hungarian Poets] (Budapest: MTA, 1877-1930).

46 Horváth, *A reformáció jegyében...*

47 Jenő Sólyom, *Luther és Magyarország. A reformátor kapcsolata hazánkkal haláláig* [Luther and Hungary: the relationship of the Reformer with our country until his death] (Budapest: Magyar Luther Szövetség, 1996) Reprinted from the 1933 edition.

48 István Botta, "Luther Antikrisztus-fogalmának hatása a magyar reformátorok társadalomszemléletére" [The influence of Luther's concept of the Antichrist on the social views of Hungarian reformers] in *Tanulmányok a lutheri reformáció történetéből* ed. Tibor Fabiny, (Budapest: Magyar Evangélikus Egyház, 1984), 51–65., and István Botta, *Melius Péter ifjúsága. A magyarországi reformáció lutheri és helvét irányai elkülönüléseinek kezdete* [The youth of Péter Melius. The beginnings of the separation of Lutheran and Helvetian Reformation in Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978), (*Humanizmus és Reformáció 7.*)

49 Tibor Fabiny, *A keresztény hermeneutika kérdései és története* [The history and issues of Christian hermeneutics] (Budapest: Hermeneutikai Kutatóközpont, 1998)

50 Zoltán Csepregi, "Ich wil alle ding wol erfaren. Mária királyné és udvari papjai" [Queen Mary and her court priests] *Lelkipásztor* 75, no. 6, (2000), 202-208., and Zoltán Csepregi, "Udvari lelkész az esztergomi börtönben? Conrad Cordatus (1480-1546) tevékenysége Magyarországon" [Court presbyter in the Esztergom prison? The activity of Conrad Cordatus in Hungary] *Limes* 14, no. 3 (2001), 65-72., also Zoltán Csepregi, "A reformáció szó értelme Honterus 1543-as művének címében" [The meaning of "Reformation" in the title of Honterus'ss 1543 work] in *Honterus-emlékkönyv,*, ed. Ágnes W. Salgó and Ágnes Stemler, (Budapest: Osiris, 2001), 19-27., and Zoltán Csepregi, A reformáció kezdetei Brandenburgi György gyulai és vajdahunyadi uradalmaiban 1520-1530. [The commencement of Reformation in the manors of György Brandenburgi in Gyula and Vajdahunyad] *Egyháztörténeti Szemle* 2, no. 2 (2001): 35-45., also: Zoltán Csepregi, "Konfessionsbildung und Einheitsbestrebungen im Königreich Ungarn zur Regierungszeit Ferdinands I.," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 94 (2003): 243-275., A Confessio Pentapolitana újabb datálási kísérletei. [New approaches in the attempt to date the Confessio Pentapolitana] *Lelkipásztor* 79 (2004): 300-303., and Zoltán Csepregi, "Die Auffassung der Reformation bei Honterus und seinen Zeitgenossen," in *Humanistische Beziehungen in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen: Politik, Religion und Kunst im 16. Jahrhundert. Siebenbürgisches Archiv 37*, ed. Ulrich A. Wien and Krista Zach, (Köln/Weimar/Wien,, 2004), 1-17., also Zoltán Csepregi, "A mezőváros és a földesúr diskurzusa vallási kérdésekben Brandenburgi György kelet-magyarországi és felső-sziléziai uradalmaiban 1523-1543," [The discourse of the market town and their landlord on the holdings György Brandenburg in East Hungary and Upper Silesia] in *Mezőváros, reformáció és irodalom (16-18. század),* ed. András

the court of Queen Mary proved to be very influential. Further important texts are the papers of Schulek,[51] Borzsák[52] and Nemeskürty[53] on Bornemisza.

After the change of the political system in Hungary, research in the Roman Archives sped up considerably. A new generation of historians, equipped with up-to-date knowledge, started to work on hitherto untouched sources from the Archives, especially the missionary epistles of the Congregation for the Envangelisation, following the works of Jesuit historians, and Tóth's publication of several sources (István Baán, István Fazekas, Péter Tusor, Antal Molnár, János Sávai, Tamás Végsheö and Bálint Kovács).[54] Soon, as veritable deluge of publications of primary sources, monographs and scholarly articles issued from them.

Szabó, (Budapest: Universitas, 2005), 27-32., and Zoltán Csepregi, "Udvari papok Mária királyné környezetében," [Court Priests in the Entourage of Queen Mary of Hungary] in *Mary of Hungary. The Queen and Her Court 1521-1531* ed. Orsolya Réthelyi, et al. (Budapest, 2005), 49-61., also Zoltán Csepregi, "A reformáció, mint nyelvi esemény a Mohács előtti Magyarországon" [Reformation as a linguistic phenomena in pre-Mohács Hungary] in: *Mindennapi választások. Tanulmányok Péter Katalin 70. születésnapjára,* ed. Gabriella Erdélyi and Péter Tusor. *Történelmi Szemle* 49, no. 2 (2007/CD): 391-406., also Zoltán Csepregi, "A váradi vita 1544-ben" [The Dispute of Várad in 1544] in *Szentírás, hagyomány, reformáció. Teológia- és egyháztörténeti tanulmányok,* ed. Beatrix F. Romhányi and Gábor Kendeffy,(Budapest: Gondolat, 2009), 167-189.

51 Tibor Schulek, *Bornemisza Péter 1535–1584. A XVI. századi magyar művelődés történetéből* [Péter Bornemissza 1535-1584. From the history on sixteenth-century Hungarian culture] (Sopron–Budapest–Győr: Keresztyén Igazság, 1939)

52 István Borzsák, *Az antikvitás XVI. századi képe. Bornemisza-tanulmányok* [The image on Antiquity in the sixteenth century. Studies on Bornemisza] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1960)

53 István Nemeskürty, *Bornemisza Péter, az ember és az író* [Péter Bornemisza, man and author] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1959)

54 See further: István György Tóth, "Misszionáriusok a kora újkori Magyarországon. Ismertetés" [Missionaries on early modern Hungary. Recension] *BUKSZ* 20 (2009), spring issue: 73–76.

Within the scope of our topic, the historiographical tradition of the school of Szekfű is represented after 1945 by the studies of Benda,[55] Várkonyi,[56] Szűcs,[57] and Péter[58]

[55] Benda, *A magyar nemzeti…*, also Benda,: *Habsburg abszolutizmus...,* also Kálmán Benda, "A magyar nemesség iskolázottsága a 16–17. században," [Education of the Hungarian nobility in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries] in *Magyarország társadalma a török kiűzésének idején,*. ed. Ferenc Szvircsek. (Salgótarján, 1984), 98–102., also Kálmán Benda, *A Bocskai-kori hajdúság összetétele és társadalmi törekvései* [The structure and aims of the *hajdúság* in the age of Bocskai] (Debrecen, 1963), also Kálmán Benda, "A kálvini tanok hatása a magyar rendi ellenállás ideológiájára," [The effect of the doctrines of Calvin on the ideology of Hungarian aristocratic resitance] *Helikon Világirodalmi Figyelő* 17, no. 1 (1971): 322-330.

[56] Ágnes R. Várkonyi, *"*A nemzet, a haza fogalma a török harcok és a Habsburg-ellenes küzdelmek idején (1526–1711)," [The concepts of nation and patria during the conflicts with the Turks and the Habsburgs] in *A magyar nacionalizmus kialakulása és története* (Budapest: Kossuth Kiadó, 1964), 27–78., Ágnes R. Várkonyi, *Magyarország keresztútjain. Tanulmányok a XVII.századról* [On the cross-roads of Hungary. Studies on the seventeenth century] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1978), Ágnes R. Várkonyi, "Végvár: állam, társadalom, mentalitás," [Border fortress: state, society, mentality] in *Magyarországi végvárak a XVI–XVII. században. Tudományos tanácskozás előadásai, Noszvaj: 1982. okt. 20–21.*" ed. Sándor Bodó and Jolán Szabó(Eger: Dobó István Vármúzeum, 1983). (also Studia Agriensia, 3.), 7–21; also Ágnes R. Várkonyi, *Erdélyi változások. Az erdélyi fejedelemség a török kiűzésének korában 1660–1711. Nemzet és emlékezet.* [Transylvanian changes. The Principality of Transylvania in the age of the expulsion of the Turks; Nation and memory] (Budapest: Magvető, 1984),. also Ágnes R. Várkonyi, "Országegyesítő kísérletek (1648–1664)," "Gazdaság és társadalom a 17.század második felében (1648–1686)," "A török háború: Bécstől Budáig (1683–1686)," in *Magyarország története 1526–1686*, in *Magyarország története tíz kötetben. 3/2,* Chief ed. Pál Pach Zsigmond. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985), 1043–1054., 1273–1424., 1577–1636., 1812–1823., 1841–1854., 1871–1876.; also Ágnes R. Várkonyi, "Az önálló fejedelemség utolsó évtizedei (1660–1711)," [The last decades of an independent principality (1660-1711)] in *Erdély története. II. 1606-tól 1830-ig. Erdély története három kötetben.* Chief editor: Béla Köpeczi, eds. László Makkai [et al.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986), 784–971., 1153–1170.; also Ágnes R. Várkonyi, *A királyi Magyarország 1541–1686* [Royal Hungary 1541-1686] (Budapest: VinceKiadó, 1999). *(Tudomány-Egyetem sorozat),* also Ágnes R. Várkonyi, *Europica varietas – Hungarica varietas 1526–1762.* (Budapest, 2000), and also Ágnes R. Várkonyi, *Rákóczi Ferenc államáról* [On the state of Ferenc Rákóczi] (Budapest, 2002).

[57] Jenő Szűcs, "A ferences ellenzéki áramlat a magyar parasztháború és a reformáció hátterében," [The Franciscan ideology in the background of the Hungarian Rformation and peasant revolts] *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 78, no. 4 (1974): 409–435., and Jenő Szűcs, "A ferences obszervancia és az 1514. évi parasztháború. Egy kódex tanúságai," [Fransican Observation and the peasant revolt of 1514 – the testimonials of a codex] *Levéltári Közlemények* 43 (1972): 128–163.

[58] Katalin Péter, A haza és a nemzet az ország három részre hullott állapotában. [Nation and patria in the three parts of Hungary] *Folia Historica* 18 (1993): 13–33.; and Katalin Péter, "A katolikus megújulás és a protestáns reformáció," [Catholic revival and Protestant Reformation] in *Papok és nemesek. Magyar művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a reformációval kezdődő másfél évszázadból* (Budapest, 1995), 5–15., Katalin Péter, "Az utolsó idők hangulata a 16. századi Magyarországon," [The mentality of the End of Time in sixteenth-century Hungary] *Történelmi Szemle* 47, no. 3-4 (2005): 277–286., 283–285. 1542.3.8. ETE 4,14-16; Katalin Péter, "Reformáció és művelődés a 16. században" [Reformation an culture in 16-th century Hungary] in *Magyarország története 1526–1686.* [History of Hungary 1526-1686] Vol. III/1. Eds. Pál Pach Zsigmond and Ágnes R. Várkonyi, (Budapest, 1985), 475–604.

on the history of culture. My research was also propelled forward by the regular Rebakucs-conferences organised for decades by Tibor Klaniczay and Andor Tarnai. These focused on the study of the history of Reformation, education, philosophy and ideology,[59] based on the interbellum workshops of Turóczi-Trostler, whose research on topoi and the history of forms were of the highest standards.

As regards the contributions of the University of Debrecen, the doctorate school of Bitskey and Imre must be mentioned,[60] and especially the roles of Oláh and Fazekas therein. The *Studia Litteraria* and the volumes of *Csokonai Könyvtár*, edited by them, together with the *Adattár XVI-XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez* (*Database on the history of sixteenth-eighteenth century philosophical movements)* were the results of 30 years' arduous work. The oeuvre of Szörényi covers much the same subject, but it is related to a number of organisations, e.g. the Institute of Literary Studies of MTA; the University of Szeged; the Eötvös College.[61] The researcher of thelatter, Pál Ács also worked on apocalypticism. At the Faculty of Early Hungarian Literature of the ELTE, Szentpéteri mainly analysed seventeenth-century millenarism and European esotery;[62] he was a student of the school of Iván Horváth. The University of Miskolc is duly famed for its researches into the history of peregrination, its ideologies and forms, as well as work on sixteenth-century historiography; the most imporant contributors are Heltai, Kecskeméti, and Kulcsár. At Károlyi Gáspár Calvinist University Ladányi,[63] Szabó, Bene and Petrőczi have been makinng intensive research of the history of ideas in

[59] Volumes of the series "*Humanizmus és reformáció."*

[60] Mihály Imre, "Arbor Haereseon. A wittenbergi történetszemlélet ikonográfiai ábrázolása Szegedi Kis István Speculum pontificum Romanorum című művének 1592-es kiadásában,".[The iconograpical depiction of the Wittenberg view of history in the 1592 edition of István Kis Szegedi's *Speculum pontificum Romanorum*] in *Egyház és művelődés. Fejezetek a reformátusság és a művelődés XVI–XIX. századi történetéből,* ed. Botond Gáborjáni Szabó et al. (Debrecen, 2000), 53–85.

[61] László Szörényi*, Hunok és jezsuiták. Fejezetek a magyarországi latin hősepika történetéből* [Huns and Jesuits. Chapters from the history of the Hungarian Latin heroic epic] (Budapest, 1993), also László Szörényi, *Memoria Hungarorum. Tanulmányok a régi magyar irodalomról.* [Memoria Hungarorum. Studies on old Hungarian literature] (Budapest, 1996), also László Szörényi, *Studia Hungarolatina. Tanulmányok a régi magyar és neolatin irodalomról.* [Studia Hungarolatina. Studies on old Hungarian and Neolatin literature] (Budapest, 1999)

[62] Márton Szentpéteri*, Egyetemes tudomány Erdélyben. Johann Heinrich Alsted és a herborni hagyomány* [Universal science in Transylvania. Johann Heinrich Alsted and the tradition of Herborn] (Budapest: Universitas, 2008)

[63] Sándor Ladányi*:* "A coccejanismus jelentkezése és hatása a magyar református teológiai gondolkodásra a 17–18. században – különös tekintettel a bibliai tudományokra," [The appearance and influence of Coccejanism in Hungarian Calvinist theological thinking in the seventeenth and 18th centuries, especially in biblical studies] in *Ostium in caelo. Jubileumi kötet dr. Bolyki János teológiaprofesszor 75.születésnapjára*." (Budapest: KRE HTK Ráday Könyvesház, 2006), 191–196.

the seventeenth century, which also involved extensive investigation of sixteenth-century Hungarian apocalypticism.

Hargittay's work on biblical mythology was an important contribution from the part of the Pázmány Péter Catholic University, as well as the *Felekezet és identitás* (Church and identity) programme and workshop, led by myself, whose conferences of the history of devotion and historiography resulted in for example the publication of Medgyesy's most recent work on apocalypticism,[64] and six volumes containing the proceedings of ten conferences on the history of the Hungarian orders (containing much material on interdisciplinary apocalypticism-research). Szilvia Sziráki,[65] Eszter Kovács,[66] Bálint Kovács,[67] Guitman[68] and László have written remarkable PhD theses on the subject.

Exegetical and hermeneutical attempts to cover the subject have been created by Rózsa,[69] Gánóczi,[70] Bolyky,[71] Fabiny,[72] and Vankó-Reisinger.[73]

From the vast amount of scientific work done on sermons and polemical texts in the last years, I must single out three items which with their connection to apocalypticism

64 Norbert Medgyesy-Schmikli, "Az utolsó ítélet a magyarországi iskoladrámákban.," [The Last Judgment in Hungarian school plays] in *Apokaliptika és posztmodernitás,*. ed. Sándor Őze and László Szelke, (Piliscsaba: Szent Vince Szakkollégium, 2009), 133–149.

65 Szilvia Sziráki, "Nemzeti identitás és biblikus látásmód a XVII. század végi Erdélyben" [National identity and biblical vision in the Transylvania of the late seventeenth century] (PhD diss. Pázmány Péter Catholic University, 2010)

66 Eszter Kovács, "Cseh és magyarországi jezsuiták kapcsolata a 16–17. században" [The connections of Czech and Hungarian Jesuits in the sixteenth and seventeenth century] (PhD diss. Pázmány Péter Catholic University, 2009)

67 Bálint Kovács, "Az irodalom és vallás kulturális közvetítő szerepe az erdélyi örmények integrációja során a 18. században" [The cultural medial role of literature and religion in the integration of the Transylvanian Armenians in the 18th century] (PhD diss., second chapter. Pázmány Péter Catholic University, 2010),

68 Barnabás Guitman, "A bártfai reformáció első évtizedei és kapcsolatrenszere" [The first decade and connections of Reformation at Bártfa] (PhD diss. Pázmány Péter Catholic University, 2010), also Eszter Kovács, "Egy cseh nemes írása a törökök vallásáról a 17. századból (Václav Budovec z Budova és az Antialkorán)" [The writings of a Czech nobleman on the religion of the Turks in the seventeenth century] *Egyháztörténeti Szemle* 2008/3, 53–66.

69 Huba Rózsa, *Ószövetségi egzegézis* [Old Testament exegesis] (Budapest, 1992), Huba Rózsa, *Üdvösségközvetítők az Ószövetségben I. A királyi Messiás* [Mediators of salvation in the Old Testament I. The royal Messiah] (Budapest, 1993), 5–8, Huba Rózsa, *Az Ószövetség keletkezése I-II* [The Creation of the Old Testament I-II] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1999 and 2002)

70 Sándor Gánóczy and Stefan Scheld, *Kálvin hermeneutikája. Szellemtörténeti feltételek és alapvonalak* [The hermeneutics of Calvin. Prerequisites and bases from the history of philosophy] (Budapest: Kálvin Kiadó, 1997)

71 János Bolyki, *Az újszövetségi írásmagyarázat elvei, módszerei és példái* [The methodology, system and examples of New Testament exegesis] (Budapest, 1998)

72 Fabiny, *A keresztény hermeneutika…*

73 Zsuzsa Vankó and János Reisinger, *Bevezetés a Biblia tanulmányozásába* [Introduction into biblical studies] (Budapest, 1993)

and varied approaches have lent great aid to me. These were the *Emlékezet és devóció a régi magyar irodalomban* (Memory and devotion in early Hungarian literature)[74] and the *Politika a régi magyar irodalomban* (Politics in early Hungarian literature)[75] conferences in Cluj and Gyula respectively, organised by Zsombor Tóth and Sándor Bene; and the national-consciousness research group in Debrecen, headed by Szabolcs Oláh and István Bitskey.[76] Finally, I consider it necessary to list those publications of mine which in the past decade have formed the basis of the present dissertation, sometimes even to the extent of forming entire chapters of it.[77]

74 Sándor Őze, „Szegedi Kis István temesvári tartózkodása, Skaricza Máté életrajza alapján," [István Szegdi Kis's residence in Temesvár in the light of Máté Skaricza"s biography] in *Emlékezet és devóció a régi Magyar irodalomban,* ed. Mihály Balázs and Csilla Gábor, (Kolozsvár: Bolyai Társaság, 2007), 457-470.

75 Sándor Őze, "A tábori prédikáció műfaja és beszédhelyzete a 16-17. században," lecture given at the Classical Studies and Textual Criticism Colloquium in Memory of István Borzsák; Eötvös Collegium, Budapest, 20-25 Aptil 2009. Accessed: 28.09.2015., http://www.iti.mta.hu/gyula-program.html

76 István Bicskey and Szabolcs Oláh, ed., *Religio, retorika, nemzettudat régi irodalmunkban. Klaniczay Tibor emlékére. Nemzetközi konferencia.* [Religio, rethoric and national consciousness in early Hungarian Literature. In memoriam Tibor Klaniczay. International conference] (Debrecen: Csokonai Universitas Könyvtár, 2004)

77 Sándor Őze, "«The stronghold of Christianity» or «A country between hammer and anvil»,.: A change of national identity in the sixteenth century among the soliders of the Turkish frontier in Southwestern Hungary" in *Virrasztó darvak. Tanulmányok a Dél-Alföld történetéből,* (Hódmezővásárhely: Norma Nyomdász Kft., 2008), 149-161, Sándor Őze and Mihály Dobrovits, "Pázmány Korán-cáfolatának előzményei.: a török XVI. századi magyarországi megítélése," [The precursors of Pázmány's Qur'an-criticism: the perception of Turks in sixteenth-century Hungary] in *Pázmány Péter és kora,* ed. Emil Hargittay, (Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem BTK, 2001), 62-70., also: Sándor Őze, "Apokaliptika és nemzettudat a XVI. századi Magyarországon," [Apocalytics and national consciousness in sixteenth-century Hungary] in *Religió, retorika, nemzettudat régi irodalmunkban,* ed. Isván Bitskey and Szabolcs Oláh, (Debrecen: Egyetemi Kiadó, 2004), 112-125.; also: Sándor Őze, "A szent had, Hadiprédikáció Magyarországon a 16-17. században Bornemisza Péter, Pázmány Péter, Tolnai Mihály és Nagyari István művei alapján," [The Holy Army: military preaching in Hungary in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, based on the works of Bornemisza, Pázmány, Tolnai and Nagyari] in *A politika műfajai a régi magyar irodalomban,* ed. Sándor Bene, (Budapest: MTA Irodalomtudományi Intézet, 2005), 1-16., Sándor Őze and Norbert Spannenberger, „Hungaria vulgo apellatur propugnaculum Christianitatis".: Zur politischen Instrumentalisierung einer Selbstlegitimierung in Ungarn. in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte und Kultur Südosteuropas*, ed. Markus Krzoska and Hans Christian Maner. (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2005), 19-39., Sándor Őze, "A ferencesek és a reformáció kapcsolata a XVI. századi Magyarországon," [The relationship of Reformation and Franciscans in sixteenth-century Hungary] in *A ferences lelkiség hatása az újkori közép-Európa történetére és kultúrájára* ed. Sándor Őze and Norbert Medgyesy-Schmikli. (Budapest–Piliscsaba: PPKE – METEM, 2005), 157-175.; Sándor Őze, "Szegedi Kis István temesvári tartózkodása Skaricza Máté életrajza alapján," [The stay of Szegedi in Temesvár, on the basis of Skaricza's biography] in *Emlékezet és devóció a régi magyar irodalomban*, ed. Mihály Balázs and Csilla Gábor. (Kolozsvár: Kolozsvári Egyetemi Kiadó, 2007),

457-470. (Egyetemi füzetek; 3.); Sándor Őze, "Inside and outside the Gates of Alexander. Various aspects of a topos among Armenian and Hungarian inhabitants of early modernHungary" in *Armenier im östlichen Europa (15.-19. Jahrhundert). EineAnthologie,* ed. Balint Kovacsand Stefan Troebst.,(Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2012), 311- 335.; Sándor Őze, "Az apokaliptika, mint a politikai propaganda eszköze a 16. századi Magyarországon," [Apocalpytics as the tool of political propaganda in sixteenth-century Hungary] in *Hatalom, legitimáció, ideológia : történeti tanulmányok,* ed. Éva Gedő and Emőke Horváth. (Budapest: L'Harmattan Kiadó, 2007), 130-143.; Sándor Őze: *"*Az apokaliptika, mint legitimációs eszköz a 16. századi Magyarországon, a reformáció idején," [Apocalypticism as a tool of legitimacy during the Reformation in sixteenth-century Hungary] in *Mindennapi választások. Tanulmányok Péter Katalin 70. születésnapjára,* ed. G. Erdélyi and P. Tusor, (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 2007), 465-483.; Sándor Őze, "Унгарското кралство и идеологията на кръстоносните походи от началото на османската угроза доизграждането на хабсбургската отбранителна линия (1395 – 1556)," in *Ом Никополог до Виена 1396-1683 = NikápolytólBécsig 1396-1683*, *ed.* Hristo Matanov, Arató György, (Sofia: Svyatnauka, 2008), 39-68.; Sándor Sándor Őze, *"*Korán-cáfolatoka 16-17. századfordulóján Közép-Európában," [Central European criticism of the Qur'an in sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe] *Egyháztörténeti szemle* 10, no. 2 (2009): 19-33.; Sándor Őze, *"*Die Vertreibung der helvetischen Reformation in den ungarischen Grenzgebieten des sechzenten Jahrhundert," in *Pietas non sola Romana: Studia memoriae Stephani Borzsák dedicate,* ed. Czeglédy and Horváth et al. (Budapest: Typotex, 2010), 613-622.; Sándor Őze, "Még egyszer a ferencesekről. Válasz Szabó András: *A magyarországi reformáció kezdete és az átmeneti korszaka a reformátorok életútjának tükrében című cikkére*," [Once more on Franciscans. Reply to Szabó's *The beginnings of Reformation and in Hungary and its transition period, on the basis of the lives of Hungarian reformers*] Egyháztörténet 2010/2. 118-134.; Sándor Őze, "Dániel Birodalmai Magyarországon. Batizi András: Meglött és megleendő verses világkrónikája alapján," [The empires of Daniel in Hungary, on the basis of Baitzi's poetic world chronicle] in *Tíz éves a Történelemtudományi Doktori Iskola.* ed. Sándor Őze. (Budapest: Loisir Kiadó, 2011), 59-78.; Sándor Őze, *"*A művelődés közege és szektorai a XVI. század magyar határvidéki népességénél,". [Sectors and media of culture in sixteenth-century Hungarian border populace] in *Szentírás, hagyomány, reformáció. Teológia- és egyháztörténeti tanulmányok,* ed. B. F. Romhányi and G. Kendeffy (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2009), 297-307.; Sándor Őze: "Az apokaliptikus gondolkodás az újkorban és Magyarországon," [Apocalpytic thinking in early modern Hungary] in *Nemzeti művelődés – egységesülő világ*, ed. Szegedy-Maszák and Zákány et al. (Budapest: Napkút kiadó, 2010), 223-251.; Sándor Őze: *"*Aspekte der Rezeption des Danielbuches bei Peter Bornemisza," in *„Was ich bin, und was ich habe, dank, ich dir, mein Collegium" Classical Textual in Memory of István Borzsák*. Budapest: 2009. április 20-25.; Sándor Őze: *"*Török veszély és ferences apokaliptika a kora újkori Magyarországon,". [Turkish danger and Franciscan apocalypticism in early modern Hungary] in *Nyolcszáz esztendős a Ferences Rend: Tanulmányok a Rend lelkiségéről, történelmi hivatásáról és Kulturális-művészeti szerepéről*, ed. Sándor Őze et.al. (Budapest: METEM – Hiistoria Ecclesiastica Hungarica Alapítvány, 2013), 197-219.; Sándor Őze: *"*Török fenyegetettség és protestáns apokaliptika a XVI. századi Magyarországon," [Turkish danger and Protestant apocalypticism in sixteenth-century Hungary] in A Kelet ritka nyugalma: A VII. Nemzetközi Vámbéry konferencia, ed. Mihály Dobrovits, (Dunaszerdahely: Lilium Aurum, 2010), 394-445.; Sándor Őze: "Fokasz császár szerepe az európai és magyarországi protestantizmus történetszemléletében," [The role of the emperor Phocas in the historical view of Hungarian and Eurpean Protestantism] in Eruditio, virtus et constantia: Tanulmányok a 70 éves Bitskey István tiszteletére, ed. Mihály and Oláh et al. (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó, 2011), 526-535.

At the end of the fifteenth century, space extended for the European man with the geographical discoveries and the change of world economics. At the same time, the spiritual plurality typical of Europe reached a new level. With the novel access to new cultures a more layered perception of time slowly emerged. The centre of eastern Christianity disappeared with the 1453 capture of Constantinople, but its Greek culture was transferred to Latin Europe.

Neoplatonism philosophy initiated a new philosophical momentum, which stressed the cyclical perception of time typical of Ancient Greece. Following Heracleitos, the Ancient Greeks expected the age of fire after a period of 10,000 years, after which the world is renewed, and the movements of the planets revert to their default. Souls also return to their place of origin, and the Golden Age of Mankind starts anew. This concept was irreconcilable with Augustine's perception of time which began with the Fall, centred around the Redemption, and ended with the Apocalypse preceding Eternity. The Humanist, individualist and esoteric concept of time however burst from the traditional Catholic eschatological framework. For Renaissance thinkers the world operated instead of hierachically, reciprocally, where each part can be substituted with any other. The living world mirrors the lifeless. Man, reflecting in himself the macrocosm, can with the use of certain phrases understand and even summon the real world and the Golden Age.

Scientists were trying to grasp and describe a universe predictable and controllable with mathematics. They sought the meta-languages once spoken by all humans. (Erasmus's Bible translation did not present simply a problem of textual criticism, but also a philological-rhetorical analysis governed not by the official exegesis of the Church, but by the text itself.) Humanists often presented themselves as magicians, members of a "scientific sect", which renews the hitherto repressed Hellenistic-Gnostic teachings of the East. (The activities of the magical-protoscientific secret societies eventually merge, by the eighteenth century, with the Enlightment movements, which aim to understand and govern the world on their own right, without divine grace.)

Christianity is difficult to reconcile with such ideas: its core, Christology was under attack. This *secular perception* went on to rule the history of the modern age, and with the desacralisation of the world man gradually lost all fix points of orientation. Reformation tried to restructure "time out of joint". With Luther, a return to the Augustinian perception began, which nevertheless incorporated many Humanist elements. With its individualistic attitude the secularisation of mediaeval Church's material and spiritual wealth continued (this had already started in the Late Middle Ages), and the Protestant Churches created among themselves after a brief initial

hesitation a system of life and ideology parallel with that of the Catholic Church, but much more tightly controlled.

Another influential phenomenon of this period was the problem of communication and "publicity". It was the age of the Reformation which could exploit Gutenberg's invention to its utmost, causing a "media explosion". For example, John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* had reached from a Swiss press Sztárai, living in the isolated area occupied by the Turk, before it began to exert its influence in England.[78] The glut of vernacular Bibles, the inter-religious polemics, and the changing catechetical practice of lower schools further reinforced the process. The surge in the use of the vernacular languages decentralised Europe. These centres were engaged in constant rivalry, but precisely thus they were in a constant cultural, military and economical interaction with the world, each trying to reorganise it according to their readily adaptable cultural code.

The genesis of nation states secured a leading hegemony for Europe for centuries to come. Religious pluralisation on the other hand sparked to life deep in the heartlands processes which up to that point had only been know in the frontier with Islam and other pagan cultures. The resulting forms of behaviour are typical of ideological-religious warfare, where the "heretic sect" is the people of the Antichrist, or some other figure of the Apocalypse. Total warfare, devastating cities and countries became rampant in the midst of Europe, which had hitherto been the rear area. We can witness a military revolution, influencing all aspects of the nation-state: scientific research, nationalistic upbringing, religious identity, the creation of defence lines. The organisation of work itself, previously decentralised and done by the atomic communities itself, became more and more a responsibility of the state. These branches of the management of the state were centralised by and around the new religious-national centres. The hierarchical states of the Middle Ages are succeeded by a plurality of co-existent sovereign countries – their legitimacy no longer founded on divine sanction, but natural law. The result was a hundred years of bloody European warfare. Nevertheless, this transformation led to Europe's success in shaking of apocalyptic terror and subduing Islam – even if not utterly vanquished, but held in check.

Apocalypse and view of history

Apocalypticism permeates early modern Hungarian literature: its argumentation, its claims, its historical framework gauge all acts in the light of Doomsday. This is only partly explained by the fact that the crucial concern of the age was individual salvation, which determined people's everday decisions. Nor can it be ascribed to the fact that the age – beginning from the late Middle Ages – was a prolonged spiritual crisis and a period of transition in European and Hungarian culture. The elaboration of new historical models affecting the frames of life, thinking and culture necessitated speculations on the Apocalypse.[79]

It is due to the fascination of the early modern period with ultimate things that the age of Reformation was saturated with biblical allusions, parables and symbolism, from literature down to everyday interactions. At the same time, it has been challenged that Luther's Reformation was solely the result of the Gutenberg's innovation revolutionarizing the channels of communication; from the fourteenth century onwards we can see a gradually expansive technique of communication based on compilation. This technique went hand-in-hand with the transformation of urban culture, and employed printing before Luther.[80] Even so, the sheer number of pamphlets, biblical and catechetical literature in early Reformation Germany is bewildering. This output of polemical writings was triggered by a heightened atmosphere of controversies, whose ultimate point of reference was Holy Scripture.[81]

According to Karl Rahner, we are unalterably shackled into perceivable time, and cannot escape it, we are unable to form any adequate concept of eternity.[82]

---

78 Pál Ács, "Sztárai Mihály különös mártíromsága − a Cranmerus Tamás című Foxius-parafrázis tükrében," [The strange martyrdom of Mihály Sztárai – in lghts of the Foxius-paraphrase titled Cranmerus Tamás] *Studia Litteraria*, 2012/3-4, 84-95.

79 This is the reason behind Scribner's statement that the historians of the Reformation are only beginning to realise that the sense of crisis, prophecies and the eschatological mode of thinking of the fifteenth century lasted well into the first decade of the sixteenth. The age of Reformation is an apocalyptic one, which is confirmed by Oberman's view: "the texts, conforming to late mediaeval thinking, are apocalpytic". Although the importance of apocalypticism in this age is acknowledged by philology, little research has been done on the versatility of the genre. This is especially true of the different functions of apocalyptic movements in relation with the mainstream ideologies and institutions of late mediaeval Europe. Belief in the imminence of the end of times and the various interpretations of the Last Judgement, Doomsday or the Second Coming are adequately researched; however, scholars widely differ in the use of terminology. Karl Mannheim identifies these ideas with "Utopian mentality", and interprets them as witnesses of the birth of modern politics. To describe the apocalyptic movement, Norman Cohn uses "millenarism"; Robert E. Lerner favours "chiliasm"; whereas Bernard McGinn employs "apocalyptic", the latter including a wide range of themes in association with the end of times; cf. Robert W. Scribner, *Religion and Culture in Germany, 1400–1800.* (Leiden: Brill, 2001) and Ernst Walter Zeeden, *Konfessionsbildung.* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1985)

80 Ildikó Bárczi, *Ars compillandi* (Budapest, 2009)

81 Between 1518 and 1523 three thousand, and until Luther's death 37,000 copies of Luther's Bible translation were published. Between 1529 and 1563, 100.000 copies of the catechism were printed.

82 Karl Rahner and Herbert Vorgrimler, *Teológiai Kisszótár* [Theological dictionary] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1980), 287.; Expanded edition: Herbert Vorgrimler, *Új teológiai szótár* [New teological dictionary] (Budapest, 2006)

Apocalyptic thought conjoins the human world and universal time, *aeternitas*, giving sense to transient human life. It is connected to the history of mankind by human life, and stretches the present to include past and future. With the past, it gives the present a mythical point of creation, an origin, which is only intelligible through the life of community. It foreshadows the future by the end of this community.[83] This end, however, has one single goal: the fulfilment of a task. The past is an example, the future an aim. The control over one's acts in the present and the norms of behaviour are adjusted to this ultimate purpose.

When and where will there be an end of times? Apocalyptic thought relates the answers to individual and collective memories. In Judeo-Christian culture, prelapsarian and timeless joy can be reflected only by fragmented moments of everyday life as a result of the Fall. The purpose of increasing uncertainty is to heighten expectations and urge the advent of Parousia. This tension of expectation and hope can elevate any everyday moment of life, and can equate the individual and collective experience of *now* to the Last Days opening up Judgement Day and *aeternitas*. Alternatively, it can lead back to the origin of human history, to the Golden Age, to Eden.

Consequently*tempus*, the time of human earthly life, is a vestige of divine, atemporal *aeternitas*. The former 'branched off' from the latter and it shall return into eternity with the Apocalypse. God tests us: He has an ultimate goal, but He does not necessarily reveal it. With our arrival to salvation we become part of the atemporal. Measurable time was created for humans, but they can only be happy, holy and redeemed in the timeless divine sphere of existence. They can reach this, however, only by their relations with other humans through slef-restraint, solidarity and sacrifices for the community and for the future.

The constructs thatdetermine and contain the means of existence and morals of a group or a national community explicate the individual's attachment and adherence to it. In all cases, the history of the group or nation is directed towards salvation.

Advent, the blurring of the difference between individual life and the generations creates a sense of community for the survivors: they constitute "the good, the true and the faithful who live on". If the eschatological expectation is prolonged due to particular circumstances, it can weaken fanatical belief and the sense of community. However, a perception of time might develop in which the eternal returns, the feeling of mythical interchangeability of individual and communal history, the constant expectation of the terrible end, and the certitude of divine justice become part of the normal clock-time, with all its problems. The

[83] Assman, *Cultural Memory...*, 42-43.

gross demands of clock-time are overpowered by the sheer force of expectation. Everyday issues seem diminutive and ephemeral in the sudden and reiterating wonder at the eternity of waiting.

This is an advent which gives an aim to human life, parting human time into three by joining these piece to divine and eternal "time". From God's mythical seven-day series of creative acts (an evolutionary model of the creation of the plane of existence of man, created in the likeness of God), a straight narrative leads to the shaping of the first humans, to whom the created world is given. In the process of creation only God's time is measured, only He senses time.

This perception of time is not given to man. The Golden Age is an Edenic state of eternal youth, eternity on earth without death. Its atemporality is destroyed by the appearance and consent to sin. Hence after the Fall, time began to be measured with life cycles and generations, in which process sin delved ever more deeply into the world, slowly destroying it, as rust consumes iron. This progress is linear and irreversible. Only God's promise and the Messiah's sacrifice can deliver us from the final destruction, i.e. damnation. This again is an intersection with *aeternitas*. The third shall be the Apocalypse, which shall create a new heaven and earth, and usher in Christ's millennial reign. After it, terrestrial existence shall wholly turn into eternity, as if mirroring the events if Genesis.

On the other hand, for the Jewish and Christian communities expecting the Apocalypse there has been a more real history, the secret events of which has been partially revealed and decoded by a symbolic mental map. The items on this map correspond with the surrounding spaces, events and people of the respective communities. This system is completed by sacred apocalyptic writings, their exegesis and interpretative tradition, which adumbrate an ultimate reality, where God has left His token to indicate a path we have to follow.

Typologia, the technical term of Christian eschatological exegesis, elucidates this view oriented towards fulfilment. The Greek word means 'cut' or 'furrow'. The very first commentary on the Apocalypse is the work of Tyconius, a fourth-century Donatist.[84] Later on his method was appropriated and revised by Saint Augustine of Hippo, undoubtedly the most influential thinker shaping the Christian perception of history.[85] There is always a trace that never disappears. The footsteps might

[84] Tibor Fabiny: *"*Tyconius kettős egyházról alkotott elképzelésének ágostoni átvétele és/vagy félreértelmezése: kettős ige, kettős egyház, kettős szabály," [Aurelius Augustinus' reception and misreading of Tyconius' theory of a dual church: dual preching, dual church, dual order] in *Tyconius tanulmányok*, ed. Tibor Fabiny (Budapest: Hermeneutikai Kutatóközpont, 2001) (Hermeneutikai füzetek, 26.) 2–25.

[85] Ibid.

be covered by snow, but a wind may then blow it away to make the frozen prints visible.

The method is described by Tibor Fabiny as a special sort of *imitatio Christi*, the uncovering of the footsteps of Christ.[86] The author of the apocalyptic text is conscious of the fact that he is not prophesying or writing a legend or parable: through an analysis of the biblical apocalypses, he places his own age and the history of mankind between a starting point and an end. He includes all the generations into salvation history, thereby joining himself, too, with *aeternitas*.[87]

The expositor of apocalyptic truths is in communication with God. He warns the audience about the end of times and weighs their acts against it. He does not prophesy. Not all mystical visions, not even the ones related to the Last Days, are necessarily apocalyptic, as apocalyptic writings must be rooted in biblical tradition. The primary source of apocalyptic thought was the Bible. The apocalyptic commentator identified the central characters, elements and events of the Last Judgment and constructed an argument on them.[88]

According to Volker Leppin, the commonplaces of the sixteenth-century German Lutheran pamphlets, which almost exclusively use biblical material, are the following: rising sea levels, the extinction of marine life, firestorms, bloody dew on plants, the collapse of buildings, earthquakes and the collapse of mountains. People are hunted away from their hiding places; the dead leave their rest, and stars fall from the sky. Those who are still alive die; heaven and earth are consumed by fire. Then the sky and the ground are made anew, and everything is reborn.

Katherine R. Firth's *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain* distinguishes three sources for this ideology in late mediaeval England.[89] The first is the Book of the Prophet Daniel whichforeshadows the end of the Empire (according to the English apocalyptic idea, the Empire, as a manifestation of mundane paganism, fights against the Church). The second is the Book of Revelation, describing the history of the Church. The third is the prophecy of Elijah, predicting the end of the world.[90] Further

86 Fabiny, *A keresztény hermeneutika…*

87 For the seventeenth century precursors of the concept, see Imre Bán, "Nyéki Vörös Mátyás: Aeternitas. Örökkévalóság," [Mátyás Nyéki Vörös: Aeterntas. Immortality] in *Régi magyar vers* ed. Komlovszki, (Budapest, 1979), 235-257.

88 In apocalypticism all numbers have a significance. They are indicators of the end of the world empire, or of the prime evil. Names from the past and the images of animals are often used in the manner of a secret language to denote contemporary persons, nations and countries.

89 Katherine R. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530–1645.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 5.

90 His book is not in the Catholic Canon. The history of the world is divided into three periods, each lasting 2000 years: the first is the age before the Law, the second under the Law, and the third is the age of the Messiah.

texts containing apocalyptic allusions are the Book of Ezekiel, the letters of Apostle John, the Song of Songs, etc.[91] The Book of Daniel gained especial significance that its empires in the form of beasts and the *translatio imperii* symbolized by the decaying order of metals in Nebuchadnezzar's dream channelled exegeses into a political direction, opening up the way to a historico-philosophical interpretation of contemporary changes.[92]

The most important change in the early modern European perception of history can be ascribed to Martin Luther, the central figure of Reformation, whose idea of the past was indivisible from his apocalyptic thoughts. All questions concerning the past bore in themselves a conclusion regarding the entirety of human history, also including the present and the future. The sixteenth-century concept of history was dominated by Daniel's vision of the four empires and the prophecy of Elijah. While Elijah gave guidance to salvation history, Daniel was mostly deployed for identifying patterns in secular history. However, there was no sharp boundary between these two. Both apocalyptical books proved that the end of the world was nigh; to confirm these biblical visions, many authors used astrological texts.[93] The Book of Daniel offered a teleological perspective from Antiquity to all later theoreticians of state and politics. The Book of Revelation opposed the earthly pilgrimage of the Church with its fate at the end of times.[94] The apocalyptic characters of these works (signs for all who expect Doomsday, regardless of the age they live in), such as Ezekiel's eagle, Gog and Magog or Daniel's Empires of beasts and metals were all used as points of orientation by the *present time*, seeking a path among the apocalyptic visions. This was predicated by the fact that the books of the Old and New Testaments were built on each other both literally and figuratively.

The most often cited, indeed the most important, group of characters is the so-called apocalyptic triad. They are the Beast, the False Prophet and the Great Harlot (the Whore of Babylon). The image of the Beast arising from the sea resembles

91 Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition…,* 5.

92 Hans Werner Goetz*, Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewusstsein im hohen Mittelalter.* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1999); Hans-Werner Goetz, *Translatio imperii: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Geschichtsdenkens und der politischen Theorien im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*. (Tübingen: Mohr, 1958); Klaus Koch*,* Auserwähltes Volk, "Universalgeschichte und Reich der Ewigkeit: Das Geschichtsverständnis des Danielbuches." in *Europa, Tausendjähriges Reich und Neue Welt: Zwei Jahrtausende Geschichte und Utopie in der Rezeption des Danielbuches.*Ed. by Mariano Delgado, Klaus Koch and Edgar Marsch. (Studien zur christlichen Religions- und Kulturgeschichte vol. 1.) (Suttgart: Saint-Paul, 2003), 12.

93 Robin Bruce Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis: Apocalypticism in the Wake of the Lutheran Reformation.* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988)

94 Károly Karner*, Apokalipszis: Fordítás és magyarázat* [Apocalypse: Translation and exposition] (Bécs: Szépfalusi István, 1974); Rózsa, *Üdvösségközvetítők…*; Vankó–Reisinger*, Bevezetés…*

Daniel's marine beings, and its attributes also recall the four terrifying figures. In the early antichristological tradition, he appears first as the Antichrist, the embodiment of evil and the opponent of Christ. The figures of the cherubim surrounding the throne of the Elder of the Days are present in both Daniel's vision and the Book of Revelation. Saint John's vision also features the seven seals, the Book opened by the Lamb, the trumpeting angels, the varicoloured Riders and the Antichrist, which inspired the Antichrist figure of many later apocalyptic texts. The apocalyptic triad is equated in the early modern age with war, famine (or high prices), and plague.[95] Ezekiel's Gog and Magog correspond to the Ottoman-Turkish power.

[95] Leppin, *Antichrist*.... 96–102.

ISSUES OF TERMINOLOGY

Eschatology or apocalypse

I would like to briefly clarify the fundamental concepts without which the present work would be difficult to comprehend. *Eschatology* is the compound of two words: ἔσχατον ("last, extreme, utter") and λόγος ("speech, doctrine").[96] The Jewish prophecies after the Captivity increasingly turns to the issues of the judgement of God and salvation, focussing more and more on the fate of mankind in the Last Time, expecting the fulfilment of history. God's doom destroys the present imperfect order of the world, and it is succeeded by a new, holy and final world. Eschatological time is a period of suffering and judgement, yet also the beginning of salvation: the Saviour arrives, and from the chaos created a new world order (as in Genesis).

In contrast to several religions' circular eschatology, based on the cyclicity of nature, Judaism and Christianity are closely connected history. The connection of God and His People is from the very beginning an actual, real process played out in historical time. God is the God history, and thus the history of mankind is salvation history itself. The eschatological expectations of the Old Testament altered and developed with historical development.[97] The expectation of the events leading up to the end of the world in their turn transformed the perception of history, which resulted in *apocalypticism*, [98] that is, the impatient expectation of the imminent End Times and God's punishment of the wicked and rewarding of the good. Greek ἀποκάλυψις means "uncovering, revelation".

"Apocalypticism– as a theological term it is primarily a *genre*, defining a literary work where the author(s) prophesy the imminence of the end of the world (and the resulting vast changes in history) in a language rich in mythological hints and symbols. Often they describe visions and auditory revelations. Beyond genre, apocalypticism also means a certain theological point of view: it was the zeitgeist of the fifth century, living on even today as an acceptable mode of thinking."[99]

[96] Rózsa, *Üdvösségközvetítők...,* 5–8.; Vorgrimler, *Új teológiai szótár...* 160- 162.

[97] Sziráki, *Nemzeti identitás...*

[98] For Leppin's definition see: Leppin, *Antichrist...,* 16.

[99] Tibor Bartha, ed., *Keresztyén Bibliai Lexikon. I.* [Christian Lexicon of the Biblie] (Budapest: Kálvin Kiadó, 2000), 94.; István Diós, ed., *Magyar Katolikus Lexikon I.* (A–Bor) [Hungarian Catholic Lexicon I. (A-Bor)] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1993); The best-known OT examples are the Book of Daniel, Isaiah 24-24, Joel, Zech 9-14; from the apocryphal texts, the books of Enoch, Baruch, Esdra and Abraham's apocalypse.

"It is the summary analysis of a literary genre, originating in late Judaism and popular in Christian circles. It is also the term used to denote the contents of the genre."[100]

The author of the apocalypticism turn to his contemporaries, suffering for their faith, in order to strengthen them and give them hope, urge them to remain steadfast: God does not forsake the faithful, and at the end of times his rule will become apparent, meting out justice. Until then the powers of evil rule; however, that is no reason to despair, for the Second Coming is close, its date revealed by God from time to time – hence ἀποκάλυψις. The salvation to come means the defeat of the enemies of God and the establishment of His kingdom.[101]

If we compare the two concepts, the difference between them becomes apparent. Apocalypticism looks at the present from the future, foretelling what shall come to pass, and interpreting the present from this point of view, framing history in a metaphoric manner. As all is predetermined, no urgent call to convert is present. Apocalypticism are typically told in the first person singular, with verbose visions and angelic explanations. A popular device is God personally revealing the End Times, in order to warn the people of the age – sinful and bad – to convert.[102]

In contrast to this, eschatology looks from the present towards the future, perceiving from the duality of sin and salvation: the future is open, determined by one's action. McGinn summarised apocalypticism briefly: a particular form of eschatology, broader in that it covers forms of faith; it attempts to give to the end of time a meaning and structure.[103]

Apocalypticism considers the event of the future foreseeable in visions. "The authors give an interpretation of contemporary events. Typically they are pseudonymous, meaning that they impersonate a noteworthy man of earlier times, using their authority. The end of time is heralded by fantastic cosmic phenomena

[100] Rahner and Vorgrimler, *Teológiai*..., 41. Whether Jesus's perception of history was apocalyptic cannot be readily determined, in spite of Mk 13 and 2Thess 2.

[101] "The eschatology of Judaism is determined on the one hand by the OT's teleogical and linear perception of history, which nevertheless concentrates on the present; and on the other, the incorporated ideas from the general Oriental mythical-cyclical mode of thinking. his combination gave rise to the tendency to periodise world history from the beginning until the end. Cyclicality appears in that the end times are seen as the return of the ideal world of the ancient golden ages." Cf. Bartha, *Keresztyén*..., 416., 413–420. § *Eszkatológia*; John Bright,, Izrael története [History of Isreal] (Budapest: Kálvin Kiadó, 2001), 435–446.; Mircea Eliade, *Vallási hiedelmek és eszmék története* [The history of religious beliefs and thoughts] (Budapest: Osiris, 2006), 452–455.

[102] Vorgrimler, *Új teológiai*..., 44-45.

[103] Curtis V. Bostick,*The Antichrist and the Lollards. Apocalypticism in Late Mediaeval and Reformation England* (Leiden–Boston–Köln: 1998), (=Studies in Mediaeval and Reformation Thought, 70.)

destroying all human power. The fight of divine and human powers are divided into world periods, the last with the apparition of the Antichrist."[104]

"The group of the faithful, the 'True Israel', the centrepiece of the story is outnumbered by the godless. Apocalypticism is often steeped in numerology. The most important number is 7 (on the analogy of Creation), but various speculations are made about determining the world ages. In the Intertestamential Age the numbers and importance of apocalypticism rises. In these works demons and angels are the executors and motivators of the phenomena envisioned by the author, and in some cases they also explain what he beheld."[105]

Gnosis – prophecy – apocalypticism

According to Barnes, the apocalyptic mode of perception and utterance cannot be clearly defined, for it covers a plethora of complex ideas and attitudes. In a general historic sense it is an eschatological interpretation stemming from ancient Hebrew thought, influencing Judaic and Christian ideas every since. Barnes claims that the initial comprehension of this perception is facilitated by looking at its earliest appearances in to ancient eschatological forms, prophecy and gnosticism.

Prophetism is typical of Judaism and Christianity: history is not eternal or cyclical, but teleological. Its nature is twofold: beginning and end, promise and fulfilment. God's plan of salvation and its ultimate aim is expressed in prophetic preaching. Etymologically the word comes from Greek προφήτης, "speaker of a god", i.e., a person who declares the will or advice of a divinity.[106]

Barnes draws a connection between apocalypticism and the reappearance of *gnosis* and prophecy during the early modern Reformation.[107] Although according to him the broadest meaning of prophecy is the foretelling of future events, even more generally the term can be applied to inspired preaching or warning. The visionary lives in the present and foretells things to come, whereas the apocalyptic author looks backward from the certain knowledge of the ultimate end, often masquerading himself as one of his precursors. *Gnosis*, however, is a system, a systematic perception of the

[104] "ἀντίχριστός (Gr.): the enemy of the Messiah. The OT hints at the godless powers attacking the people of God at the End Times, see Ez 38. Jewish apocalypticism developed the idea, attributing demonical powers to the Antichrist. In NT ~ signifies the satanic powers of the End Times, appearing as false Christs or prophets." Bartha, *Keresztyén*..., 86. § *Antikrisztus*; Vorgrimler, *Új teológiai*..., 38-39.

[105] Bartha, *Keresztyén*..., 94-97. § *Apokaliptika*

[106] Rózsa, *Ószövetségi*..., 61.; Vorgrimler, *Új teológiai*..., 530-533.

[107] Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis*...,

world. Barnes might feel a relationship between these because in Gnosticism the soul fragment, imprisoned into the body, is subjected to sexuality and astrology, whence it can escape only through spiritual knowledge.[108]

It was the conflict of early Christianity and Gnosticism which led to the development of a theological system, the acceptance of the *successio apostolica*, the establishment of the biblical canon, and the positive perception of Creation. Further fundamental developments are the concepts of the moral responsibility of man (as contrasted to predestination), the manifestation of the Logos in history, the real suffering of Christ, and the corporeal resurrection of Christ.[109]

However, Reformation in the sixteenth century begun to question these cornerstones of Christian thought. Barnes's analysis of early modern apocalypticism confuses the picture by the inclusion of older Jewish and Christian eschatological concepts. He argues that scholars tend to agree on the opinion that the apocalyptic movement was nothing more than a pale, biased reflection of the true prophecy, a raw and unimaginative inference of the real vision, a warning from the past. Moreover, the emergence of Christianity is closely connected to the apocalyptic sensitivity of the Jewish believers, and acccording to Barnes in Western Christianity the prophetic and apocalyptic forms of eschatology are so intertwined as to make their separation nigh impossible. He claims that apocalypticism in many aspects is basically the same as Gnosticism.

Both ideologies are characterised by radical pessimism in their perception of the contemporary world order, and both stress that man is "doomed to perish". With apocalypticism, God has foreordained the end of the world; with Gnosticism the universe of the present, permeated by evil, would immediately crumble should the divine spirit leave it. Both movements claimed that a special group of humans exist, the chosen, faithful ones, who share not this decay, but partake of a higher existence. In Gnosticism, the duality of Good and Evil is spatial: the former is physically distinct from the latter; in apocalypticism, their separation is temporal, as the Creator precedes Satan. The Gnostic divinity is wholly alien to this evil world. Apocalyptic preachers (resembling Judaism) pass judgement upon the world, they lament not the world itself, but rather its state. Thus the apocalyptic perception of the world is a strongly eschatological vision, which includes prophetic preaching and Gnostic search, making categorisation difficult.[110]

[108] Vorgrimler, *Új teológiai*..., 195.

[109] ibid.

[110] Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis...,* 15–16.; According to Rowland*,* Barnes is mistaken in his assumption in discerning the ascendancy of the *devotio moderna* over Gnosticism in the drop in apocalyptic expectations in the middle of the seventeenth century. In fact the methods reintroduced by practical pietism go hand-inn-hand with the typology of apocalypticism, and are interdependent with a devotional lifestyle.

Bostick distinguishes the two concepts on the following basis: according to a mediaeval apocalyptic prophet, sin corrupted the sole God's creation; thus God will sit judgement in order to delete all traces of sin, but not to destroy the created world itself. Gnostics, on the other hand, seek knowledge so as to liberate themselves from space and time. Apocalyptic thinkers are only influenced by these dimensions inasmuch as they are able to summon God from the past into the present and the future; they see the connections between the spiritual and historical elements, and are much more sensitive to the presence of evil (in society or the church) than their contemporaries.[111]

Many researchers focus on the intellectual, Humanistic aspects of late mediaeval and early modern apocalypticism, investigating the clear sense of crisis pervading these works. This resulted in a shift towards the analysis of millenarianism (here specifically understood as the expectation of Christ's thousand-year reign on the basis of Revelations). According to McGinn, eschatology incorporates apocalypticism and millenarianism. However, the overlapping of concepts of millenarianism, chilialism, eschatology, prophecy and *gnosis* are variously defined over the fields of history and social psychology.

Milleniarism and chilialism

The words of Latin and Greek origin respectively signify the number thousand, especially in the sense of the thousand-year reign of Christ and His saints preceding the end of the world, as narrated by John in Revelations 20. "Its hope however cannot be reconciled with the fact after the End God will create everything anew."[112]This "hope" expects that God will directly intervene in history and establish a corporeal and mundane empire. After Augustine's and Aquinas's negation of the concept, it appears again in the philosophy of Joachim and mediaeval radical spirituality, gaining force during the Reformation. According to McGinn, Christian historical approaches had their effects on eschatological thoughts, depicting history as a theological process, believing that the writing will reveal the truth about the end of the world, thus, to a certain extent all mediaeval thinkers had some ideas on eschatology, making it very difficult to make hard and fast distinctions between ideologies. Eschatology becomes apocalyptic usually when it phrases statements on future developments and the end of history designated by God.[113]

[111] Bostick, *The Antichrist...,* 8–13.

[112] Vorgrimler, *Új teológiai*..., 359-361.

[113] Cited by Bostick, *The Antichrist*..., 7.

Reeves examines in her treatise the tradition of Joachimite texts, and the topics of their application.[114] According to her, Christian thought has always borne in it both a pessimistic and optimistic expectation, as human history can be seen both as the expansion of the power of evil, or a Messianistic golden age. Apocalyptic thinking thus moves between terror and hope, perceiving the world as the scene of a universal drama. Bostick in his book attempts to map out the apocalyptic aspects of Wycliffe and Lollardry.[115] Scriber also perceives a certain continuity between fifteenth-century and Reformation apocalypticism, as he arges that historians of the reformation recently realized that the crisis-consciousness and eschatology of the fifteenth century was largely transmitted to the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Scriber maintains that the age of reformation was an "apocalyptic age". Researchers have used various terms in their analyses, which shows the multiplicity of possible interpretations. The rhetoric of apocalypticism can be both negative (in opposition to the contemporary social powers) or positive (supportive of them).

Cohn prefers the term "millenarianism", Lerner uses "chilialism" and McGinn employs "apocalyptic" to refer to the many ideologies expecting the immediate end of the world.[116] Cohn furthermore drew a connection between the millenarianism of late mediaeval Europe and the surge in rebellions.[117] In his work he argues that it was the most significant example of the apocalypticism which due to the presence of considerable social and psychological stress was to become a social "myth".[118] Eventually in the late mediaeval and early modern periods of Western history social radicalism was routinely associated in the minds of the people with some sort of apocalypticism.[119] Later researches pointed out that this attitude was profoundly mistaken; much more convincing explanations have since been put forward.[120] These explanations also queried the alleged social, revolutionary or quasi-revolutionary

[114] Marjoire Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages. A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 16.

[115] Bostick, *The Antichrist*...

[116] Norman Cohn, *Das neue irdischen Paradies. RevolutionärerMillenarismus und mystischer Anarchismus im mittelalterlichen Europa* (Reinbek, 1988), Bostic, *The Antichrist*..., 2.;. Richard K. Emerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages. A Study of Mediaeval Apocalypticism, Art and Litterature* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981)

[117] Bostick, *The Antichrist*..., 4.

[118] Cohn, *Das neue irdischen Paradies*…

[119] See my discussion of the works of Szűcs below.

[120] Robert E. Lerner, "Popular Justice": Rupescissa in Hussite Bohemia, in *Eschatologie und Hussitismus*, ed. Alexander Patschovsky and František Šmahel, (Praha, 1996) (Historica, Series nova, suppiementum, 1) 39–52. Robert E Lerner, *The Powers of Prophecy. The Cedar of Lebanon Vision from the Mongol Ortslaught to the Dawn of the Enlightenment* (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, 1983), Robert E. Lerner, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middie Ages* (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, 1972)

aims of apocalypticism – certain forms of it could actually be supportive of the contemporary social order.[121]

Chilialism is by no means limited to zealots or revolutionaries, as it was generally held in late mediaeval times. In all cases it was more than just an extempore answer to crisis: for example, the unprecedented disaster of the Black Death did not lead to the formulation of a 'new chiliaism'. In reality, chiliaism rarely affected revolutionary thoughts. On the other hand, eschatological prophets often wrote as reformers or revolutionaries; but their aim was to understand and communicate God's plan without the chance of recantation or later changing it.

According to McGinn's definition of apocalypticism, it includes, first of all, the thought of a unity and a structured history (according to the totality designated by God), secondly it is pessimist on the present and convinced on the imminence of the crisis, and finally, it truly believes in the imminent downfall of Evil and the victory of Good.s mediaeval apocalypticism stood in stark contrast with the often rebellious popular religious movements. Apocalyptic schemata explained social and political change by placing them into a supernatural context (and thus putting them beyond human influence). McGinn demonstrates that apocalyptic thinking was "conservative", and its application to support revolutionary ideas was extraordinary, evincible only thrice: during the transition of the Roman Empire; in the conflict with Islam; and at the time of rise of the Papacy in the late Middle Ages. In each of these cases, a new apocalyptic interpretation developed, legitimising the changed circumstances and at the same time the political structures and ideologies already in place.[122]

Crisis as the possible motivation for apocalypticism

Thus apocalypticism not necessarily deals with the end of the world, or the Second Coming, but rather is about the expectation of the inevitable, of the last crisis which leads to the end of the corrupt world, bringing forth a new one (regardless of it being within or without history). Its characteristics can be found in Judaism and early Christianity as well as in later movements. It claims that there is a structure and unity to history, which is part of divinely predetermined universe. It perceives the present as negative, but believes fully in the utter defeat of evil and the complete victory of good.[123]

[121] Bostick, *The Antichrist*..., 1–47.

[122] E.Randolph Daniel expanded upon the analyses of McGinn. Cf. Bostick, *The Antichrist*...

[123] Ibid 8.

Crisis can be interpreted in many ways: the ascendancy of evil, the degeneration of morals, the persecution of the faithful. It is a heightened emotional state, in which the perceiver cannot be neutral. The expectation already is permeated by the transcendent reality revealed to and by the prophet. Through it the exegete understands the crisis which does not appear in the works of his contemporaries. Comprehension of the apocalyptic framework is facilitated in any event by the knowledge of historical facts and events, especially for scholars of prophecies.

The apocalyptic vision does not negate or ignore the world; on the contrary, it expands it. The prophet does not create a utopia, and especially cannot be unmindful of historical tradition. The prophecy must be about reality, must conform to his own perception of history and his opinion concerning the plans of God. Through deciphering the prophecy, the apocalyptic observer gleans the secret information about the divine plan for the future, which also contains the actions of the enemy. With this knowledge he moulds the audience's idea of the world, and calls for loyalty. We misunderstand apocalyptic thinking if we consider exegetes and prophets as daydreaming imaginaries.[124]

Bosick distinguishes several kinds of apocalypses. Adaptive apocalypse is influenced by contemporary social, political and religious thought; it legitimises the diverse types of philosophical systems and doctrines, which in their turn support the powers and hierarchies of the day. In these cases the Antichrist appears the motivator and catalyst of the processes: his arrival results in the people's contrition and conversion (and this escalates over time). The centre is taken by the Church: although the Antichrist might hoodwink Jews, Christians and unbelievers alike, and may martyr the steadfast ones, God does not allow him to seize the Church's centre. The Antichrist might capture Jerusalem, but not Rome.

Reformist apocalypse on the other hand targets the renovation of the Church. The Antichrist's role is to indirectly force the Church to cleanse itself – he is a Pope or Emperor, who tries to undermine the Church itself while ostensibly renewing it. The Church however remains unshaken and at the same time undergoes a purge freeing herself from the stain of the Antichrist.

Revolutionary or anarchical apocalypse reviles the dominant political, religious and social structures and their expansive hegemony. It denies especially the concept of the Empire. The Antichrist here is depicted as infiltrating the Church, which thus is ravished, in need of renewal. This can come about in two ways: the secessionist (e.g. the Taborites, or the followers of Thomas Münzer[125]) or the liberationist (for

[124] Ibid. 8.

[125] They put themselves above the jurisdiction of the Pope, withdrawing their fealty, and created a separate Church to their own image.

example, Lollaldry). Both claimed to supported by prophecies, and denied official Church doctrine.

Abolitionist went even further: they wished to dismantle and secularise the Church in preparation to the establishment of the kingdom of God. They did not employ force, however, and acted by isolating themselves from both the Church and society.[126] Oberman distinguished militant and passive apocalypticism.[127]

The most influential school of research was founded Volker Leppin. This differed from Anglo-Saxon research, and was based on Leppings work on pamphlets from the age of Luther, and applied cognitive (astrological-scientific) and communicational methods.[128]

The school of Rublack has been partly centred on apocalypticism, and invetigated this from the aspect of European economics, modes of behaviour, social change, early modern nationalism and confessionalism.[129]

[126] Bostick, *The Antichrist*..., 13–17.

[127] Heiko Augustinus Oberman, *Luther. Mensch zwischen Gott und Teufel* (München, 1986)

[128] Leppin, *Antichrist*...

[129] Their latest *Festscrift* to Rublack is a seminal work on apocalypticism, early modern society and the history of ideas. They especially analyse the catastrophes described by Lutheran writers in the sixteenth century, such as pestilence, invasion, rebellion, famine, etc. Rainer Postel, „Geschwinde Zeiten. Zum Kriesenproblem im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Krisenbewußtsein und Kriesenbewältigung in Frühen Neuzeit-Crisis in Early Modern Europe Festschrift für Hans-Christoph Rublack*, ed. Monika Hagenmaier and Sabina Hotz, (Frankfurt am Main–Berlin–New York–Paris–Wien, 1992), 13-21.; Robert W. Scribner, "1525-Revolutionary Crisis," in Ibid. 25-46.; Michael G. Baylor, "The Harvest and the Rainbow: Crisis and Apocalypse in Thomas Münzer," in Ibid. 293-307.; Rainer Wohlfeil, "Entfremdung und Annehrung. Krise und Kriesenbewältigung im Zeitalter von Reformation und Bauerkrieg, gespiegelt in Stationen deutsch-deutscher diskussion zur deutung Geschichte des 16. Jahrhundert," in Ibid. 317-331.

And Jesus said unto them, "See ye not all these things? Verily I say unto you, there shall not be left here one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down." And as He sat upon the Mount of Olives, the disciples came unto Him privately, saying, "Tell us, when shall these things be? And what shall be the sign of Thy coming and of the end of the world?" And Jesus answered and said unto them, "Take heed that no man deceive you; for many shall come in My name, saying, 'I am Christ,' and shall deceive many. And ye shall hear of wars and rumors of wars. See that ye be not troubled, for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet. For nation shall rise against nation and kingdom against kingdom, and there shall be famines and pestilences and earthquakes in divers places. All these are the beginning of sorrows. Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted and shall kill you, and ye shall be hated by all nations for My name's sake. And then shall many lose faith and shall betray one another and shall hate one another. And many false prophets shall rise and shall deceive many. And because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold. But he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved. And this Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come. "When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place (whoso readeth, let him understand), then let them that be in Judea flee unto the mountains. Let him that is on the housetop not come down to take anything out of his house; neither let him that is in the field return back to take his clothes. And woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days! But pray ye that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the Sabbath day. For then shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no, nor ever shall be. And unless those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved; but for the elect's sake, those days shall be shortened. Then if any man shall say unto you, 'Lo, here is Christ,' or 'there,' believe it not. For there shall arise false christs and false prophets and shall show great signs and wonders, insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect. Behold, I have told you before. Therefore, if they shall say unto you, 'Behold, He is in the desert!' go not forth; or 'Behold, He is in the secret chambers!' believe it not. For as the lightning cometh out of the east and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be. For wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together. "Immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven and

the powers of the heavens shall be shaken, and then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven. And then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and with great glory. And He shall send His angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together His elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other. "Now learn a parable of the fig tree: When his branch is yet tender and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh. So likewise ye, when ye shall see all these things, know that it is near, even at the doors. Verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled.

Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My Words shall not pass away. But of that day and hour, knoweth no man, no, not the angels of Heaven, but My Father only. But as the days of Noah were, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be. For as in the days that were before the flood they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day that Noah entered into the ark and knew not until the flood came and took them all away, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be. Then shall two be in the field; the one shall be taken and the other left. Two women shall be grinding at the mill; the one shall be taken and the other left. "Watch therefore, for ye know not what hour your Lord doth come. But know this, that if the master of the house had known in what watch the thief would come, he would have watched and would not have suffered his house to be broken into. Therefore be ye also ready, for in such an hour as ye think not, the Son of Man cometh.

"Who then is a faithful and wise servant, whom his lord hath made ruler over his household, to give them meat in due season?"

Matthew 24:2-45

THE EXEGETICAL TRADITION

Jan Assmann considered the symbol of the "brazen wall" as the leitmotif of Jewish cultural memory. The wall signified the self-isolation of the Israelites from other civilisations. In the beginning, during the Captivity in Egypt, the wall was for protection; but later on it became the symbol of the exclusion of alien cultures and religions. Israel is defined *ab ovo* by exclusivism and isolationism.

During the Babylonian Captivity Jews sought an answer to the problem of the seeming defeat of Yahweh, the greatest god according to the theology of Zion. Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah explained history as the will of a universal God: defeat and captivity were divine punishments for the sins of the Israelites. The Jews had to form a new community by reforming their faith in order to be worthy of liberation by God. The norms of the prophets and the Torah redefined external isolation and internal collectivism with new contents which only assumed political significance when an external power wanted to intervene in Jewish culture and religious life (e.g. the sacrilege of Antiochus Epiphanes IV in 167 BC, and the subsequent revolt of the Maccabees.[130]

Assmann analyses memory, the central function of Jewish religion. Its focal point is Deuteronomy, the foundational text of collective memory and cultural mnemotechnique, which raised the idea of a homeland from the purely geographical level on a spiritual one. This was achieved by mnemotechnique thatstrengthened and kept alive all attachments in the collective memory. The aim of the reform of Josiah was the creation of a "true Jewish identity" by cleansing the sin-infected present. As Assmann quotes "this year, as a servant, next year as freeman", and "this year, here, next year, in Jerusalem."[131]

The prophecies of the Old Testament were primarily related to the dynasty of David.[132] Gradually, God's doom over His people and the other nations gained precedence, which in turn gave way to the emphasis of the works of the Saviour

[130] Assman, *Cultural Memory*...

[131] Ibid., 205.

[132] Cf. the following biblical passages that construct the image of David as a prototype of Jesus: David is the king and shepherd of Israel (2Sam 5:2); he is prophet inspired by the spirit of the Lord (1Sam 16:13, 2Sam 23:2); priest (2Sam 6:13–17). Jesus is the true king of Israel, shepherd, prophet and priest by the order of Melchisedech (Hebr 5:6). Jesus was born in Bethlehem, as David (Lk 2:11), and he is also the descendant of Isai, and the last of the dynasty of David: "He who is holy, who is true, who has the key of David." (Rev 3:7) Bartha, *Keresztyén*..., § "Dávid", 267–270.; Rózsa, *Üdvösségközvetítők...,* 53–73. Sziráki, *Nemzeti identitás*..., 42.

in the prophecies of Hoseah and Isaiah.[133] The focal message of the prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah is God's love towards His people and the promise of liberating and reforming them, which emphasized the mediating role of Israel and the mission of God's servant. Later on, the universality of the scheme of redemption became central, and the focus was shifted to the future of the universe and the ultimate purpose of creation and mankind. The basic motif of Old Testament eschatology is the Day of Fulfilment, on which it is revealed that the Lord is God, who restores the world. God judges all things, but the judgement is not His final word: rather the beginning of aNew World and a New Testament, in which the Messiah, the Son of Man[134] and to the Prophet will be invested with a unique role.

McGinn considers the conquest of Alexander the Great definitive in this respect[135]: his invasions contributed to the expansion of Greek language and culture towards the east, which resulted in a new genre of religious texts, "apocalyptic literature" revealing divine messages. Typical of the genre is its pseudonymity, as the visions, revealing the ultimate secrets of history, are always narrated by one of the major characters of Jewish history.

The movements employing apocalyptic terminology usually come to the fore in times of oppression and persecution. They attempt to encourage believers with the message that no universal empire survives, and that eventually God's kingdom and the time of the righteous are close. They instruct people to observe the signs of the end of times, as the age of the Messiah will be preceded by wars and great revolutions. The "Footsteps of the Messiah", as this age is termed in Jewish tradition, is the End of Days, the time of eschatology.[136]

The New Testament apocalypticism is connected to the advent of the Messiah and the death and resurrection of the Redeemer. The expectation of the Second Coming, the Parousia is a permanent component of these texts. The statements of Jesus concerning the time of the world, as the so-called "Little Apocalypse" in Mark and Matthew (based on Old Testament loci) form the basis. McGinn draws attention

[133] Sziráki, *Nemzeti identitás*..., 42. E.g., Isaiah 28:16, 31:4–5. See also: Bartha, *Keresztyén*..., 440–443. §Isaiah; and Rózsa, *Üdvösségközvetítők...,* 93–125.

[134] Dan 7:13–14. The Son of Man comes from the clouds, i.e. the heavens, and he is the ruler of God's universal kingdom in the Last Times. He is more than the Messiah, the Son of David. Jesus mostly uses this expression to denote himself. According to some he belittles himself, but others claim that he employed the above meanings. Cf. Bartha, Keresztyén…, 377–378. under article "Emberfia" ["Son of Man"].

[135] Bernad McGinn, *Az Antikrisztus. Az emberiség kétezer éve a gonosz bűvöletében* [The Antichrist. Mankind's two millenia under the enchantment of evil] (Budapest, 1995), 23.

[136] J. Maxwell Miller and John Hayes, *Az ókori Izrael és Júda története* [The history of ancient Israel and Judaea](Piliscsaba, 2003); Alberto Soggin, *Bevezetés az ószövetségbe* [Introduction to the study of the Old-Testament] (Budapest, 1999).

to the evocation of Daniel in this passage, and observes that the motif of human resistance against divine will does not appear.[137] The bloody tyrant, resembling Antiochus Epiphanes is first introduced in the apostolic epistles, as is the Man of Sin in Paul's second epistle to the Thessalonians.[138]

> The last writing of apocalyptic literature is the Book of Revelation. It is different from contemporary apocalyptic writings both in form and content. Most importantly, it is not dualistic: the fight between the divine and satanic forces is not a clash between equals. Satan and his 'people' are subjected to God, and nothing can alter this fact. History is decided by Christ's salvific work, not by determinism or dualism.[139]

The Middle Ages was also fascinated by the relationship of history and apocalypticism. The mediaeval perception of time was based on the idea of seven world-ages (from Fall to Doomsday), which in turn was based on the Genesis narrative of the seven-day Creation, and elaborated by Tyconius and Saint Augustine. An alternative view emerged as late as the end of the twelfth century, by Joachim of Fiore (1130–1202). The Cistercian abbot was considered by his contemporaries as an apocalyptic visionary, and although the fourth Lateran Council judged him as a heretic in 1215, his posthumous influence was immense.

Joachim taught that the persons of the Trinity correspond to world-ages. He also claimed that meditation and study can enlight and save people by the capacity of "sight" and spiritual intellect gained from them. According to Joachim, comprehension is impossible through learning without illumination, or through illumination without learning. The autobiographic passages of his writings reveal that he was able to impose a system on his views only in moments of illumination.[140] In an Easter vision he describes his fight against conceptual barriers: a massive stone, which blocks the *spiritus intellectus*, i.e. the capacity of comprehension. In the hour of the Resurrection, the stone rolls away from the mind and light shines through, as the Spirit is liberated from the captivity of the Letter.

---

137 McGinn, *Az Antikrisztus*..., 54.

138 Ibid.. 55–59. Thess 2: 1–12. Cf. with the chapter on the Antichrist.

139 Sziráki, *Nemzeti identitás*..., 45. (translation by Tibor Tarcsay); cf. also KBL 723-724.

140 There are three legends about his early experiences. The first two tell of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. In the very first, he is lying thirsting in the desert, while in his dreams he drank from a river of oil When he woke up, he comprehended the true meaning of the Scripture. In the second story, he saw a vision of Mount Tabor with the Scripture and the plans which his scriptural exegesis was to follow. The third vision occurred during his life in the monastery of Sambucina: walking in the garden, he received the wonderful meaning of the Scripture from an angel. Each vision can be seen a spiritual enlightenment. Quoted in Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*...

In his *Liber Concordiae*, Joachim divides sacred history into three ages. Moreover, the three orders of his system signifying the three stages (*status*)of the world also appear in a Trinitarian relation. The first *status* beings with Adam, and the second with Isaiah.The third one is represented by Elijah and Saint Benedict. The Old Testament is the age of the Father, the New Testament that of the Son, and the age of the Holy Spirit is yet to come. The first age is the *ordo coniugatiorium*, the second the *ordo clericorum*, and the third the *ordo monachorum*. In the last period the Holy Spirit shall reveal the hidden truth of the Testaments: thus the men of the third *ordo*, the *viri spirituales* ("men of the spirit") will need no written knowledge. Instead of accumulating knowledge and information, people shall lead a contemplative life. The first age, according to Joachim, lasted 42 generations, the second lasts 40, and the last one will take an unknown number. His Antichrist is not a Jew, but the leader, the king-priest of a heretic sect. Joachim, who lived at the time of Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem, thought that his own time was close to the end of the second age. His last pope is Innocent III. In Joachim's system, seven six historical persecutors precede the advent of Antichrist, dividing the second age into seven *tempora*:

1. Prosecution of the Jews (Herod)
2. Pagans (Nero)
3. Heretics (Arians and the Germanic nations)
4. Arabs (Muhammad)
5. German emperors (Henry III)
6. Turks (Saladin)

Between the sixth and seventh *tempus* there is a period of transition, when Saladin is joined by ten pagan kings corresponding to the ten horns of the dragon. They shall conquer the Roman Empire, but the soldiers of Christ defeat them. Then a brief period of peace comes, which will usher in the seventh *tempus*, the coming of the Antichrist. Christ fights and defeats him, and a millennium of peace will take its beginning. When the thousand years are over, the dragon's tooth, Gog, arrives. God destroys him with fire and iron, and the world will come to its end.

Joachim's work proved to be extremely influential: in the West, his arguments were used to explain the success of the Turks. His followers, however, expected the Day of Judgement in two ways: according to millenarist theory, a long period of peace was imminent (due to the shackling of Satan) before the end of times; others looked forward to the immediate arrival of *dies irae*, the Last Judgment.[141]

---

141 Andor Tarnai, A magyar nyelvet írni kezdik. Irodalmi gondolkodás a középkori Magyarországon [The commencement of Hungarian literature. Literary thoughts in medieval Hungary] (Budapest, 1984), 103–225.

Firth collected the major explanations of apocalypse in mediaeval theories:[142]

(1) *TheLegend of the Antichrist:* she considers ita contemporary application with allusions to apocalyptic symbols which, in turn, suggest particular historical events. Here the millennium is a future period of the terrestrial reign of Christ according to the Revelation.

(2) The Tyconian and Augustinian explanations: the most popular explication of the Apocalypse originating from biblical exegesis. The apocalyptic symbols stand most commonly for universal concepts, e.g. moral laws or the clash of good and evil. This concept is dualistic, and history is interpreted in terms of the fight between the World and the Church. The period of thousand years is the history of the Church. This is a historical exegesis following Berengar: apocalypticism is the prophetic projection of history through the scheme of the seven world-ages.

(3) The Joachimite tradition: ultimately a Trinitarian theology articulated in a historical scheme. It translates the course of history into the ages of the father, the Son and the Spirit. History reached the third age, and Doomsday is expected in this period.

(4) Late mediaeval heresies: John Wyclif and his followers, the Lollards together with the Hussites.

(5) The continental context: the analysis of the major orientations yielded that the theoretical currents converged and overlapped in England and the Continent. John's Apocalypse was rarely studied in the early years of the Reformation. From the 1540s on, however, the Revelation was viewed as a prophecy of the Kingdom of Christ, not in the least because Hungary was conquered by the Turks. The battle of Mohács was met with perplexity even by Thomas Moore.

(6) The 1529 siege of Vienna arouse great terror; the capture of Buda in 1541 and the failure of the campaign of the Holy Roman Empire led by Joachim of Brandenburg in 1542 reasserted a sense of irreversible loss on the continent, as well as in the British Isles. This expectation of Doomsday lasted until the middle of the sixteenth century. Certain similarities can be pointed out between the Anabaptist movement and the apocalyptic ideology, such as the belief in an imminent end, the concept of history as the universal struggle between the true and false Churches, and the theology of persecution and martyrdom.

[142] Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition…,* 2–31.

THE IMPACT OF THE BIBLICAL GOG AND MAGOG, AND THE "ANTEMURALE" TOPOS IN HUNGARY

The Kingdom of Hungary and the ideology of crusades from the earliest Ottoman threat to the establishment of the Habsburg defensive line (1396–1556)

According to the testimony of chronicles, on the eve of the Battle of Varna (1444), the standard of the country, depicting the Madonna with Child was torn from the hands of the ensign by the wind and thrown on the ground. The Christian army, led by the Hungarian king, who also reigned in Poland (another state dedicated to the Virgin Mary) at the time, saw in this an evil omen.[143] And rightfully so, since the following day saw the Janissaries overwhelming the king's horse and beheading the monarch in the attack launched against the Sultan's tent.

Another picture, a sixteenth-century fresco in Mariazell, also featured the flag with the Madonna, representing King Louis the Great in a battle against the Turks in the fourteenth century. The ruler, another monarch of the Hungarian-Polish personal union, gave the Madonna icon to the monastery as a votive gift, after it had protected him in a battle in 1373 (?), as legend had it.

> Art historians assume that Louis the Great commissioned a votive icon which depicted the battle in which the Madonna helped the king's army to victory. The basis for this assumption is that the depictions of the battle painted fifty, and then again a hundred and fifty, years after the event, both reflect late trecento painting of Northern Italy, so they must have been made after an ancient prototype. The votive icon in Saint Lambrecht (1420s) and the tympanum relief on the gate of the basilica in Mariazell (1438), as well as the hectic battle scene composition on the Wunderaltar in Mariazell (1512), representing cavalry regiments clashing with each other, must all have passed down to us the conventions of battle scenes in the Hungarian art dating back to

[143] Tamás Pálosfalvi, *Nikápolytól Mohácsig. 1396-1526*, [From Nicopolis to Mohács. 1396–1526] (Budapest: Zrínyi, 2005), 93.; For three centuries, these battle scenes would emblematically represent the Turkish Wars in Hungary. Géza Galavics, *Kössünk kardot a pogány ellen. Török háborúk és képzőművészet* [Let Us Fasten Our Swords against the Pagans. Turkish Wars and Fine Art]. Bp.: 1986, p. 11. For the Madonna portrait donated to Mariazell, see: Ernő Marosi et al., ed., *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342–1382* [Art in the Court of King Louis I, 1342–1382] (Budapest, 1982), 109–113.

the era of Louis the Great. Further evidence for the presence of battle scenes as a separate genre in the fourteenth century is provided by the fact that in the Paulist church of Máriavölgy (present-day Marianka, Slovakia), founded by Louis the Great in the vicinity of Pozsony (present-day Bratislava, Slovakia), the portrayal of the legend of that foundation was once side by side with the tableau of Louis the Great's fight with the Turks[144].

Moreover this battle is the starting point not only of the artistic representations of Turkish wars in Hungary but also of a tradition that highlighted, as the main attribute of the Austrian Habsburgs in legitimizing their imperial ambitions, their fight against the Ottomans. For centuries, among its relics, the monastery of Mariazell had preserved the wedding costume of King Louis II Jagiellon and his wife, Maria of Habsburg, donated as a votive offering by the young couple.

But the battle fought by Louis the Great is a projection back onto the past, presenting the Hungarian king and leader of a major Central European conglomerate of states as the first monarch fighting against Islam. In mid-fourteenth-century reality, however, Louis did by no means perceive the Ottomans as an apocalyptic threat from from a radically different culture.[145]

It was during the reign of Louis the Great's successor, Sigismund of Luxemburg, King of Hungary and Bohemia, Holy Roman Emperor, and a participant in the dynastic wars in the Balkans that the Ottomans tuned into a formidable, insurmountable danger for Hungary and entire Europe.[146] This became particularly transparent after the defeat of the Crusade of Nicopolis (present-day Nikopol, Bulgaria) led by Sigismund in 1396.

Two Versions of Crusade Ideology

The crusades of the fifteenth century, as well as the projected wars of German imperial armies could not be launched on the mainland without the assistance of the Hungarian king in alliance with papal fleet. Of the actual campaigns, we must highlight the so-called "long campaign" (1442–1443) as well as the Crusade of Varna, which both

144 Ernő Marosi, "A XIV–XV. századi magyarországi művészet európai helyzetének néhány kérdése," [Some Questions Concerning the European Status of fourteenth and fifteenth-century Hungarian Art] *Ars Hungarica* 1, no. 1 (1974): 54.;

145 Pál Fodor, "Az Apokaliptikus hagyomány és az „aranyalma" legendája. A török a 15–16.századi közvéleményben" [The Apocalyptic Tradition and the Legend of the "Golden Apple"] *Történelmi Szemle* 39, no, 1 (1997): 21–49.

146 Ibid.

attempted to reconquer Constantinople and ended on Bulgarian territory. These events had beensteps of a missionary scenario since the eleventh century whose ultimate objective was the reunification of Western and Eastern Christianity.

Initially, the crusades were meant to protect the Christians from the onslaught of their opponents. The Catholic Church proclaimed them holy wars. They had realized early on that the wars in the Islamic-Christian buffer zone are of a different character than the dynastic clashes in Western Europe. The conflicts in these zones were more devastating for the civilians due to the ideological nature of the confrontation, but they also facilitated cultural transfer in the contact area.[147] The fifteenth-century campaigns had drawn their argument from the Middle Ages; yet a new ideology was emerging too.

Since the great seventh-century breakthrough of Muslims, there had been two competing opinions in the Christian world.[148] Both entailed a certain *modus operandi* in face of the new phenomenon. One was the missionary zeal targeting pagan nations, which had long since fuelled the expansive ambitions of Christian Europe. The other was an apocalyptic model which was inspired by the apocalyptic visions of Ezekiel and Daniel, and even more importantly, John's Revelation, and tried to establish a correspondence between the new opponent and the biblical enemies.[149]

The main argument of the latter group was the notion that Islam was a heretic sect diverging from Christ's teachings; hence, they could not be converted, only defeated in a total armed battle. Muslims were identified with the Antichrist of the Last Judgement, enticing the world, breaking it by violent means, and usurping the chair of the one true master.[150]

147 Paul Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche* (Istanbul, 1934). The argument is presented in László Vajda, „Paul Witteks Konzeption vom Grenzkriegertum," *Der Pfahl* 7 (1993): 268–270. Also see: Őze, *A határ és a határtalan*...

148 Ludwig Hagemann, *Christentum contra Islam. Eine Geschichte gescheiterter Beziehungen* (Darmstadt, 1999)

149 Koch, *Auserwähltes Volk*..., 12–37.

150 For a comprehensive overview of the Antichrist literature and the Islamic threat, I refer to the following works: Sándor Eckhardt, "Az Antikrisztus legendája," [The Legend of the Antichrist] *Katholikus Szemle* 57, no. 6 (1943): 161–165.; Tarnai, *A magyar nyelvet*..., 109–115.; McGinn,*Az Antikrisztus*...; Bernard McGinn, *Die Mystik am Abenland* (Gesamtaufnahme mehrbändiges Werk); Bernard McGinn,: *Geschichte der christlichen Spiritualität* (Würzburg. 1993 and 1997). For Turkish analogies of the Apocalypse, see: Karl Teply, "Kizil Elma. Die große türkische Geschichtssage im Licht der Geschichte und Volkskunde," in *Südost-Forschungen XXXVI.* (1977), 78–108.; Fodor, *A szultán és az aranyalma...,* 179—211. For Melanchton's dual Antichrist doctrine and the shifts in Wittenberg's view of the Turks see, among others; F. Lazius, "Luthers Stellung zur türkischen Weltmacht," *Baltische Monatschrift* 1891/38, 263–280.; Thomas Kaufmann, "1600 – Deutungen der Jahrhundertwende im deutschen Luthertum," in *Jahrhundertswenden, Endzeit- und Zukunftsvorstellungen vom 15. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Tiessen Jakubowsky et al. (Göttingen,

Propugnaculum Christianitatis

According to the prophecies of Ezekiel, Princes Gog and Magog will attack the "unwalled villages […]that are at rest, who dwell safely all of them dwelling without walls, and having neither bars nor gates" (Ezekiel 38:11). This biblical verse is the source of the mediaeval Christian story of the stone wall and gate.[151] Gog and Magog, introduced in Ezekiel 38–39, also feature in Revelation 20:8. Their identification poses problems; no evident historic figure has been seen to correspond to them. Nor do the cited passages tell us more about them; in both texts, the main motif is the fact that they assault God's chosen people, and God vanquishes them. A substantial difference lies in the fact that, while in Ezekiel, Gog is the King of Magog,[152] in Revelation both names denote individual persons. Gog's army is an emblem of the summary force of evil powers.[153]

> In Old Testament books (Genesis 10:2 and 1Chronicles 1:5), Magog is a person, son of Japheth, while 1Chronicles 5:4 has Gog as son of Joel. Elsewhere (Ezekiel 38:2 and 39:1), Magog is a country whose prince is Gog, awaiting annihilation at the hands of Israel. In the Book of Revelation, Gog and Magog are kings who, at the instigation of evil spirits, will defy God's people at the end of the world, but they will be defeated at 'the place called in Hebrew, Armageddon' (16:16). When the 'thousand years' expire, they will march against God in Satan's army, who will send fire down onto them to devour them (20:7–10). They also appear in the apocryphal scriptures (Enoch 56:4–8; Esdras 4:13) as well as the Qumran scrolls (1QM 11:16). The Church Fathers saw the prototypes of heretics in Gog and Magog. In the Jewish tradition of Alexandria, their legend mingled together with that of Alexander the Great. They also occur in the illustrations for the Book of Revelation.[154]

1999), (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 155) 73–128.; Stephen A. Fischer-Galati, "Ottoman Imperialism and the Lutheran Struggle for Recognition in Germany, 1520–1529," *Church History* 1954/23, 46–67.; Kathona, *Károlyi Gáspár...*; Botta, *Luther Antikrisztus-fogalmának hatása...,* 51–65.; Imre, *Magyarország panasza...*

151 Lajos Terbe, Egy európai szállóige életrajza (Magyarország a kereszténység védőbástyája) [The Career of a European Maxim (Hungary as the Bastion of Christianity)] (Budapest, 1936), 309–311.

152 "[S]et your face against Gog, of the land of Magog, the prince of Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal" (Ez 38:2).

153 Sziráki, *Nemzeti identitás...*, 46., Bartha, *Keresztyén...*, 525. § 'Góg'; written by József Dányi.

154 Diós, *Magyar Katolikus...*, 124.,§ 'Góg és Magóg' (translation by Tibor Tarcsay)

In defining its identity, Christian Europe has ever relied on and developed its own version of the Jewish apocalyptic vision. The Christian Republic divided the known world into an internal and an external area. Inside were the Christians, outside the alien peoples posing a threat to them. The two areas were separated by a buffer zone. The model incorporated the legend of the wall erected in the Caucasus, first mentioned by Josephus Flavius and recurring in Pseudo-Callisthenes's fiction about Alexander; this wall was meant to safeguard mediaeval Europe from the people of Gog and Magog. The latter was first identified with the Huns and later with the waves of Avar and Magyar conquerors during the Migration Period. In the high Middle Ages, the country of the Mongols was thought to lie behind the wall, headed by the assumed Prester John, holding the Holy Grail as well. Legend had it that once these peoples had broken through the wall only to be defeated in the final, all-decisive battle, the end of the world would come. Time would cease; the antagonism of the two opposing units would be dissolved and the era of eternal peace would finally commence.

This apocalyptic model was developed in keeping with Pseudo-Methodius's seventh-century Syrian apocalypse.[155] As a rule, the roots of such speculations were territories where Arab occupation led to the establishment of a long-term buffer zone between the two cultures: Asia Minor, Sicily, Southern Italy and Hispania.[156] Peter the Venerable, the translators' school in Toledo, Robert Ketton, an English interpreter of the Qur'an, SaintThomas Aquinas, as well as Ramon Llull may be cited as the major representatives to discuss the matter from a Western Christian perspective. Dominican Riccoldo di Monte di Croce (1243–1320), father of missionary theory,[157] as well as Cistercian Abbot Joachim of Fiore, the originator of apocalyptic predictions mark the late mediaeval intellectual tradition,[158] which involved Transylvania-born George of Hungary as well.

155 Jürgen Tubach, "Die syrische Danielrezeption," in *Europa, Tausendjähriges Reich und Neue Welt. Zwei Jahrtausende Geschichte und Utopie in der Rezeption des Danielbuches,* ed. Mariano Delgado– et al (Suttgart, 2003), (Studien zur christlichen Religions- und Kulturgeschichte, 1. Eds. Delgado, Mariano–Leppin, Volker) 105–139.; Paul Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London: 1985), 13-41.

156 McGinn, *Az Antikrisztus...*, 98–100.; Hartmut Bobzin, "Zur islamischen Danielrezeption," in *Europa, Tausendjähriges Reich und Neue Welt. Zwei Jahrtausende Geschichte und Utopie in der Rezeption des Danielbuches,* ed. Mariano Delgado et al.– (Suttgart, 2003), (Studien zur christlichen Religions- und Kulturgeschichte, 1.) 159 -175.

157 Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, *Confutatio Alcorani (1300) – Martin Luther, Verlegung des Alkoran (1542), Latin-German edition with commentary*, ed. Johannes Ehmann. (Würzburg-Altenberge, 1999); Benedek Láng, "Rajmundus Lullus és az Ars Magna," [Ramon Llull and Ars Magna] *Magyar Filozófiai Szemle* 1997/1–2, 187–216.

158 Hagemann, *Christentum...*, 68–81.; Dieter Mertens, "Claromontani passagi exemplum. Papst Urban II. und der erste Kreuzzug in der Türkenkriegspropaganda des Renaissance-Humanismus," in *Europa und dieTürken in der Renaissance*, ed. Guthmüller et al.. (Tübingen, 2000), 65.

On this historic scale, starting with Creation and divided into sections by the covenants of Moses and Christ, respectively, the people of the apocalypse are invariably the Muslims and, from the fourteenth century onwards, more specifically, the Turks.[159]

After the fall of Byzantium, Pope Pius II announced a crusade, explicitly identifying the dragon of the Book of Revelation with the Ottoman Empire. Pius actually died in 1463, while preparing the campaign, before the Christian fleet could leave the harbour.[160]

At nearly the same time as the papal bull, the other, missionary tendency also emerged, championed by no less a personage than the great philosopher Nicholas of Cusa. He considered Islam convertible and aimed to develop a unified religion that would allow multiple rites. Nicholas, too died on a propaganda tour, almost simultaneously with the pope.[161] Verbally, the idea of a crusader army would never fade from the public agenda now, whether we consider the successive popes, the imperial diets of the Holy Roman Empire, or Buda, the capital of the Kingdom of Hungary, the most immediately threatened country.

It was another pope, Leo X, whose Vatican negotiations about the crusader armies in 1513 inspired Luther to formulate his own position, which rejected the institution of the crusades and delegated the defensive efforts against the Turks as a solely secular duty and obligation.[162] As the main task of the Church, he singled out spiritual conversion, which alone could help in this war otherwise doomed to fail because the Turks are more moral than the Christian forces. Luther praised their angelic

[159] Bernhard Töpfer, *Das kommende Reich des Friedens* (Berlin, 1964). The heretic Piettro Olivi connected the doctrines of Last Judgement and social equality with inciting the people against the ecclesiastic order. His scripts had an impact in Hungary, too. The educated members of the clerical order somehow linked apocalyptic thinking with the onslaught of the Turks. Analyzing the sermons of Pelbárt Temesvári and the texts of Osvát Laskai, Jenő Szűcs delineated a tendency in ideological history to this effect, which governed the Crusaders and eventually led to the Reformation. Cf. Tibor Kardos, *A magyarországi humanizmus kora* [The Age of Humanism in Hungary] (Budapest, 1955), 347.; Andor Tarnai, *A magyar nyelvet*..., 103–225.; see also: Sándor Őze and Mihály Dobrovits, "Török hatalom és parasztság" [Turkish Domination and Peasantry] *Zalai Múzeum* 2001/10, 151-160.

[160] Hagemann, *Christentum*..., 68–80.; Johannes Helmrath, "Pius II. und die Türken," in *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance,* ed. Guthmüller et al. (Tübingen, 2000), 79–139.; Almut Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben. „Türkengefahr" und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich 1450–1600* (Frankfurt am. M.–New York, 2003), (Campus Hischtorische Studien, 35.) 51–62.

[161] Hagemann, *Christentum*..., Nikolaus von Kues, (Nicolaus Cusanus), *Cribratio Alkorani – Sichtung des Korans, lateinisch-deutsch (3 Bde.)* ed. Ludwig Hagemann (Hamburg, 1993), Josef Engel, "Von der spätmittelalterlichen respublica christiana zum Mächte-Europa der Neuzeit," in *Handbuch den Europäischen Geschichte,* ed. Theodor Schieder, (Stuttgart, 1971), 1.; Flasch,Kurt: *Nikolaus von Kues. Geschichte einer Entwicklung* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998).

[162] Hagemann, *Christentum*..., 81.

meekness.[163] On these grounds, he deemed the Turks to be convertible. The ideology of the crusades thus contributed to the outbreak of the Reformation in Europe.[164]

The Buffer Zone

From the outset, Hungary had been interested in the crusades. King Ladislaus, who had gained experience in fighting the nomadic Turkic peoples, was appointed leader of the very first campaign, though his unexpected death eventually hindered his participation. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a defensive frontier zone had been established along the Southern and Eastern borders of Hungary, which protected the country against Turkic and Tatar peoples. That multiple network of castles constructed upon rivers, mountains, and other natural obstacles ran from the Adriatic coast down to the mountains of Transylvania, where it would turn northwards. The buffer zone was modelled on the ancient marchland (Hungarian gyepű, i.e. a wide, differentiated border area strengthened with various obstacles). Such a frontier region had its own laws of movement.

From the fifteenth century, the Ottomans became the people of the apocalypse. The defensive lines established in the Balkans by King Sigismund of Luxemburg functioned as a moving boundary. Hungarians in the fifteenth century saw this, though from an inverted perspective: they expected Doom to come from the South. The centre of space was the gate, the imaginary line that separated the interior and the exterior: a wall protecting Christianity and the world of culture. The centre of the sacred space was the fortress, the line of frontier castles and, all around, and the Great Plains the border zone. The frontier was continually pushed northwards. The Lower Danube and Sava districts of the early fifteenth century had expanded to the Danube Bend by 1543, reaching the mining towns of Upper Hungary in the extreme north of the kingdom, and the outskirts of Vienna in the West.

Klára Hegyi concludes:

In sum, it can be said that, although classical castle districts consisting of a main castle and a few satellite castles continued to exist under the Turkish domination, these

[163] Luther: WA Bd. 2. 311. ; Horváth, *A török...,* 39.; Őze, *Bűneiért*..., 80.

[164] Herbert Blöchle, *Luthers Stellung zum Heidentum im Spannungsfeld von Tradition, Humanismus und Reformation* (Frankfurt am Main–Berlin–Bern–New York–Paris–Wien, 1995), (Europäische Hochschulschriften Reihe XXIII Theologie Bd/vol. 53.); Martin Brecht, "Luther und die Türken," in *Europa und die Türken in der Renaisance,* ed. Guthmüller et al. (Tübingen, 2000), 9–29.; Ulrich Andermann, "Geschichtsdeutung und Prophetie. Kriesenerfahrung und -bewältigung am beispiel der osmanischen Expansion im Spätmittelalter und in der Reformationszeit," in *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance,* ed. Guthmüller et al. (Tübingen, 2000), 29–55.

were usually acquired rather than erected by the Turks, who had no such strategic intentions. Extensive protective zones, on the other hand, matching the kingdom's headquarters along the frontier were established; as time passed, their significance would change according to whether or not they faced the Austrian demesne. The interior of the Turkish territories, at the same time, could be conceived of as a large defensive zone consisting of small castles whose junctions, administrative centres and toll stations were covered in a dense network of small and tiny garrisons.[165]

Following Paul Wittek, this form of life in a permanent buffer zone was termed "Grenzkriegertum" [frontier warfare]. He identified the Turkish hostilities along the Byzantine-Seljuk frontier as the military prototype for this phenomenon.[166] Wittek claimed that an economic separation always characterizes such a frontier region. The soldiers' main source of income is war, plundering and capturing serfs. This is matched by a colourful ethnic composition. The members of the same ethnicity on the opposite sides of the border may actually oppose one another, while they also communicate. In some sense, they are always at variance with the central power trying to control them. They have their own ideological, legal, theological and literary characteristics resulting in a primitive level of heroic, chivalric culture. Such zones always conserve pagan traditions while also serving as the hotbed of heretic sects. Wittek applied his term as a typological concept, too, to the Muslim-Christian buffer zone in the Iberian Peninsula, North Africa, the Balkans, and even to certain fronts in Eastern Central Asia.

The military frontier can be defined with the following most conspicuous features. The opposing parties are in constant motion for intelligence purposes. In the inimical territory, one is required to destroy, in one's own, to maintain and expand fortifications. Independent, self-sustaining economies are aimed at, while the line of opposition is a prerequisite, somehow presupposing their own existence, too. They tried to establish a taxation area expanding over and beyond the county infrastructure, accompanied by a separate legal system. A new social layer emerged, the valiant order comprising the gentry as well as peasant soldiers. A separate moral or ethical codex was approved. The exchange (and torture) of prisoners overwrote Christian morality. The opponent was known and respected on either side of the front, while outsiders were treated with contempt.

The frontier connects and separates. The maintenance of this irrational system was the chief objective, saving duty and order. The system fed and enhanced itself.

[165] Klára Hegyi, *A török hódoltság várai és várkatonasága I* [Castles and Garrisons under the Turkish Domination I.] (Budapest, 2009), 103. (trans. Tibor Tarcsay)

[166] Paul Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche* (Istanbul, 1934). The argument is laid out in: László Vajda*, Paul Witteks Konzeption*..., 68–70.; Öze, *A határ és a határtalan*..., 21–24.

The castle and its surroundings supported the military force of destruction and preservation.

Hans Dernschwam wrote as a member of the Habsburg imperial delegation in August 1555, roaming through and around the battlefield of Mohács 29 years after the Hungarian army had been defeated there in 1526, describing the Hungarian frontier from the direction of the Turkish line of castles:

As far as the eye can wander, a landscape of utter beauty, plain and fertile. No country compares to Hungary, but since King Louis died, it has turned to such barrenness and wildness that marauders, rogues, and heyducks can hide in the grass, the bushes, and the reeds. This is the reason why the vegetation has been cut out on both sides of the highway. Everywhere, we see ruined, smutty walls in abundance, some can hardly be discerned at all.[167]

Indeed, the border is but an interval, an area that can be divided or expanded *ad infinitum*. Even the frontier zone, 1,000 km long and 50 to 100 km wide, had its own boundaries. These could be indicated with a colour code, now fading, now intensifying. In this buffer and contact zone, more than a hundred Muslim and Christian castles of varying sizes were facing each other at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Besides tens of thousands of regular soldiers, the size of the irregular armies on either side, easy to move and deploy, amounted to many times that figure.

Far and near on both sides of the border, an adjacent servant society existed, supplying and maintaining the buffer zone, which, in turn, provided for that population. Fading though in proportion of the respective distance from the centre, the system's traits are still kept for a long way away. The farther we come from the imaginary line of demarcation, the lesser its impact force; also the extent to which the common law, culture, and economy of the local population are reddened, diminishes. The sacral order of the "Tartar wasteland" turning into a wilderness as described by Dernschwam is organized along the points represented by the fortifications, aligned, as it were, into a frontier or *limes*.

The best defence againstTurkish marauding campaignswas the establishment of buffer zones that shielded the country. The Christian state providing their background did not aim fully to "liberate" the buffer state, since the seats of war could be kept here. Such countries were semi-sovereign, bearing the entire burden of the horrors

[167] Franz Babinger, *Hans Derschwams Leben und Wirken (1494–1568)* in *Hans Derschwams Tagenbuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Keinsasien (1553–55),* ed. Franz Babinger, (München–Leipzig, 1923) (Studien zur Fugger-Geschichte, 7); Hungarian edition: Hans Derschwam, *Erdély, Besztercebánya, törökországi útinapló* [Travels in Transylvania, Besztercebánya and Turkey] ed. Lajos Tardy (Busapest, 1984), 492.

of war. The main aim was not to allow them to side with the enemy and thus to stop the repetition of plundering campaigns. This was secured through military and diplomatic control. Such states, on the outskirts of the Kingdom of Hungary, were the Wallachian Voievodinas, Serbia and Bosnia. Even life under Turkish occupation might have been more liveable than this. Inherent in the nature of the buffer state was the possibility of total annihilation. In the mid-sixteenth century, Hungary became such a buffer state on the outskirts of the Holy Roman Empire, too.

Still, a solid system of protective strongholds had to be established along the real borders of the country; thus, the next degree of self-defence was the castle zone. This amounted to a "total war" waged on the local population, entailing a mid-term demographic catastrophe for all layers of society. Many were captured and relegated to slavery or massacred so as to increase the terror or deported. This tactic had always been characteristic in adjacent areas of Christian and pagan influence, where the opponents were invariably treated as the nation of evil. As a rule, the same division could be seen on Europe's periphery on cultural and religious borders.[168]

The line of castles deployed light cavalry for reconnaissance purposes rather than armoured horsemen known from chivalric times. They aimed at territorial defence. The central castle in the area co-ordinated protective moves, joined by several minor fortifications with strategic and intelligence tasks. The peasantry and shepherd army of the territory could be mobilized at all times to assist the military elite and to provide its supplies. The aim of the intruding enemy was to drive away the local population, or to move them to the attackers' own territory, where they would continue their maintenance services under their new liege. In this war of permanent hostilities, short-term success could only be ensured by moving the centre of conflict onto the enemy territory.[169] Terror was the only means of self-protection in response, to strike back on the enemy, establishing the centre of devastation in their region. A deserted castle could not be kept. During the fifteenth century, a highly fragmented area finally emerged from the two systems, whose boundaries varied; this was the buffer zone. The establishment and maintenance of the line of castles meant a turn in the local population's form of life.[170]

The incessant readiness for war led to the militarization of the countryside. The semi-regular military deployment of the country population triggered a chain reaction radically affecting the economy, too. The mediaeval village structure dissolved as the

[168] Wittek, *Das Fürstentum*...; Reviewed in: László Vajda, "Paul Witteks Konzeption vom Grenzkriegertum" *Der Pfahl* 7 (1993): 268-270.; and Őze, *A határ és a határtalan*..., 47.

[169] Ferenc Szakály, *A mohácsi csata* [The Battle of Mohács] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975), (Sorsdöntő történelmi napok 2.)

[170] Cf. Őze, *A határ és a határtalan*..., op. cit. passim.

attitude of the peasantry changed. In analyzing the above, we see that the castle and its environment supported the nocuous protective forces, the army. The war was waged along the frontier, devastating the natural environment but also established another ground for its very existence as natural resources provide territory for predators and animals of mimicry, as well as an opportunity for those on the run. The most important device of territorial defence was precise intelligence, carried out by the light cavalry on both the Christian and the Muslim side. The constant movement was prerequisite for reconnaissance, alongside the destruction of buildings in the enemy's territory, and maintenance and construction in one's own.

The buffer zone between Muslims and Christians evolved on the Iberian Peninsula, in North Africa, and the fronts of Eastern Central Asia, as well as in the Balkans. After the catastrophe of Mohács, nearly a generation's lifespan was needed for the population to reorganize to the level of a fully militarized society. After the wars which eventually ousted the Turks, another half century was required for recovering them from a frontier mentality to "normal European" ways, with mixed coercion and benevolence.

The defensive line was not exclusively based on the multi-layered fortress system of main and supplementary castles, or the garrisons stationed therein,[171] but also the armed peasantry living in the zone. I could not consider it a coincidence that after Nándorfehérvár (present-day Belgrade, Serbia) was captured by the Turks in 1521, they expelled the Western Christian population of the city, first and foremost the most influential Franciscan monks, thus weakening the city's fundament.[172]

"Antemurale Christianitatis" and the crusades

People at the time thought in terms of a virtual space, with the protective bastion ("antemurale Christianitatis") in its centre. In the spatial context of the buffer zone, the hinterland and the country of the Hungarian king operating the defensive lines became the bastion of Christianity.

Prior to all other Hungarian kings and European monarchs, it was Sigismund of Luxemburg whom Pope John XXIII called the stone wall and protective shield of

[171] Géza Pálffi, "A török elleni védelmi rendszer története a kezdetektől a 18. század elejéig" [The History of the Defensive System against the Turks from the Beginnings until the 18th Century] *Történelmi Szemle* 38, no. 2-3 (1996): 257–288.

[172] Őze, *A határ és a határtalan*..., 1–103.; János Karácsonyi, Szent Ferenc Rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig, I-III. [The History of the Order of Saint Francis in Hungary until 1711, I-III.] (Budapest, 1924)

Christianity in 1410: “Regiam serenitatem potissime, tanquam scutum atque murus inexpugnabilis nostreque et christiane fidei fortitudinis brachium.” The reason for this must have been the establishment of the defensive line on the Lower Danube.[173]

The topos of Hungary as “the bastion of Christianity” or *propugnaculum Christianitatis* was first mentioned in Neo-Latin literature by Enea Silvio Piccolomini (later Pope Pius II) in 1445: “Quid plura, Christianum me dicam, solicitudinemque habere ut Christiana religio in tuto collocetur, quod sane fieri non potest, nisi et murus eius, qui est Ungaria sit incolumis.”[174]

Of the Hungarian rulers, it was Vladislaus I (of Varna) who first called Hungary the bastion of Christianity in a diploma issued in Cracow on 8 March 1440, shortly before being invited to the throne. His explanation stated that by accepting the royal throne of Hungary, he would unite the forces of the two countries (Hungary and Poland) in order to protect the Christian world: “Pro bono et salute honorum duorum Hungarie et Polonie regnum… Praedicta regna, sibi confinacia et barbaris nationibus finitima, sunt murus et clipeus fidelium pro honore nominis diuini et defensione fidei catholice.”[175]

It is almost symbolical that the king who first formulated this topos regarding the two countries should sacrifice his life for this ideal at the Battle of Varna four years later. But the notion must have been around and even applied to Hungary; it probably found its way to Cracow during the personal union of Angevin King Louis the Great.

The emergence of the ideology of the Holy Crown proclaiming the parliamentary system based on the estates (Laws of 1351) and the unified *communitas*of the nobility, as well as the unity of country and crown can be traced back to the Angevin dynasty, presumably through the mediation of Italian legalist circles.[176] Hence the Polish nobility took over the system, which then developed into a more solidly

[173] Terbe, *Egy európai szállóige*..., 304.

[174] Sándor Őze and Norbert Spannenberger, “Hungaria vulgo appellatur propugnaculum Christianitatis”. Zur politischen Instrumentalisierung eines Topos in Ungarn, in *Beruf und Berufung. Geschichtswissenschaft und Nationsbildung in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa im 19.und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Markus Kzoska and Hans-Christian Maner, (Münster, 2005), (Studien zur Geschichte, Kultur und Gesellschaft Südosteuropas, 4) 19–39.; Terbe, *Egy európai szállóige*..., 302–303. Nicholas V was the first pope to call Hungary the protective shield of Christianity in his letter to Emperor Frederic III. Later on, the term was extended to other regions, as well, such as Dalmatia, Rhodes, and, in the seventeenth century, even Poland.

[175] István Kathona, *Historia critica Regnum Ungariae stripis mixtae. Tom. VI. Ordine XIII.* (Pestini, 1790), 23–30.; Terbe, *Egy európai szállóige*..., 302.; Lajos Hopp*, Az “antemurale és conformitas” humanista eszméje a magyar–lengyel hagyományban* [The Humanist Ideal of “Antermurale et Conformitas” in the Hungarian-Polish Tradition] (Budapest, 1992), (Humanizmus és Reformáció, 19.) 16.

[176] Ferenc Eckhart*, A szentkorona eszme története* [History of the Holy Crown Idea] (Budapest, 1941)

articulated community of noble estates. It is no coincidence that the assemblies of the nobility were called *rakusz* in Polish, which derives from the venue of the traditional assemblies of the Hungarian nobility held in the Field of Rákos, not far from Buda.

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries preserved many records of the concept of the “bastion” in Latin political sources from Hungary and abroad; after the Battle of Mohács (1526) they also appear in Hungarian.[177] A hundred years later, Bálint Balassi, the greatest Hungarian humanist poet of the sixteenth century and an aristocrat with humanist erudition composed this farewell poem on leaving the frontier castle of Eger for Poland:

O my sweet homeland, thou good Hungary
Who bear’st the shield for Christianity
Thou bear’st sharp sabres stain’d with pagan blood,
Thou valiant school, God buy you, now, farewell!

The fifteenth-century *topos* of Hungary as the defensive bastion of Christianity and Europe waned after Mohács; afterwards, the country was seen no more than the wall to protect the Germans.[178] At the same time, mid-sixteenth-century Hungarian literature abounds in images of Germania, the evil sister, representing the emperor as a negligent, irresponsible huntsman who leaves Hungary to its preys. At the turn of the 1550s, Ákos Csányi wrote to Tamás Nádasdy that they fled from the throat of

[177] “The Turkish could never start a thing against which we shall not march. The noblemen cannot see, the Turkish peril hunts them away from their sweet motherland to their dishonourable misery. The citizens, escaping from their Christian landlords, to be kept in misery and under duty, with their nature they can stand it and remain in their homes, softening to the pagans if they were Turkish themselves. They will forget. So it shall happen with the Bohemian, the German, both with lords and princes and bishops and archbishops. Only citizens of villages and cities shall remain in their homes, but they will start crying and moaning when no one shall have mercy on them, and then they will cry and moan about the present pleasure of hunting and amusement, then they shall remember with tears the miserable Hungarian nation. If they had kept their country as a stronghold to themselves, they would not have ended up in misery.”The cited passages are taken from a letter written at the frontier castle Kanizsa, near Lake Balaton, in 1558. The topos of Hungary as the protective shield of Hungary was in currency between the fifteenth and 18th centuries, but it also infiltrated the Hungarian national consciousness of later periods as well. The letter was written by officer Ákos Csányi, who had not received any humanist education and thus could not speak Latin. Besides Hungarian, he had a good command of Croatian, a popular language in the Southern provinces at the time. Cf. Sándor Őze, ed., *500 magyar levél a 16. századból. Csányi Ákos Levelei Nádasdy Tamáshoz* (1549–1562) [500 Letters from the sixteenth Century. Ákos Csányi’s letters to Tamás Nádasdy (1549-1562)] (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1995), 427.; and Őze, *A határ és a határtalan*..., 43–51.

[178] Horváth, *A török*...,

the lion to the vultures from whose onslaught they found refuge with the lion once again.[179] Csányi wrote elsewhere:

> What a disgraceful man or nation would be the one who would not take any land, country or empire, but let themselves be known and then induce them to danger. I know the disappointment in your Lordship's sad heart from those things you Lorship counts as perils to the whole Christianity, and I know your Lordship is tugged between hammer and anvil, while the bean is thrashed on your Lordship's head.

By the seventeenth century, this *topos* had evolved into the image of a country caught in the crossfire. The two threatening powers were dubbed the "two pagans," which phrase I could not trace back before the seventeenth century. By the second half of the century, the Wittenberg view of history became dominant, drawing a pararllel between the Hungarian and the Jewish peoples. This idea placed the liberation from the Turks on a moral, eschatological plane. At the same time, this also meant a crisis management programme for the Hungarian nation.[180]

From the mid-sixteenth century on, the ideology which claimed that suffering proves divine election, just as in the case of the Jews, was far more effective than boasting with the protection of an indifferent Europe. The idea of a country stuck between hammer and anvil and the Hungarian-Jewish parallel infiltrated into the symbolism of national identity. This rhetoric strengthened a small-nation identity as opposed to the image of the nation as the stronghold of Christianity against the pagan flood.[181]

Apocalyptic Time in the fifteenth-sixteenth-century Buffer Zone

Sixteenth-century Europe perceived a shortening of time, which also affected the mentality of the Hungarian buffer zone and the traditional image of the Turks. Reinhart Koselleck's findings are relevant here. In his *Future Past*, he observes the duality of experiential space and the expectation horizon on the pretext of Altdorfer's painting *Alexanderschlacht* from 1529:

[179] The image is clear. The roaring lion is the icon of the Turks, and the assaulting eagle stands for the Holy Roman Empire.

[180] Őze, *A határ és a határtalan…,* 51.

[181] Imre Mihály, "Nemzeti önszemlélet és politikai publicisztika formálódása egy 1674-es prédikációs kötetben" [National Identity and Political Journalism in the Making: The Case Study of a 1674 Volume of Sermons] *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 1987–1988/1–2, 20–46.; Őze, *A határ és a határtalan…,* 51.

> For a Christian, the victory of Alexander over the Persians signifies the transition from the second to the third world empire, a sequence in which the Holy Roman Empire constitutes the fourth and last. […] Until well into the sixteenth century, the history of Christianity is a history of expectations, or more exactly, the constant anticipation of the End of the World on the one hand and the continual deferment of the End on the other. The mythical investment of the Apocalypse could be adapted to a given situation, and even noncanonical prophecies presented little variation from the figures that were supposed to appear at the Judgment […]. Luther saw the Antichrist in possession of the 'holy throne,' and for him Rome was the 'Whore of Babylon'; Catholics saw Luther as the Antichrist; peasant unrest and the growing sectarian militancy of diverse sections of the declining Church appeared to foreshadow the last civil war preceding the Fall. Finally, the Turks who stormed Vienna in the year of Altdorfer's painting appeared as the unchained people of Gog. […] 'If we fight off the Turks,' said Luther at the time, 'so is Daniel's prophecy fulfilled, and the Final Judgment will be at the door.' [Tischreden WA.678]. […] Luther frequently referred to the fact that the Fall was to be expected in the coming year, or even in the current one. But as he once added (and recorded for us in his table talk), for the sake of the chosen, God would shorten the final days, 'toward which the world was speeding, since almost all of the new century had been pressed into the space of one decade' [TR.2756b]. Luther was speaking of the decade since the Reichstag at Worms […]. The foreshortening of time indicated that the End of the World was approaching with greater speed, even if the actual date remained hidden from us.

In the world view of sixteenth-century people, Hungary stood in the centre of apocalyptic history. The buffer zone symbolically signified the wall built against the people of Gog and Magog. According to Koselleck, the territorialization of the concept of Christianity was triggered precisely by the increasing pressure from Islam, and went against the Augustinian concept explicitly forbidding its delimitation.

> "The empire of God holds sway over the world and is present in the Church, but the inner community of believers is constantly on a pilgrimage; their empire is merely built upon hope. The worldly empire, by contrast, is based upon property, and its founder is Cain."

Linking the territory of Christianity with moral concepts and investing them with biblical, apocalyptic signs implied the rejection of the external, aggressive empire, as well as the immediate jeopardy of the core territories.

An exception was the frontier area, the buffer zone, where peaceful contact, commerce and total war were constantly and simultaneously present, as Paul Wittek describes the Seljuk-Byzantine front from the thirteenth century onwards, or the *reconquista* of the Iberian Peninsula (also mentioned by Koselleck), or the Christian buffer statesin the Caucasian. The concept of "propugnaculum" is also stored in later cultural memory. An example is the case of the Muslims of Bosnia and the Serbs, or the Armenian border set symbolically in the side of Mount Ararat, today occupied by Turkey. Once the European solidarity had faded after the defeat of the last Crusade at Nicopolis and the *Unio Christiana* could no longer be interpreted in territorial terms, the bastion(s) of space had to continue their own life separately, on their own.

The Battle of Mohács (1526), the fall of Nándorfehérvár (present-day Belgrade, Serbia) (1521) and of Buda (1541), three iconic losses in the sixteenth-century retreat of the Kingdom of Hungary from the Turks, were connected in subsequent Hungarian cultural memory not only because all three took place on 29 August, the day of the beheading of Saint John the Baptist. The dates of consecutive defeats at the hand of the pagan Turks were thus understood as a series projected upon one another, linking Hungarian destiny with Saint John the Baptist, even though twenty years had passed between the first and the last event. The Turks also comprehended this symbolism. As Dávid Csorba writes, it was not by chance that Suleiman waited several days before 29 August to occupy Buda; nor would he receive King John's tribute anywhere but on the battlefield of Mohács.Thus normal time dissolves in the frontier region, just as space becomes structured according to war logistics, to natural and artificial defensive systems, while time is aligned with the points of cultural memory objectified as spatial patterns.

The soldier community living in the frontier zone had its internal time. The perception of time of the border territory was founded on apocalyptic expectations. Each individual event confirmed the knowledge one had inherited from their grandfathers concerning the people of the apocalypse. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, other regions of Europe also awaited the coming of Gog and Magog, though only to the extent of a Sunday-sermon horror surrogate. But the frontier people saw all this regularly confirmed by the terrors of the war. The community here lived together with death in an expectation linked to the apocalyptic plane of time. They lived in sin and in the grand purgation of suffering and humiliation. The world of agriculture had collapsed; their lives became fragmentary and repeatedly interrupted. The war sustained but also damaged the community. The action for the span of which

the sense of individual historic time revived was limited to plundering campaigns or fending off attacks. The thinking of the population was thus tailored to individual grace and, in turn, helped evolve fatalism where destiny governed all. In this view, even the other world was relegated to the level of trivialities, the present being a part of it. The horror was but a moment, the time preceding the apocalypse, and Christ's kingdom on earth that would follow seemed but the two sides of the frontier in time, with even life on earth as a series of small actions. Human life flowed into this great whole, the entirety of the apocalypse. The body and its death also played a new role. The heads of the soldiers killed were impaled and set high on the enemy walls, their skinned skulls heaped up.

"Many beasts and birds swallowed valiant dead bodies into their belly coffins," Bálint Balassi writes about the typical end of a soldier's life in his "Soldier's Song."[182] The population in the frontier zone had lost everything. Their bodies were not theirs; they may not have found rest in their graves. The settlement, the familiar landscape of the homeland moved together with the movable frontier. They became neighbours with peoples of foreign languages and religions; the mediaeval order of settlements, comprising static villages for generations, dissolved overnight. On the other side of the border, alien people appeared who mingled with them; their belief identified the intruders with the people of Gog, their religion, Islam, with that of the Antichrist. In all other respects, this new population resembled the local Christians.

What, then, remained for the people of the buffer zone? Their good reputation. But even that belonged more to the community than to the individual. The compositional technique described by Mircea Eliade was familiar in fifteenth to eighteenth-century Hungarian heroic songs, too.[183] In certain archetypal positions, the hero acquired generalized characteristics. By time, real events were commutable.

The single events of campaigns were hung upon this general apocalyptic timeline, feeding it in all periods. In 1561, the events of a successful plundering campaign were recited by soldiers at Gyula in a verse chronicle by identifying the original characters, locale and situation with a former triumph against the Turks, the Battle of Kenyérmező (Breadfield, present-day region Câmpul Pâinii, Romania) of 1479. Back then, István Báthori and Pál Kinizsi, generals of King Matthias (1458–1490), led the Hungarian army to a glorious victory over the Turks.

---

182 Quoted and analysed in: Viktor Julow, "Balassi katonaénekének kompozíciója," [The composition of Balassi's Soldier's Song] *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 76, no. 5-6 (1972): 640-652.

183 Mircea Eliade, "The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion," (Harvest, 1957); Mircea Eliade, *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return* (Princeton, 1954); Mircea Eliade, *The Forge and the Crucible* (Chicago, 1978); Mircea Eliade, *A History of Religious Ideas I–III,* (Chicago, 1978–1985); Őze, *A határ és a határtalan*..., 24-26.

The heroic songs, as we learn from Antonio Bonfini, chronicler of King Matthias, with regard to the Battle of Breadfield, were spontaneous outcomes of the post-battle merry-making and inebriation.[184] In most cases, the structural, textual and motivic elements of older lays were recycled in the new compositions since what mattered was not the precise recording of the event but the substitution of archetypal roles and situations, reiterating them according to current experiences. The heroic songs in the Ottoman period fell into two categories depending on their ending. The victorious ones focused on the duels, while those ending with defeat upon universal loss. The latter contributed to the perpetuation of the apocalyptic view of time in the multi-ethnic and polyglot frontier zone. The subsequent generations of the frontier zone always saw themselves as the last survivors, the community that would see the end of times.

In the eyes of the "last generation", minutes trickled down in a rush towards fulfilment. They were minute particles in the end of all times, the *aeternitas*; an individual, personalized, everyday apocalyptic vision underpinned what had been heard in the frontier territory, which kept the mood of expectation permanently alive. Such a vision might be the ideology of insurrections where the holy people of the last generation would rise up and hasten the Last Judgement, such as the peasant movements during the Ottoman era. On the other hand, an inert and resigned kind of tranquility could also flow from the notion of the apocalypse.

The central constituent of the frontier zone, the reward for the soldier's life, was "accidental death." Balassi prays in one of his songs: "Accidental death, that standeth guard, may not suddenly smother us in our life." But death is a great democrat. It treats officers and privates, aristocrats and citizens, cavalrymen and marauders the same. Almost every magnate family in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries sent a man to the army. The military guard of the leading aristocratic family might fall captive. Officers suffered the frost in a winter campaign just as their soldiers, whether at an outpost or in the open field, waiting for days on end, with no light, no noise, for the enemy to come. They slept in the saddle and wandered in the bog for several days. And then they would go on sentry and be hit by accidental death. The life form inherent in the *topos* of the *propugnaculum Christianitatis*, known by Bonfini and experienced by Balassi, sprouted up in the buffer zone of two religions, two cultures, but it had first emerged two hundred years before Balassi and would haunt the borders of Hungary for another two centuries after his death.[185]

184 Béla Varjas, *A magyar reneszánsz irodalom társadalmi gyökerei* [The Roots of Hungarian Renaissance Literature] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982), 210.

185 Őze, *A határ és határtalan*..., 24-27.

The end of the ideology of traditional crusades was marked by the fall of Byzantium and the death of Pope Pius II in 1453.[186] The comprehensive plans of the Holy See for Europe would follow varying ideologies later on, whether relying on the Holy Roman Emperor of the House of Habsburg,[187] the Polish-Transylvanian Prince István Báthory,[188] or the Russian Tzar.[189]

The Turks' country had not yet grown into an empire at the turn of the fourteenth century, when the forces of Sultan Bayezid meted out an annihilating defeat upon the crusader army of the unified Europe; still, King Sigismund of Hungary was thenceforth obliged to develop a buffer zone in the frontier to withhold the Turkish marauders.[190]

That border and buffer zone essentially and symbolically marks the *antemurale Christianitatis*, the wall raised against the peoples of Gog and Magog according to the mediaeval fiction of Alexander. The life form to which the *topos* is attached, emerging in the buffer zone of two religions, two cultures, had been known for half a millennium in Hungary and the Balkans. They had discovered early on that the wars of the Christian-Muslim buffer zone are of a different character than the dynastic clashes in Western Europe. The conflicts in these zones were more devastating for the civilians due to their ideological nature, but they also served as a cultural transfer providing contact area. Due precisely to its unpredictability and its undefined spatial and temporal outlines overarching generations, the buffer zone was the scene of an apocalyptic expectation.

The crusades as retaliating campaigns continued into the fifteenth century. Their success, however, was less and less hoped for, while they largely depended on the joint efforts of the countries threatened. Their ideology gradually changed accordingly. As it has been mentioned, Christian Europe reacted to the challenge of Islam in two very different ways, the first being a missionary attitude, the second an apocalyptic model.

The ideology of the crusader army was connected to the latter. Buda, the capital of the most endangered Western Christian state, the Kingdom of Hungary, acted in

186 Steven Runciman, *A keresztes hadjáratok története* [The History of the Crusades] (Budapest: Osiris, 2002); Steven Runciman, *Konstantinápoly eleste. 1453* [The Fall of Constantinople. 1453] (Busapest, 2000)

187 Horst Glassl, "Das Heilige Römische Reich und die Osmanen im Zeitalter der Reformation," in *Südosteuropa unter dem Halbmond. Untersuchungen über Geschichte und Kultur der südosteuropäischen Volker während der Türkenzeit*. Festschrift für Georg Stadtmüller, ed. Peter Bartl et al. (München, 1975), 61–73.; Karl Nehring, *Matthias Corvinus, Kaiser Friedrich III. und das Reich. Zum hunyadisch-habsburgischen Gegensatz im Donauraum* (München, 1989), 2nd ed.

188 Ö. Szabolcs Barlay, *Romon virág. Fejezetek a Mohács utáni reneszánszról* [Flowers on the Ruin: Chapters about the Renaissance after Mohács] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1986)

189 Runciman, *A keresztes hadjáratok*...

190 Elemér Mályusz, *Zsigmond király uralkodása Magyarországon* [King Sigismund's Reign in Hungary] (Budapest, 1984), 22–38.

keeping with it, too. Nevertheless, the idea of *Hungaria Propugnaculum Christianitatis* had also incorporated an element of early national consciousness. By the sixteenth century, when Hungary had become a buffer zone between the Ottoman Empire and the Holy Roman Empire, the idea once partaking of apocalyptic perspectives had been diminished to the role of a border closure for Germany alone. But the imperial ideologies emerging in the area also pointed towards the future nation states rather than stressing the importance of a unified and universal Christianity.

The *topos* of the bastion of Christianity originates from the Bible, but the biblical narrative was adapted to contemporary events. The signs written down in sacred Scripture formed fix elements of the narrative, but the Judeo-Christian apocalyptic tradition was linked with patterns of behaviour and the emotional responses they triggered. The function of the written text was different from the orally transmitted apocalyptic tradition in the buffer zone, in which the heroic lays enabled the substitution of individual heroes as well as linguistic elements due to the extempore nature of creation. This also applies to the cult of mediaeval and early modern saints in the buffer zone. Their deeds, too, were partly written down in their legends or chronicles. Their name and person were not interchangeable, but the later miracles attached to the cult, whose additions were at least as important as the original acts of the saint, would constantly shape and alter the image of the saints or the relation of the local religious community to them, both in speech and in writing. Biblical *topoi* are bound on the literal level. They are connected to the canonical books of the Bible, the unalterable text. Their background, however, can be expanded with the interpretive layers of the times and, potentially, with further fields of meaning deriving from other historical layers. In this case, the point of reference was the antique legend of Alexander the Great, recorded by Josephus Flavius and often discussed in the Middle Ages and humanism. The Protestant Reformation placed great emphasis on this textuality, while biblical turns of speech and textual elements became embedded into the Hungarian language via the native Bible translations; this happened with such force that some would even speak of a sixteenth and seventeenth-century language reform in the Hungarian context.[191] The *topos* we discuss here was not born in that period, though; nor was it linked to exclusively one confession; yet the successful Turkish conquest in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as well as the apocalyptic expectations of the Reformation intensified its significance, promoting it as a future element of the national identity first beginning to take shape during these decades.

[191] Márton Tarnóc, *Erdély művelődése Bethlen Gábor és a két Rákóczi György korában* [Cultural life in Transylvania under Gábor Bethlen and the two György Rákóczis] (Budapest, 1978)

FRONTIER ZONE AND MONASTIC VISIONS OF THE APOCALYPSE

The Apocalyptiism of the Paulists, the Only Order of Hungarian Origin

Two major factors of fifteenth-century Hungarian history equally determine the sixteenth century: first the Turkish invaders and secondly, the local population whose predecessors had been fighting the enemy of Christianity for 150 years before the great breakthrough of Sultan Suleiman. Whenever they were defeated, they suffered all the ensuing devastation, generation after generation. The apocalyptic vision operating with the Turkish threat can be traced to several monastic authors in Hungary. Such was the work of George of Hungary, which had a wide dissemination in the Reformation Era. In the late Middle Ages, the Paulists, the only religious order founded in Hungary, were as prominent in number as the Dominicans and the Franciscans.[192] Their heyday was the fourteenth century under the Angevin monarchs. The royal centres, Buda, Esztergom and Visegrád, were also important settlements in a Paulist network of monasteries.

The eschatological tradition in Hungary had precedents even before the fifteenth century. Contunuing the research of János Horváth,[193] Andor Tarnai,[194] Elemér Mályusz,[195] László Mezey,[196] and Tibor Kardos,[197] Andor Tarnai claims that such apocalyptic preoccupations can be discerned among the Paulists, too. In the mid-fifteenth century, a chiliastic movement emerged within the order, led by Michael of Hungary and, subsequently, Bible translator László Báthori. The revival of Joachim of Fiore's[198] ideas and their adaptation to the circumstances in Hungary took place in

[192] Gábor Sarbak, ed., *Decus solitudinis: pálos évszázadok* [Decus solitudinis: Paulist Centuries]. (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2007), (Művelődéstörténeti Műhely – Rendtörténeti konferenciák, 4/1). German edition: Gábor Sabak, ed., *Der Paulanerorden. Gesichte – Geist – Kultur*. (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2007), (Művelődéstörténeti Műhely – Rendtörténeti konferenciák 4/2).; also see: Emil Kisbán, *A magyar pálos rend története* [History of the Hungarian Paulist Order] (Budapest, 1938)

[193] Horváth, *A reformáció jegyében...;* Őze, *Műneiért*..., 111–118.

[194] Tarnai, *A magyar nyelvet*...,103–225.

[195] Elemér Mályusz, "Pálos rend a középkor végén," [Paulist Order at the End of the Middle Ages] *Egyháztörténet* 1945/3, 1–55.

[196] László Mezey, A Báthori-biblia körül [About the Báthori Bible] (MTA 1 OK 8., 19., 56.)

[197] Tibor Kardos, *Középkori kultúra, középkori költészet* [Mediaeval Culture, Mediaeval Poetry] (Budapest, 1985), 85.; Kardos, *A magyarországi humanizmus*..., 31.

[198] Töpfer, *Das kommende Reich*..., 48., 104.

the spiritual wing of the order. After its demise, chiliastic ideas became latent once again. Tarnai suggests that they filtered into the sixteenth century under the disguise of the spirituality of *devotio moderna*.

Gábor Sarbak questioned the authenticity of the source of Tarnai's argument.[199] Sarbak assumes that Gergely Gyöngyösi, the historiographer of the Paulist order, cannot be identified with Georgius Coelius Pannonicus, who lived and worked in Rome. His apocalyptic vision inspired by Joachimism could therefore not have played a central role in Gyöngyösi's views. Tarnai's suggestion, however, holds water insofar as a Hungarian apocalyptic author had, indeed, been active in Rome. Such a person is Gergely Bánffy, who was the prior of the Paulist monastery in Rome. In his Latin commentary on the Apocalypse (*Collectanea in sacram Apocalypsin*, 1547), he related Hungarian historical events to concepts of the Antichrist. The Antichrist as the "dragon" or "lion" of the apocalypse was the Turkish enemy. His work included the devastation and torment of Christian Hungarians, including the defeat at Varna in 1444, the fall of Nándorfehérvár (present-day Belgrade, Serbia) in 1521, and Mohács, as well as the sixteenth-century spread of Luther's heresy.

Up until the end of the sixteenth century, the Paulists lived a busy monastic life. The Reformation and the Ottoman occupation came as veritable adversities for them. Their network around Buda and Esztergom, whose central monastery housing the relics of Saint Paul the Hermit was in Budaszentlőrinc, had collapsed by the 1530s.[200]

Dominicans as Elite Educators in Hungary: The Most Significant fifteenth-century Hungarian-born Apocalyptic Author, George of Hungary

The most significant Hungarian Dominican apocalyptic author was George of Hungary, who fundamentally defined the ideology concerning the Turks up until the Reformation, not only in Hungary but in entire Europe. His writings had an influence on Luther's notions of the Ottomans. Friar George based his apocalyptic views on a

[199] Előszó Gregorius Coelius Pannonicusnak Szent Ágoston regulájához írott magyarázataihoz [Preface to Gregorius Coelius Pannonius's Annotations to Saint Augustine's Rules] in *Annotationes in regulam divi Augustini episcopi, Hungarico sermone luculentissimedonatam, in gratiam fratrum eremitarum ordinis sancti Pauli primi eremite.*, Reprinting of the work printed in Venice in 1537 based on the original kept in the Csíki Székely Museum. Ed. Gábor Sarbak. (Csíkszereda, 2001), (=Csíksomlyói Ferences Kolostor Kincsei, 2).

[200] Sándor Őze, "Nádasdy Tamás és az örményesi pálos kolostor" [Tamás Nádasdy and the Paulist Monastery in Örményes] in *Decus solitudinis: pálos évszázadok*, ed. Gábor Sarbak (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2007), (=Művelődéstörténeti Műhely – Rendtörténeti konferenciák, 4/1).

post-Joachimist writ called *Super Hieronima*. Joachim of Fiore's *chef d'oeuvre* was titled *Concordia Novi et Veteris Testamenti*, while his apocalyptic was known as the *Annotations to the Apocalypse*. In the latter work, Joachim states that after defeating the Antichrist, a new and better phase in the history of the Church on earth will ensue.

The novelty of his thought is that he considers the seven seals of the Apocalypse to be a seven-headed dragon, each head signifying an age, and at the same time, a man, in whose age Christians were prosecuted: Herod, Nero, Constantius, Muhammad, Mesemoth (the sons of Babylon), Saladdin and finally the Antichrist (whose person is unknown). Joachim also remarks that there will be another figure, symbolized by the tail and no less evil than Antichrist, whom he identifies with no other than Gog. He will appear after the thousand years thatfollowed the victory over the seven heads.

In the apocalyptic expectations around the year 1260, Joachim's prophecies nourished the vision of the arrival of a last king who achieves partial victory, reaping great glory before the ultimate divine conflict. According to Joachim, the defeat of the Antichrist does not mean the end of mankind's sufferings, because he will be superseded by Gog and Magog, the last antichrists. Thus the task of the Christian king is to convert and/or conquer all, subsequently, to go to Jerusalem and on Mount Calvary to leave the fate of Christendom to God. Only then can the Antichrist appear, to seize power in the Temple of Jerusalem, whereupon the archangel Michael destroys him, ushering in the next world. In this concept the glory of the monarch is mixed with the pessimistic orthodox perception of the Apocalypse, and the popular programme of the Last Thing is formulated.

The idea of the last monarch originated in the Eastern Roman Empire, and its Latin version was formed in Charlemagne's court. The apparent tension in the latter can be explained with the contemporary Arab invasions. When the Antichrist comes, the monarch will have to yield, making place for Christ, the only one who can fight the evil. In the course of time, many rulers were thought to be the last monarch, especially during the Crusades. With an increasingly positive opinion of the last monarch, the negative view of the end of the world lost its prevalence. Joachim's doctrines put an end to this process: returning to orthodoxy, he preached the rebirth of evil, the eternity of the Roman Church and the advent of an Angelic Pope who rules the Golden Age. Joachim denied the concept of the last monarch, claiming that the end of the world is not followed by renewal, but by a merging with history.

Joachim's doctrine of the third status was also adopted to comment on the political conflict between the Papacy and Frederick II. Unlike Joachim's original works, the writings of his followers abound in political prophecies. In *Super Hieronimam* the evil threatening the world is the German Empire, who, allied with the Saracens, plots the oppression of the Church and the death of the faithful. The rulers of the Empire

are depicted as the heads of the dragon, in opposition with the Angelic Pope, who brings renewal. In the eyes of the Joachimites, the House of Hohenstaufen was evil incarnate, and they tried to prove it with several prophecies. According to them, a third Frederick, the worst of all, should come. These writings, of course, served propaganda, as most of the Joachimites were Italian, fighting against German rule.

Georgius de Hungaria [George of Hungary], the Anonym of Szászsebes (present-day Sebeș, Romania)

The sources of George's work must be sought in apocalyptic literature, since he claims that the Turks are Antichrist incarnate. Joachim also expounds that in the Book of Revelation, the two beasts are the two faces of Antichrist. In Revelation, they rise from the sea and the mainland, respectively, which detail is most extensively commented by George.

Not until the twentieth century had the author of these texts been identified as George of Hungary.[201] George was born in Transylvanian Romosz (present-day Romos, Romania) around 1422. He first attended the Dominican school in Szászsebes. After the Ottoman onslaught in 1438, he was captured and had to live among the Turks as a prisoner until 1458.[202] All that is known from his later life is that he became a Dominican friar in Rome, where he composed *Tractatus de moribus, conditionibus et nequitia Turcorum* [Essay on the customs, conditions and malignity of the Turks]. He died on 3 July 1502.

Friar George was the first to write extensively about the life and customs of the Turks. He called them the enemies of Christianity:[203] "Or do we not see that very ferocious beast, the enemy of the cross of the Christ, that most atrocious dragon? I mean the sect of the most unbelieving Turks."[204]

He uses the expression "sect of the […] Turks" in a theological sense. The Turkish religion can be interpreted as a corrupted form of Christianity, a heresy. It

[201] József Balázs, "Két mű bemutatása Bibliander 1543-as gyűjteményéből. Nicolaus Cusanus és Georgius de Hungaria műveinek bemutatása" [The Presentation of Two Works from Bibliander's 1543 Collection. Nicholas Kues and Georgius de Hungaria] (MA Thesis. Pázmány Péter Catholic University. Supervisior: Sándor Őze)

[202] József Balázs retranslated the work of Anonymous of Szászsebes from Latin. His thesis is not a verbatim translation but a content synopsis. The following pages of this chapter are based largely on his paraphrase. In the verbatim quotations, Győző Kenéz's translation is used, cited from Lajos Tardy, ed., *Rabok, követek, kalmárok az Oszmán birodalomról* [Captives, Emissaries, Merchants about the Ottoman Empire] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1977), 49.

[203] Balázs, *Két mű*..., Tardy, *Rabok..,* 11–18.

[204] Ibid. 50. (All translations of Goerge's text are by Tibor Tarcsay.)

is impossible to live peacefully side by side with them as a potentially convertible people, which is why it is necessary to fight with them to the end. The heretic sect can be interpreted in an apocalyptic framework, the people of the dragon. His justification of the accusations of heresy is constructed on the dichotomy of Hagar and Sarah, the chosen and the rejected biblical matrons, whose figures developed into metaphoric *topoi* of Hagarene-Saracen Byzantine apologetic literature. (Incidentally, the Muslims have built on the same argument, taking Hagar as the chosen one. To the present day, Hagar's expulsion into the desert with her son, the founding father of the Ishmaelites, is a day of penitence in their religious tradition.)

> And then that new and spiritual Mohamed, harbinger of the Antichrist, stepped on the scene, and from then on, they would less and less be called Saracens and more Theorici, that is, spirituals. And then they became enemies of the Church and opponents of God, were torn out of the unity of the Church, and they subjected themselves to the arch enemy of humankind.[205]

The "sect" is identified with the beast rising from the ground as presented in Revelation, which "had two horns like a lamb and spoke like a dragon" (Revelation 13:11). The real accusation in George's book not only describes the ferocious enemy but also blames the Turks for killing the soul, in concord with Satan, burying it in the living body to let it contaminate others like a rotting corpse. This is in keeping with the Gospel according to Luke: "Fear Him that, after He hath killed, hath power to cast into hell" (Luke 12:5).

The remaining part of the work is also founded upon the Book of Revelation. In Chapter 5, George sharply and accurately describes how the Turks capture their prisoners. He claims they were inspired by the devil to do so. He writes that the marauders and their horses are indifferent to weather or terrain, hinting at the Akinji cavalry, whose double task lay in terror and reconnaissance. In Germanic territories, they were dubbed the "Renner und Brenner" [running and burning] cavalry.[206] But George, the faithful clergyman, adds his ideology immediately: he says the Akinjis try to capture prisoners in order to make money from their ransom, while the devil can take more souls to Hell. Friar George claims that "no doctor or physician can be

[205] Ibid., 57.

[206] Leopold-Leitgeb, Hildegard Toifl, *Die Türkeneinfälle in Steirmark und Kärnten vom 15 bis zum 17. Jahrhundert* (Wien, 1991); Carl Göllner, *Turcia. Die Türkenfrage in der öffentlichen Meinung Europas in XVI. Jh. Turcica* (3 Bd.) (Bucuresti–Baden-Baden), 1978); Hans Joachim Kissling, "Türkenfurcht und Türkenhoffnung im 15/16. Jahrhundert. Zur Geschichte eines "Komplexes," i *Südostforschungen* 23, no. 16 (1964): 1-18.

comparable to these merchants [of slaves] in recognizing all the characteristics and physical conditions of men."[207] Afterwards they drive their slaves as sheep to the marketplace and sell them. George goes on to report the spiritual state of the prisoners, which he experienced as an adolescent. He says: "so bitter is the devastation of the soul and the spirit in this slavery that it cannot be compared to the bitterness of death by any means."[208] "They fall into the whirlpool of complete despair,"[209] which often leads to suicide. This may result in the prisoners giving up Christianity in favour of Islam. George examines the potential motives for this, alluding to Revelation as well as the Abbot Joachim:

> For initially those who thus hear about the power of the Turks and their triumphs over the Christians, and also that plentiful evil that they work day by day, they wonder how it is possible that such a mass should stand opposed to [Christian] faith. As though they were saying that, since truth always triumphs over folly and since truth is greatly loved and desired by everyone, it is impossible that so many should attack it. Hence, where there is the multitude, there is truth. Secondly, how could they defeat truth so utterly if God aids truth at all times; that is, He provides for those who keep the truth? Therefore, those that are stronger win, and they must needs keep the truth. Thirdly, how could they possibly multiply and swarm the world if all error lacks a solid fundament, and that being so, they would by no means be able to multiply like that. Fourthly, how should God allow such a multitude to be damned, whereas He desires that every human being should be saved? […] These motives and formulations are answered by Abbot Joachim with the words of the Psalmist, who says 'How great,' as though saying: if nature, merely to protect and grow those few seeds, multiplies the chaff and the straw beyond all measure, and yet she is not reproached for that, how should we marvel at God's suffering plenty of evil for the sake of the salvation of the few just?[210]

George claims that, though good and evil may behave identically, the actors still differ in their intentions. As a man who spent a long time in Turkish captivity and was interested in their customs, he endeavoured to establish a negative judgement with regard to his masters' world, while as a Dominican monk following Joachimist patterns, he attempted to construct the figures of the apocalypse, and subsequently

[207] Tardy, *Rabok*...,. 67–68.
[208] Ibid., 69.
[209] Ibid., 69.
[210] Ibid., 76–77.

identify the Book of Figures with his memories of the Muslim world. But he could not just throw away every moment of his life spent among the Ottomans. He praises some details of the customs of Islam. He would not reject every aspect of Muslim religion. The same holds for the Turks:

> Who could remain – and not only of simple people, but of any great wise man – unmoved by seeing for the first time among the infidels the strictness of their morals? For in every act and demeanour, they are repulsed by all looseness of clothing and equipment as though by fire, and they abhor it as they abhor the plague.[211]

Although he admits that many seemingly true people live among the Muslims, he adds that those cannot be set apart from the rest in their intentions, so they serve evil, too. The chiefs are not vain either. George praises the modesty and devotion of the sultan, his tolerance with the customs of the Christians. Muslims are chaste and moderate: they drink no wine and eat no pork. Their buildings make the traveller wonder whether their inhabitants have taken a vow of penury. In summer, even the highest ranking may dwell in tents. It is George's mendicant frugality or the foretaste of the Reformation that we see in his argument. Not only do their residential buildings reveal simplicity, but they also avoid pictorial representations and consider Christians idolatrous because they do not. (Interestingly, in less than a hundred years, the fact that the Turkish authorities do not tolerate the veneration of images would become a central argument in favour of spreading Reformation in Transylvania.)

George sees four factors that strengthen the belief of the Turks. First, they protect their sect aggressively. Second, this leads to their serial victories against the Christians. As a matter of fact, a generation later high officers in the Hungarian administration were challenged most by the refutation of this argument due to the rapid expansion of the Turks. Third, George claims that the series of Turkish triumphs can be ascribed to both their militancy and their multitude. If needed, they enter the battle willingly. Their multitude, in turn, derives from their productivity, a result of polygamy. Friar George here explains the marriage regulations of the Qur'an, while he also praises the honour of the women:

> To be sure, a great admiration arises within me when I think of the honour that I experienced with the female sex among the Turks, and then see the most shameless, boisterous, and damnable morals of Christian women.

[211] Ibid.

Fourth, George remarks that the sects also have wise followers.

George explains the Muslim rules of devotion relatively precisely, thus proving his interest in the topic. He describes that Moses is considered the first great prophet, who received the book called Torah from God, but it became corrupted in the course of history because of human evil. Thus David, the second great prophet, brought the Book of Psalms, but that, too, became corrupted. Then came Jesus and his gospels. But even they were contaminated by the inhabitants of the earth. So Mohamed, the fourth chosen one emerged, receiving the Qur'an directly from God.

George knows that Islam prescribes five prayers a day all of which take place in the form of varying rites. He also understands that on Fridays, the noon prayer is said in the main mosque.

Friar George relates that he tried to escape captivity no less than eight times, but always in vain. Then he started to doubt whether it was not God's will for him to suffer this way, and whether he should not convert to Islam. His candour is surprising; he could easily have concealed his wavering, but instead, he points out that it was not the Turkish religion that he came to like, but rather his desperation brought him to the brink of conversion. After six or seven months of hesitation, he emerged with a strengthened Catholic faith, spending the last fifteen years of captivity in a relative tranquility of mind. If he is not mistaken, his doubts were strongest around 1443–1444, János Hunyadi's winter campaign. It is perplexing that the friar does not mention what event eventually corroborated his faith. It might have been the success of the campaign or eventually his overcoming of a long and painful period of spiritual tortures. He also highlights that God does not allow the peril of those who have the faintest hope of salvation alive in their hearts. The chapter concludes with a biblical quotation from the Book of Revelation. George refers to the verse where many Christians are assumed to abandon their faith during the period of ultimate afflictions, while he also cites two sentences from the Epistles of John and Paul, respectively:[212]

> And since the Church of the Antichrist is so built up as some building, precisely because of that, whoever will see how its fundament is devoid of truth will be ready to see the collapse of the entire building afterwards.[213]

A devil unleashed operates, then, through the Turks. All that remains for the author is to wait for the final trial:

> For just wait a little and you shall see in this sect such a high degree of tyranny and such a magnitude of triumphs achieved by them that neither Alexander the Great's, nor the Romans' victories can be compared to them, even though they had conquered the entire world at the time. For in the wars of this sect – unlike in the battles of those old tyrants – not merely the human bodies will be killed one after the other, but the universal, general and eternal peril of souls and bodies will take place in all four corners of the world.[214]

George's work was published in 1481 and saw at least twenty-five editions until 1596 (Cologne, Strasbourg, Nuremberg, Augsburg and Wittenberg). Between 1530 and 1540, Johann Lufft printed it in Wittenberg, Friedrich Peypus in Nuremberg, Johan Koelhoff in Cologne, and Sebastian Franck also printed a German edition. The edition of 1530 was prefaced by Martin Luther.[215]

Though no inventory of books is extant from any of the monastic libraries, the Dominicans in Hungary must have read George's work, especially as the Turkish threat was looming ever larger. George's international renown could further boost the endeavours of the Transylvanian houses to establish an independent province. The view of the apocalyptic Turk could prove an even better ideology for Péter Petrovics's Turkish-friendly Protestant state concept, which justified the dissolution of most Dominican houses in Transylvania. After George's death, however, the Hungarian province started to gradually decline. Most Hungarian Dominican houses had ceased to exist in the 1540s and the early 1550s, following the defeat at Mohács. By the 1560s, only two houses had been left, one in Nagyszombat (present-day Trnava, Slovakia) and one in Beregszász (present-day Berehove, Ukraine). The Turkish catastrophe coincided with the order's thriving period, when, subsequent to the radical reforms in the second half of the fifteenth century, it had once again played an important role in Hungary's church and social life. In order to secure the support for the Dominican *studium generale* in Buda, King Matthias founded a school that, in all probability, ranked as a university.[216] No less significant for literacy were the Dominican nuns authoring and copying manuscripts.[217]

---

212 Balázs, *Két mű*..., 39–40.

213 Tardy*, Rabok...,* 108.

214 Ibid., 114.

215 Vikor Segesváry, Az iszlám és a reformáció. Tanulmány zürichi reformátorok iszlámmal szembeni magatartásáról 1510–1550. [The Islam and the reformation. A study on the opposition of Zürich reformers against Islam 1510-1550] Hága, 2005. 52.

216 András Harsányi, *A domonkos rend Magyarországon a reformáció előtt. Doctoral dissertation* [The Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit in Hungary before the Reofrmation] (PhD diss. Debrecen, 1938), 150–152.; Jenő Ábel, *Egyetemeink a középkorban* [Our Universities in the Middle Ages] (Budapest, 1881), 37–38.

217 Horváth, A magyar irodalmi műveltség megoszlása…, 146–147., 218–238; Domonkos Varga,

The dynamic development of the order is evidenced by the fact that in the early sixteenth century, further houses were founded. At this time, the order had at least 41 male houses and 5 nuns' communities in Hungary, most of which were convents with at least twelve brothers or sisters. Thus the province numbered at least 400 people. Both internal and external factors contributed to the dissolution of the Hungarian Dominican Province. Some buildings were destroyed in the Turkish wars. In Turkish territory, the houses would be fenced around; in cities with a Protestant regime, the friars and nuns were driven out of their convents; landowners occupied the newly freed quarters in more than one place. This made it impossible for the Dominican houses to continue their life as if nothing had happened. They could only carry on living the monastic life if the Dominican communities had reinvented themselves in this utterly unfavourable climate and sought another monastic way of life for a temporary period. But that would never happen. Instead, masses of Dominicans moved to other provinces of the order.

The weakening of the Dominican Province in Hungary was also intensified by internal frictions. In the 1520s and 1530s, the Transylvanian *contrata* strove to establish its own independence from the rest of the Province. During the 1560s, however, a conflict broke out between the vicar and the convent in Nagyszombat, which culminated in the official dissolution of the Hungarian Province in 1569. The house of Nagyszombat, annexed to the Bohemian Province, proved not only incapable of reorganizing the expiring province but also of survival at large. The continuity of the Dominican Province in Hungary was formally guaranteed by the nuns who waited patiently until they were allowed to establish a new Dominican convent in 1638 in Szombathely.[218]

"A szent Domonkos-rend és a magyar kódexirodalom," [The Order of Saint Dominic and the Hungarian Codex Literature] in *A szent Domonkos-rend múltjából és jelenéből*, ed. Sándor Horváth, (Budapest, 1916), 222–256.

218 Iréneusz Wysokinski, OP, "A magyar domonkos rendtartomány felbomlása," [The Dissolution of the Dominican Province in Hungary] in *A domonkos rend Magyarországon*, ed. Pál Attila Illés and Balázs Zágorhidi Czigány (Rendtörténeti konferenciák 4. Series ed. Sándor Őze), (Budapest, 2007)

And there appeared a great wonder in heaven: a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars.And she, being with child, cried, travailing in birth and in pain to be delivered. And there appeared another wonder in heaven: behold, a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads. And his tail drew a third part of the stars of heaven, and cast them to the earth. And the dragon stood before the woman who was ready to be delivered to devour her child as soon as it was born. And she brought forth a manchild, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron; and her child was caught up unto God and to His throne. And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared by God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days. And there was war in Heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels, and prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in Heaven. And the great dragon was cast out — that serpent of old called the Devil and Satan, who deceiveth the whole world. He was cast out onto the earth, and his angels were cast out with him. And I heard a loud voice saying in Heaven, "Now have come salvation and strength, and the Kingdom of our God, and the power of His Christ; for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, who accused them before our God day and night. And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb and by the word of their testimony, and they loved not their lives unto the death. Therefore rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them! Woe to the inhabitants of the earth and of the sea! For the devil has come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time." And when the dragon saw that he was cast unto the earth, he persecuted the woman who brought forth the manchild. And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place, where she is nourished for a time and times and half a time, from the face of the serpent. And the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away by the flood. And the earth helped the woman; and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood which the dragon cast out of his mouth. And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and he went to make war with the remnant of her seed, who keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of

Jesus Christ. And I stood upon the sand of the sea. And I saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name of blasphemy. And the beast which I saw was like unto a leopard, and his feet were as the feet of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion. And the dragon gave him his power, and his seat, and great authority. And I saw that one of his heads was, as it were, wounded to death, and his deadly wound was healed. And all the world wondered after the beast.And they worshiped the dragon which gave power unto the beast, and they worshiped the beast, saying, "Who is like unto the beast? Who is able to make war with him?" And there was given unto him a mouth, speaking great things and blasphemies, and power was given unto him to continue forty and two months. And he opened his mouth in blasphemy against God to blaspheme His name, and His tabernacle, and them that dwell in Heaven. And it was given unto him to make war with the saints and to overcome them; and power was given him over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations. And all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the Book of Life of the Lamb, slain from the foundation of the world. If any man have an ear, let him hear.

(Revelation 12:1-13:9)

Turkish Danger and Franciscan Apocalypticism in Early Modern Hungary

Only some of the new waves of the mendicant orders, the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians and later the Jesuits, along with some heretic groups, could give an original response to Joachim's prophecies regarding the "new religious man". The Franciscans were partially mystics, which made them suitable to the mediating role between the active and contemplative orders, as envisioned by Joachim.

Magyar István Lénárd writes:

> The strict and lenient observance of the *Rule,* as well as the Franciscan way of life became apparent already during the life of Saint Francis. Much to the luck of the new-born order, some of the early generals of the order counted as excellent people as John of Parma (1247-57) and Saint Bonaventure (1257-74). They were successful in harmonising the two disparate trends. The majority of the order did not give up their original aims, nor did it embrace a more relaxed life, but they took account of the real world in their mission.[219]

Apocalypticisim is, of course, present in both Testaments, and its expectation had been there with fluctuating intensity before Saint Francis. Curiously, the appearance of Francis and his order was foretold by Joachim of Fiore. In his prophecy the would-be Franciscan order has an extraordinary role. We do not know whether Francis was aware of Joachim's prophecy, but the Calabrian abbot and his text exerted remarkable influence upon the Franciscan perception of history.

Joachim and Observant Franciscan Apocalyticism

Franciscans embracing the Joachmite teachings saw Francis as one of the angels of the Apocalypse, while others regarded him Elijah reborn.[220] The most famous representative of this current was Provincial John Peter Olivi, whose work divided history into new periods and placed his own age between the fifth and sixth ages of the Church. According to him, the final fight between good and evil will be introduced by the precursors of the Antichrist: false philosophers and the traitors of the pure

---

[219] István Lénárd Magyar, "A spirituális mozganaktól a ferences obszervanciáig," [From spiritual movements to the Franciscan Observance] *Vigilia* 1999/2, 100-104.
Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*..., 192.

[220] Ibid., 192–194.;

evangelical poverty. Olivi connected Francis to the Second Coming, and made him central to the apocalyptic speculations within the order.[221] Olivi was extremely influential among his contemporaries.[222] A new reformist group in the order was formed by Giovanni della Valle in ca. 1325, eventually becoming the Observant branch. Another outstanding Franciscan follower of Joachim's teachings was Bernardino of Siena, who also held that the sixth age of the Church began with Francis, and drew parallels between the twelve companions of Francis and the disciples of Christ. The soaring eagle, the sealed book and angel possessing the seal of the living God and the returning Elijah can all be applied to Francis. The foundations of New Jerusalem will be the two mendicant orders, the Franciscan and the Dominican. The Blessed Amadeus of Portugal[223] from the fifteenth century was also a follower of Joachim, as evident from his *Apocalipsis Nova*, dictated to him by the archangel Gabriel, as legend has it. His revealation of the hidden meaning of the Apocalypse referred to the Angelic Pope.[224] This work was used by Pietro Colonna[225] and Guillaume Postel.[226]

The influence of the international Franciscan order could be felt in all parts of the united and sundered Hungary of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, irrespective of the fact which empire held sway over the divided parts. It was not only powerful in the Catholic regions where the order was the only one present, but as we will see below, among the Protestants as well. In an article, presented at the 2005 conference

221 Ibid., 196–203.

222 His follower, Ubertino de Casale, the leader of the Spirituals, stressed evangelic poverty instead of *spiritualis intellectus*. Due to the persecution of his disciples he identified the Catholic Church with the whore of Babylon. Ibid., 204–209.; McGinn, *Az Antikrisztus*..., 170–175.

223 Also known as Johannes Menesius de Silva, he was born in 1431, and after a troublesome life sought the Franciscan order. Travelling then to Italy, he formed his strict congregation, which became part of the Observant branch during Leo X. Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*..., 233.

224 The concept of the 'Angelic Pope' appeared towards the end of the 13th century, based on the works of Joachim, who thought that a new Joseph or Daniel should be born to represent papacy. The expectations of the Spiritual Franciscans focussed on Celestine V, of whom great reforms were awaited. After his abdication, papacy went through a serious crisis.

225 In the first half of the sixteenth century Pietro Colonna (Petrus Galatinus Plugia) was the disciple of Joachim and Amadeus. He became provincial of the Observants in Bari. His *Commentay on the Apocalypse* reforms the Joachimie Programme: as Joachim lived in the fifth age of the Church, he could not have seen the future clearly. Colonna believed that the sixth age had begun in his life, and it will be the golden age of the Church, closing with the sufferings of the last Antichrist. The third *status* of the soul was also to come during this period, and history fulfilled: the whole world was to come under the reign of the Angelic Pope, assisted by the Ruler of the World. He also believed the Francis and Dominic were the emissaries of God in the fifth age. Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*..., 234–238.

226 Guillaume Postel likely discovered the book in 1547, in Rome. He studied it in the Franciscan house at Ara Coeli, and came to the conclusion that he himself was the Angelic Pope. Reeves, op. cit.; McGinn, *Az Antikrisztus*...

on the influence of Franciscan spirituality on Cantral European history, I discussed the role that the order played in opposing the Reformation.[227] A theory is useful only if it motivates us to think and rearranges the old and new data in novel patterns. This is especially true in subjects which have little or no new data and constrain us to refine our old knowledge. Such a topic is the history of Reformation in Hungary.[228] As science changes in the light of the research methods and work hypotheses, so must the relationship of the historian change with their previous writings, especially if new data comes to light about its central characters. If the researcher is not vain, they will not take any shame in their outdated ideas, as these have become part of the development of a workshop, a national science and *in toto* the knowledge of mankind. Even less should be the feeling of error when it becomes apparent that the data employed was wrong, or in need of augmentation.

My research into early Reformation and the role of the Franciscan was criticised by Szabó, who, in discussing the writings of Zoványi cites my treatise as the follower of a mistaken view.[229] The originator of the theory, or "legend" as he calls it, was Jenő Szűcs, who saw a connection between the Reformation and the radical apocalyptic movements preceding the peasant rebellion of Dózsa.[230] Although he did not make profound research into the matter, he investigated the names of the first Hungarian reformers and found a number of Franciscans among them.

227 I identified three common background factors in the biography of the early reformers of Hungarian ethnicity: Franciscan education or other sort of spiritual influence, provenance from the Southern borders of Hungary and first-hand experience of the military frontier zone. I pointed out the common traits of ideology and historic role between the Franciscans and the early reformers; that is their treatment of the trauma, apocalypticism and social sensitivity. We can confirm that the majority of the early reformers came from the Southern Borders, attacked or threatened by the Turk. They originated from the frontier zone where the Turkish wars of the preceding 150 years had become the centrepiece of Franciscan ideology, as well their personal and family experiences. The responses one could give to the situation varied from subjugation to confrontation; what one could certainly not do was ignore the challenges.

228 The scholarly consensus is that there is no likelihood of the discovery of a significant amount of archival or library material which could transform the hitherto established picture of Hungarian Reformation.

229 "I must treat the inexterminable legend which claims that the Franciscan order would have contributed the most to Reformation, as most of the first reformers were members of the order. […] Lately it was Sándor Őze who, on the basis of Zoványi's lexicon, collected a long list of names whom he claimed to have been connected to the Franciscans." András Szabó, "A magyarországi reformáció kezdete és az átmeneti korszak a reformátorok életútjának tükrében," [The commencement of Hungarian reformation and the intermediate period in the light of the biographies of reformers]. in *Szentírás, hagyomány, reformáció. Teológia- és egyháztörténeti tanulmányok*, ed. Beatrix F. Romhányi and Gábor Kendeffy, (Budapest, 2009), 224–231; For the most detailed exposition see: Őze, *A ferencesek*...

230 Szűcs, *A ferences obszervancia*..., 128–163.

He did not conclude that any connection existed between them.[231] Szakály's 1996 monograph, *Mezőváros és reformáció* [Market town and Reformation] elaborated on this thesis[232], and demonstrated his theory with the market-town origin of the first generation of reformers. The work was much debated[233] and I also published my critical assessment,[234] which was known by Szabó as attested by his paper read at a 2001 conference on Szakály's *Mezőváros és reformáció* in Mezőtúr, Hungary.[235] He also quoted Szűcs:

> [S]ince the research of Szűcs we have been aware of the important role played by Franciscans in the ideological preparation of the Dózsa rebellion, as well as of the fact that their chilialism, prophetic self-consciousness and social sensitivity made them related in many things with the representatives of the Reformation.[236]

I doubted these assumptions.[237] The central question of the series of conferences

[231] Szűcs, *A ferences ellenzéki…,* 409–435.

[232] Ferenc Szakály, *Mezőváros és reformáció. Tanulmányok a korai magyar polgárosodás kérdéséhez* [Market-towns and reformation. Studies on early early Hungarian middle-class] (Budapest, 1995)

[233] An analysis of the debate: Molnár, *Mezőváros és katolicizmus*...,9–12.

[234] Őze…, *A határ és a határtalan*...

[235] András Szabó, ed., *Mezőváros, reformáció és irodalom (16–18. század)* [Market-town, Reformation and literature. (16-18. centuries)] (Budapest, 2005), (Historia Litteraria, 18). The volume includes the text of the presentations of the conference with the same title held on May 31, 2001.

[236] Szűcs, *Ferences ellenzéki áramlat…,* 409–435. (Translated by Tibor Tarcsay)

[237] "After these it is difficult to accept Szűcs's conclusion that a connection existed between the Franciscan apostates of the Dózsa rebellion and the Reformation. After the quelling on the revolution we do not have for decades any changes anticipating the Reformation; there are no migrating, sectarian groups, as with the Hussites. There is no increase in the Hungarian population of Moldva. It is unproven that the antagonism between the Observants and the Conventuals would have reached its climax in 1514 – thus Szűcs's theory, that the ideologist of Dózsa would have been apostate Observants, is groundless, especially because the 'schism' had ended in the middle of the fifteenth century with the victory of the Observants, who received with papal and royal support the houses of the Conventuals. In the area of the Délvidék the Observants even built new houses, e.g. in Szeged. In 1497 the two branches came to an agreement, often cited and renewed. Fábian Igali and Lukács Segösdi (both provincials) introduced strict regulations in the early sixteenth century, modelled on Observant practices.
The process was reinforced after 1514. The Conventual branch returned holdings to their donators, and from 1516 on they also used the name Observant. The only difference remains in the nomenclature of the provinces, 'Marian' and 'Salvatorian'. We could interpret this as the Observants coming under Conventual overwatch as a punishment, but as it is the Conventual branch which had to stress their wish to reform, and that on the model of the Observants, it seems rather unlikely. Disciplinary issues were always present, and apostasy appeared among the Observants in the next years – small wonder with the most dynamically developing Hungarian order, which numbered

organized on the theme of the history of religious orders (held from 2000 on at Pázmány Péter Catholic University) has revolved precisely around this problem: could there have been continuity between mediaeval pastoral care and devotion, the ideology used to respond to major contemporary issues (such as the Turkish conquest) on the one hand, and those of the sixteenth century on the other, or was there a radical disruption?[238]

1700 members. Many of them were obliged to participate in the crusade against the Turks as war-preachers. A great number of these are caught up in the events, but it is extreme to conclude that the Observant anticipated and contributed to the Hungarian schism.
Even after the revolution was put down, which would have meant the defeat of the alleged Franciscan ideologist, no Observant houses are returned to Conventual leadership. What is more, the Conventuals continue to languish, and the newly-built houses are all Salvatorian: Gerla, Ormosd, Kőröshegy. The social radicalism of the burgeoning Reformation, too, cannot be drawn into direct connection with the revolution. However, the memory of Dózsa's rebellion is vivid among the nobility as late as the 1560's. The reeve of Tamás Nádasdy, Ákos Csányi (an early Protestant) writes n 26.10.1555 that the Hajdus 'are drinking to that when the day of Saint George comes, there will be a thousand of them, as from Zala many villages have sworn oaths to them; from some villages 40 musketeers go to them; and from them I expect a great and evil revolution, an imitation of György the Szekler'. The noble-born Reformer, Melius writes that 'the rousing of a crusading army' is a false answer to tyranny. There is also negative evidence to the supposed entanglement of the Franciscan order and early Reformation. On the 'homeland' of Hungarian Reformation, in county Békés (foremost in the rebellion and with a strong tradition of Hussitism), on Gerla a new house is founded. They supported in the conflict of the two kings Szapolyai, 'Killer of Dózsa', offering him pastoral service, possibly because they were familiar with him from his campaigns in Délvidék. Their support of Szapolyai is reason behind their expulsion from Nagyszeben, a Ferdinandist city. The Franciscans would not do this if they had had deep grudges about the revolution 15 years before. It is natural that among the soldiers of Dózsa there would have been Franciscans, as they had been the most numerous order in Europe, whose task it was to preach against the Turk, and whose houses were mostly located in the southern and eastern regions." Őze, *Még egyszer...,* 118–134. For András Szabó's article that closed the debate see: András Szabó, "Hogyan használjuk Zoványi Jenő lexikonát? Válasz Őze Sándornak," *Egyháztörténet* 11, no. 1 (2010): 134–135.

[238] Művelődéstörténeti Műhely – Rendtörténeti konferenciák [Workshop on Cultural History – Conferences on the History of Catholic Orders]. Sándor Őze and Norbert Medgyesí-Schmikli, ed., *A ferences lelkiség hatása az újkori Közép-Európa történetére és kultúrájára, I-II.* [The effect of the Franciscan Order on modern Central European history and culture, I-II.] (Studies of the 14-16. October 2002 Piliscsaba conference). (Budapest–Piliscsaba: METEM, PPKE BTK, 2005). (Művelődéstörténeti Műhely – Rendtörténeti konferenciák, 1) 1086.p.; Csaba Szilágyi, ed., *A magyar jezsuiták küldetése a kezdetektől napjainkig*, [The mission of the Hungarian Jesuit Order from its establishment until today] (Studies of the 8-10. November 2004, Piliscsaba conference) (Piliscsaba: PPKE BTK, 2006), (Művelődéstörténeti Műhely – Rendtörténeti konferenciák, 2) 546.p.; Pál Attila Illés and Balázs Zágorhidi Czigány, ed., *A domonkos rend Magyarországon*, [The Dominican Order in Hungary] (Studies of the 24-28. October 2003, Piliscsaba conference)., (Piliscsaba–Budapest: PPKE BTK–METEM, 2007), (Művelődéstörténeti Műhely – Rendtörténeti konferenciák, 3)573 p.; Gábor Sarbak, ed., *Decus solitudinis: pálos évszázadok* [Decus solitudinis: Paulist Centuries]. (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2007), (Művelődéstörténeti Műhely – Rendtörténeti konferenciák, 4/1). 760 p.; Gábor Sarbak, ed., *Der Paulánerorden. Gesichte – Geist*

In my article concerning the topic I had always concentrated on the shock caused by the Turkish conquest, and considered the response each devotional movement and religion gave to it essential in their spread; that is, I had made this the starting point of all my discussions. The chapter on spiritual defence focussed on the role of the Franciscans in the southern frontier zone and the apocalypticism of the Woman clothed with the Sun (decidedly anti-Islamic). I stressed that the Franciscans were the greatest order in Hungary, and described the incredible destruction the monastic network suffered during the Turkish march to the north – this formed the greater part of the paper.

Professor Frier in 2002 supposed a connection between the development of Luther's ideas and Franciscan theology. Instead of a causal relationship, he postulated that the latter was an unavoidable ideology which elicited response – either rejection or acceptance.[239] I saw, and still see continuity between fifteenth-century Franciscan anti-Turkish and sixteenth-century Protestant apocalypticism, especially as the vessel of both was the suffering populace of the Délvidék, which moved to the north (taking their views with them) after the vast irruption of Turkish armies in the middle of the sixteenth century. They were offered coherent and continuous spiritual comfort only by the Franciscans.

"The centuries-long danger affecting the area, the multicultural and multi-confessional nature of the merchant and soldier-peasant classes, as well as its tight network of Franciscan houses enabled the incorporation of the social

– *Kultur,* Reichenherausgegeben von Őze, Sándor. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2007), (Művelődéstörténeti Műhely – Rendtörténeti konferenciák 4/2); Barnabás Guitman, ed., *A Ciszterci Rend Magyarországon*, [The Cistercian Order in Hungary] (Piliscsaba: PPKE BTK, 2010), (Művelődéstörténeti Műhely – Rendtörténeti konferenciák, 6.) 738 p.; András Forgó, ed., *A Piarista rend Magyarországon* [The Piarist Order in Hungary] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2010), (Művelődéstörténeti Műhely – Rendtörténeti konferenciák, 6.) 738 p.; Pál Attila Illés and Albin Juhász-Laczik, ed., *Örökség és küldetés: bencések Magyarországon, I-II.*, [Heritage and mission: the Order of Saint Benedict in Hungary, I-II.] (Budapest: METEM, 2012), (Művelődéstörténeti műhely – Rendtörténeti konferenciák), 1233 p.; Sándor Őze, et al., ed., Nyolcszáz Esztendős a Ferences Rend. Tanulmányok a rend lelkiségéről, történeti hivatásáról és kulturális-művészeti szerepéről, I-II. [The Franciascan Order is eight hundred Years Old. Studies on the spirituality, historical mission and cultural-artistical role of the order, I-II.] (Budapest: Magyar Napló, 2013), (Művelődástörténeti Műhely – Rendtörténeti Konferenciák 8/1-2.), 1314p.; Anita Bojtos, ed., *Keleti keresztény kultúra határainkon innen és túl*, [Eastern Christian culture in and outside of our borders] (Piliscsaba–Budapest: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2015), (Művelődéstörténeti Műhely – Rendtörténeti Konferenciák 9.); Forthcoming: A lazaristák Magyarországon [The Congregation of the Mission in Hungary].

239 Johannes Freier, A ferences teológia befolyása a reformációra: recepció és elutasítás között," [The effect of Franciscan theology on the reformation: between reception and denial] in *A ferences lelkiség hatása az újkori Közép-Európa Történetére és kultúrájára*, ed. Sándor Őze and Norbert Medgyesy-Schmikli, (Budapest, 2005), 143–157.

teachings of apocalypticism. Thus the order was predestined to fight against Reformation – but this was a fight different from the previous conflicts with heretics. Instead of the local Balkanic heresies, or the traditional enmity with Islam, the order faced an intangible foe, which attacked from the West, the heartlands, and roused its head even among themselves. The Reformation first arrived to Hungary from the university of Cracow, favoured and popular among Franciscans. Then Wittenberg became the 'target' of the first generation of Reformers from the 1540's onwards."

The network of parishes and the secular bishoprics were incapable of methodical defence against Reformation and the prevention of apostasy was beyond them, among others precisely due to their indissoluble involvement with secular politics. Many episcopal sees stood empty, and absenteeism abounded. There was virtually no training of priests, and for the ones already in work, there was no obligation to hold masses or visit their flock. The decisions of the Council of Trident were first put into practice in the northern part of Hungary only by Péter Pázmány, and in the southern parts only as late as in the eighteenth century. This was true also for the urban chapter schools and the monastic institutions: a coherent and unified doctrine, ideological influence and apocalyptic language was only offered by the orders, and among them, the most numerous was the Franciscan.

At the conference on the history of the orders papers were also presented concerning the Paulines[240] and the Dominicans.[241] These two orders were operative in Hungary for a relatively long time after the Protestant breakthrough. The former was also very much present in Hungary, but because of their nature and location were unable to fill the same role as the Franciscans. The Dominicans were more numerous in the neighbouring countries, and in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they conducted missions along the border. This was taken over by the fifteenth century by the Franciscans, and the Dominicans were diminished into an elite order which exerted its influence upon the urban intelligentsia.

Franciscans as military chaplains during the Islam wars

There was a spiritual frontier augmenting the pre-Mohács (1526) double frontier: the pastors of the border population were Observant Franciscans, and their houses supplied Délvidék with military chaplain. As a manifesto of their intentions the

240 Sarbak, *Decus solitudinis…*

241 Wysokinski, *A magyar domonkos rendtartomány...*

Franciscans spread the legend of the Woman dressed with the Sun, as constructed from Gen. 3:15 and Rev. 12:1 :

"And I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between your offspring and hers; he will crush your head, and you will strike his heel."

"And there appeared a great wonder in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars…"

"The moon of the Apocalypse was identified with the symbol of Islam, over which Mary (Christianity) shall triumph. Small wonder that this magical-mystical symbolism spread with incredible speed in the Central European countries, infected by Hussitism and threatened by the Turk as they were. This was especially true about Hungary, where Observationism fought its greatest and therefore most idealised battles. Their work was supported by prayers of the laity."[242] Bálint was the first to notice that the cult of the Woman clothed with the Sun possessed virtually magical aspects on the eastern and southern part most imperilled by the Turk.[243] This is also the explanation given to the Mary of Csíksomlyó by the 1740 *Manuale sodalium*, a devotional manual authored by laymen.[244]

The speech of Osvát Laskai (Franciscan general of Pest) on Saint Stephen I of Hungary in 1497 describes the task of the Hungarian nation thus: "this strong people, its bones and blood covering the mounts and valleys of diverse countries, was chosen

[242] Sándor Bálint, "A napba öltözött asszony," [The woman clothed with the sun] in *Sacra Hungaria. Tanulmányok a magyar vallásos népélet köréből*, ed. Sándor Bálint, (Kassa, 1943); cf. György Galamb, "A Huszita biblia és a ferencesek. Megjegyzések az első magyar bibliafordítás kérdéséhez," [The Hussite Bible and the Franciscans. Commentaries on the question of the first Hungarian translation of the Bible] *Egyháztörténeti Szemle* 10, no. 2 (2009): 3–12.; also: Őze, *A határ és a határtalan…*, 85-86.

[243] Ibid.; Hopp, *Az „antemurale és Conformitas"…*, 47. This argumentation also compounds with those used by the Franciscan authors of the Polish-Tatar wars.

[244] "ad augendum hic loci Sacratissimae Auxiliatrix Vestrae cultum, majoremque erga hanc fervorem in cordibus Vestris excitandum Vobis nuncupo: Vestrum proinde fuerit precum assidiutate, open eius, et Patrocinium implorare, nemque cujus Divino munimine Territorium hoc Csikiense ab omni prorsus labe haereseons immune adhuc, et incontaminatum perseverat. Hujus virtute potenciae, quam tortuosi colubri cervicem protritam credimus, omnia haereseos monstrae per latum terrarum Orbem penitus conticescant, Luna etiam Ottomanica sub pedibus ejus gemens in perpetuum conquiniscat. Optata tot votis pax, et tandem tranquillitas Patriae chorae proventat, glicentis circumquaque libitinae malacia sapiatur. Valete." Manuale Sodalium Seu Preces fructuosae, cultui Dei Genitricis Virginis Mariae sine Labe Conceptae, nuncupatae Militanti sub eodem Titulo Sodalitio Csik Somlyoviensi oblatae. Typus Conventus Csikiensis, 1740. 32v. quoted by Norbert Medgyesy–Schmikli, *A csíksomlyói ferences misztériumdrámák forrásai, művelődés- és lelkiségtörténeti háttere* [Sources and backgrounds regarding the cultural and spiritual history of the Franciscan dramas of Csíksomlyó] (Budapest, 2009), (Fontes Historici Oridinis Fratrum Minorum in Hungaria Magyar ferences források, 5 – Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar Művelődéstörténeti Műhely Monográfiák 5.), 40.

by God as shield against the Great Turk, that through our virtue and courage holy Christianity might enjoy its desire peace."[245]

The chilialism of the fifteenth and sixteenth century in Europe had many sources. As Cirill Horváth discussed, Pelbárt Temesvári claimed that the world cannot last beyond 1496. Tímár pointed out that the 33rd speech of Laskai's *Biga Sermonis Salutis* was based on a known anti-Turkish chilialistic pamphlet.[246] The imminent end of the world was given many possible dates. As we have seen, one of the results of the crusades and Franciscan activity was the 1514 Hungarian peasant rebellion, when the peasant armies, threatened by the Turk and expecting the Apocalypse, dragged the country into civil war.[247] Similar events occurred in Styria. These were actually foreshadowed during the 1456 deliverance of Belgrade by the crusader army of Capistran. Some scholars see an Observant social ideology in the background of these.[248] After the rebellion, anyone preaching for a crusade in Hungary was seen as a revolutionary. The conflict of 1514 and its bloody aftermath left both the aristocracy's private armies and the peasant militia weakened. Most of the Hungarian populace fit for battle was slaughtered 12 years before Mohács in a pointless conflict, and many professional soldiers fought on both sides (Dózsa himself was an equestrian officer of Belgrade).[249] After 1514 one generation was not enough to make up for the loss; and the psychological effects of the infighting were just as problematic: the Hungarian society was unable to cope with an additional internal enemy alongside the constant external threat.

It was deliberate that after the 1521 capture of Belgrade, and the 1526 defeat of the royal Hungarian army, the Turks wished to withdraw while leaving the gateway to the country open – most effectively achieved by a transfer of the Christian populace and driving away the Franciscans. This was when the houses of Szerémújlak, Atya, Alasán, Perecske, Paks, Györfy, Külyüd, Futak and Kabol were destroyed.[250] Some houses nevertheless survived the conquest, as the only order allowed by the Turks to remain active – notably, Catholicism wintered the occupation over mostly in the area of such cloisters (Szeged, Jászberény, Gyöngyös).

[245] Osvát Laskai, *Sermones de Sanctis perutiles* (Hagenau, 1494), Őze, *Bűneiért…*, Terbe, *Egy európai szállóige…*, 344.

[246] Cyrill Horváth, Temesvári Pelbárt és Codexeink [Pelbárt Temesvári and our Codexes] ((Budapest, 1891), 19.; Tímár Kálmán MK sz. 1910. cited by: Tarnai, *A magyar nyelvet…*, 207.

[247] Szűcs, *Ferences ellenzéki áramlat…*

[248] Ibid.

[249] István Tringli, *Az újkor hajnala. Magyarország története 1440–1541*, [The dusk of modern age. History of Hungary, 1440-1541](Budapest: Vince Kiadó, 2003), 101.

[250] Őze, *A határ és a határtalan…,* 1–103.; Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferenc…*; Szűcs, *A ferences obszervancia…*, op. cit. passim. Szűcs, *A ferences ellenzéki áramlat…*; Fodor, *Apokaliptikus hagyomány…*:i. m

Almost fifteen years ago I started my article by quoting Sándor Bálint.[251] As stated before, he was the first to point out that a quasi-magical cult of the Woman clothed with the Sun was in place at the frontiers of Hungary, forming what I chose to call a "spiritual defence line".[252] Hungary was from the very beginning a frontier country, situated on the borders of Slavic, German and Turkish peoples, of Islam and Christianity, and Western and Eastern Christianity, forced to adapt itself for centuries to the changing power structures, religions and ideologies. A response to this was the two-house parliament, which is typical of Europe's border countries, where the speed of decision-making is imperative, as any slowness results in material and humanitarian catastrophe. The attacks should have been repelled by the second most numerous nobility in Europe (after that of Poland), and the blocks of *Wehrbauer*(Kuns, Szeklers, Hajdus).

Is there continuity with Franciscan apocalytpics?

Apocalypticism has always existed; it is part off the Christian perception of History. The question is: which form of it was most influential in Hungary during the end of the Middle Ages and the Turkish occupation? The more strict and spiritual branch of the Franciscans, the Observants, inherited both from their own past and from the radical Joachimite doctrines elements of their apocalypticism. The above-mentioned influential speakers and generals nevertheless were painstakingly careful about not creating an expectation about a close end of the world (however the conflicts with the Turk and Islam might have escalated) and a lifestyle living in continuous "advent", which would have resulted in an elitist grouping of its followers, on the apocalyptic model of Joachim of Fiore.[253]

On the turn of the fifteenth century, the Franciscans published thick collections of sermons (penned mostly by Temesvári and Laskai), which abounded in exegeses and explanations of the phenomena of the Turkish danger, the Apocalypse and the early expressions of national consciousness. A popular parallel was that of Gog and Magog (from Ezekiel 38 and 39 and the Revelation) as the nations of the Last Judgement, and the wall constructed against them (Isaiah 26:1).[254] Szűcs often cited this as a basic argument in his polemic against Perjés in 1972.[255] According to him, Hungarian

[251] Őze, *A ferencesek és a reformáció*...
[252] Őze, *A határ és a határtalan...,* 86.
[253] Bárczy, *Ars compillandi*...
[254] Rózsa, *Ószövetségi*...; Rózsa, *Üdvösségközvetítők*...*,* 5–8.
[255] Géza Perjés, *Országút szélére vetett ország,* [The country led to the edge of the highway] (Budapest: Magvető, 1975).

Franciscan apocalypticism is opposed to the perception of history expressed by the chronicles of Kézai and Turóczi, and favoured by the minor nobility; nonetheless, this latter was used by Laskai's 1507 *Gemma Fidei* sermon-collection. Szűcs claims that the minor nobility's exclusive and xenophobic concept of nation influenced the head of the friary of Pest.[256] Madas revises this position in her 2003 *Prédikáció magvetésével a magyar nemzet védelmében* [Sowing sermons in defence of the Hungarian nation], where she analyses Laskai's foreword. She concludes that the friar in his desperation attempted to build a new national concept, and used the ideas of the minor nobility to that.[257]

Ten years after the publication of Szűcs's study, Tarnai's *A magyar nyelvet írni kezdik* [The Hungarian language is begun to be written] drew parallels between Franciscan and Pauline apocalypticism. He saw a genetic connection between the Gyöngyösi's *Vitae fratrum Eremitarum Ordinis Sancti Pauli Primi Eremitae*, Laskai's apocalypticism and the apocalyptic expectations of Joachim of Fiore with Pietro Olivi as mediator. Tarnai however acknowledges that the theory is not entirely convincing, and that further studies are necessary.[258] I, too, have stressed the role of the Franciscan network of cloisters, the military chaplains and its "spiritual defence line" in mediating the apocalyptic zeitgeistbetween the age of the Hunyadis and the ensuing pre-Mohács period of defence against the Turk.[259] Kapisztrán Varga found some evidence in the Pauline correspondence (concerning the transfer of derelict Pauline monasteries to Franciscan Observant hands that) the Pauline order had knowledge of the appearance of Olivi's teachings in Hungary.[260] Bojtos detected in the work of Szerémi and its visionary apocalyptic tone Franciscan influence.[261] Bárczy formed a methodology of analysis with her colleagues on the basis of the index words of the sermons of Temesvári and Laskai in her 2007 *Ars compilandi*. Her investigations assumed that "Western Latin Christian culture – its way of asking questions and replying to those – is profoundly defined by the relationship of certain

[256] Jenő Szűcs, *Nemzet és történelem* [Nation and history] (Budapest, 1984), 574–580.
[257] Edit Madas, A prédikáció magvetésével a magyar nemzet védelmében, [Defending the Hungarian nation by sowing preachings] (Budapest, 2003)
[258] Tarnai, *A magyar nyelvet*..., 194–195.
[259] The debate between Szabó and me still continues. Őze, *Még egyszer*...;Szabó, *Hogyan használjuk*...
[260] Kapisztrán Varga, "A pálosok és az obszerváns ferencesek kapcsolata a 15. században," in Gábor Sarbak, ed., *Decus solitudinis*...., 135–136.
[261] Anita Bojtos, "Hivatástudat és a közösségért való áldozatvállalás eszméje Szerméni György Epistolájának első felében," [The idea(l) of vocation and sacrifice fort he community in the epistola of György Szerémi] in *Nyolcszáz esztendős a Ferences Rend. Tanulmányok a rend lelkiségéről, történeti hivatásáról és kulturális-művészeti szerepéről*, ed. Sándor Őze et al., (Budapest: Magyar Napló, 2013), (=Művelődéstörténeti Műhely – Rendtörténeti konferenciák 8/1.)

index words." She found that Laskai allotted a special role to Muhammad, the end of the world and the Antichrist, even if he was careful no to go into any speculation concerning the date of the End.[262]

Here I must stop: Laskai's works were published up to the 1530s several times, and their influence is attested among Franciscans and other Hungarian groups. However, after this no collection of sermons appears until the first third of the seventeenth century – therefore the generations after the death of Laskai did not carry on the Franciscan tradition, or only sporadically. Medgyesy's seminal work on the sources of the Csíksomlyó mystery plays from the end of the seventeenth century analyses and apocalyptic play which probably goes back to mediaeval origins.[263]

If we bear in mind the statements of Szelestei about the system and practice of the seventeenth-century Franciscan sermons, we can say that there is a continuity between them and the mediaeval tradition. According to Szelestei, the sixteenth-century possessor marks in Franciscan libraries are indirect evidence to the fact that the books served as sources of active intellectual and homiletical practice.[264] We have also direct evidence of the latter (Fáy expects these sort of books not from eastern, Salvatorian Hungary, but rather from the western, Marian province[265]). The devotional items from Gyöngyös, Szeged and Csíksomlyó point mark several sixteenth-century pilgrimage sites, where sermons had to be said during the fesitivites.[266] The sixteenth century is precisely the age when the Franciscan order fought after its vast losses for its survival, and in the years of the Turkish ravages exhausted itself with trying to comfort the refugees. Naturally, its few members had no means and capacity to publish books.

In the preceding chapter we have covered how the Franciscans filled a key role in the spiritual care of the frontier population in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

---

262 Bárczy, *Ars compilandi*...

263 Medgyesy-Schmikli, *A csíksomlyói ferences misztériumdrámák*...

264 László Szelestei N., *Magyar ferencesek prédikációs gyakorlata a 17. században – Csíksomlyói kéziratos prédikációk*. [Preaching techniques of Hungarian Franciscans – Manuscripts of preachings from Csíksomlyó] (Piliscsaba: PPKE BTK, 2003).

265 Personal conversation.

266 Antal Molnár, *A katolikus egyház a hódolt Dunántúlon*, [The Catholic Church on Turkish-occupied Transdanubia] (Budapest. 2003); Molnár, Katolikus missziók…; Antal Molnár, *Püspökök, barátok, parasztok. Fejezetek a szegedi ferencesek törökkori történetéből*, [Bishops, monks, peasants. Chapters of the history of the Franciscan Order in Szeged in the Turkish-times] (Budapest, 2003); Molnár, *Mezőváros és katolicizmus*...; Gábor Tüskés, *Búcsújárás a barokk kori Magyarországon a mirákulumirodalom tükrében* [Pilgrimages in baroque Hungary in light of the literature of miracles] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993); Sándor Bálint and Gábor Barna, *Búcsújáró magyarok*. [Hungarian pilgrims] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1994).

To this end its perception of history used an apocalyptic model, which was formulated by the general order during its history. The Franciscans had mystical qualities, which made them fit for the role of mediation between active and contemplative orders, as envisioned by Joachim of Fiore. His apocalyptic views, however, are not very much present in the works of their outstanding Hungarian members, such as Laskai. Nonetheless, consciousness of the Islamic threat and its depiction in an apocalyptic manner leads us to believe that there was a radical Franciscan apocalypticism, which was generally known, against all the caution of the authors. We can conclude therefore that on the basis of the continuity of their libraries, the preaching and intellectual practice of the Franciscans were apocalyptic, and followed the apocalyptic perception of history throughout all their years under the Turkish occupation.

BUDA IS NOT LOST: CATHOLIC APOCALYPTICISM IN HUNGARY IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

György Szerémi

The Turks with their appearance at the end of the fourteenth century filled the role of the invading-prosecuting nation in the traditional apocalpytic framework. The Dominican and Franciscan friars among the inhabitants of the buffer zone employed concerning the Turks the same visionary apocalypticism which had its roots stretching back to Christian Antiquity and mediaeval Europe. Moreover, in this area there used to be a tradition of visionary apocalypticism, made acceptable and current by the constant dangers. Often the commoner, besides being required to do military service, was a prophet with his their soothsaying ability originating from the transcendent plane. It has been shown that in the buffer zones of Islam and Christianity, beginning from the seventh century, a lifestyle closer and more sensitive to the transcendental begins to spread. Each experienced this on their own level, sometimes mixing superstition with the doctrines of the official religion. It is not by chance that the prophecies of Pseudo-Methodius, recovered by Melanchthon, were born in one of the Syriac monasteries of the Armenian border, ravaged by the Byzantine-Arab wars and frequent invasions from Arab, Avar, Turkish and Khazar armies. The Orthodox-Catholic experiences of the Balkan front, already several hundred years old, as they approach the Hungarian border are mixed inseparably with popular beliefs.

This sensitivity, approaching superstition, amplified the already present apocalypticism, contemporising and enhancing the images of Daniel's empires, Gog and Magog from Ezekiel, and the actors from Revelation. People expected the immediate exaction of divine punishment in their mundane lives for the transgression of everyday norms.

Punishment, however, was visited not on the individual, but on the community: the invading enemy looted the area, razing dwellings. The infants and the elderly they slaughtered, while the young were taken into capture. Sinners often escaped, but this only made transgression an even greater danger to the community: while the perpetrator would be judged in the next world, the community shall suffer already in this one.

This view of sin and punishment gradually spread from the buffer zone to the entire Kingdom of Hungary, especially after the capture of Buda (1541). The totality

of the country became a community in a buffer zone. This change of crusading apocalypticism perhaps was not without social significance; during the previous Turkish incursion the elite could not secure the peace of the taxpaying populace, which maintained the country. Most historians take this to be the cause of the insurrections of 1437 and 1514. This is especially true about the Dózsa-rebellion, which devolved from a crusade endorsed by the pope and targeting the Turks, but nevertheless based on apocalyptic fears.

The participants of the campaign – forsaken internationally and even in Hungary – mostly hailed from the irregular soldier communities of Temes and Nándorfehérvár, with their priests coming from the Franciscans settled by the Hunyadis in the endangered Délvidék. The Franciscan apocalypticism is in its updated, social version names the nobility as the scapegoat. A fine example of this is the manuscript of György Szerémi, who considers the peasant revolt of Dózsa to be the centrepiece of the history of the peasant wars.

The tractates summarising the situation of the country after the Battle of Mohács, such as the work of bishop Brodarics (authenticated by two witnesses, and intended to be used at peace conference of Olmütz) were created upon the request of the Polish king, but were shortly circulated in all Europe. This text, [267] however, does not talk of the apocalyptic properties of the battle, but still hopes for the liberation of the country by diplomatic-military means – especially as by that time the Sultan did not conquer more than the border castles.

This all changed after the fall of Buda. Szerémi thus logically centralises the battle as an event of biblical significance, resulting in the loss of the king. Memories thus traditionally focus on the social transgressions of the elite.

The establishment of the Mohács-syndrome

György Szerémi builds the link between the traditional Catholic apocalyptic point of view, spread and popularised by the Franciscans on the southern front, and the re-ordered, largely mediaeval apocalypticism of the Reformation, developed in Wittenberg. This latter had its focus on the travesty of Mohács. Yet later, shortly after the fall of Buda, and seen from the irreversibility of Turkish conquest, the battle assumes a new significance.

---

[267] Tibor Kardos, tran., "Brodarics István igaz leírása a magyaroknak a törökökkel történt mohácsi összecsapásáról," in *Mohács emlékezete*, ed. Tamás Katona, (Budapest, 1976), 931.

Szerémi wrote his *Epistola de perditione regni Hungarorum* at the commission of Antal Verancsics.[268] The manuscript was found in 1840, [269] and the *Epistola* was first printed by Gusztáv Wenzel in 1857.[270]

Szerémi was probably born in the early 1490's. His father was a serf of John Corvin, and lived in Kamonc.[271] This city used to be considered as the centre of Hussitism in Délvidék.[272] György as a child was educated at Gyula, the former centre of south-eastern Hungary, in the Franciscan school. His years among the Franciscans of Békés and Szerémség worked certainly very powerfully on his historiographical ideologies: according to Enna Baroniek, Szerémi is "was brought up in the Franciscan culture of south Hungary", and his *Epistola* is related to the Observant chronicle of Balázs Szalkai, [273] as often the influence of the Franciscan "popular ideology"[274] can be evinced in it. [275] During the peasant war of Dózsa, he was living in the south of Hungary, and sympathised with the crusaders[276].

He was consecrated at Várad, and became the chaplain of bishop Ferenc Perényi. [277] Between 1523 and 1526 he was chaplain of the royal court, at the same time holding the title of canon of Arad. [278] He took sides with János Szapolyai after the battle of Mohács, remaining loyal to king to the end of his life. He spent most of his

[268] László Erdélyi, *A mohácsi vész nemzedéke. Néplélektörténeti korrajz egykorú emlékiratból,* [The Generation of Mohács. Depicting period mentality in light of a monochronic memoire] (Szeged, 1941), 32.

[269] Gábor Farkas Farkas, "Szerémi György hitelességének a kérdése," [The questionof György Szerémi's credibility] in *Az Egyetemi Könyvtár évkönyvei, 10*, ed. László Szögi, (Budapest, 2001), 66–67.

[270] Gusztáv Wenzel, Foreword to *Szerémi György II. Lajos és János királyok házi káplánja emlékirata Magyarország romlásáról 1484–1543 között*, [Aulic chaplain of Kings Lajos II and János, György Szerémi's memoire on the decadence of Hungary 1484-1543] ed. Gusztáv Wenzel, (Pest, 1857), (Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Scriptores I.) V–XXXIV.

[271] Erdélyi, *A mohácsi vész*..., 8.

[272] György Székely, "Élmény, néphit és valóság Szerémi művében," [Experience, folkways and reality in the book of Szerémi] in *Szerémi György: Magyarország romlásáról*, (Budapest, 1961), 7.

[273] Emma Bartoniek, *Fejezetek a XVI–XVII. századi magyarországi történetírás történetéből*, [Chapters of the historiography of sixteenth-seventeenth century Hungary] (Budapest, 1975), 58.

[274] Ferenc Szakály, *Virágkor és hanyatlás 1440–1711,* (Budapest: Háttér, 1990), (Magyarok Európában, II.) 107–108. This is most apparent in Szerémi in the description of the 1514 peasant war. (The Observant branch of the Franciscans was very strong by the end of the fifteenth century, and they gradually became completely involved in worldy affairs [preaching and spiritual care]. Their influence of the common people was great, and with the forceful spport of the nobility their lifestyle quickly spread from Délvidék towards the middle of the country). Szűcs, *A ferences obszervancia*..., 218–220.; Szűcs, *Ferences ellenzéki áramlat*...

[275] Quoted in Bojtos, *Hivatástudat*....

[276] Ibid.

[277] Erdélyi, *A mohácsi vész nemzedéke*..., 9.

[278] Ibid. 12.

time very close to Szapolyai, taking leave of him only occasionally. After the king's death, he most likely supported the son, Zsigmond János. We find his name in 1548 (almost 60 years old) in a register of the University of Vinna, for no known reason. [279]

According to Anita Bojtos, "his personality was determined by his upbringing, his Catholic priesthood, and the sense of impending catastrophe resulting from the nearness of the Turks. Even in a changed word, he wished to maintain the basic moral values. According to his idea of history, it was the lack of these, negligence, and all sorts of transgressions which lead Hungary to the edge of doom". [280]

Forgetting the events, *amnesia*, might have salvific effects in the case of some groups, and eventually the story might become a *myth*.[281] However, as the Turkish campaigns became the everyday reality of the first half of the sixteenth century, there was no way to forget them. The rampant crisis forced the main actors of the age to re-evaluate themselves.

According to Anita Bojtos, "During this re-evaluation the authors without fault reached the point where they confess their own crimes and negligence, as well as those of the community. They were faced with the fact that the almost unbearable tragedy is no other than the *direct result of their infirmity*, that is, *the righteous punishment of God*. The myth assumes its true place, and becomes from a single event the vessel of eternal truth and moral. It is elevated to the plane of syncretism, *removed from chronological order*, and is placed into the work of salvation, a sort of *permanent apocalyptic time*. [282] Guilt and apocalypticism thus can become the determining element of the zeitgeist of the age. This could be an explanation for the proliferation of memoirs and Protestant literary works which are burdened by the consciousness of sin and punishment, and the expectation of the Final Judgement. Transgression and retribution figure largely in Szerémi's work as well. He too places the political events of his age in a wider context. This would be unintelligible, however, without knowledge of the above."

The *Epistola* can be categorised as a literary piece on account of its versatility, even though its original aim was history. Its important elements are ordered around *nodes*, which have something of the southern Slavic heroic epic in them as well as bits of Hungarian history songs.

[279] Emma Bartionek has called attention to the fact that the text of the register implies an orientation towards Ferdinand. It might be that in Vienna Szerémi denied the years spent in the service of Szapolyai, and he only admitted to having been the court chaplain of Lajos II. Cf. Bartoniek, *Fejezetek*..., 60.

[280] Bojtos, *Hivatástudat*...

[281] Bojtos, *Hivatástudat*...

[282] Őze, *A határ és a határtalan*..., 265.

These nodes, according to Anita Bojtos, could be *commonplaces* (negligence, disloyalty, murder, oathbreaking, etc.), contemporary *topoi* (lamentation of Hungary, "the bulwark of Christianity", sin and punishment), *poetic tools* (the appearance of epic elements), or Szerémi's individual point of view (series of analogies, his own vatic role). His work is also characterised by a *symbolic-metaphoric* mode of thinking. Reality is presented in a chronologically compressed, *symbolic* manner in the parts interrupting the usually epic narrative.

Tragedy is "foreseen" by Szerémi, and is attributed to the nobility, which with its petty infighting ignored the management of the country and the preparation against the Turks.

"… since my childhood I had prophesied the ruination of my country among kings and lords, nobles and commoners. All, which your Grace will hereafter learn from my writing, nearly drove me insane already at that time." [283]

"The primary source of Szerémi's knowledge was the Bible, wherefore naturally he placed reality, as known by him, and his experiences, into a biblical framework".[284] This was also the foundation of his vatic role, which is evincible throughout the text and forms the link with the mediaeval anti-Turk crusading spirit. On the other hand, we feel that secretly he espoused the crusading ideas of Dózsa, which were based on the same tradition. The ideology of righteous war, defending Christianity and securing forgiveness and redemption underlies the description of the peasant wars. [285] This late mediaeval Christian mode of thinking, coupled with strong social criticism reached perfection *in the apocalpytic visions of Christian mysticism*.[286] According

[283] "These were written by priest György Szerémi, erstwhile chaplain of young king Lajos, and after his death, of king János. He went through many perils with them, but to no avail; for all his efforts were never recompensed. Nevertheless he often prophesied for them, and made his opinion known to them, and after returning from Częstochowa, staying in Cracow, he hid these in his memory, finally carefully committing them to paper by the help of the Blessed Virgin." Translated and quoted by Farkas, Szerémi György…, 37., 55. For the text of the manuscript see: Lajos Szádeczky, *Szerémi György élete és emlékirata*, [The life and memoire of György Szerémi] (Budapest. 1892), 495–496.

[284] Bojtos, *Hivatástudat*...

[285] László Baják, "Szerémi György világképe," [The Worldview of György Szerémi] *Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok* 1, no. 1 (1989): 123–136.; see also:Szűcs, *A ferences obszervancia*..., 213–216.; as well as: Szűcs, *A ferences ellenzéki áramlat*..., 410–411.

[286] Baják, *Szerémi*..., 128. The commentaries of the Observant Petrus Olivi (d. 1298) on the Book of Revelation were already widely circulated at this time (Szűcs, 1972, 216), and were taken over by the theology of the Paulians – at least, this is the conlusion drawn by Andor Tarnai (Andor Tarnai: A magyar nyelvet írni kezdik. op. cit. 109). The main agents of spreading chilialism were the Franciscans and Paulians: most likely because they had an expansive network of monasteries, which sped up the exchange of information and ideas.

to László Baják, the text interprets the apocalypse of Enoch and other parts of the Scripture, [287] and shows the greatest similarities with the prophesies of Isiah.[288]

The assumed closeness of the Apocalypse and the author's consciousness of biblical doom sets free Szerémi's prophetic voice, and results in the *Epistola*'s store of visions and Revelation – all of them set out in a biblical manner. For example, the vision seen during the siege of Vienna, in 1529:

"and I on the feast of Lawrence [9. Aug] saw a vision, while we stayed at Bodrog near the Danube, and I was reading the vigil of the dead. The camp of the emperor of the Turks was on the other side of the Danube, towards the right. It was broad daylight. Over the camp of the emperor of the Turks a cloud hung, as if it would have been a great haystack. And I, György, saw this vision: a king appeared in the cloud, with an crown of angelic likeness on his head, and in both his hands he raised a might hammer above his head. Underneath his feet a great chieftain lay with a crown; this chieftain was simple, and appeared like a hog…"[289]

Szerémi then recounts that the vision signified the unsuccessful campaign of the Sultan. His role as a narrator and as *vates* is the centre of the *Epistola*. We know that already his father made prophecies:[290]

"I consider it possible that this heightened expectation, this looking into the future is not merely the result of his formal education, but that there is something 'genetic' in it. Transcendental or fabulous explanations of events were part and parcel of the mentality of Délvidék. This naturally influenced the social and historical ideology of father György: he saw the greatest threat in the Turks, and from the thought of impending catastrophe he fled into lamenting the country.[291] His work's two basic

[287] Mt. 25:34; Gal. 4:26; Jews 12:22; Rev. 21:2. Baják, *Szerémi*..., 128.

[288] „Your fields-- strangers are devouring them in your presence" (Is 1:7) – „God has given the coutry of Pannonia to alien nations" (György Szerémi, Magyarország romlásáról, [On the decadence of Hungary] trans. László Erdélyi László, ed. László Juhász and György Székely (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1979), 181.); „Jaj a gonosznak! Rosszul jár, mert keze tetteihez mérten lesz fizetsége" (Is. 3:11) – „amilyen mértékkel mért, ugyanazzal a mértékkel mérnek vissza neki" (Szerémi, *Magyarország romlásáról...,* 40.); „women rule over them" (Is 3:12) – „They shall be ruled by womanly men" (Szerémi, *Magyarország romlásáról…..,* 337.) Szerémi acknowledges in the last case his indebtedness to Isiah.

[289] Szerémi, *Magyarország romlásáról*..., 235–236. He records other phenomena of this sort as well, not only his own, but what he had heard from others; e.g., Szerémi, *Magyarország romlásáról*.... 296 and 300.

[290] "and my father did say: God forbid that this castle [Belgrade] fall into the hands of the Turks: that would be the hardest strike against the whole bickering Christendom. – and my father's prophecy came to pass." Szerémi, *Magyarország romlásáról...,* 71.

[291] These already appear in the Foreword: "for this sweet country bore me; for her I lament day and night" Szerémi, *Magyarország romlásáról...,* 27.

characteristics earn it a place among the mainstream Central European literature of the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries: *anti-Turkish sentiment* (Turks as the scourges of God), and the hegemony of the *'Querela Hungariae'* topos."[292] – so Anita Bojtos.

Instead of etiological historical explanations, the narrative is guided by the succession of crime and punishment: these form a *moral conceptual pair*. Thus we have oath and oathbreaking; faith and unbelief; loyalty and disloyalty; sin and retribution. These act against each other, and these are the elements which form the plot. The sole ordainer of this moral conundrum God, and the system is based on divine will. The one who disentangles this system of correlations is Szerémi himself, the visionary. Events which hitherto have lacked explanation (as he had no knowledge of them), are incorporated into this religious, superstitious and visionary world. He did so, for example, with what he saw in the court of Louis (Lajos):

Louis was "from his infancy brought up to be evil: on every Shrove Tuesday he was made to be the prince of evil spirits, drawn into lechery […] and taught to dance"[293] and "every Shrove Tuesday I was made a fool of. They put on my head a Lucifer-head with the horns of an ox, and on my feet they put the feet of oxen. My nose was like a stork's, and I had the tail of a snake, which was against God and all the saints."[294] Thus he writes against carnivals, which made the king womanly and negligent, without authority.

According to Bojtos, "the divine system of ordainment nevertheless orders the events logically: the negligent king and nobility pay with their life at Mohács"[295]. The Old Testament magic, idolatry and cultic transgressions, sexual crimes and aggression against their own people result in the loss of rule and land.

By the middle of the century the trauma caused by the tragedy of Mohács, the topos of "punished for his crimes", and the eschatology of Wittenberg had been mixed with the eschatology of the Hungarian monastic tradition. The role of a prophet in Szerémi's life can be an idiosyncratic manifestation of the collective consciousness of a calling. He wrote his memoirs according to the rules of this apocalyptic view, in which the punishment of the "great forsakers" is a natural divine intervention.

Find biblical parallels (mostly from the Old Testament) beyond the idea of crime and punishment. "Pannonia, the Promised Land" is a literary topos of the day. Drawing parallels between Hungarian and Jewish history is not Szerémi's novelty: the Protestant András Farkas, along with other Catholic and Protestant preachers also use this method.

[292] Imre, *„Magyarország panasza"...,* 8.
[293] Szerémi, *Magyarország romlásáról...,* 134.
[294] Szerémi, *Magyarország romlásáról...,* 106.
[295] Bojtos, *Hivatástudat...*

According to the biblical idea of history (stressed before, during and after the Conquest), the Canaanites were sinful, and thus God obliterated them from the land.

Szerémi vituperates his age for primarily moral sins (oath- and troth-breaking; betrayal; changing sides; greed; rashness and unbelief), and social crimes.[296] These latter are most likely the results of the Szerémi's Franciscan education, as the Order is socially sensitive and eschews wealth and property.

As Anita Bojtos writes in her excellent treatise, "God exacted individual punishment on all in the view of Szerémi, and he stresses the retribution visited on the great forsakers especially. [297] Divine justice is usually done in the manner of their death. The community and the country have to make amends, however, in a different way: with an event which, should sinners not repent – could entail the possibility of the entire empire of Saint István. This event is Mohács."[298]

The most puzzling story in the loss of the country is that t*he sultan himself spied out Buda during a Corpus Christi procession*. In a letter dated on the Corpus Christi Day of 1501 (10 June) Thomas Dainerius, the ambassador of the prince of Ferrara, happening to be in Hungary, writes of the destruction of the sarcophagus of Muhammad. A prophesy stated that his teaching would survive until his tomb does. According to the ambassador's description, a model of the mosque, with puppets of the sultan and his soldiers were set up in front of the Church of Our Lady. The Hungarian king reached the model, it was sent on fire, after which the populace destroyed the remains of Muhammad's tomb.[299] After the act a festivity several days long followed, with "many lying on the floor, drunkenly sleeping."[300]

Szerémi barely mentions the battle of Mohács as a result or consequence. Military feats are of no importance to him.

"King Louis was […] young; he was taken like a lamb to be slaughtered."[301]

The "innocent" king destroyed by the pagan enemy is a martyr, whose sacrifice – together with that of his people – exonerates the common sin. The sultan as the leader of the apocalyptic nations is conscious of the righteousness of his deeds, and of the fact that he is God's tool:

[296] Őze*, Bűneiért...*, 40.
[297] Szerémi, *Magyarország romlásáról...,*. 66.
[298] Bojtos, *Hivatástudat...,* 66.
[299] Szerémi, *Magyarország romlásáról...,* 64. In Hungarian: Barlay, *Romon virág...,* 18–20. Quoted by: József Fógel, *II. Ulászló udvartartása (1490–1516)*, [The Royal Court of Ulászló II (1490-1516)] (Budapest: MTA, 1913), 125–126.; and Fodor, *Apokaliptikus hagyomány...,* 31–32. Ferenc Szakály dates the burning of Muhammad's sarcophagus "a few years before 1526, during Shrovetide". Bojtos asks whether the event could have been repeated. For European legends about the tomb, see: Segesváry, *Az iszlám*…, 63–64.
[300] Barlay, *Romon virág...,* 20.
[301] Szerémi, *Magyarország romlásáról...,* 121.

"I want to revenge the great prophet Jesus, the son of Mary, whom they call Christ; for the Hungarians offended him greatly; and our prophet Muhammad commanded us to respect him; he is a prophet, and none equal to him exists."[302]

We do not know what offence Szerémi is describing. It could be general moral decay. In the chapter describing the battle of Mohács Szerémi gives authentic data concerning the death of king Louis, but attributes the event to moral reasons: Louis had "since his childhood practiced lechery with maidens…"[303]

The text is present in Bonfini, although he mentions it on the vigil of the battle of Várna. Jesus is called by the sultan as witness in whose name the Turkish army shall revenge the offences done by Christians. According to Sunni teachings, Jesus will conquer the Antichrist, the Dajjal, and kill him. Possibly Szerémi knew this tradition, or perhaps he is merely using Bonfini: it remains a fact, however, that at Várna sultan Murad was confronted by a unified Christian offensive, and saw is own empire and Islam itself endangered. This is reiterated during the several days long conflict of Mezőkeresztes. In the case of Mohács, according to Szerémi, the young Suleiman is preparing for the fight during the holy war, when those killed by the forces of darkness are immediately transported to heaven. There are other correspondences between the two battles: both turned from defeat into victory for the Muslims, and according to both Islamic and Christian sources, it is the sultan's preparation for martyrdom which actually turns the tide. Again, at the siege of Szigetvár in 1566 many sources state that Suleiman was making ready for martyrdom: Ákos Csányi writes "the dotard sultan wants to die fighting".

Thus the narrator's vatic role constitutes the centre of the *Epistola*. The events are still unfolding, we are assured, and they have their own internal 'biblical' past (its prehistory, connected to Isaiah) and present (connected to salvation). This latter is what sets it apart from popular belief, which the *Epistola* elevates and transforms. In my opinion the apocalyptic mode of thinking does not necessarily depend on the otherwise clear presence of Olivi's text in the work. War creates its own space and time, its beginning and end, its nodes and logical system. The seer intrudes into the sacral space and time, where time prime mover is moral thinking which predetermines the result of the conflict. Sin summons its own punishment. The titular apocalyptic views can thus be found in Szerémi's opus as well. It applies a narrative style which mixes past and present in a vatic transmission of the chronology of the frontier. It is a curious mixture of the historical songs' verbal arrangements and biblical apocalypses.

[302] Szerémi, *Magyarország romlásáról...,* 121.

[303] Ibid. When recounting the murder of Lajos, both Szerémi and Miklós Tatai make György Szapolyai to enumerate the sins for which Lajos must atone. Szerémi, *Magyarország romlásáról...,* 132–134.

"The description of the murder of György Dózsa and Imre Czibak both assume a biblical, Passion-like quality. It is not unreasonable to assume that a special branch of late mediaeval preaching – perhaps precisely the apocalyptic one – often brought up and contemporised the Passion."[304]

Szerémi was perhaps the first who conceived of national sins at centre of a process of decay, with the result being the onset of punishment, the death of the nation. This is the inevitable and righteous punishment of God, with no other end than collective damnation. Although the work is only finished in the 1540's, shortly after Szerémi's death, we must place it at the beginning of our story, as it is earlier than the other developments of apocalyptic models.

The string of regicides (Ladislas V, Matthias, Louis II, Szapolyai) bear in them the fiction of doom, the criminally insane thoughts and actions a people against its order, laws, state and rulers.

The rebellion of Dózsa and the following mindless rage of revenge, the loss of Belgrade, the destruction of castles and the economical exhaustion of the country can be the only rational results. This all is given in a biblical-prophetical framework, superimposing the events on the scene of the Passion.

Therefore the visionary apocalypticism of Szerémi is an important piece of evidence. As I have said, no Latin translation was circulated, it nevertheless proves the wide dissemination of the view which, even if not Joachimite, is nevertheless influenced by the popular beliefs of the Balkans, shedding a stark light onto the life of Délvidék.

According to Herbert Vorgrimler, "the genre of apocalypticism considers the events of history forseeable in the form of revealed visions. The author actually provides explanations for the events of their age. Apocalypticism looks from the future into the present, foretelling what shall come to pass, and interprets the present in light of that. It compresses history in a picture-like metaphoric way. As everything is determined, the urgency to convert is missing. Its important style-markers are the use of the first person singular and verbose visions. Characteristic of the genre is the fiction in which God reveals the final days as a narrative. This is done in order to warn the people of the present, whom it takes to be evil and sinners, to convert."

Szerémi, even if not assuming a pseudonym position, tells the story himself after the end of the events, after the total ruination: the grossest sins, the betrayal to pagans, the cruelty of the Hungarian nobles and bishops against the army of Christ. The parallel between the Jew's Promised Land, and Hungary's devastation as Canaan is also present. The territory of the angelic crown connects the country directly to the

[304] Bojtos, *Hivatástudat...*

transcendental sphere. King János's disregard for this, and the murder of anointed kings also places the narration on the biblical plane. In the Old Testament the gist of the prophecy of Deutero-Isaiah is liberation, re-establishment and God's love towards his people, with a stress on the mediating role of Izrael and the mission of God's servant. Szerémi's text displays the greatest similtude with Isaiah's prophecy. The destruction of churches, the crass selling of the holy articles, blasphemy and the murder of priests are focal points in Szerémi and the Old Testament prophets. The slaughter of the anti-Turk crusader army fits the context especially well, as since the fifteenth century a papal bull has identified Muslims with te kingdom of the dragon.

His narration handles time curiously, gathering all events around nodes. This is due to the transcendental time of the narration which takes place on the moral plane, and has moral goals. As a prophet, he can look both backwards and forwards. Szerémi, in accordance with the genre of apocalypticism, looks back to the process from after the final destruction, and foretells the path towards is from that vantage point. He warns his generation: he wishes to make to world better, and his arguments are the frightening images of sin and punishment.

FROM THE NON-DENOMINATIONAL NEUTRAL ANTICHRIST TO THE DOCTRINE OF THE DOUBLE ANTICHRIST IN IMRE OZORAI'S PAMPHLET

2 Thessalonians 2:1-11

[1] Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ and by our gathering together unto Him, [2] that ye be not soon shaken in mind or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as if from us that the Day of Christ is at hand. [3] Let no man deceive you by any means, for that Day shall not come, unless there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition, [4] who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God or that is worshiped, so that he sitteth as God in the temple of God, showing himself to be God. [5] Remember ye not that, when I was yet with you, I told you these things? [6] And now ye know what withholdeth, that he might be revealed in his time. [7] For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now holdeth back will hold him back, until he is taken out of the way. [8] And then shall that wicked one be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of His mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of His coming— [9] even him, whose coming is according to the working of Satan, with all power and signs and lying wonders, [10] and with all the deceit of unrighteousness in those who perish, because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. [11] And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie, [12] that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.

Imre Ozorai: Christ and Antichrist

The work of Ozorai treating the problem of Christ and the Antichrist was written in Hungarian, thus obviously aimed at the commoners of the first half of the sixteenth century. The title and the publication of the book was subject to much debate even prior its printing.[305] Its creation and author is shrouded in mystery, only glimpsed

[305] "Published with the support of Mistress Perényi, in Cracow, in 1535, written Imre Ozorai: *De Christo et eius ecclesia, item de Antichristo eiusque Ecclesia* [i.e., Concerning Christ and his Church, and the Antichrist and its Church], reprinted in Cracow in 1546". Horváth, *A Reformáció jegyében...,* 29.

by the coincidence of the names in university registers[306], its patron and traditions about the history of the Church (e.g. that Ozorai allegedly visited Gyula and the domains of the Massais and Nádasdys).[307] It is theorised that he might have been a Franciscan friar; at any rate, at his birthplace and later visits to Southern Alföld and the University of Cracow would have put him in contact with them. Ozorai could have been born at Ozora, Tolna; or perhaps lived there before its 1543 Turkish capture. The eulogy of chancellor Balázs Fabricius Szikszai[308] at the funeral of János Vitus Balsaráti (7April 1575) gives away important details concerning the beginnings of the Reformation in Transtisia.[309] Here we can concentrate only on the analysis of the work.

Csepregi in his latest work distinguishes a pubic and private polemic in Hungary regarding the Antichrist; according to him, the Turks first become involved in the issue after 1541, e.g. in the works of Dévai and Szkhárosi, and further afield, in the

306 Esze*, Sztárai*...,89–194.; Szakály, *Mezőváros*...; Ferenc Szakály*,* "Adalékok Szegedi Kis István és Skaricza Máté életéhez és működéséhez," [Some data on the life and activities of István Szegedi Kis and Máté Skaricza] in *Mezőváros és reformáció. Tanulmányok a korai magyar polgárosodás kérdéshez,* ed. Ferenc Szakály, (Budapest, 1995), 92–172.

307 Szikszai names Ozorai as a pioneer hero of the Reformation, and names him as the protege of Gáspár Drágffy. Since Drágffy (high ispán of Kraszna and Középszolnok) was born in 1516, it is likely that Ozorai enjoyed his support only very late. The only further information we have on him is that he studied in 1530-31 on the universities of Cracow and Wittenberg, a semester each. Cf. Csepregi, *A reformáció nyelve*..., 280.; Ozorai's activities as a Reformer are traditionally associated with the market town of Békés and the holdings of Drágffy in the Upper Tiszavidék.

308 Fabricius Balázs Szikszai*: Oratio funebris de vita et morte... Johannis Viti Balsaratii...*, Clemens Schleich et Antonius Schöne, Wittenberg, 1576. (RMK III. 658.) – András Szabó, A késő humanizmus irodalma Sárospatakon (1558–1598), [Late humanistic literature of Sárospatak (1558-1598)] (Debrecen: Hernád Kiadó, 2004), (Nemzet, egyház, művelődés, I), 49–50. – Hungarian translation: Ágnes Ritoókné Szalay, trans., "Fabricius Balázs Szikszai: Halotti beszéd Balsaráti Vitus János életéről és haláláról, 1575. április." in *Janus Pannonius – Magyarországi humanisták,* ed. Tibor Klaniczay, Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1982), (Magyar Remekírók), 942–974. AC 2, 253.; Schrauf 2,28, 99 (nr. 707); AAV 1, 141. More or less reliable data of the tradition was provided by: Imre Révész, *Krisztus és Antikrisztus. Ozorai Imre és műve. Tanulmány a magyar protestáns theológiai gondolkodás kezdeteiből*, [Christ and Antichrist. A study on Hungarian protestant tehological thoughts] (Debrecen, 1928), 168–173.; Esze, *Sztárai Gyulán*..., 128–133.

309 Studied at Gyula with the stipend of Mistress Anna Jaksith. The text is not clear on whether this was a Catholic or Protestant school, merely stating that "the light of the knowledge of the Gospel began to shine in our lands at this time". Later he appeared at the school of Erdőd (owned by Drágffy), under the tutelage of István Kopácsi. Erdőd was an important centre for early Reformation, and the speech names the preachers active on the lands of Drágffy: (Mátyás Dévai, András Batizi, Imre Ozorai), saying that together with Kopácsi, these four were the pioneers of the Reformation in this area. Ritoókné Szalay, *Szikszai Fabricius Balázs: Halotti beszéd*..., 946–948, quoted by Szabó.

texts of the Wittenberg school.[310] It is a fact that apocalyptic expectations were heightened in Hungary and Saxony after the fall of Buda,[311] and Csepregi writes:

"This concept [the problem of the Antichrist] appeared publicly only relatively late, but was very much present in the private sphere, as evidenced by the investigation against Georg Stolz and the correspondence of Gergely Simontornyai and Gergel Coelius in January 1534, in the aftermath of the appearance of Luther's postille."[312]

The first appearance of Orozai's text is unknown; the first extant copy is from Vietor, Cracow, 1546, but its 1535 publication was refuted by Holl.[313] The proposed influences that could have led to its creation are diverse: according to Csepregi, its theological argumentation bears traces of the theses of the 1544 Debate of Várad[314]. Although difficult to prove due to the "translations" and "Hungarianisations',

310 Cf. Imre, *„Magyarország panasza"...,* 116–125., 166–173.; Fodor, *Az Apokaliptikus hagyomány*..., 37–39.; András Szabó, "Die Türkenfrage in der Geschichtsauffassung der ungarischen Reformation," in *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance,* (Frühe Neuzeit 54.) ed. Guthmüller et al. (Tübingen, 2000), 275–281.; J. János Varga, "Europa und die „Vormauer des Christentums": die Entwicklungsgeschichte eines geflügelten Wortes," in *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance*, (Frühe Neuzeit 54.) ed. Guthmüller et al. (Tübingen, 2000), 55–63.; Őze, *Apokaliptika és nemzettudat*..., also: Őze, *Az apokaliptika mint legitimációs*...

The theses do not name the opponent, and make not mention of the Pope or the Roman Church (which is evaluated as false by Dévai only once, in the *Expositio examinis*), instead always resorting to paraphrase: "those who hunt the Gospel", "those who hearken not to the word of Christ", "those who claim that…". This is the same problem as with the texts written during Dévai's 1533–34 stay in Buda, where the speeches targeting the general audience are much more moderate than his private correspondence. Csepregi, *A reformáció nyelve*..., 236.

311 "Dévai's 1543 spring letter to Melachthon thanks the master for freeing him from such doubts. Between these two letters were the Wittenberg stay of Dévai, and his intimate discourse with Melanchthon, as well as his personal experience of the Wittenberg views on the Apocalypse, the book of Daniel and the Antichrist. Although Dévai might have had read and even cited the works of his master, it is only now that he internalised his concept of the Church and history." See: Sólyom, *Luther és Magyarország*..., 79–109.; Botta, *Luther Antikrisztus-fogalmának hatása*..., 51–65.; Őze, *Bűneiért*..., 100–110.; Leppin, *Antichrist und Jüngster Tag*...; Imre*, Arbor Haereseon*..., 53–81., 64–73.; Pál Ács, "Apocalypsis cum figuris. A régi magyar irodalom történelemképe," in *Történelemkép. Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából*, ed.Árpád Mikó and Katalin Sinkó, (Budapest, 2000), 48–63.; Pál Ács, *„Az idő ósága." Történetiség és történetszemlélet a régi magyar irodalomban* [The ancient-ness of time. Historical consciousness and approaches of history in old Hungarian literature] (Budapest, 2001); Péter, *Az utolsó idők*...; 1542.3.8. ETE 4,14-16; 21k.

312 ETE 2,314.- quoted by Csepregi, *A reformáció nyelve*..., 234.

313 RMNy nr. 64.; Béla Holl, "Ozorai Imre vitairatának kiadásairól," [On the publishing of Imre Ozorai's pamphlet] *Magyar Könyvszemle* 92 (1976): 156-170.

314 "we cannot exclude that Ozorai's relatively long work could have had existed only in manuscript form for months before reaching Cracow and being printed. If it took years for the Transtisian author to find a printer, obtain the price of printing, ship the MS and perhaps review the work before printing, then the *Christ and the Antichrist* could have been composed during or shortly after the Debate of Várad. Csepregi, *A reformáció nyelve*..., 280.

Melanchthon's 1543 *Loci* is also felt by Csepregi to have been a considerable influence on the work, and he analyses the relationship between the *Loci* and the Debate of Várad.[315]

Horváth writes: "As far as theology is concerned, Ozorai maynot be systematic but proves nevertheless to be the student of Luther and Melanchthon. He has scholastic knowledge, and is familiar with the Church Fathers (presumably because he had been a Catholic priest of friar); but his only guide is the Scripture, and faith is his only way to salvation (*sola fides*). It seems that he includes confession, *poenitantia* and *absolutio* among the sacraments, but acknowledges only baptism and the Host as the true sacraments. His theory of the Communion is also Lutheran: the body and blood of Christ is actually present in the "person of the bread" and "person of the blood". The intercession of the saints and Mary is interpreted by him as praying "commonly" for all, and "particularly" for one; he is not against their honouring, but makes a point of being based upon love, and not servitude – we should follow them as our examples, and thank them to God. He takes his arguments from the Scripture, from the Vulgate, citing it variously in Latin and Hungarian. His style is graphic."[316]

Nevertheless, the Antichristology of Ozorai is not fully Lutheran. He does not identify the Son of Damnation with the Pope; instead, the Devil is the Ur-Antichrist, acting through his "members", and all enemies of the Church can be called Antichrist. He defines the foes of the Church much like Melanchthon and Luther: false teachers, who claim that we achieve forgiveness of our sins by keeping the commandments, good works, attendance of the mass and fasting, by the intercession of saints, celibacy, Latin liturgy or Communion in only one kind. He denies that the country's misery was caused by the spread of the new faith.

As we have seen, a scholarly consensus about Ozorai's theological sources has not been formed. Horváth, Révész, Holl and Bucsay are not full convincing in their argument that Wittenberg is the definitive influence, or that Swiss elements can be discerned by the close comparison of German, Latin and Hungarian texts.[317] Even the latest treatise on Ozorai, written by Csepregi, does not pronounce a firm conclusion.[318] However,

[315] Ibid.

[316] Horváth, *A reformáció jegyében...,* 32.

[317] Révész, *Krisztus és Antikrisztus...,* 184–190.

[318] Ozorai's definition: "The *Christ and Antichrist* defines the two opposing worlds simply: the Church of Christ is constituted by all who follows His words and Gospel, whereas the Church of the Antichrist is made up by his disciples and by those who hold on to human creations." The argument of the work closes thus: "The Church of the Antichrist, even if it says a thousand times that it believes and lives in Christ – lives against the word of God, not with it; does not love and trust God; does not love its neighbour as it should; has no thought to live according to God; deliberately decides against God; and does not live in harmony with the will of God as far as humans could." The general definition and its refining is in concordance with the ecclesiology of Bucer and Wittenberg, perhaps being a euphemism for

for me the central aim is not to uncover the theological roots of the work; I analyse it from the aspect of apocalypticism, and here it is demonstrable that Protestant elements are in place (vague as its Antichristology might be);[319] nevertheless deeply rooted in Hungarian tradition, and updated to cover the Turkish peril. In this case the decisive factor is not the date of Wittenberg masters' first realisation of the looming danger – they, after all, received tidings from no other than Hungary.[320] Moreover, Ozorai was born in Délvidék, and as he wrote to his compatriots, he had to use their lives as the basis of his arguments (even if we disregard the possible Franciscan influence). In his text against the Antichrist Turks appear alongside Catholicism as a source of peril.[321]

"Question 17 [asked by an opponent]: 'It seems to me that shortly after you had begun preaching what you claim to be the word of God, great evil befell us, and I believe that God did send this great misery on us because of your preaching; for behold, before we hearkened to it, we were at peace.' To this I reply: Once upon a time the people who claimed themselves to be the people of God did not nevertheless live according to the word of God, as they worshipped idols. No justice was among them, but falsity, tyranny, unfairness, and all manner of loathsome sins. Thus God went, and put upon them great misery in order to teach them. He also sent them men decried their sins to live according to God's word. […] So today the cause of war is not preaching of the word of God, but their obstinacy in not receiving it."[322]

Ozorai's definition of the Antichrist is of "great liquidity" and extremely vague.[323]

Papists, asseverating Christ but in reality living by the Antichrist. If Ozorai assumes a wider range of hypocritical people, going beyond the theology of Wittenberg, this might be due to Swiss ecclesiology. It is certain that in the foreword of the second edition Ozorai remains in the framework of Melanchthon's theology.Ozorai fol. Ff1v-2r.Ozorai fol. Ff2r-v.

[319] "His is work is the first Protestant one to be printed. Although Ozorai speaks of 'papist Christians's, he refrains from denigrating the pope. He states that from the Bible it is apparent what the Church should be, and anything else should not be accepted, then moving on the his discourse upon the Antichrist and its Church. Horváth, *A reformáció jegyében...,* 30.

[320] Sándor Őze– Mihály Dobrovits, "Wandel des Türkenbildes bei den ungarischen Protestanten im 16. Jahrhundert," *Suevia Pannonica: Archiv der Deutschen aus Ungarn* XVIII, no. 28 (2000): 42-47.

[321] Thus Nemeskürty's assumption of Ozorai's ignorance of the crisis of the Turkish conquest is incorrect. István Nemeskürty, *Ozorai Imre vitairata. Krakkó: 1535*, [Imre Ozorai's pamphlet – Cracow: 1535.] (Budapest, 1961).

[322] Ozorai Imre, *De christo et eius Ecclesia item de Antichristo, eiusqve Ecclesia*. Krakkó: 1535, RMNY. 15.

[323] Révész, Krisztus és Antikrisztus. op. cit. 196. The vagueness is only increased by Ozorai's constant switches between plural and singular Antichrist/s. This is not due to any subscription to the Wittenberg doctrine of the double Antichrist, but rather a way to stress that „there is one head, but many members"; i.e., that the model of the Church is appliccable to the folk of the Antichrist as well. Csepregi, *A reformáció nyelve*...,

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT FROM ANDRÁS SZKHÁROSI HORVÁTH'S PROTESTANT POINT OF VIEW

The Biblical Parallel on the Protestant Half

Sin and Punishment

Twenty years ago I published a book on apocalypticism in the sixteenth-century Hungarian Protestant tradition. After long years of digressions from the study of early modern apocalyptic views, I returned to it from a different perspective. I realized that it has become timely to reconsider my own conclusions. My more recent research results and the output of scholarly literature in the field have helped me to revise my previous findings.

Thus the fifth book of Holy Moses does write,
In chapter twenty and eight you'll find it right:
By dread of God in speech you shall abide
To avoid the worst in the course of your life.

Should you the word of Lord God disobey
And His word and commandment betray,
Upon you cruel curses shall fall, and dismay,
Behold and hearken to me, I thee pray.

He'll send the pestilence you to devour,
He will beat you with sickness and misery,
With heat and cold and great penury,
With draught and diseases, sore and sour.

Thy heaven that is over thy head shall be brass,
And the earth that is under thee shall bear iron grass,
Thy land shall drink rain of powder and dust,
Its cracks against thee shall to heaven combust.

God shall thee to thy enemies deliver,
Thou shall serve them in thirst and hunger,
With a yoke in thy neck they shall destroy thee
And in dire need they shall distress thee.

The Lord shall bring a nation from far,
Thou shall not understand their tongue,
Their fierce countenance shall not the old regard,
Nor shall they show favour to the young.

Thus Holy Moses the will of God did tell,
The Lord's wrath and curse against sin did swell,
At Doomsday they shall see with their own eyes
The lot of those who forsook God's advise.

But what to this world the anger of the Lord,
His curses, His blows, and his whipping scourge,
The draught, the locusts and the pestilence,
And sicknesses of long continuance?

What use is for Turks their savageness,
The decay of the godly and their bitterness,
Of virgins and children utter distress,
The ferocity captive orphans suffer in excess.

Yet from Buda the Turks loudly clamour,
Their outcries, as locusts, over us thunder,
Well you see the gorge of raging pestilence,
All they warn to think of God's testament.

Poor earth often for us suffers thirst,
Evil sin the heaven into brass has turned,
Only the dust it eats it may to us return.[324]

The composition of this poem by András Szkhárosi Horváth in 1547 coincided with György Szerémi's *Epistola.*[325] By 1544 the castles of Central Hungary had fallen

[324] András Szkhárosi Horváth, *Az átokrul* [Of the curse] (RMKT XVI. II/2 207–214)
[325] Judged by his name, Szkhárosi Horváth probably originated from the Souther Borders.

to the Turks. After 1529 not only Hungary but the German-speaking lands were terrified by the Ottoman intrusion. The Turks became to be identified with Antichrist and the executors of God's punishment.

The Turkish occupation was a cataclysmic event in the mid-sixteenth century. The history of the panic-stricken communities was paralleled with the Old Testament Jews. Szkhárosi's poem claims that the basis for the juxtaposition is Deuteronomy, in which the Lord threatens his people with individual and collective curses, should they not obey His laws. Szkhárosi, however, ignores that God's covenant is established for the future. The Jews were promised to be delivered from persecutions and to become the elect nation of God, provided that they turn away from sins. This historical perspective of the Deuteronomy permeates the Bible.

András Skhárosi Horváth was an active reformer of faith in Tállya, located in the Tokaj region. His audacious song addresses the population of the wine region, living amidst the scattered estates of the Perényi family. (The Tokaj region itself was settled by the refugee population of the Syrmian wine region after 1526. Within a generation, they successfully took over the role of the Southern Borders in producing sweet white wines for the Northern trade towards Poland. As a matter of fact, one of the slopes was named Tarcal after a mountain in the refugees' homeland, which meant "mountain peak" in Old Hungarian. The neighbouring settlement of Tállya, the home of Batizi's and Szkhárosi's reform activity, was also called Tarcal. The Syrmian Tarcal was situated close to the military ferry of Szalánkemén on the Danube, which had regularly been used by the Turks on entering Hungary.[326])

Szkhárosi's vehement social radicalism and anti-Catholicism was combined with the apocalypticism of the Turkish threat. Szerémi, as we could see, was indebted to Franciscan apocalypticism, as well as to the Hussite heterodoxy of the Southern Borders against whom the Franciscans were campaigning. The Judaic-Hungarian parallel could have derived inspiration from several sources slanting with chiliastic millenarism. The first half of the century still maintained the hope of a peaceful political settlement of the Turkish threat, while the increasing output of sermon and polemical literature of the second half of the century offered a vision of contemporary processes in terms of apocalypticism.

Historiographic tradition has associated him with the Franciscans. Between 1542 and 1549 he was evangelizing in Tállya.

326 Attila Hevesi, "Hogy ihatnám a Szerémnek borát Szőlő és borvidékeink történeti földrajza," ["How could I drink the wine of Syrmia?" The historical geography of our grape and wine regions] in *Borok és Korok. Bepillantás a bor kultúrtörténetébe.* ed. Zoltán Benyák and Ferenc Benyák. (Budapest: Hermész Kör, 1999), 93.

The Occurrence of the Topos and Aspects for its Analysis

I have identified thirty-eight authors of sixteenth-century religious writings who used the Judaic-Hungarian parallel. The areas of their activity practically covered the entire territory of mediaeval Hungary.[327] The relatively balanced distribution of the *topos* led me to conclude that the Judeo-Hungarian parallel cannot be located as it evenly spread in the country. The popularity of the *topos* cannot be limited to one specific social layer, as its proselytizers ranged from serfs to aristocrats and among all denominations.

The history of the *topos* had ebbs and wanes. Its appearances culminated in the second half of the sixteenth century and the period following 1660. As a result of the serial defeats, the word "liberation" its political connotations in the last third of the sixteenth century and became to be associated with apocalypticism. The invincible Turk started to be identified with Gog's people in John's Revelation, while the Germans with the soldiers of Antichrist as the protagonists of an imminent end of times.

The population of the country found themselves on the battlefield of a universal clash. Whether they would be beckoned to the realm of light or darkness at the final Doom would be decided by moral decisions on both the personal and the collective level. We are sinners, priests tell us, but God inflicts suffering on the Christians because He has a purpose with His people. This is a sign of election, since the elect must endure tribulations. This way leads back to God, imposes penitence on the faithful, defines aims and tests the sincerity of the love of fellows.

The writings attest that the sense of election is very tentatively articulated in the early period of the *topos,* and the meaning of the collective identity marker "Hungarian" varied from work to work. The *topos* called the subjugated people to passivity, i.e. enduring the cruelty of Antichrist, the tyrant sent to revenge their sins, because the end of times was imminent. Those bound to fight by their profession, the argument continues, were obliged to fight even at the expense of their life, provided

327 The major consequence of biblical eschatological thought was the interpretation of an emerging sense of collective sin in a parallel of Hungarian history with the Jews of the Old Testament. András Farkas'ss writing of 1538 was the first to juxtapose the Jews's wandering in the desert with the migration of the Hungarian ancestors through the steppes, as well as the settlement in the divinely promised homelands of Canaan and Pannonia, respectively. He argues that victorious and great kings ruled both peoples, as long as they obeyed God's laws and commandments. After both of them had abandoned God, God also turned away from them according to Moses's curse, and their lot became defeat and captivity. Farkas does not elaborate on the nature of the sin and does not provide a vision for liberation either. All we know about the context of this narrative is that he had already been a supporter of Reformation teachings.

that they had severely repented for their sins. The *topos* of the Old Testament parallel instructed people to form strictly regulated and disciplined communities whose members are strongly tied by their shared religion against the horrors of the Apocalypse; furthermore, they should prevent external aggressions by the avoidance of moral depravity.

The fifteen-year war temporarily suspended the trauma of the sixteenth century. The myth of the invincible Turk was gone, and the two Antichrists were reinterpreted as political opponents. The overall atmosphere of the expectation of the Doom gave way to the new concept of national self-liberation. Following the period of passivity, Bocskai successfully mobilized masses and showed real political alternatives.

The historical view of the Old Testament, which offers a model for thought, does not posit the nation as an immanent frame for action, but as an idea with inherent values and related to the transcendental, which gains validity only in periods of crises. An epoch with a predominantly cataclysmic atmosphere, in which there is no real chance for normalcy and people have to rely on ideologies to build homes, to give birth to children and to hope for daily survival, transposes the solution into the transcendental sphere.

Shared sin and a sense of election are both proved by shared punishment. The everyday history of this region frequently experienced the collective punishments of towns and nation, which confirmed the fatalistic and apocalyptic attitudes of the people.

Mentalities and Catalogues of Sins

We may logically infer that such a world has no interest in modernization and prioritizes mainly defensive behavioural patterns. The fundamental experience of people is not that of immanence, which would enhance the motivation to live, work, accumulate wealth and strive after comfort. Their only hope is laid in God, and their language operates with metaphors and symbols on a moral level. Yet, as soon as the chance of a normal life and real political alternatives opens up, the transcendental mechanism wanes. Gáspár Károlyi, most zealously preaching the events of the Turkish occupation and the ensuing end of times, may most aptly illustrate a case of holding with the hare and running with the hounds: while he was trumpeting the Apocalypse, he was engaged in managing his wine business.[328]

There are no reliable instruments and criteria to measure how pervasive the collective identity defined by the *topos* was, and whether its present was continuous

[328] András Szabó, ed., *Károlyi Gáspár a gönci prédikátor.* [Gáspár Károlyi, the preacher of Gönc] (Budapest: Magvető, 1984), 205.

until a clear sense of Hungarian national identity took shape in the Reform Age of the early nineteenth century. Our sources, however, indicated unarguably that the Judeo-Hungarian parallel surfaced in situations when it was instrumental to heal the effects of a collective shock, that is in epochs with a similar psychological disposition of the nation encouraging passive and defensive strategies.

This book approaches the *topos* along three questions that constitute its pillars: (1) What sins did the age identify that provoked the anger of God? (2) Why does God use the Turks to punish? (3) What is the Hungarian nation? My discussion will not incorporate the portrait of contemporary society that can be reconstructed from the catalogues of sins. The theme of sins, as part of the *topos,* occasions many authors to formulate the social expectations and norms of the respective age.[329]

[329] My discussion will rely on the following writings in which the *topos* of the Judeo-Hungarian parallel appears, all published in Régi Magyar Könyvtár [Old Hungarian Anthology] sixteenth century, Vol. 2: András Farkas, *Az zsidó és magyar nemzetről* [Of the Jewish and Hungarian nations]. 13-24; András Batizi, *Jónás próféta históriája* [The history of the prophet Jonah]. 98–95; *Meglőtt és Meglöendő dolgokról* [Of things gone and to come]. 95–113; *Az vitéz Gedeonról* [Of doughty Gideon]. 74–81; András Szkhárosi Horváth, *Vígasztaló ének* [Song of consolation]. 161–163; *Az Antikrisztus országa ellen* [Against the realm of Antichrist]. 163–168; *Az fejedelemségről* [Of principality]. 168–177; *A fösvénységről* [Of avarice]. 187–199; *Az átokról* [Of the curse]. 207–214; Balázs Székely, *Az Szent Tóbiásnak egész históriája* [The complete history of Saint Toby]. 325–333; Old Hungarian Anthology, Vol. 4: Mátyás Nagybánkai*, A nyomorúságokban való vígasztalásról* [Of consolation in miseries]. 3–4; Mihály Siklósi, *Psalmus LIII.* 45–47; Orbán Battyányi, *A háborúságnak szenvedéséről* [Of enduring war] 53–54; Péter Ilosvai Selymes, *Ptolemeus király históriája* [The history of King Ptolemeus]. 208–240; Anon, *Psalmus CIII.* 71–74; Old Hungarian Anthology, Vol. 5: Balázs Radán, *Háborúságnak idején való könyörgés* [Prayer in times of war]. 3–4.; András Dézsi, *Makhabeusról* [Of Maccabaeus]. 29–41; *Moyses és Józsue hadáról* [Of the host of Moses and Joshua]. 50–57; Mihály Sztáray,*Psalm XXXII.* 68–88; *Psalm XII.* 77–78; Old Hungarian Anthology, Vol. 6: Gergely Szegedi, *A magyarok siralmas éneke a tatár rabságról* [The miserable song of the Hungarians about the Tartar captivity]. 8–14; *A veszedelmekről, melyekkel Isten Magyarországot ostorozza* [Of the tribulations with which God inflicts Hungary]. 209–212; *Psalm LXXI.* 230–234; *Psalm XXIX.* 222–224; *Psalmus XXXVII.* 228–230; András Szegedi, *Historia …*; Anon, *Manasséról és Nabugodonozorról* [Of Manasseh and Nebuchadnezzar]. 75–81; Anon, *Jeremiás Próféta siralmas*...[The miserable lamentations of Jeremiah]. 82–84; Anon, *Jeremiás prófétának könyergéséből* [From the lamentations of the prophet Jeremiah]. 85–87; Anon, *Magyarország siralma* [The lamentation of Hungary]. 87–89; János Torkos, *Absolom…* 41–93; Old Hungarian Anthology, Vol. 7: Máté Erdéli, *Szent János Baptista…* [Holy John the Baptist] 3–9; Ferenc Németi, *Psalm LXIII.* 155–159; *Psalm LXXVII.* 159; Mihály Dobokai, *Szép dicséret* [A fair praise]. 297–299; Old Hungarian Anthology, Vol. 8: Anon, *Cantio pulchra* 15; Anon, *Szép dicséret* [A fair praise]. 16; Miklós Bornemisza*, Elezár pap mártíromsága* [The martyrdom of priest Eliazer]. 23–35; Clerk János Temesvári, *A Béla királyról, mint jöttenek be a tatárok és elpusztították egész Magyarországot* [Of King Béla, as the Tartars invaded and devastated entire Hungary]. 178–200; Miklós Sztárai*, Az Vízözönnek históriájáról való szép ének* [A fair song of the history of the flood]. 258–268; László Zeleméri*, Psalm II.* 219–221; Péter Újlaki, *Psalm III.* 118–120.

In my previous study of the books of *postille*, I systematically registered each mention of a sin together with the author of the sermon and the place of its composition. By now, I have reassessed this method as ultimately futile, since I do not believe that the women of Nagyszombat (present-day Trnava, Slovakia), chided by Péter Bornemissza, would have been more lecherous than those of Alsólendva (present-day Lendava, Slovenia), who were less moderately corrected by their local preacher György Kulcsár. In the former case, Bornemissza's own temptations and struggles may have been projected on his environment. It is also very unlikely that people of the Hortobágy region of the Central Great Plains would have been less prone to steal than those of Trencsén (present-day Trenčín, Slovakia). What seems to be the case is rather that the only difference between the sixteenth-century early capitalist "privatizing" mentalities was that the Plains tempted the local populace with the abduction of cattle, while mountainous Trencsén with wood theft. The merchants of Cluj (present-day Cluj-Napoca, Romania), disciplined by Ferenc Dávid, did not, of course, scuffle more in pubs than the military communities whose brawls were more tolerated by the county statutes. Nevertheless, the systematic register of sins helped me greatly to identify the ones most commonly associated with the instruments of God's punishment. On the one hand, I classified sins according to the frequency of their occurrences in the sources; on the other one, I created three categories according to their theme:

(1) sins committed against God,[330]
(2) sins of social relevance (including abuse of power),[331]
(3) sins of a personal nature reflecting the changing views of the early modern social transformation.

This classification has incorporated my preconceptions as well as my refutations of other research results. For example, I could not confirm István Nemeskürty's claim that the order of sins in the catalogues would have been determined by the Protestant preachers' criticism feudal social order. Neither could I demonstrate that the priests of various denominations would put the blame on each other for provoking God's wrath.

Almost a decade after the publication of my previous research results did Ida Fröhlich raise the question in what ways these priests knew that the majority of the sins committed against God, judged most severe in the catalogues, could be traced back to Jewish rules of chastity. The idolaters, the sorcerers, those that shed innocent blood and the whoremongers (as this one was also classified among

330 Ranked as idolatry and violations of worship int he Old Testament.
331 Ranked as violence against one's own community in the Old Testament.

the sins against God) were to be driven out (i.e. not allowed to be buried in their homeland). The rules of chastity were in all cases related to human blood or other bodily humours, and strongly connected to the most serious crimes against God and the community.[332]

Twenty years ago, I approached this topic continuing the research of Kálmán Benda. He debated with Géza Kathona over the question whether the apocalypticism of the *topos* analysed here was indebted to Calvinist or Wittenberg influences in sixteenth-century Hungary.[333] Since then research has revealed that the answer is more complex.[334] On the one hand, the Turks appear as God's punishment first in the Lutheran idiom, and affect subsequently those studying in Wittenberg, while Zwingli and Calvin are reluctant to make rhetorical use of the Apocalypse. On the other hand, from the mid-sixteenth century the second-generation German and Swiss Calvinist theologians are more apparently afraid of the apocalyptic hordes of the Turks than their Saxon Lutheran contemporaries.[335]

Accordingly, the subject matter of the compilations was determined more by the geopolitical position of the respective community and the degree of threat than actual denominational affiliations, as will be discussed in the following. This also supports the need for and interdisciplinary and interdenominational research project which underlay the volumes of the *Egyháztörténeti emlékek a magyarországi hitújítás korából* [Records of church history from the age of the Reformation in Hungary] series, edited by Vince Bunyitay, János Karácsony and others.[336]

What Justifies New Historico-philosophical Arguments? The Victorious Turk, he Turkish Occupation of Hungary and Wittenberg

> The Turks yell that God is One, who created heaven and earth, but they would not believe that this One God appeared to this world through His Son; they thus err in their knowledge of God. They also shout that God wills that we

332 This mentality reflects biblical (and ancient oriental) views which can be traced back to connective justice. Jewish thought arranged these sins in a system of ritual purity (ethical impurity and sins making earth unclean).
333 Kathona, *Károlyi Gáspár*...; Benda, *A magyar nemzeti hivatástudat*...
334 Sándor Őze and Mihály Dobrovits, "A Korán-cáfolat műfaja közép-európai reformáció és katolikus reform eszmei fegyvertárában," [The genre of the refutation of the Qur'an in the intellectual arsenal of Central European Reformation and Catholic reform] *Egyháztörténet* 2 (2009): 19–33.
335 For more detail, cf. the chapter on Swiss theologians below.
336 Bunyitay, et al., ed., *Egyháztörténeti emlékek*..., 252–254.

listen to Mahumet… They also yell that they are the people of God, because the Lord gives them victory," Imre Ozorai writes in his polemic.[337]

The *topos* derives from the Anonymous of Szászsebes (present-day Sebeș, Romania). The Dominican friar records that the Turks used this argument to enhance their confidence and to destabilize their Christian prisoners. Earlier, as we have mentioned above, Gregorius de Hungaria attributes an apocalyptic role to the Turks already in the fifteenth century. While it is not evidenced by the Qur'an, Luther's polemical writings with Islam often posit that the Turkish victory at Mohács was not due to the shortcomings of the king and the realm, but to God's inscrutable and sovereign will. Elsewhere he writes that it is impossible to fight in sin and without conversion with the Turks. Turks are not as successful against the tartars, because God's punishment affects only Christians and not the Muslim enemies of the Turks.

It seems though that the argument effectively deployed against the Christians held in captivity in Turkey almost a century earlier triggered now the panic of the Turkish chiefs of administration. They were afraid that the fear of the local populace would launch a wave of conversion to Islam on the occupied territories:

> Sultan Selim the Emperor was pondering what he should do against Székesheférvár. His spies and the Hungarian peasants running to him with their gifts reported him on that. The emperor announced than that these semi-pagans should settle in peace and sit peacefully in their paternal heritage, every day in the emperor's perfect faith. As the poor peasants heard this, they poured to the emperor from Baranya and Somogy counties and many a one from elsewhere; they were all given a warrant in their hands and were encouraged by the emperor of the Turks that they should not escape from their lands but stay in peace. Finally, the emperor saw that the faith of the Hungarians was as perfect as that of the Serbs. Thus says the Emperor Sultan Selim to the Hungarian peasants: 'How did the Hungarian nobility and magnates rule over you?' As the semi-pagans heard this, each of them started to accuse their lord with various unjust measures and unlawful government.[338]

This passage by Szerémi suggests that the Ottoman argument and the series of their victories had a deep impact on the Hungarian peasants in the initial phase of the occupation. Balázs Székely writes:

[337] Imre Ozorai, quoted by Nemeskürty, *Ozorai…,* 23-24.
[338] Szerémi, *Magyarország romlásáról…,* 275; cf. also Őze, *A határ és a határtalan…,* 192-197.

> Sons of Israel, which art now in captivity!
> Let's praise the Lord in their captivity.
> I myself say my praise in my captivity,
> As you showed your grace in my misery.
>
> Curse on them who despise God the Lord
> Whom we, alas, with much lament do abhor.
> Where Christians convert to the pagans' lore,
> Christ they despise and Mahound the adore.[339]

The oriental thought that the winner enjoys God's support had become more and more widespread since the apocalyptic writing of Gregorius de Hungaria. Moreover, since András farkas first used the *topos* of the Judeo-Hungarian parallel in 1538, preachers' writings often allotted the Promised Land and the sense of election to peoples turning away from paganism. The theory of the poet goes that the Turks settling among the Hungarians may even be tolerated by God to stay, if the natives are not willing to convert, which reinterprets the Turks as the new elect:

> My fellow Christians, much I dread
> Lest deaf ears bring us grievous death,
> And our land should go as did Amalek;
> Well you see, we live amongst pagan threat.
>
> In times of old, we lived in idolatry,
> Now we have received God's great mercy;
> Though the Turks now be in savage atrocity,
> To truth they may be led by Holy Trinity.
>
> Nay, if they exist in malignity,
> God may turn them to benignity;
> They may be converted to justice divine,
> As I read in the sooth-saying of Christ.
>
> Hungarian, thou God's saying despised
> And His holy lesson utterly disliked,

[339] Balázs Székely, *Az Szent Tóbiásnak…*[Of holy Toby] RMKT II.332.

Holy words as rotten apple out thou threw,
There may arise one who knows its use.[340]

Among those refuting the Muslim-Turkish argument of God granting military victory for true faith were the erudite Dominicans preaching among the simple folk. The other mendicants, actively proselytising in the military frontier zone, were the Franciscans who have developed the counter-argument represented by the theory of sin and punishment of Father György Szerémi's densely and almost hysterically apocalyptic writing, attesting Franciscan influences. A series of preachers and authors, directly or indirectly related to the Franciscans, elaborated on this model in the 1540s and 1550s. This counter-argument was combined with Wittenberg's view of history and Luther's trinitarian model of liberation (collective sin – God's punishment (the Turks) – God's heavenly kingdom) by the mid-sixteenth century. We can be almost sure that the reports of Wittenberg students from the Hungary under Turkish occupation impacted as much Melanchthon's view of history, as he himself influenced the portrayal of Turks among his students.[341] The historical argument of the Protestants is constructed on the Turkish occupation also in Skhárosi Horváth's poem:

Hungarian nation, thou art deaf and most obstinate,
Good advice and divine words have on you no effect,
But soon you shall live to see the fruits of God's neglect.

With verve and zeal he makes His holy will known to thee,
If you obeyed, His holy land he'd promise to thee,
Contrarily, you'll never forget your disbelief.

You should not say God's holy will you could not presume,
Priests, clerks and singers' warning long over you did loom,
But you shall see what awaits you in that day of Doom.[342]

[340] András Dézsi, *Moyzes és Józsue hadáról*...[Of the host of Moses and Joshua] RMKT V.50–57.

[341] Heinz Scheible, *Melanchthon und die Reformation* (Mainz: Zabern, 1996). (cf. especially the Chapter "Melanchthons Beziehungen zum Donau-Karpaten-Raum bis 1546," 272–303.). Sándor Őze and Mihály Dobrovits, "Melanchton és a hódoltsági reformáció iszlámképe" [Melanchthon and the image of Islam of the Reformation in the Hungary under Turkish occupation] *Lelkipásztor* 73 (1998): 46-50. and 89-92.; also: Sándor Őze and Mihály Dobrovits*, Wandel des Türkenbildes*...

[342] András Szkhárosi Horváth, *Az Istennek irgalmasságáról*... [Of God's mercy] RMKT II.199

Leonard Stöckel's Anti-Turkish Argument in the 1550s

The doctoral dissertation of Barnabás Guitman discusses Leonard Stöckel's portrayal of the Turks in the 1550s.[343] Stöckel described the implacable hatred of the Zipser (Germans of Szepes county) towns living under imminent Turish threat.[344]

The Introduction to Stöckel's *Historia von Susanna in Tragoedien weise gestelltet*...[345]discusses Melanchthon's teaching of the dual Antichrist. Guitman suggests that another, undated work of Stöckel's, *De Antichristo,* also theorizes the same idea:

> First of all, Stöckel considered the Turks a real threat, which itself may justify an apocalyptic view. In addition, he never believed for a moment that peaceful coexistence would be possible with the Turks; thus, all true Christians were obliged to fight against them. Amidst the religious controversy of the 1550s, Stöckel answered to the charges against the Lutherans of Upper Hungary with the manuscript of his apologetic work.[346] In one of its chapters, Stöckel unambiguously condemned those who trusted the protection and assistance of the Turks. His proves his point by evoking the martyrdom of outstanding figures in the fights against the Turks rather than by engaging in theological issues.[347]

[343] Leonard Stöckel (Bártfa (present-day Bardejov, Slovakia), 1510 – Bártfa, 10 June 1560) pursued his studies in Bártfa, Kassa (present-day Košice, Slovakia) and Boroszlóban (present-day Brestov, Slovakia). His embracing the teachings of Reformation happened most probably in the 1520s, during his stay in Boroszló. We find apocalyptic references in his writings in as early as the 1530s, when he also enrolled at the University of Wittenberg. In 1536–37 he was rector in Eisleben. In 1539 we find him again in Bártfa as rector of the local school, which he reorganized according to the principles of Melanchthon. After his death, several other Lutheran schools were established on the basis of his pedagogical me. In 1551 he was invited to teach in boroszló. In 1556–57 he was active in Késmárk (toay Kežmarok, Slovakia). He wrote polemical works against Calvinist and anti-Trinitarian tenets. He maintained close relations with Melanchthon, Agricola and Major.

[344] Barnabás Guitman*,* "A bártfai reformáció első évtizedei és kapcsolatrendszere" [The first decades of the Reformation in Bártfa and its international relations] (PhD dissertation. Pázmány Péter Catholic University, 2009. Supervisor: Sándor Őze).

[345] Wittenberg, 1559.

[346] *Tractatus cuius titulus desumptus est ex 1 Ioan. 2,18 apologiam ecclesiae Bartphensis comitens contra barbarorum blasphemias, qui accusabant eam ut haereticam et propugnatricem idolorum, 1558.* The work has been preserved in the National Library of Austria in a two part collation. The first part of the quarto manuscript (ff 1r-73v) contains the writing related to Bártfa.

[347] *Apologia ecclesiae Bartphensis comitens contra barbarorum blasphemias, qui accusabant eam ut haereticam et propugnatricem idolorum*, 1558, ff. 59v-60v. BPV 13034 [Suppl. 388.]. Quoted and translated by Guitman, *A bártfai reformáció*... p. 137-138.

Guitman concludes:

> "While Stöckel identifies both the pope and the Turks with Antichrist,[348] from the point of view of the purity of Christian doctrine, he shared Luther's conviction and held false teachers within the Church more dangerous than Turkish or Jewish interpretations, as these latter were open enemies of Christianity, and therefore, more easily refutable.[349] These false teachers of the Church included papists, Anabaptists and Manicheans, the latter probably referring to Calvinists and anti-Trinitarian reformers. He distinguishes between two fruits of false teachings: *corruptio doctrinae,* that is the falsification of the original revelation, and secondly a typical moral depravity associated with one of the erring groups, such as the foul desires of the Manicheans, the annihilation of social order by the Anabaptists and the notorious shameful life of the popists.[350]

Stöckel repeatedly warns that Catholics may though seem united in their worship of Christ, it is no more than deceit, as the pope appropriated Christ's glory for himself.[351] Stöckel used the charges of spreading false doctrines most vehemently against the representatives of the rivalling Protestant denominations, as he was convinced that their teachings were apparent signs of the work of Antichrist.

Leonard Stöckel, Jr.'s preface to the 1596 edition of the *Postille* contains excerpts from the lost writing entitled *De Antichristo.* The quoted fragments fiercely attack the Protestant reformers diverging from Lutheran orthodoxy, above all Zwingli, Oecolampadius and Karlstadt. Their major sins are, according to Stöckel, the following: (1) they deny Christ's real presence in the Eucharist, (2) they place themselves above the authority of Luther, and (3) they are against the adiaphora. The conclusion of his argument echoes Luther in condemning those who urge a religious war against the papists.[352]

The notes taken after Stöckel's dictations may have constituted the basis of the manuscript of *Meditatio passionis Christi,* now preserved in Bratislava.[353] The texts of the collation, containing also the work attributed to Leonard Stöckel, was written mostly by Mátyás Thoraconymus (Kabát) 1590) and Sámuel Melik (?-1620). It is very

[348] Stöckel, *Postilla*, 1596, f. 10v. Quoted by Guitman, *A bártfai reformáció*... p. 137-138.
[349] Stöckel*, Postilla*, 1596, f. 258.Quoted by Guitman, *A bártfai reformáció*... p. 137-138.
[350] Stöckel*, Postilla*, 1596, f. 259v.Quoted by Guitman, *A bártfai reformáció*... p. 137-138.
[351] Stöckel*, op. cit,* p. 469.Quoted by Guitman, *A bártfai reformáció*... p. 137-138.
[352] Stöckel*, op. cit*, Praefatio.Quoted by Guitman, *A bártfai reformáció*... p. 137-138.
[353] quoted by Guitman, *A bártfai reformáció*... p. 137-138.

probable that the Stöckel material was put down by Thoraconymus from Breznóbánya (present-day Brezno, Slovakia), who may have been student of Stöckel in Késmárk or Bártfa, and arranged his lesson notes into the composition.[354] The Stöckel material consists predominantly of biblical commentaries. The passage between pages 225 and 240 predicts the end of times according to Luther's concept.[355]The text was updated by Thoraconymus, and its calculations were adjusted to 1573.[356]

The speculation about the end of times seeks answers to three questions: Whether there will be an end to this world? When? And how?[357] The author recurs to biblical proof. Although the knowledge of the end of times was not conferred to humans, the Bible allows certain implications. God created the universe in six days, which indicates that it will stand for six thousand years. The Augustinian theory dividing created time into six times one-thousand years is also supported by the prediction of Prophet Elijah, which compares the span of the world to the life cycles of man, and says that the former will not exceed three epochs, each approximately two-thousand years.

> Salvation history counted the first epoch from Creation to Moses, the second epoch from Moses to Jesus Christ, and the third one until the imminent end of the universe. The author also refers to the four kingdoms in Daniel's vision: Assyria (Babylon), Persia, Greece and Rome. Rome was later divided into two: one under the authority of the pope, the other under Turkish occupation. Apocalypse must be very close, since the signs of the dissolution and collapse of the fourth and last kingdom are apparent. Moreover, the phenomena predicted in the apocalyptic allusions of the New Testament were also identifiable in contemporary history.

The author manipulates with the year 1542. This is the number of years elapsed from the Old Testament Pentecost to the New Testament Pentecost; further 1539 years passed following the pouring out of the Holy Spirit. The parallels also implied that the last times were approaching."

Stöckel's calculations of the expected birth of Antichrist were conceived as a warning of his contemporaries in the 1540s. He, however, did not literally mean that

[354] He was connected to both Bártfa and Késmárk; following his studies at Wittenberg he was active in both places in the 1570s. Zoványi, Thoraconymus…, and Guitman, *A bártfai reformáció*... p. 137-138.
[355] *De fine mundi collecta ex doctrina Doctoris Lutheri consentaneae testimoniis divinis, quae extant in libris ecclesiae Dei. Authore Leonhar.* Stokelio, 1556, quoted by Guitman, *A bártfai reformáció*... p. 137-138.
[356] "ad presentem annum 1573 duravit annos 1539"*:* Stöckel*, op. cit*, p. 238.
[357] quoted by Guitman, *A bártfai reformáció*...

they should wait the precise life time of Christ, i.e. 33 years, for the Second Coming. He believed that the Apocalypse would take place before 1573 due to the sins of his own age.

Stöckel and his contemporaries were convinced that the rapid expansion of the Turks would immediately precede the end of the world, which they expected to happen in 1543, following the fall of Buda and the collapse of the liberating imperial army. The series of military failures and other dramatic events up to 1566 was most probably perceived by Stöckel's student as the prelude to Doom: the Turks besieged Szigetvár, Temesvár (present-day Timişoara, Romania) and the entire region of Partium (today divided between Romania and Serbia) fell to the Turks, the Zipser towns escaped Turkish invasion only with the heroic resistance of Eger, Emperor Ferdinand I ordered the assassination of Brother George Martinuzzi, O.S.P., the recall of John Sigismund and Queen Isabelle into Transylvania, Reformation made a quick advance in the Principality, and finally, the Zwinglian movement with the support of Péter Petrovics expressed radical protest with the lime washing of churches, destroying altars and occupying monasteries.

It is no accident that Stöckel's student revived the warnings of his master in 1573, when, following the appearance of a comet in 1572, a new apocalyptic wave spread in Europe, including Hungary. Shortly before, the army of the so-called Black Man advocating an apocalyptic ideology emerged in Debrecen, a city located in the trijunction of the three divisions of Hungary and in the immediate vicinity of the towns of Upper Hungary.

Thou, O king, sawest; and behold, a great image! […] Inasmuch as thou sawest that the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands, and that it broke in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold, the great God hath made known to the king what shall come to pass hereafter. And the dream is certain and the interpretation thereof sure.

Dan 2:31 and 45

APOCALYPTICISM AND THEORIES OF STATE

The Kingdoms of Prophet Daniel

Apart from the religious controversies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a parallel discourse endeavoured to legitimize the authority and to restore the territory of the Roman Empire, which had been gone for more than a millennium. The ideas of this debate affected most European societies and have been transmitted as part of their cultural heritage. In this part of the book I will discuss the second vision of the Book of Daniel and its role in shaping imperial theories, as this vision was the cornerstone of state theory for most sixteenth-century humanists and theologians. The image is the symbol of power. In another vision of Daniel's, the King of Babylon had his own golden statue set up, for which he was punished. The carved image stands for the human vanity of becoming like God.

What does the vision reveal about the kingdoms? They follow each other chronologically, and in the four parts indicate a decreasing order of the value of the respective metals, from top to toe: the head of the image is made in gold, followed by silver, bronze and iron. The fourth kingdom is divided. Weak clay, used paradoxically for the supporting feet, is mixed with iron. The cruellest kingdom stands on the weakest footing. The ultimate question hovering over the vision is what comes after the fourth kingdom. The rock destroying the image establishes the new and imperishable kingdom; that is, God Himself creates His own realm.

The Book of Daniel is the theological explanation of universal history according to God's plan, which had predetermined the fate of humanity and channels it towards a teleological fulfilment. History is conceived as a universal clash between God and the forces of evil, and looks upon it with much resignation: the degree of sin and the malignity of the new kingdoms exceed their predecessor; consequently, the powers of evil multiply by the emergence of each new empire, which ultimately threatens the people of God with annihilation. History runs towards the Last Judgment with the promise of salvation in the future: the Doom is the watershed beyond which there is fulfilment, and the kingdom of God will be extended on all nations in eternity. The repository of the realm of the saints will be Israel, but only those will be saved who are written in the book of life. This coming world will not be part of earthly history, but a transformed universal reality in the heavenly sphere. The Book of Daniel belongs to biblical apocalyptic Revelation: the visions attest that, despite the seeming power of malignity, God will soon fulfil His kingdom. The purpose of the Book is not

to calculate the precise date of the end of times, but to provide consolation for those suffering in the present and to strengthen the faithful with hope and trust that God has decreed of the future as well.[358]

In the perhaps most frequently quoted first vision four beasts appear, which are interpreted by the expounding angel as four consecutive kingdoms. As their dominion is taken away, a humanlike creature – the Son of Man – appears; he is given eternal dominion: the four earthly kingdoms will give way to the fulfilment of the kingdom of the Son of Man. The explanation identifies the beasts with kingdoms, just as the horns signify power and violence. The last horn with stout eyes and mouth indicate that they perceive the realm of God, at the same time they also appropriate and abuse it. The mouth prevails against the saints. The time of God will defeat it and reinstate the saints into the kingdom prepared for them. Daniel's prophecies had a deeply affected the contemporary and subsequent theological interpretations of the last events. It provided much inspiration for political philosophy, as well as Jewish, Byzantine and Muslim theology.

Luther wrote a preface to the Book of Daniel in 1529, before continuing the translation of the Book of Jeremiah. He justified this order in a letter written to Johann Friedrich von Sachsen.[359] He thought the end of times was so close that he may not have the time to finish the translation of the Holy Scriptures, and the consolation of the believers in the circumstances would be more urgent. But unlike contemporary theologians and lawyers, engaged in the theory of state of the age, Luther was less concerned with the image in Chapter 2 of the Book of Daniel; he felt that the beasts coming up from the sea in Daniel 7 were more relevant to the importance of the Book. He believed that this chapter was about the Turks who would harass Christianity until the end of times.

> I considered the horns, and behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots. And behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things. (Dan 7:8)

---

358 Othmar Keel, "Die Tiere und der Mensch in Daniel 7," in *Europa, Tausendjähriges Reich und Neue Welt. Zwei Jahrtausende Geschichte und Utopie in der Rezeption des Danielbuches,* ed. Mariano Delgado, Klaus Koch, and Edgar Marsch. (Studien zur christlichen Religions- und Kulturgeschichte, 1.), (Stuttgart, 2003), 37–66.; Klaus Koch, *Das Buch Daniel*. (Erträge der Forschung. Vol. 144.) (Darmstadt: Wissentschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980).

359 Cf. Hans-Ulrich Hofmann, *Luther und die Johannes-Apokalypse* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1992),. 385.; Ingvild Richardsen-Friedrich, *Antichrist-Polemik in der Zeit der Reformation und der Glaubenskämpfe bis Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts. Argumentation, Form und Funktion*. (Frankfurt am Main, 2003), 130–134.

In 1521, Luther identified the little horn with the pope, but eight years later he meant the Turks subjugating the world by it:

> I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints and prevailed against them until the Ancient of Days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the Most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the Kingdom. (Dan 7:21-2)

Luther was deeply convinced of the truth of his new interpretation. He argued that the Turks would not have been empowered to establish a new kingdom after the destruction of the Roman Empire, if the little horn had a different meaning. Otherwise, one would be compelled to consider Daniel's prophecy a lie, which is above all doubt.[360]

Luther's argument also proves the imminence of the Last Judgment.[361] Luther's portrayal of the Turks as the precursors of the end of times became an influential model of apocalypticism. He, however, did not subscribe to chiliastic ideas, even if the outcome of the final battle was not in question.[362] Christ will triumph over the Turks, and He will call them to account why they tortured and persecuted His innocent saints who did not hurt them. In his last years, Luther thought that the Turks would destroy the German Empire by 1600. The Turks were "God's instrument of punishment" and were sent by God because the Christians were sinful.[363] Towards the end of his life, Luther urged not only a defensive war, but also an active encounter with the false teaching of Satan and Islam in an all-decisive clash.[364] While this does not contradict his previous teachings, theoretically opposing crusading campaigns, the first siege of Vienna altered his views. "Der Himmel ist dein"," Luther said in his *Heerpredigt,* alluding to the scenario of martyrdom for Christians resisting the apocalyptic Turkish hosts, "das hat keinen Zweifel."[365]

The Ottoman expansion menacing Western Christendom motivated Luther to write an in-depth study of Islam, the religion of the Turks.[366] Luther's claim of identifying Antichrist with the pope resulted in the profound restructuring of post-Resurrection history from the Protestant perspective. This last epoch of human history was divided into three periods: the beginning of Antichrist's reign, the fulfilment of his power and, finally, the unveiling of his falsity. Accordingly, the world will not improve the least, since the Antichrist will reign until the Second Coming of Christ. The Protestants considered most of the prophecies fulfilled, and therefore turned to a retrospective explanation of history from the Bible. They maintained that the biblical prophecies were not supposed to foretell events but to demonstrate retrospectively the work of a divine scheme in history. They believed that the Book of Daniel recorded the fulfilment of Antichrist's rise to power: the Antichrist will emerge from the fourth kingdom. Earlier they had established the tradition that the fourth kingdom was the Roman Empire. Following Daniel's vision, the Roman Empire was expected to fall apart into ten divisions. As the Antichrist had long been present, this fall had to take place in the past. Afterwards the pope founded a new empire, but the principle of *translation imperii* excludes that this "Neo-Roman Empire" would be identical with the fourth kingdom, and Luther supports this with a verse in chapter 13 of Revelation: the first beast is the Roman Empire, and the second, he says, papal authority.[367]

The first attempt to prove the new concept of the Antichrist with biblical passages was done by Andreas Osiander. He raised the problem that the fourth be ast (kingdom) could be cast to fire only by the returning Christ. In this logic, the Roman Empire was to stand until the end of times. As they counted with the deposition of the pope, they were bound to identify this last empire with the Turks. After 1526, the growing fear was palpable in Wittenberg too, but the relation between the Turkish expansion and Apocalypse was not established before the siege of Vienna in 1529.

Melanchthon had a constantly changing view of the Turks. He deplored the discord of the German princes and the lack of a standing army, which both prevented the efficient manoeuvres against the enemy. In 1529 he wrote a commentary on the Book of Daniel, whose preface was dedicated to Archduke Ferdinand.

---

360 Martin Luther, *Eine Heerpredigt wider den Türken* 182.WA 166l, quoted by Segesváry.

361 "Denn die zwey Reiche des Bapsts und Tuercken sind die tetzten zwen grewel und 'Gottes zorn', wei sie Apocalip. nennet, den 'falschen Propheten' und 'das Thier' und mussen miteinader ergriffen und 'in den feurigen pfuhl geworffen warden.'" Luther, *Heerpredigt…,* 182.

362 "Da wird Christus mit schwefel und feur uber yhn komen und fragen, warumb er seine heiligen, die yhm kein leid gethan, on alle ursache so grewlich verfoget und geplagt habe." Luther, *Heerpredigt…*

363 Ibid. p. 17. W 54 1, 16; W 30 II. 116, 16; 129, 12; 180, 23; Harvey Buchanan, "Luther and the Turks 1519-1529," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 47 (1956), 145; Fischer-Galati, *Ottoman Imperialism…*; Kissling, *Türkenfurcht…,* 16ff; Helmut Lamparter, *Luthers Stellung zum Türkenkrieg* (München, 1940); Göllner, *Turcia…*

364 Blöchle, *Luthers Stellung…*; Wolfgang Sommer, "Luther – Prophet der Deutschen und der Endzeit. Zur Aufnahme der Prophezeiungen Luthers in der Theologie des älteren deutschen Luthertums," in *Politik, Theologie und Frömmigkeit im Luthertum der Frühen Neuzeit. Ausgewählte Aufsätze,* ed. Adolf Martin Ritter, (Forschungen zur Kirchen und Dogmengeschichte 74.) (Göttingen, 1999), 155–176.

365 Quoted by Segesváry, *Az iszlám…*, *Chapter 4, note 39.*

366 Blöchle, *Luthers Stellung…,* 151–192; Hagemann, *Christentum…*, 68–80; Brecht, *Luther und die Türken…*; Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben…*; Richardsen-Friedrich, *Antichrist-Polemik…*; Buchanan, *Luther and the Turks…*; Lamparter, *Luthers Stellung…*

367 Arno Seifert, *Der Rükzug der biblischen Prophetie von der neueren Geschichte. Studien zur Geschichte der Reichsteologie des frühneuzeitlichen deutschen Protestantismus*, (Köln–Wien, 1990), 8.

Luther's fight with selling indulgences led him to the denial of Purgatory. As he claimed to have found no biblical proof for the existence of Purgatory, he also questioned church tradition. He was looking for a Bible-related argumentative frame that could have justified the revision and the rejection of the non-canonical texts almost inseparable from the corpus of the Holy Scriptures. He had to provide an explanation for the cult of martyrs and saints, as well as the development of the institutional church since early Christianity very intensively oriented to *parousia.* The critical study of holy tradition required the consideration of a new historical factor which gradually elaborated on a distinction between "heilplan" and "erhaltungsorde."[368] The former denoted God's salvation plan in the elapsing time of the created world, while the latter looked backed on the everyday events of people's lives and recorded them according to the practice of humanist historiography.

An enthusiastic disciple of humanist historiography, Melanchthon was eager to solve the problem. In accordance with Luther and mediaeval historians, he reached back to the concept of time in the Augustinian view of history. He recurred to Orosius's theory of Daniel's four kingdoms and Bede's chronological starting point. Instead of the methods of Classical antiquity and the practice of the cyclical conceptualization of time widespread since Heraclitus, he borrowed the compositional model of the mediaeval universal chronicles. In 1532 Melanchthon published Johann Carion's *Chronicles.*The book was constantly enlarged with theological explanations.[369] After Melanchthon's death, his successor at the University of Wittenberg, Caspar Peucer, continued the work on the *Chronicon Carionis*.[370]

The author was deeply concerned with the Ottoman expansion and the responsibility of the Holy Roman Empire. A chapter in Book 3 argues that the fourth kingdom is the Roman Empire. Chapter 4 describes the birth of historical "Germany", and traces its beginnings back to Charlemagne. The chapter entitled "Von der Turcken Ankunfft" Melanchthon identifies the original homeland of the Turks with the Caucasians and says that they first appear when they agreed on a covenant with the Saracens who had invaded Persia shortly before. The Turks are said to have converted to Islam on this occasion. After the internal decay of the Saracen Empire, the Turks established a new one in 1051. In the ensuing fifth volume of the *Chronicles* Melanchthon inserts

[368] Ernst Breisach, *Historiográfia* [Historiography] (Budapest: Osiris, 2004), 174–175.

[369] Leppin, *Antichrist und jüngster Tag*..., 132–136.

[370] *Chronicon Carionis Expositum et auctum multis et veteribus et recentibus historiis, In descriptionibus regnorum et gentium antiquarum,& narrationibus rerum Ecclesiasticarum, & Politicarum, Graecarum, Romanorum, Germanicarum & aliarum, ab exordio Mundiusque ad Carolium Quintum Imperatorem*. A Philippo Melanthone et Casparo Peucero. Witebergae Excudebat Iohannes Crato, anno M.D.L.X.X.I.I.

another chapter on the Turks. Following their quick rise, they are paralleled with the people of Gog and Magog. They do not appear to represent a new order of divine institution or a new kingdom, but an instance of political agency of the end of times approved by God. Melanchthon contribution to the *Chronicon* focuses on the analysis of the period between God's covenant with Abraham and the birth of Christ. He infers that the fourth kingdom began at some point around the annunciation of the epiphany of the Messiah. Yet, as both empires of the Apocalypse, i.e. the papal state and the Muslim Turkish Empire, denied dignity, the role of the Roman Empire will be transferred to the Germans. He, then, writes that the onset of the fourth monarchy coincides with the reign of Julius Caesar or Augustus.[371] Melanchthon concludes from the analysis of the Book of Daniel that the Turks appeared after ten kings had partitioned the Roman Empire. Three parts were withheld by the little horn (Egypt, Asia and Greece), whereas the Roman Empire survives in the rest. The theoreticians of Wittenberg also ascertained that the Turks and Germans will not be able to overcome each other. As mentioned earlier, the theory of state was strongly related to the concept of Antichrist. Suffice it to evoke that the idea of an Antichrist attacking from the exterior was not a novelty. Furthermore, the concept of the dual Antichrist derived not from Luther but from Melanchthon.

Calvin and the French Position

According to Calvin (1561), the little horn did not signify either the pope or the Turks, as the visions of Daniel had already been fulfilled with the Incarnation of Christ and spread of the Word.

The French Jean Bodin (1530–1596) launched a most intensive offensive against the Lutheran teaching of monarchy. In 1566 he assumed that the four kingdoms were the immediate successor states of the empire of Alexander the Great. Though this was a daring statement, it was not a new invention: Porphyry had come to a similar proposition. Bodin argued that man empires existed in the course of history, and if Daniel's prophecy has any coherence and truth, it can only refer to the Babylonian Empire and its immediate successors, the Medes, the Persians and the Greek. The Roma Empire cannot be the fourth kingdom of the prophecy, Bodin claims, since the Romans had never subdues Babylon. Bodin borrowed the concept of historical justice from French legal scholar François Baudoin (1520–1573), who maintained that divine providence was present not only in nature but in history as well. Bodin

[371] Seifert*, Der Rükzug...,* 23.

applied Polybius's principle of *similitude temporum,* i.e. the correspondences between the historical epochs. He based his theory on the Stoic philosophical system of the Rhodian historian, who attempted to describe the Punic wars in an endeavour to transpose Greek historiographical tradition on Roman matters and to synthesize the Greek and Roman cultures. Baudoin attempted to uncover divine reality from a series of analogous historical events.

> The politically inspired and historically grounded proposals which sought to justify or reject the divine right of monarchs gained religious legitimacy through references to divine providence. Thus early modern political thought also gained a new religious sense.[372]

Bodin pursued the humanist method of processing information: from the combination of excerpts from Classical works and the description of contemporary events, he created a rhetorical construct to persuade the reader. In his pursuit, the emphasis shifted from moralising Cicero to the more realistic minded Tacitus. This dichotomy was balanced with Justus Lipsius's Christian morality which evoked the approach of the ancient Stoics.

Bodin's historical method provided a means to compare European and non-European political systems. The political status quo was in a transformation, as the political influence of the estates increased, and the power of the divinely legitimized monarch waned vis-à-vis the estates challenging this order. According to Julien Franklin, Bodin was the first to rework the Aristotelian and Polybian system into a new scheme. Instead of the division of the state into monarchy and aristocracy, he classified the government of sovereign nation states into despotic and legitimate components. He thus reinterpreted the European constitutional system on the basis of a new value orientation. The duty of the monarch and power in general became the protection of the freedom of the estates. "Consequently, the constitution developed into a norm which was ultimately committed to the righteousness of the systems of government."[373]

[372] Kees Teszelszky, *Az ismeretlen korona. Jelentések, szimbólumok és nemzeti identitás* [The unknown crown. Meanings, symbols and national identity] (Pannonhalma: Bencés Kiadó, 2000), 218. (Trans. Karáth Tamás)

[373] Teszelszky*, Az ismeretlen korona…,* 220.

The Problem of Two Romes

While identifying the true Rome became the cornerstone of the historical model, it remained unexplained why the Protestants, after the initial expectations, refused to join a church which had allegedly been unaffected by moral decay, split from Rome and resisted its antagonist for more than half a millennium by then. The Greek Church fathers left a great impression on Melanchthon. For humanist Protestants in general Byzantine biblical exegesis was still authoritative, as its language derived from New Testament Greek, which the humanists ingrained early with their studies. Melanchthon's writings and creed (as, e.g. the Augsburg Creed) frequently cite the Greek Fathers. His *Apology*, the Church Fathers are used to buttress three points. East and West are connected by a common Antichrist: the East is already languishing under the rule of the Turks (the apocalyptic nation of Gog and Magog), and the West is threatened from both sides by the Antichrist. In these dire times the faithful have one chance: to unite and prepare for the glorious Second Coming. Nonetheless, as a Protestant, Melanchthon was critical of the history of the early Church, especially of the seventh Ecumenical Synod of Nicea, which, according to him, promulgated idolatry and the worship of images.

The Protestant churches made several attempts to come to an agreement with the Orthodox Eastern Church, but, in spite of the hopeful expectations on both sides, negotiations came to naught.[374] Therefore Melanchthon had to resolve the contradiction that, on the one hand, Emperor Constantine moved the capital of the Empire to Constantinople, and the Byzantine Empire had eventually formed a separate church until its fall; while on the other one, both Eastern and Western Rome had to be theoretically united and depicted as the empire of the Antichrist. The situation was further complicated by the fact that the Muslim Turkish Sultan exerted his authority in the former capital of Byzantium, and he also considered himself the successor of the Roman Emperor. However, the fourth empire of the vision of Daniel is a fusion of contraries: half iron and half clay, which gave a basis for an interpretation of two Romes: one of the Turkish, the other of the German Empires.

[374] Wagner, Oskar: „Luther – Osteuropa und die Griechisch-Orthodoxe Kirche," *Kyrios. Vierteljahresschrift für Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte Osteuropas* 4 (1964): 69–90.

The Chronicon Carionis and the Magdeburg Centuries

Following Melanchthon's death, both the German and the Latin versions of the *Chronicon Carionis* were continued and enlarged by Casper Peucer.[375]This tract on Christian tradition is antagonistic to the Catholic Church. It is based on a conservative Christian foundation, employs humanist methodology and textual criticism, incorporating writings on ecclesiastical history, as well as the works of the Church Fathers and several theological doctors. The tract quickly became the handbook of church history for the new professionals trained at Lutheran universities. Thus the Hungarian students returning home also spread and popularised this perception of ecclesiastical history.[376]

The freshly founded Lutheran Church began a more systematic investigation of church history. Partly as a result of this and of the theological conflict with the Melanchthonian school, Lutheran scholars applied a new way to structure their material. They discarded the old-fashioned genre of mediaeval world chronicles, and followed instead the humanist methodology by assigning from the 13-volume work a book to each century. (It did not, however, introduce the compartmentalization of books into decades and annula units.) Its textual criticism also relies on humanist scholars, and it anticipates modern philological methods in its careful juxtaposition and comparative reading of the historians of the Eastern and Western Roman Empires.[377]

Flacius composed in the genre of church history. His work returns to the Eusebian origin starting from the Crucifixion, and tallying the years until 1300. It was published between 1559 and 1574 by Johannes Oporinus, and became known as the *Magdeburg Centuries*.[378]Flacius began his work as an anti-story: Christian ecclesiastical history

375 Chronicon Carionis Expositum et auctum multis et veteribus et recentibus historiis, In descriptionibus regnorum et gentium antiquarum,& narrationibus rerum Ecclesiasticarum, &Politicarum, Graecarum, Romanorum, Germanicarum & aliarum, ab exordio Mundiusque ad Carolium Quintum Imperatorem.
A Philippo Melanthone et Casparo Peucero. Witebergae Excudebat Iohannes Crato, anno M.D.L.X.X.I.I.

376 For example, Batizi's, *Meglött és megleendő dolgokról* (a metrical paraphrase of Daniel) and Heltai's *A magyarok krónikája.* Stöckel's Latin sermons also display this influence, as well as Bencédi's *Krónika ez világ jeles dolgairól*. For further treatment of the subject, see below.

377 Breisach, *Historiográfia*...; Heinz Scheible, *Der Plan der Magdeburger Zenturien und ihre ungedruckte Reformationsgescichte* (Heidelberg, 1960)

378 Ecclesiastica Historia, integram, ecclesiae Christi ideam, quANTUM AD LOCUM, Propagationem, persecutionem, tranquillitatem, doctrinam, haereses, ceremonias, gubernationem, schismata, Syndos, personas, miracula, martyria, religiones extra Ecclesiam & statum imperi, politicum attinet, secundum singulas centurias, perspicuo ordine complectens: singulari diligentia & fide ex uetustifsimis & optimis Historicis, patribus, & alijs scriptoribus congesta: Per aliquot studiosos &pios uiros in urbe Magdeburgica.
Basileae, per 10an. *Nem oporinum* 1562

was depicted as a progress of corruption from the Golden Age of Saint Peter. In this he agrees with the Hesiodic model of the aging world, used also by Melanchthon. On the other hand, he de-hellenises history: following Luther he identifies Papacy with the Antichrist, and chooses therefore the history of the popes as the leitmotif of his work. Flacius's work is more or less a negative paraphrase of Bartolomeo Platina's *Vitae Pontificum* (in this he was anticipated by Robert Barnes's*Vitae Romanorum Pontificum*[379] and John Bale[380].

In volume 1, Flacius presents his version of the story of Pope Anacletus (according to Eusebius, the second successor of Peter) to point out that he steered the Church from the path of Christ by elevating himself above the other congregations. This "tyrannical" deed was the first in a long process of transforming the Roman church into the Whore of Babylon of the Book of Revelations, and pushed the Papacy into its degeneration into Antichrist, sitting on the cathedra of the teacher, deluding the world. (In reality, Ancletus was martyred for his faith.)

Flacius accepts Melancthon's position on the sins of the Eastern Roman Empire, as well as his apocalyptic expectation concerning the Turks. He literally borrows the episode from Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards*, with the only exception of negatively depicting Phocas's accession to the throne. Paul claims that Phocas brought a fortuitous turn after his predecessor Maurice, as, he defended the Empire victoriously, and submitted himself to the Pope).

> Then the emperor Maurice, after he had ruled the empire twenty-one years, was killed, together with his sons Theodosius and Tiberius and Constantine, by Focas (Phocas) who was the master of horse of Priscus the patrician. But he had been very useful to the state for he had often obtained victory when contending against the enemy. The Huns too, who are also called Avars, were subjugated by his prowess […] Focas then, as has been already set forth, usurped the sovereignty of the Romans after the death of Maurice and his sons, and reigned during the course of eight years. Because the church of Constantinople was calling itself in writing the first of all churches, he ordained, at the request of Pope Boniface, that the See of the Roman and Apostolic Church should be the head of all.[381]

379 Robert Barnes, *Vitae Romanorum Pontificum* (Basel, 1535)

380 Breisach, *Historiográfia*..., 175.

381 William Dudley Foulke, trans., *Paul the Deacon: History of the Lombards,* ed. Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of pennsylvania Press, 2003), Book IV, Chapter 26, 168.

THE EMPIRES OF DANIEL IN ANDRÁS BATIZI' UNIVERSAL CHRONICLE

Daniel's Kingdoms in Early Reformation Hungary Seen through the Universal Verse Chronicle "Meglött és megleendő dolgok…" [Things gone and to come] by András Batizi

The Old Testament Book of Daniel is one of the most known Jewish apocalyptic writings. Its claim that God determined future has given hope and consolation to the generations of believers.[382] Daniel's prophecies deeply affected the Christianity of later periods as well.[383] Until the nineteenth century, they had underpinned the most influential theories of state in the Western world. As a matter of fact, the Jewish roots considerably shaped and contributed to Byzantine political thought, as well as Islamic theology and popular religion. The continuity of this tradition is largely inspired by Daniel's vision, in which four beasts appear representing four consecutive kingdoms, and are followed by a humanlike "Son of Man," who is given eternal dominion; i.e., after the four earthly empires the reign of the Son of Man will come (Dan 7:2-14, 17-18).

Thus Daniel this vision did see,
Four winds were struggling on the sea,
Four giant beasts did upheave,
All different in their degree.

The first monster a lion was,
The second monster a huge bear was,
The third monster a leopard was,
The fourth monster wondrous was.

The first monster the lion was,
With vulture's wings it wingèd was,
Above the earth it risen was,
In human shape it transformed was.

Nebuchadnezzar the lion was,
Whose kingdom on earth mighty was,
In human shape it transformed was,
As he with God acquainted was.

With two wings on its back the beast flew,
Two nations the empire did rule,
Babylonia and Assyria,
The one after the other did rule.

The other monster a great bear was,
That in token of Persia was,
Three orders of teeth in its mouth there was,
Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes it was.

The third monster the leopard was,
Alexander the Great indeed it was,
With four horns the leopard shown was,
To four kings his realm bequeathed was.

The fourth monster wondrous was,
Its front with ten horns adorned was,
With iron teeth and nails endowed was,
All under its feet trodden was.

This beast the Roman Empire was,
Each horn in token of a province was,
All under its feet trodden was,
As a great throng in it harnessed was.

A big horn this beast had anew,
Against the other three it grew,
As it mightier over the three was,
Men's eyes and mouth on it there was.

[382] Keel, *Die Tiere…*; Rózsa, *Ószövetségi…,* 223–228.
[383] The New Testament mentions or quotes it on more than 100 occasions.

Men's eyes and mouth this horn did wear, 305
Curses against the Lord it did swear,
Much harm to His saints it did bear,
For long, none of them it did spare.

This horn in token of Mahound was,
From Roman estate who risen was, 310
But the Empire much smaller then was,
When the date six forty written was.

Three horns from Rome did break away,
When three countries turned away,
Syria and Egypt pursued Mahound's way, 315
Who over the best of Cilicia held sway.

The first work authored by a Hungarian Protestant, applying an apparently apocalyptic framework, is the above quoted poem by András Batizi (1510-?).[384] The work, entitled *Meglött és megleendő dolgoknak teremtéstül fogva mind az ítéletig való história* [The history of things gone and to come from Creation to Doom]

[384] Batizi was mentored by Gálszécsi, under whose influence he turned, in his Franciscan period, to Protestantism probably between 1528 and 1530. Subsequently, he lived in Sátoraljaújhely and Szikszó. In 1542, he left for Wittenberg. In 1544 he was active in Tokaj and Szatmár county. Jenő Zoványi, ed., *Magyarországi protestáns egyháztörténeti lexikon,* (Budapest: Református Zsinati Iroda, 1977), Zoványi*, A reformáczió...*; Sólyom, *Luther és Magyarország...*; Horváth, *A reformáció jegyében...*; Géza Szabó, *Geschichte des ungarischen Coetus an der Universität Wittenberg 1555–1613* [The history of the Hungarian *coetus* at the University of Wittenberg 1555-1613] (Halle, 1941), (=Bibliothek des Protestantismus im mittleren Donauraum, 2.); Ágnes Ritoók-Szalay, "Warum Melanchthon? Über die Wirkung Melanchthons im ehemaligen Ungarn," [Why Melanchton? Of Melanchton's influence in early modern Hungary] in *Melanchthon und Europa*. ed. Günter Frank and Martin Treu, Vol. VI/1. Melanchthon-Schriften der Stadt Bretten. [Melanchton's writings of the city of Bretten] (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2001), 273–284; András Szabó, "Magyarok Wittenbergben 1555–1592" in *Régi és új peregrináció. Magyarok külföldön, külföldiek Magyarországon. A III. Nemzetközi Hungarológiai Kongresszuson (Szeged, 1991. augusztus 12–16.) elhangzott előadások.* [Old and new university peregrination. Hungarians abroad, foreigners in Hungary. Proceedings of the 3rd International Congress of Hungarology, Szeged, 12-16 August 1991] Vol. 2. (Budapest–Szeged, 1993), 626–638; Heinz Scheible, "Melanchthons biographische Reden. Literarische Form und akademischer Unterricht" [Melanchton's biographic speeches. Literary form and academic education] in *Biographie zwischen Renaissance und Barock. Zwölf Studien*. [Biography between Renaissance and Baroque, 12 studies] ed. Walter Berschin. (Heidelberg,Mattes Verlag, 1993); Botta, *Mélius Péter...*

contextualizes the visions of Daniel in his own time,[385] when in 1544, following the capture of Buda and the neighbouring castles by the Turks, the preacher from the Tokaj region freshly returning from Wittenberg was confronted with the establishment of a Turkish province in Central Hungary. All of a sudden, the frontier between Hungarians and Turks, standing still for two decades after 1526 at Pétervárad (present-day Petrovaradin, Serbia) in Syrmia, shifted 400 km northwards. The occupation of the castles of Pécs, Valpó (present-day Valpovo, Croatia), Simontornya, Döbrököz, Székesfehérvár, Visegrád, Esztergom, Hatvan, Kalocsa, Szeged and, above all, Buda resulted in the prolonged settlement of the Turks in Hungary and the establishment of the creation of the first Hungarian eyalet (the Province of Buda) in Hungary.

Batizi's poem displays a well-articulated apocalyptic framework constructed upon Melanchton's dual concept of Antichrist and continuing the literary experiments of Szerémi and his forebears. The pope and the Turks, the embodiments of the spiritual and bodily Antichrist respectively, appear as the Old Testament people of Gog and Magog, who, in the context of an ancient literary convention deriving from Josephus Flavius, refer to the peoples beyond the Caucasians. This chain of associations was not alien from contemporary Hungarian thought either, as it strongly resonated with the topos of the stronghold of Christianity (propugnaculum Christianitatis), which came to be identified with Hungary's Eastern borders in the preceding centuries. This border demarcated a sacred space within which Christianity and the transient people of God, the Church lived. On the other hand, the land of the apocalyptic people was a no-space, which was the land of the ultimate enemy. The no-space is the place of the people and the prophet, which was not included in the book of the living as John the Apostle saw it in the Book of Revelation; therefore, it was non-existent.

As we could see, Szerémi resigned on exploring this topos in assessing the situation of Hungary, since his Syrmian homeland (1526) together with the capital of his kingdom, Buda (1541), the ancient royal seat of Esztergom (1543) and the royal burial site of Székesfehérvár (1543) all fell to the Turks. The frontier and its back, the cultural protective zone as advocated by Szerémi's Franciscan forerunners, were turned into no-space. The formerly strong people celebrated by the Franciscan Osvát of Laskó became exiles, Babylonian prisoners and the perpetual servants of Gog's people. Szerémi interpreted the hopelessness of politics as a collective punishment of a transcendental nature.

Batizi revived this lethargic appraisal of the situation, and combined it with the contemporary theology of Wittenberg, which relied on the mediaeval legacy of identifying the pope with the spiritual, and the Muslims with the bodily, Antichrist

[385] *RMKT XVI. század* [RMKT sixteenth century] II. 95; cf. also the notes of Áron Szilády, *ibid.,* 232.

on the one hand, and the Muslims with Gog's people on the other one. This concept found easy access to Hungarian public opinion, as it readily offered old topoi to apply to the antagonism of the Catholics and Protestants, and identified the Turks, conceived as the imminent Doom, with Gog's people.

The frame of Batizi's poem is an old scheme of state theory, which had held a wide currency since the Christian Antiquity: like Melanchton, returning to the Augustinian concept of history, and Luther, interpreting the horn breaking out the other three horns on the beast's front as the Turkish threat, it applies the four kingdoms from Daniel's visionary apocalypticism and explains contemporary events in this matrix. It is most adequate to embrace the themes of sin, idolatry, punishment, Turkish subjugation and captivity. Batizi identifies the apocalyptic figures with the great powers of his age and places them in the context of salvation history and state theory. He proposes an escape from moral depravity with the conversion of the sinner.

Batizi's poem is not the first in line of works engaging in apocalyptic explanations in the 1530s. Similar examples are offered by the Song of András Farkas, juxtaposing the history of Jews and Hungarians, as well as Imre Ozorai's writing on the Antichrist. They, however, are not openly biased against Catholics, while Batizi's poem is constructed on Melanchton's concept of the dual Antichrist and is explicitly based on the Book of Daniel. Batizi mobilizes a wide array of argumentative strategies from the Wittenberg polemic against papacy, crystallized after assiduous debates over their own position in relation to the Holy Roman Empire. Besides the spread of Reformation, another tension of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries originated from the endeavour to legitimize the sovereignty and the territory of the Roman Empire, gone more a thousand years earlier. The various opinions of this discourse affected most societies of contemporary Europe, and have ever since exerted much influence over public views.

The 564-line long poem of Batizi was designed as an abridged universal chronicle. In an attempt to respond to the apocalyptic expectations triggered by the Turks, he recast the Antichrist legend by adapting the eschatological prophecies to his own time. Batizi could have access to the latest criticism of the Qur'an, published in three volumes by the Zurich biblical professor Theodore Bibliander, also enjoying the support of Luther and Melanchton. (The Swiss theologian convinced the council with Luther's preface that the work was appropriate to be published.[386]) The introductory part of the poem reveals the intention to interpret the events of his own age as signs of the Last Judgment:

[386] Theodor Bibliander, *Machumetis Sarracenorum principis vita ac doctrina omnis, quae et ismaelitarum lex, et ALCORANUM dicitur, ex Arabica lingua ante CCCC annos in Latinam translata...* Basileae, 1543.

Take tent to my speech and lend an ear
All those who great things want to hear
To have of past and future knowledge clear,
Old and new things for free you'll hear.

The prophets openly us foretold,
The age of this world record they wold,
Many wonders befell of old,
The end we expect, as they foretold.

But it behoves the ages to count,
Of the last wonders to give account,
To know the time of Turks and Mahound,
For Antichrist not to get us around.

The first tract of the poem instructs on the prophecy associated with the Talmudic prophet Elijah concerning the threefold division of the 6000 year-long history.[387] The

[387] Holy prophet Elias in times of old
A vision had of all epochs of this world,
Through God, he divided it threefold,
And thus he 'gan to teach his folk:

The estate of this world this shall be:
Six thousand years till the end there shall be;
The first two thousand void it shall be,
For the next two, under the law it shall be.

The last third after Christ fulfilled shall be,
The which if not its full length shall see,
The sins of this world its cause shall be,
Wherefore the doom it earlier shall cease.

Do not wonder, but bethink it well,
Why void comes first in the prophet's spell;
Before the age of written law it was,
The world with fewer nations peopled was.

The two thousand years its origin did take
When God wisely this world did shape,
From Adam to Noah we calculate
Two thousand years as the flood moved away.

first two thousand years begin with the Creation and Fall, and closes with Noah's survival of the Flood. The second third, the era of the law, opens with the construction of the Tower of Babel and culminates in the revelation of the law to Moses.[388] Seeing

---

The next two thousand years began,
Which under the law was said to stand,
Because God His behests did ordain,
And had Moses them far and wide proclaim.

The third epoch its origin did take,
When our Lord Jesus into this world came,
But one and half thousands of it did elapse,
Wherefore this world will shortly come to rest.

Into three epochs this world was divided.
At first there were begotten not many things,
But all animals did take their origins,
And to God's image Adam was created.

The devil's jealousy beguiled Adam,
All the human race through fall to damn,
But the Lord moved the evil flow to dam,
And promised to send His Son, the lamb.

Foul cruelties did afterwards arise,
Shameful wantonness and luxury did arise,
Therefore the waters' surges on them did rise,
Only Noah with eight of his did survive.

God bade the floods the earth to cover,
But He did openly to Noah uncover
That this world with floods shall never cease,
His eternal covenant a rainbow will seal.

In those times of old, the wrath of God
The race of Cain let perish in the flood;
Thus this world in true sentence was judged,
At first such things to happen ordained God.

Soon after this epoch came to its end,
Fulfilled was the first two thousand,
Many sons to Noah did trace their descent,
His progeny multiplied to all the world's extent.

[388] Abraham was born in Noah's suit,
Thence the second two thousand took its root,

the rising Tower, God confused the language of the people and scattered them over the earth. In this chaos God gave the leading role and the "empire" to different peoples.

Batizi's poem pursues the history of various nations, separately from God's elect, in a scheme of a chain of universal kingdoms or empires centralized in one authoritative will. Batizi identifies the divinely decreed supreme imperial position first with Babylon, followed by Persia, Greece and Rome. The transformation of an empire into the next illustrates the translatio imperii:[389]

But the infidels did tremble with fear
That a new flood to their grave would them steer.

With haste a tower they 'gan to erect
From the flood's rage themselves to protect,
To reach the high skies they did attempt,
To strive against God they were intent.

But there all tongues were confuscated,
Their understanding was frustrated,
Babylon it was called, it's related,
Because of God they were humiliated.

Abraham to God himself deferred,
The Lord his name upon him transferred,
Blessed became his seed, as it occurred,
Upon all nations the blessing was conferred.

After this four and thirty years did last,
When God gave His law to compass,
God's behests replaced the ways of past,
The rules of life for the Jews were cast.

[389] Babylon was the first empire,
The second was Persia's bright empire,
The third in row was the Greek empire,
After their fall rose the Roman empire.

Babylon's head was Nabuchadnezzar,
In Persia ruled Cyrus and Dares,
Greece was heralded by Alexander,
And Rome by Julius and Augustus emperor.

They conquered the best parts for them,
Great lords pledged loyalty to them,
Crowned heads gave their taxes to them,
Many a realm recognized them.

High kings over pagan folk God did place,
From lords princes He did create,
Divine justice in themselves to speculate,
And falsity among them to eradicate.

So the great realm its beginning took,
Monarchy in Greek it is called forsooth,
Which translate we may as Cesar's rule,
Invincible dominion that no equal knew.

In each epoch only one realm there was,
And one man a time on its head there was,
But the rule from nation to nation translated was,
Whose fame from the beginnings decreed was.

The second part of the poem elaborates on Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the enormous statue of a mixture of metals and the four beasts rising out of the sea, representing four kingdoms. Batizi relates these dreams to Ezekiel's vision of Gog and Magog with references to Pseudo-Methodius's explications and concludes with the Antichrist predictions of the Book of Revelation in the context of the second chapter of Saint Paul's second letter to the Thessalonians.

In the Reformation tradition established by Luther, Batizi rarely quotes the Book of Revelation by Saint John. In his early career Luther was reluctant to accept the authenticity of the Revelation, and consequently much more thoroughly dealt with the commentary of Daniel's prophecies in the context with the Turkish threat. The poem is apparently much inspired by Johann Carion's *Chronicles,* whose German and Latin versions had been finished by Batizi's Wittenberg period, which started with his enrolment in 1542. The explications and theological interpretations of the *Chronicles* determined the Lutheran world view and historical concepts well into the second third of the century. This study focuses on the section of the poem evoking Daniel's apocalyptic vision, which is introduced by the poet in the following stanzas:

These four kingdoms marked all times,
But only one of four at once did thrive,
From one to the other much time went by,
As one did fall, the other did rise.

The four realms through God elected were,
And through holy prophets prophesied were,
And to Nebuchadnezzar shown were,
When a wondrous vision to him appeared.

Batizi gives the account of Nebuchadnezzar's dream into Daniel's mouth:

A giant statue before you there was,
You saw that its size enormous was,
All by its height exceeded was,
And his look most horrifying was.

The head of the giant out of gold shaped was,
Breast and arm out of silver prepared was,
Trunk and thigh out of copper made was,
His leg out of strongest iron made was.

The two feet out of a mixture were,
Out of clay and out of iron they were,
You saw all the giant's parts untouched were,
Till a rock of a mountain upwards did stir.

No hands this rock upwards did stir,
The giant's legs so strongly with it hit were,
That the clay and iron mould destroyed were,
No parts from top to toe unharmed were.

Clay, iron and copper into powder turned,
Silver and gold too into powder turned,
The wind away it blew and into naught it turned,
But the rock into a huge mountain turned.

The rock then a huge mountain became,
The space of this wide earth it did up take,
The sense of this dream by the Lord shewn
Freely you shall hear right anoon.

The solution of the dream ascribes the periods of the four monarchies to the antique divisions of history into the golden, silver, copper and Iron Age.[390] According

[390] Of all kingdoms the golden head thou art,
With Babylon's rule thou blessed art,
King of kings and high emperor thou art,
The lord of peoples and states thou art.

The second in row a silver realm will be,
As silver to gold, inferior it will be,
The third realm a copper state will be,
Umpire of all this world it will be.

Mightier of all others this third will be,
And as iron does everything destroy,
Countries this realm will destroy,
And its tail of clay and iron will be.

Half strong, half frail this realm shall be,
But as iron with clay never mingled can be,
This realm never united shall be.
In time of the four realms arisen will be

An excellent kingdom by the Lord Almighty,
Never an end this kingdom will see,
No division, nor decay in it there will be,
Christ's kingdom verily it will be.

The other kingdoms will all be destroyed,
Gone with the wind and their places left void,
As the rock the giant statue destroyed.
No hands this rock of the hill did form,

The mountain is Judea, where Christ was born,
No human hands the rock did form,
Since from God Almighty Christ was born.
[…]

The rock into a huge mountain turned,
As Jesus Christ his kingdom earned,
To make all in him and after him to yearn,
The sense of your dream you may here learn.

Nebuchadnezzar heard this lore,
With face he bowed Daniel tofore,
The only true God he did adore,
He claimed him of all kings the Lord.

to traditional exegesis, the poem identifies the rock crushing the statue with Christ announcing the end of the world.

Nebuchadnezzar is the golden head,
Cyrus and Darius the silver breast,
Alexander's the trunk below the chest,
The iron leg is Caesar, of all the best.

When Augustus over Rome did reign,
Our Lord a human dress on him did take,
And born he was from a virgin maid,
The third epoch its beginning did take.

For our sins Jesus Christ gave his life,
From the dead on the third day he did arise,
All earthly kingdoms were to him demised,
Heaven and earth eternally Him glorify.

Daniel's second dream receives even greater emphasis in the poem, which underpins the central theme of translatio imperii. The narrative, however, cannot be suspended with Rome, because Batizi has to reach his own time. In order to bridge the gap, he recurs to the prophecies of Ezekiel on the procession of Gog and Magog, and above all, to Saint John the Apostle, from whose apocalyptic triad the poet borrows the wild beast to impersonate the monarchs of contemporary powers. The verse chronicle returns to the theme of Antichrist paraphrasing Saint Paul's letter on the man of damnation:[391]

[391] The falsity will spread far and wide,
An unadorned man will then arise,
Great and wise speeches he will all tell,
In falsehood with great luck he will excel.

The flower of holy nations he will wither,
Riches and great wealth will him dither,
Alien homage he shall cherish,
Without human hands he shall perish.

[…] These writings predict the pope's fate,
Who above all is in wisdom's estate,
When he his decrees sacred lore made,
Holy Scriptures for a farthing he praised.

But the Holy Ghost opened to our eyes,
And made his holy prophets prophesy,
In sacred scriptures he did codify,
For us the future times to cognize.

He taught that at the end of all times,
Two great realms against Christ will rise,
One is Turkish arms and Mahound's allies,
The other is falsity and the popish lies.

Alien homage he has cherished,
Because many emperors and kings
Under his feet he subjugated
Who their realms to him consecrated.

[…] Saint Paul openly writes to Timothy
That many will give up faith's remedy,
In the end they will pursue wilfully
Of Antichrist beguiling falsity.

Many shall erring souls accompany,
Who will disgrace holy matrimony;
The white will be detached from its yolk,
Which was given by God to His folk.

This writing reveals the pope's falsity,
As meat dishes and sacred matrimony
He thus prohibited with alacrity,
For which he is Antichrist's testimony.

Also Saint Paul open testimony bears,
Through the words of Daniel he makes us aware
That God His Doom so long delay will,
Till dissent into schism develop will.

Many schisms in course of time did transpire,
Three countries first from the Roman Empire
For Mahound's sake and faith did change sides,
First Asia, then Africa caused great divides.

Among the souls great division there befell,
When the Roman pope did cast his spell
Upon the godly bishops of all the Orient,
And divided were the churches of one descent.

The one a monstrous beast is called,
The other the prophet of falsehood is called,
Both of them Antichrist are called,
Against Christ in their blindness forever enthralled.

But these things more openly to see,
The books of holy prophets we must needs read,
Saint Ezekiel's book thus understand we need
And with the vision of Daniel our mind feed.

Batizi's use of Carion's Chronicle is indebted to Melanchton; their correspondence continued even after Batizi's Wittenberg years. Melanchton ascribed a positive role to the kingdoms and followed Daniel in his claim that earthly power was divinely decreed. Batizi's poem voices the same view. He was mostly occupied with assessing the role of the Holy Roman Empire, apparently the sole potential ally after the fall of Buda, as Prince-Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg's army was the only foreign unit attempting to relieve the Hungarian seat from the Turkish occupation. For this reason, Batizi was prone to accept Melanchton's interpretation. At that point, he could not foresee that two generations' time would elapse before the subsequent, and unsuccessful, siege would take place again.

From the 1560s on, Hungarian Protestantism strongly influenced by the teachings of Zurich gradually lost its trust in the Empire. Radical apocalypticism advocating an imminent end of the world emerged as a new source of hope, which also concludes Batizi's poem:

But once the pagan's star will be downcast,
The Son of God shall soon appear at the last,
The world ended will be and to its doom cast,
And the yokes of the Christian church will be blast.

In the book of Daniel written it is,
The horn God's cursing will not cease,
Nor against the saints drop its blasphemies,
Until the Day of the Doom ycomen is.

The irresistible invasion of the Turks becomes, paradoxically, a reverse proof of consolation: the Doomsday is used to reveal the nation's fate. The poem also confesses that God has already decided its exact time. The contemporary situation

is outlined in a polemical tone both against the Catholics and the Muslims, and the poet urges the Last Judgement with the conversion from the collective burden of sins. He transposes the outcome of the Turkish occupation from a politico-military context to a moral and eschatological sphere; this view will become predominant among the Protestant generation of the following half a century.[392] According to the eschatological thinking pursuing Luther's paths, the Turks are allotted fortune because the Christians live in the sin of idolatry. The suffering of the Christian community, however, predicts the imminent doom, as daybreak is the precursor of daylight.

---

[392] Great prosperity they've enjoyed this day till,
Their lot and their time the sooner to fulfil, 410
Far and wide they conquer, as permits them God's will,
But all of a sudden their noon eclipse will.

The Lord suffers to happen these things,
As He can't bear of all this world the sins,
Nor endure He may idols's worshippings, 415
Therefore from the Turks His revenge springs.

As dawn daylight's messenger is,
Thus these tortures are messengers
Of the Day of Doom and eternal tortures,
To convert those who await conversion. 420

[…] Also Saint Paul open testimony bears,
Through the words of Daniel he makes us aware
That God His Doom so long delay will,
Till dissent into schism develop will.

Many schisms in course of time did transpire, 485
Three countries first from the Roman Empire
For Mahound's sake and faith did change sides,
First Asia, then Africa caused great divides.

Among the souls great division there befell,
When the Roman pope did cast his spell 490
Upon the godly bishops of all the Orient,
And divided were the churches of one descent.

Indeed, this world shall not be doomed to end
Until Antichrist his power should extend,
The contrary of Christ the man of sins will be, 495
And his name the son of calamity will be.

The poem finally reiterates the signs of the Last Judgement of the opening section, this time with the promise of the second coming of Christ, just as the buds of early spring are messengers of a new life and not of destruction:

In the sun and the moon there appeared many a token,
Famines, dearth and plagues they did betoken, 550
Great surges, upheavals and hosts arose,
The sea with wild soaring and roaring rose.

When nature urges buds to burst,
Spring's betokened and winter's dispersed:
Thus all the signs openly signify 555
That the Day of Doom is already nigh.

Therefore all men to their souls shall incline
And all their sins with detest resign,
With God's fear they shall themselves protect
And with great mirth Christ's coming expect. 560

After our Lord Jesus Christ was born
In fifteen hundred and forty four,
András of Batiz in verse put his lore,
Praise be to God our Lord. Amen.

Batizi also relates the parallel history of Jews and Hungarians, including their wandering, their settlement and the splendour of their kingdoms. The central concept of these histories is collective sin, which he identifies with idolatry, that is, the erring of Catholicism. The poem deploys the polemic tone of Lutheran Reformation. We can thus conclude that the Protestantism of the early modern period in Hungary was profoundly defined by the expectation of the fulfilment of times, and this eschatological-apocalyptic vision emerged earlier among the Lutherans than in the Calvinist Church.

The Prophecy of Pseudo-Methodius

Afterwards came the time of the Turks,
To whom Saint Methodius refers
As bloody Jews, or even worse,
The circumcised or in the mounts dispersed. 320

For their turpid deeds Turks they are called,
And bloody Jews also they are called,
As they follow the Jewish rite of auld,
Their cuts and murders blood on them sprawled.

Jews in the mounts dispersed they're said,
In the Caucasians they their dwelling had,
At last through a fox's path they did gad
In pursuit of their fox, the wily Muhammad.

Therefore Mahound the big horn was,
And the pagan emperor his servant was;
His eyes and mouth and all his false laws
Denied of holy prophets the sacred lores.

All of them curses against God did spell,
Jesus Christ only for a man they tell,
To deny His divinity they swell,
And His redemption for naught they repel.

And wars against God's saints they waged,
Where we see Christians deeply engaged,
With great luck over the godly they raged,
And the Christians cruelly they ravaged.

Also the holy prophet Ezekiel of them told,
Their names Gog and Magog he called;
Gog means one dwelling within a tent,
Magog means one dwelling without a tent.

Since they the Scythian mountains close nigh,
That is, the great Caucasians behind,
At first like Tartars in tents they lived,
Now at large their blood for new lands they give.

Of them the Lord God this has declared:
'Gog and Magog, to this you be prepared,
All the nations of earth you'll have scared,
But in the end you shall be ensnared.

'A multitude of nations I'll give you to support,
With tremendous hosts I will you transport,
And like the waves of the sea you shall soar,
Over the lands to loom like a huge storm.

'The rabble of the earth your host will serve,
Pikers, lancers and troopers there will serve,
Valiant soldiers and shield-holders there will serve,
Cavalry and infantry there will serve.

'Of you I foretold in ancient times,
Holy prophets I made of you prophesy,
In the last time I will make you rise,
But in the end, you shall see your decline.

'When you shall invade the regions of mine,
And upon the top of my mountains shall climb,
And against my church and people shall rise,
The pagans whom I Christian did baptize,

'Then shall my wrath against you swell,
And your advance backwards compel,
All my nations I shall to the right belief impel
That I am their God benevolent.

'For this, Ezekiel, you shall openly propagate:
With hails and storms I shall them irritate,
With stone falls from above I will them exasperate,
Armies from all sides against them I shall raise.

‘The birds of the air shall all flock and gather,
Beasts of woods and groves shall haste thither,
To partake in the great holocaust and slaughter,
On the altar of my mounts I shall them offer. 380

‘Horses and horsemen into pieces they shall rip,
In blood of princes they’ll themselves dip,
My tables shall them all saturate,
Human blood shall them inebriate.

‘Thereafter all nations shall call that place 385
Of Magog’s army the burial place,
Gog’s coffin and Magog’s sad dale,
To remember until the times that men prevail.’

The same is written in the book of Saint John:
After thousand years the devil’s bond 390
Falls to let him from the prison abscond,
Of greater freedom he will then be fond.

Thereafter he’ll set to play tricks wile,
Gog and Magog soon to beguile,
And their hosts into massacres to rile, 395
Endless will seem the soldiers’ file.

The camp of the saints they shall surround,
Threaten they shall the Lord’s beloved town,
The Christian church shielded in Mary’s gown,
In God’s wrath they shall all drown.[393] 400

Batizi borrows his description of Gog and Magog from Ezekiel and Saint John’s Revelation and identifies them with the Turks embracing Muhammad’s faith. Similarly to Melanchton’s argument, this offers an occasion for him to insert the apocryphal apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius, which combines the biblical narrative of Gog and Magog with the peoples of the Caucasians and applies it to the Turks.

[393] András Batizi, *Meglött és megleendő dolgoknak teremtéstől fogva az itéletig való historia*. 1544.

Following Pseudo-Methodius, Melanchton traces the origins of the Turks he calls “red Jews” to the biblical Edomite and refers to them as blood hounds. The Turks become the protagonists of salvation history and indicate the strong apocalyptic indebtedness of Batizi’s poem to the concept of identifying the Osman Empire with the Antichrist, which is announced through God by his prophet Daniel.[394] The source of this apocalyptic revelation is an apocryphal writing attributed to Methodius, Bishop of Patara (in ancient Lycia, today Turkey), whose Latin edition of Cologne is claimed to have been published in 1475. The publications rely on four eighth-century manuscripts written in Merovingian Latin.[395] According to the preface of the Paris manuscript, the Latin text is a translation from Greek by a certain brother Peter. The Greek version, entitled *Orthodoxographa*, was first published by Johannes Heroldus in 1569 in Basle. According to Kmoskó, the discrepancies between the Greek versions are due to the fact that the prophecies of the apocalypse were adapted to different historical conditions.[396]

Melanchton uses the Talmudic prophecy attributed to Elijah, because its periodization largely overlaps with the divisions of the apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius. His third source of inspiration was Johann Lichtenberger’s *Prognosticon,*[397] which also distinguishes between three epochs of world history. Its chronology was shaped by post-Joachimite texts; thus it successfully recurred to mediaeval heterodox

[394] The idea of apocalypse and the eventual fulfilment of Daniel’s prophecies appeared in 4th-century Christian thought; e.g., Saint Ephrem identified the Syrians intruding into the Roman Empire as precursors of the last times. During the reign of Constans II (641–668) the expansion of the Muslim Arabs, as well as the Byzantine-Sassanid (Khosrau II) wars were interpreted in the same vein. The so-called Alexander romance originating from 630 places the beginning of the last times to the battle of Nineveh (627) and the beginning of Persian rule over the Byzantine Christians. The Huns, known as the people of Gog and Magog, were rumoured to drink the blood of young women and to eat the flesh of children. Tradition had that Antichrist appeared in the figure of Gog and Magog to punish the blatant blasphemy of Christians; at the same time, Enoch and Elijah descend from heaven. Isidore of Seville echoed Pseudo-Ephrem in announcing the imminent end of times with the “storm of peoples”, i.e. the fall of the Western Roman Empire. Hannes Möhring, “Die Sergios-Bahíra Apokalypse” and “Introduction: The Prophecy of Pseudo-Methodius,” in Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit Entstehung, Wandel und Wirkung einer tausendjahrigen Weissagung. Jan Thorbecke Verlag, ed. Idem., (Stuttgart, 2000); Tubach, Die syrische Danielrezeption…; Mihály Kmoskó, Szír írók a steppe népeiről. [Syrian authors about the peoples of the steppes] (Budapest: Balassi, 2004); for Pseudo-Methodius cf. pp. 38–46, 94–967, and for the legend of Pseudo-Callisthenes cf. pp. 72–82.

[395] Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 13348; Codex S. Galli225; Codex Bernensis611; Rome, Codex Barberinus XIV, 44 (fragment). The text, including its translation and notes, was studied by Kmoskó, *Szír írók…,* 38, note 114.

[396] Kmoskó*, Szír írók*…, 38.

[397] Johannes Lichtenberger, *Dise Practica vnd Prenostication*. Metz, 1492. (German translation with corrections in 1528)

apocalyptic writings, while it postulated the Trinitarian concept of time with a Greek, a Syrian and a Talmudic writing. The ultimate syncretic foundations of the work provide the basis for a complex system combining the mediaeval reception of the Book of Daniel and the Augustinian six-fold division of world history with an overall attempt to make the threefold model dominant.

According to Melanchton, Saint Augustine's six-day division of universal history provides a far too convenient model. This is countered by the threefold model, which, though confirmed by biblical roots, discards the notion of God's covenants with people as important epoch-making events (i.e. before the law, under the law and under grace). Instead, it amalgamates the epochs of Pseudo-Methodius with the state theory derived from Daniel's visions, whose culmination will be the return of the crown to the universal emperor of the third epoch on the Mount of Olives.

This pattern also underlies Batizi's poem: the end of the first epoch is not marked with the Mosaic Law, which in traditional exegesis indicates the onset of the time under law, but by Noah's flood. Batizi also emphasizes that the second epoch seeks to demonstrate the divine origin of empires and the genesis of kingship. The third epoch focuses exclusively on the Roman Empire, whose subsequent stages of anti-Christian persecutions and the split of the state under the authority of the Christian church were to be juxtaposed to Rome's corruption by Muhammad's teachings and by the Roman Church. This concise summary repeats the claims of Wittenberg's ideology: the German nation has a hereditary right to divine power and a providential call to restore Christ's rule. The author only needs to prove the illegitimate and tyrannical nature of power in both the Roman and the Byzantine halves of the Empire, for which the periodization of the Syrian apocalypse carries arguments.

Pseudo-Methodius's Division of Time[398]

In his chronology, Pseudo-Methodius estimated the history of mankind at 6000 years, the pivotal points being the establishment of Syrian rule beginning with the year 3000, the birth of Christ in 5500 and the doomsday in year 6000. The chronology was divided into smaller periods: the period from 1000 to 2000 witnessed the reign of the descendants of Adam and Eve to Noah, the Flood came in 2000, and then another era followed from the death of Noah in 2790 to the building of the Tower of Babel. Then succeeded the period of the four empires originating from Nimrod's kingdom: the reign of Shem being the first, followed by the rule of Japheth's sons, and the

[398] The summary of the chronology is based on Kmoskó, *Szír írók...,* 41-43.

dominion of Ham's sons. The fourth was the rule of Yonton's (a. k. a. Jonitus) sons in the East, Yonton being a son of Noah unknown from the Bible. The year 4000 found a Persian king on the throne of Babylon, in year 5000 a war broke out when Yonton's sons, expanding their territory to the Euphrates, came into conflict with Hagar's sons, the Ishmaelites.

In the seventh millennium, approaching to the coming of the Messiah's kingdom, the last Roman (Byzantine) emperor would defeat the Ishmaelites (the Muslim Arabs). But then the Gates of Alexander will open and the peoples of the north will invade, and a leader of the angelic armies in the plain of Joppa will destroy it.

The Roman emperor will reign in Jerusalem for ten and a half years. Then he will ascend the Golgotha, place his shield or crown on the cross (i. e. the tree of the fall), "give up his soul to his Creator" and the cross will ascend to heaven.

Pseudo-Methodius uses biblical references for his writing, like the often cited verse concerning the Antichrist: "he who now holdeth back will hold him back, until he is taken out of the way" (2 Thess 2:7). Another biblical passage is cited from the First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians (1 Cor 15:24), where Christ hands over his kingdom to the Father, the prefiguration of the Roman Emperor handing over his kingdom to the Messiah.

Thus, the events are placed in two settings: the one is the Golgotha in Jerusalem, where the *axis mundi*, Christ's cross and the throne of the world emperor takes place. The Antichrist will be executed here, on the Mount of Olives, too. The other is the Paradise, where the great rivers flow from, the Armenian mountains, the territory beyond the edge of the known world, the dreadful hill country where the ultramontane peoples live.

The Caucasian Gate

The gate was remembered not only in the Christian, but also in the Jewish and Muslim traditions. The Alexander narrative was combined with the biblical Apocalypse in Flavius Josephus's work in the 1st century, when he wrote about the iron gates that excluded nomadic tribes from the gorge.[399] Josephus's Roman contemporaries considered the Caspian Gates, north of what is Tehran today, and the Dariali Gorge in the Caucasus as the Gates of Alexander'[400]Josephus also mentions that Herodotus

[399] Károly Czeglédy, *A szír Nagy Sándor legenda* [The Syriac Alexander Legend] (Budapest, 1958), 5.

[400] Pliny rejects the idea, but informs us that after the great invasion of the Alans in 72 AD on this route a Roman reconnaissance campaign was launched, during which remains of forts were found. The description of the buildings corresponds, often verbatim, with Josephus's text. The forts were

introduced the Scythians into European cultural history as the archetype of the nomadic peoples living beyond the boundaries of the civilized world. Josephus regarded them as the descendants of Magog, but did not describe them as part of the apocalyptic narrative, the formation of which is not dated before the 395–396 Hun invasion in scholarly literature.[401] His source is the Genesis rather than Ezekiel, who first associated Gog and Magog with the end of times.[402]Saint Jerome, who had to flee from Bethlehem to escape the Hunnic incursions, knew Josephus's identification of the Scythians with the people of Magog and also mentioned the Gates of Alexander in relation to the Huns whom, like Herodotus, he regarded as relatives of the Scythians.[403]

The Huns marching on the Persian capital fought near the city of Amida. Since 363 the Persian-Roman frontier also stretched across this area, west of Nisibis. North of the above-mentioned cities Armenian territories extended towards the Caucasus and Lake Van. The frontier existed up to the end of the Sassanid era, but then it functioned as the border between the Byzantine Jacobite Syrians and the Nestorians and Armenian Monophysites of the northern Persian areas. Thus, the border region was inhabited by mainly Syriac and Armenian but also Persian populations. The frontier area dividing empires and constantly at war provided a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional environment, and the interaction of these features resulted in an apocalyptic way of thinking. The Gates are placed by the authors north of the headwaters of the Tigris river, beyond Armenian territories. The Hun incursions of 395 and 435 and those of the Sabirs in 515 also affected these areas.[404]

The original Greek text of the legend used for authentication the name of Callisthenes of Olynthus, the great nephew of Aristotle and professional historian of Alexander the Great, who died in prison in 328 BC. A prose fiction (romance) version of the legend was completed 600 years later in the 3rd century.[405] The Syriac

also known by Strabo. Ceglédy, *A szír Nagy Sándor...;* on this topic see also: Meserve, Margaret: *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Chicago, 2008)

401 Ceglédy, *A szír Nagy Sándor...,* 5.

402 Ibid., 7f.

403 Ibid., 9. The reference to the Scythian invasion is also borrowed through Isidore by Rhabanus Maurus and William of Rubruck, and was later associated also with the Hungarians, because of their identification with *Hunnos* or *Hunni*.

404 Ibid., 10–12. In relation to the 435 incursion the article refers to the Syriac Chronicle Liber Calipharum, as well as Isaac of Antioch's Syriac homily on the Royal City. John of Ephesus, when describing the history of his monastery, relates that the Huns invading from the direction of Armenia and Cappadocia also plundered the vicinity of Amida, and prophesies on the Hunnic incursion. According to Czeglédy this means that the Syriac Alexander legend already existed in the middle of the 6th century, while the Syriac translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes was only completed towards the end of that century, and the today available Syriac legend was recorded at the end of the 7th century.

405 József Huszti, "Pier Paolo Vergerio és a magyar humanizmus kezdete," [Pier Paolo Vergerio and

translation and the Apocrypha were created in the sixth century; certain parts of them are later additions. The legend itself, however, is more important than its Syriac translation in terms of the mediaeval apocalyptic literature and the steppe peoples, as it is based on Ezekiel's prophesy using the Gog and Magogmotif.[406] The legend is a typical North-Mesopotamian syncretic creation, in which the Epic of Gilgamesh also appears as a local element. Its author or authors lived near the ancient Amida and had vivid memories of the fourth and fifth century Hunnic incursions.

According to Károly Czeglédy, for the war he fought with Khosrau II, Emperor Heraclius summoned Khazar troops from the north and Arab auxiliaries from the south, and he himself opened the gorges and forts on the northern boundary. Czeglédy is of the opinion that the Khazars thus learning the way returned, launched a multi-annual campaign in 629 and brought the Armenian and Syriac inhabitants of the area to the edge of destruction.[407]The legend is aware of the Byzantine-Persian wars, but has no knowledge of the Muslim Arab victory over the Byzantine troops at the battle of Yarmuk and the conquest of Persia in 636. Therefore Czeglédy, in the wake of Kmoskó, dated it between the Khazar incursion of 626 and the Arab invasion of 636.[408]The gates mentioned in the legend were later identified with the Gates of Derbent.[409]

The legend reveals that beyond Armenia, in the north, the Caucasus Mountains and the "Stinking Sea", i. e. most likely the marshes of the Caspian Sea, indicated the limit of the world at that time. When Alexander the Great reached this end of the world, he found Armenians there[410].

Anonymus, the historian describing the Hungarian conquest, also borrowed the idea of the Caucasian Gates being the bulwark of civilized world from the Alexander

the Beginnings of Hungarian Humanism] *Filológiai Közlöny* 4 (1955): 521–533.; Horváth, *A reformáció jegyében...*, 391. The legend was used by Pier Paolo Vergerio, Péter Ilosvai, Gáspár Heltai and János Haller in sixteenth century Hungary. Ibid., 527.

406 Ceglédy, *A szír Nagy Sándor...*, 13.

407 Ibid. 17–19. Concerning the Khazar destruction he quotes the report of the Armenian eyewitness Moses Kałankatvac'i. Both in the Syriac legend and the Armenian narrative there is reference to the same Jeremiah verse (13:16), which the author of the Syriac text attributes to Alexander the Great.

408 Ibid., 18. His position is not accepted by all scolars.

409 Ibid., 19. Concerning the inscription of the gate Czeglédy cites an interesting passage from the 8th century Armenian historian Lewond (a. k. a. Ghewond or Ghevond), relating that when the Arabs demolished the fortress in 716, among the ruins they found a large stone with an inscription telling that it was built by Emperor Marcian and in later times will be demolished by the sons of Ishmael, but they will rebuild it once again through their own treasury funds. Khazars and Arabs fought heavy battles near Derbend and the Arabs rebuilt the northern fortress several times.

410 The following quotation and the accompanying analysis is taken from Mihály Kmoskó's collection: Kmoskó,*Szír írók*...

Romance. A similar notion is present in the the Hungarian King Béla IV's letter to Pope Innocent IV after the 1241–1242 Mongol invasion, although here the importance of the Hungarian frontier and the Danube, described as the *aqua contradictionis*, is emphasized. Similarly to the Syriac legend, the author of the letter refers to Heraclius's wars with the Persians and uses the bulwark motif likewise.[411]

The text of the legend reads as follows:

> [W]hen the aged men, natives of that land had come into his presence, he asked them, […] "How far does this mountain descend in this direction?" They answered him, "This mountain extends without a break, passing by the sea […], and goes on and comes to an end in outer Persia near India; and from this road and upwards the mountain goes to a great river on this side of the sea. And there are narrow paths there which a man is unable to pass through unless he be on horseback. And people who pass though the mountain are unable to do so without bells that ring, for animals come up from the sea and from the rivers and descend from the mountains and crouch in the path, and if men go to pass through it without bells that ring, they perish immediately." Alexander said, "This mountain is higher and more terrible than all the mountains which I have seen." The old men, natives of the country, said to the king: "Yea, by your majesty, my lord the king, neither we nor our fathers have been able to march one step in it, for it is the boundary which God has set between us and the nations within it.[412]

The Huns

> "Alexander said, "Who are the nations within this mountain upon which we are looking?....." The natives of the land said, "They are the Huns." He said to them, "Who are their kings?" The old men said: "Gôg and Mâgôg […]." Alexander said, "What is their appearance, and their clothing, and their languages?" The old men answered and said to the king: "Some of them have blue eyes, and their women have but one breast apiece; and the women fight more than the men, for they wound a man with knives. They hang knives upon their thighs and arms and necks, so that, if one of them should get into a fight, wherever she stretches out her hand she can lay hold of a knife. They wear dressed skins; and they eat the raw flesh of everything which dies of theirs; and they drink the blood of men and of animals. They do not besiege or fight against cities and fortresses, but they run to the paths and gates of fortresses and cities, and they surround the men who come out to meet them outside. They are swifter than the wind that blows, and ere the rumour of their going forth to battle is heard, they outstrip the whole world; for they are sorcerers, and they run between heaven and earth, and their chariots and swords and spears flesh like fearful lightnings. They carry maces in their hands, and each has two or three horses;……between fifty and sixty men, and they go before and after him, and the noise of each one's outcry is more terrible than the voice of a lion; for it is the will of God that delivers the nations into each other's hands, and the terror of the Huns is fearful upon all creatures that see them, for they are no lovers of mankind.When they go forth to war, they fetch a pregnant woman, and pile up a fire, and cook her child within her, and her belly bursts open and the child comes forth roasted. Then they lay it in a trough and throw water upon its body, and its body melts away in this water; and they take their swords and bows and arrows and spears, and dip them in this water. And to every one whom this water touches, it appears as if there were a hundred thousand horsemen with him; and by the side of every hundred men there seem to stand one hundred thousand bands of demons, for their sorceries are greater than those of all kingdoms."[413] […]
>
> "Alexander said to his troops, "Do ye desire that we should do something wonderful in this land?" They said to him, "As thy majesty commands we will do." The king said, "Let us make a gate of brass and close up this breach." His troops said, "As thy majesty commands we will do." And Alexander commanded and fetched three thousand smiths, workers in iron, and three thousand men, workers in brass. And they put down brass and iron, and kneaded it as a man kneads when he works with clay. Then they brought it and made a gate, the length of which was twelve cubits and its breadth eight cubits. And he made a lower threshold from mountain to mountain, the length of which was twelve cubits; and he hammered it into the rocks of mountains, and it was fixed in with brass and iron. The height of the lower threshold was three cubits. And he made an upper threshold from mountain

411 Henrik Marczali, *A magyar történet középkori kútfői az Árpádok korában* [Mediaeval Sources of Hungarian History in the Árpád Era] (Budapest, 1880), 161–166.; Tibor Kardos, *A magyarság antik hagyományai* [The Antique Traditions of the Hungarians] (Budapest, 1942), 17f.; Kardos, *Középkori*..., 94f.

412 Ernest A. Wallis Budge, *The history of Alexander the Great. Being the Syriac version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes,* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1889), 149-150.

413 Budge, *The history of*..., 150-151.

to mountain, twelve cubits in length; and he hammered it into the rocks of mountains, and fixed in it two bolts of iron, each bolt being twelve cubits [long]; and the bolts went into the rock two cubits; and he made it two bolts of iron from rock to rock behind the gate, and fixed the heads of the bolts into the rocks. He fixed the gate and the bolts, and he placed nails of iron and beat them down one by the other, so that if the Huns came and dug out the rock which was under the threshold of iron, even if footmen were able to pass through, the horse with its rider would be unable to pass, so long as the gate that was hammered down with bolts stood. And he brought and hammered down a lower threshold and hinge for the gate, and he cast therein bolts of iron, and made it swing round on one side like the gates of Shûshan the fortress. And the men brought and kneaded iron and brass and covered therewith the gate and its posts one by one, like a man when he moulds clay. And he made a bolt of iron in the rocks, and hammered out an iron key twelve cubits long, and made locks of brass turn therewith. And behold the gate was hung and stood."[414]

The oracle

"And king Alexander fetched [an engraver] and inscribed upon the gate: "The Huns shall go forth and conquer the countries of the Romans and of the Persians, and shall cast arrows with……, and shall return and enter their own land.[415] Also I have written that,[416] at the conclusion of eight hundred and twenty-six years,[417] the Huns shall go forth by the narrow way which goes forth opposite Halôrâs, whence the Tigris goes forth like the stream which turns a mill, and they shall take captive the nations, and shall cut off the roads, and shall make the earth tremble by their going forth. And again I have written and made known and prophesied that it shall come to pass, at the conclusion of nine hundred and forty years[418] …… another king, when

[414] Budge, *The history of...*, 153.

[415] In the translation of Kmoskó: "they will let off arrows in Armagesta", which is, in fact, the Armageddon in John's Book of Revelation (16,16).

[416] According to Kmoskó this is the beginning of the second prophecy that is obviously not the continuation of the former one, but an insertion of an unknown intrepolator, who in the text of the legend wanted to immortalize the invasion of the Huns described below.

[417] As the Seleucid era was named after Alexander the Great by the Syrians, it seems certain that the interpolator used this era and calculated the 826 years from 311 BC, in which case 515 AD corresponds to this date, when the Huns (in fact the Sabirs) did cross the Caucasus and ravaged through Asia Minor.

[418] This is considered unlikely by Károly Czeglédy. Czeglédy, *A szír Nagy Sándor...*, 18., 61.; Kmoskó, *Szír írók...* (cf. n. 21).

the world shall come to an end by the command of God the ruler of creation. Created things shall anger God, and sin shall increase, and wrath shall reign, and the sins of mankind shall mount up and shall cover the heavens, and the Lord will stir up in His anger the kingdoms that lie within this gate. […] And the Lord will gather together the kings and their hosts which are within this mountain, and they shall all be assembled at His beck, and shall come with their spears and swords, and shall stand behind the gate, and shall look up the heavens, and shall call upon the name of the Lord, saying, 'O Lord, open to us this gate.' And the Lord shall send his sign from heaven and a voice shall call on this gate, and it shall be destroyed and fall at the beck of the Lord, and it shall not be opened by the key which I have made for it. And a troop shall go through this gate which I have made, and a full span shall be worn away from the lower threshold by the hoofs of the horses which with their riders shall go forth to destroy the land by the command of the Lord; And a span shall be worn away from the upper threshold by the points of the spears of those that shall run over it and go forth. And when the Huns have gone forth, as God has commanded,[419] the kingdoms of the Huns and the Persians and the Arabs, the twenty-four kingdoms that are written in this book, shall come from the ends of the heavens and shall fall upon one another, and the earth shall melt through the blood and dung of men. […] And the kingdoms of the Huns and the Persians shall be desolated the one by the other; only a few of them shall escape […]. And my kingdom, which is called that of the house of Alexander the son of Philip the Macedonian, shall go forth and destroy the earth and the ends of the heavens; and there shall not be found any among the nations and tongues who dwell in the world that shall stand before the kingdom of the Romans. Lo, I Alexander have written and made known [these things] in my own handwriting, and verily I have not lied in what I have written; but perhaps the nations and the world will not believe that what I have written will come to pass; but if ye will not receive my word, receive [that of] Jeremiah the prophet who long ago pointed out that kingdom of his prophecy, and spake thus in his book, 'Evil shall be opened from the north upon all the inhabitants of the land.'[420]

[419] There were some also among the Muslim theologians who regarded the Turkish invasion as the sign of the end of the world.

[420] Budge, *The history of...*, 154-155.

The final part of the legend relates that the Persian king was defeated and an agreement was made that the iron gate built by Alexander would be guarded by 6000 Roman and 6000 Persian warriors. Then "sorcerers and enchanters" were sent for who told Alexander:

> [A]t the final consummation of the world the kingdom of the Romans would go forth and subdue all the kings of the earth; […] Persia should be laid waste by the hand of the Romans, and all the kingdoms be laid waste, but that that power should stand and rule to the end of time, and should deliver the kingdom of the earth to the Messiah who is to come.[421]

After this Alexander prayed in Jerusalem, then ships were launched and he headed for Alexandria. He took a vow:

If the Messiah, who is God's son, would come in my time, my army and I will kneel before him, but if he would not come in my time, for I have defeated kings and took countries, this throne, this silver chair that I sit on, will be taken to Jerusalem. And when the Messiah appears from the sky, he will sit on my throne, for his reign will be eternal. […] The crowns of all the kings deceased in Alexandria will be hung on that silver throne, offered to the Messiah.

[421] Budge, *The history of*..., 158.

THE EMPEROR OF THE WORLD

Christians have had ambivalent feelings towards history since the birth of the religion: apocalyptic thought had positive and negative reception. The end of history could mean both the Golden Age and the arrival of evil. The latter scenario was most likely derived from the Gospel of Matthew. He divided history into ages, the last of which entails the coming of the Son of God to judge mankind, and this doom coincides with the end of the world. The other scenario can be traced back to Jewish ideas of the arrival of the Holy Man, who leads people to the Promised Land. Originally the Holy Man was a king elected by God, but due to Christian influence, the mediator of the divine intervention became a superhuman figure.

Early Christian apocalyptic thought was constructed on three preliminary concepts: first, the concept of the millennium based on the mystical words of the Apocalypse; second, the Age of Sabbath, symbolising God's rest after the Creation, and third, the illumination through the coming of the Holy Spirit. John's Apocalypse reveals that the world will perish and end as a result of divine intervention to usher in a new world and the Golden Age. Some claimed that the apocalypse began with the birth of Christ, and the Golden Age was manifest in the Church. The concept of the Sabbath is difficult to reconcile with the millennial narrative of the end of times. However, Lactantius speculates that Sabbath will immediately follow the end of the world and the defeat of the Antichrist by the angelic hosts. Sabbath will precede the Golden Age, the restoration of the prelapsarian state of the world, as it was immediately after the Creation. The coming of the Holy Spirit was associated with the image of New Jerusalem, an allegory of the all-encompassing and universal illumination.

The author takes much material from the narratives of Callisthenes, where the legends about Alexander the Great, inherited from the Hellenistic age of the Near East, but known and popularised also in Syria and Armenia, are recounted by the Macedon ruler himself. Briefly, an emperor is born who defeats Islam, and Jerusalem to its former glory. All enemies of Christendom shall be vanquished, and an age of plenty and wealth shall be introduced. People will live so until the coming of the Antichrist, when the same emperor ascends to Calvary, and relinquishes his power to God.

The nations of Gog and Magog are the Muslims, and the last folk to arrive are the Turks, who descend from the intraversible reaches of the mountains and break the Gates of Alexander. The peoples behind this fortification are identified after Pseudo-Methodius (ninth century) increasingly with Turks, possibly due to the Khazar

incursion in 629, which was more traumatic to the Syrian-Armenian populace than the later Arabic invasions. Thus Arab-Persian, Armenian, Syrian and Greek authors all saw Turks as the nation of the Last Judgement, their successive tribes and alliances constantly besieging the civilised world. Their texts are centred on the figure of the world emperor who exacts punishment. This tradition is traced back to Alexander by Syrian works which actually begin their chronology with him – not unlike Islam, as Alexander also figures in the Qur'an.[422] Arabic tradition names him 'the possessor of two horns', as he joined the West and the Orient. In order to analyse the legends of Alexander and the world emperor, many Syrian pseudonymous texts need to be researched, e.g. the above-mentioned manuscript of Pseudo-Callisthenes. Another one is Pseudo-Ephraim's seventh-century Syrian text, written on the Greek-Persian frontier and despite its age attributed to Ephraim the Great. Its title is *Sermon at the end of the world*, and it prophecies the end of the world on*a propos* of the devastating Byzantine-Persian war. Pseudo-Methodius's text, mentioned above, uses the fourth-century martyr bishop, Methodius, as a narrator in order to confirm its authority. This is the first appearance of the fully-fledged figure of the world emperor fighting against the nations of the Antichrist, who after the victory places his crown of the Cross of Jesus on the Calvary (the *axis mundi*), which, according to the legend is raised to the heavens.

The first original prophecy concerning the world emperor is at the end of the Latin version of the Tiburtine Sybil's writing,[423] the earliest known MS of which comes from 1047. From among the ten Sibyls, the last one, called in Greek Tiburtina and in Latin Albuena, made a prophecy concerning the daughter of Priamos and Hecuba, and sister of Cassandra. According to legend, Tiburtina was renowned worldwide, and Trajan summoned him to Rome, where she had to interpret a dream dreamt at the same time by a hundred senators. The dream featured nine suns, the first and the second being incandescent, but the rest bloody and dark.

The dream was interpreted by Tiburtina this: the nine suns signify nine generations or ages to come. The world emperor, king of Greeks and Romans is of handsome

[422] These gates were identified in popular thought with the Gates of Derbend, which was constructed in the 5th century by the Sassanid kings. Qur'an 18:94-96 describes the metal wall of Dhul-Qarnayn. The existence of this wall was taken as certain by later Muslim tradition, without a shade of doubt. When the Kyrgyz tribes dwelling north of Lake Baikal raided the Uyghur living around in the Orkhon and Selenga in 841, forcing the Uyghur into an exodus, a new movement of migrations began. Abbasid Caliph Al-Wathiq saw a dream in which the Gates of Alexander were opened, and in his fright he despatched his translator Sallam to discover the situation. The date of writing the legend down is uncertain, but we know that this chronicle was composed around 775, thus the legend must be older that the second half of the 8th century. Based on: Kmoskó, *Szír írók*..., 31.; Cf. Meserve, *Empires of Islam*..., 249-256.

[423] Möhring, *Die Sergios-Bahíra*..., 17–28.; Alexander, *The Byzantine*..., 151-185.

appearance with shining face. Constans, for he is the one, rules in plenty for 112 years, and conquers Egypt and Ethiopia, and the Jews will convert, all men becoming Christian. The Antichrist, however, hailing from the tribe of Dan, deceives men with magic and wonders. From the north, the unclean nation of Gog and Magog appears, reigning over the innumerable folk of 22 kingdoms. The emperor of the Romans destroys them, and goes to Jerusalem, putting aside the imperial insignia and handing over rule to Jesus Christ. After the end of the Roman Empire, the Antichrist appears again in Jerusalem, but so do Elijah and Enoch to spread the news of the coming of the Lord. The Antichrist is slain, but after three years the Lord resurrects him. A great persecution begins, and the archangel Michael kills the Antichrist on the Mount of Olives. Then the Last Judgement comes.[424] According to the prophecy, the Sibyl crowns the world emperor in Jerusalem.

In the thirteenth century, the expectation of the world emperor was widespread, especially in the face of the assumed immediate fall of Islam. Frederick II, for example, was considered to be one, even more as he was victorious over the Muslims. His coronation in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre only reinforced expectations.[425]

Until the Reformation, it was variously French and German hegemony which tried to manipulate the legend. Texts claimed that the world emperor would be a second Charlemagne or a third Frederick himself. In France the ideology was fully worked out by Jean de Roquetaillade, whose prophecy, published in 1356, stated that two Antichrists will appear, one in Jerusalem and one in the West, who should appear between 1362 and 1370. The coming of the angelic pope signals the onset of the third Joachimite *status*, where Pope and Emperor shall rule the world together.[426] Germans, however, expected the arrival of a third Frederick, and Sigismund of Luxemburg for example kept the name at his coronation. According to some Sibylline prophecies, emperors can only be called Frederick, and the world emperor of the Last Days shall be called Frederick even if his baptismal name is different. Although his Hussite and Catholic opponents considered Sigismund to be the Antichrist, some contemporaries hailed him as a new Moses or David, who will reform even the Church.[427] It was

[424] Möhring, *Die Sergios-Bahíra*..., 45–49.

[425] The propaganda of Frederick II claimed that he is the renovator of the world. Pierre della Vigna wrote of him that he is Ezekiel's eagle, and it was expected that he will bring world peace. According to some theories, Frederick will help in 1548-9 Charles V in recapturing the Holy Land. In a 1520 book Frederick Barbarossa will come out of the Kyffhäuser and hang his shield on the withered tree guarded by the sultan. In their last desperation, the last Cathars of the early fourteenth century also expected the arrival of a third Frederick. Möhring, *Die Sergios-Bahíra*..., 223–229.

[426] Reeves, *The influence*..., 332–346.; Roland Vocke, "Die Regierungszeit Friedrichs III. und Maximilians I." in *Deutsche Geschichte*, Vol. V. ed. Heinrich Pleticha, (Gütersloh, 1993), 158.

[427] Reeves, *The influence*..., 332–346.

widely held that against the tyrant French king Germany will elect an emperor, and the bishop of Mainz will become pope. The emperor crushes the French, plotting to take the empire, and moves the Holy See to Mainz. The first appearance of this prophecy is Lazius's opus, and Thomas Ebendorfer wrote about a Frederick III from the Hohenstaufen dynasty in his *Chronica Regnum Romanorum*. Guillaume Postel introduced to a Joachimite element to the ideology, claiming that the fleur-de-lis symbolised the third *status*: thus, since it is the insignia of the French king, the prophecy can concern the German emperor only if he becomes first king of France.[428]

Eagle and Fleur-de-lis in the Prophecy of Lichtenberg

The book of Johannes Lichtenberg, an astrologer from the Palatinate, appeared on 1 April 1488; it was later published under the title of *The Prophecies of Johannes Lichtenberg*. The author did not name himself in the prologue. The introductory prayer, however, describes him as an old and experienced astrologist. He reveals that his work is a compilation with little original additions: he explicitly refers to Paulus von Middelburg, later bishop of Fossembrone. In 1484, Paulus published his own *Prenostica ad viginti annos duratura,* which contains Lichtenberger's text verbatim.

The significance of the work does not lie in the influence of its author as an astrologist, but it is a remarkable summary of fifteenth-century theories and views of astrology, a *vade mecum* of popular prophecies of the late Middle Ages. Besides Lichtenberger, another authority for Paulus is Josephus Grünpeck, court historian of Frederick III and King Matthias Corvin. In his *Practica der gegenwartigen Trübsaln*[429](Present sorrow) he claims that "decay is imminent". Both Lichtenberger and Grünpeck depict the decadence of the age in similar terms: the world of the rich decays and the Christian folk and peasantry revolt. No city in the Empire shall be left unshaken in its peace and order.[430] These sentiments are reinforced by the belief in the stars' influence upon human life, an idea which was inherited from Antiquity.

[428] Henry IV was first informed about Joachim's prophecy by Nostradamus, although it originally referred to Charles VI. The ability to bring the world under one rule, still conceived of as possible in the seventeenth century, was taken by Tommaso Campanella to concern the Spanish Monarchy, but eventually from 1634 onwards even he began to support the French, and saw in Louis XIV the founder of the kinngdom of the Sun. See: Reeves*, The influence*...

[429] Will-Erich Peuckert, *Die Grosse Wende. Das apokalyptische Saeculum und Luther. Geistesgeschichte und Volkskunde* (Hamburg: 1948), 105.

[430] Peuckert, *Die Grosse*..., 152.

Lichtenberger quotes Hermes Trismegistos, who was also convinced that whatever we do, the deed is not ours, because the genuine casues of our deeds are the stars. The Antique belief in the influence of the stars and planets are reasserted by the humanists with the transmission of the texts of their authorities. The most important message of the astrologists of the age is that the end is nigh. This belief was traced back to two contemporary astrological events: the total eclipse of the sun in 1485 and the constellation of the Jupiter and Saturn. The theories of the influence of the position of celestial bodies on human life is rooted in Neo-Platonism, which held that the planets exert various influences in various positions, and that each planet has a predetermined negative or positive power depending on its position. The constellation of two 'good' planets promotes peace, while the appearance of a "bad" one is destructive.

Lichtenberger applies this theory when he comments, among others, that Jupiter and Saturn are in the sign of the Scorpion, and that Saturn is above Jupiter, that is, evil defeated the good. Negative influence was further exasperated by the influence of, the planet of sins and wars. The courses of the seven planets were divided into the twelve signs of the Zodiac, also known "houses". The constellations of minor planets were considered unimportant, probably because they were frequent. However, on 25 November 1484 Lichtenberger and Middelburg wrote: "The constellation of Saturn and Jupiter foretells future disasters, as this event is most rare. In addition, Mars is in his own house, in the centre, together with Saturn and Jupiter; its power is greater than ever."[431]

The writings of Lichtenberger differ from those of other contemporary astrologists in its fundamental interpretation of the signs: while others interpret the planetary constellations as a temporary situation that can ameliorate with a more positive constellation, Lichtenberger, according to Peuckert, unequivocally writes about the end of times, which attests most palpably to the impact of Joachimism. Lichtenberger depicts the period of chaos with false prophets and several figures of the Antichrist. He uses the symbol of the eagle to refer to the emperor, which demonstrates that he was familiar with the symbolism of the eagle and the fleur-de-lis in the esoteric-apocalyptic literature from the age of Frederick II. Lichtenberger believed that Emperor Maximilian I had the chance to unite the eagle and the fleur-de-lis, which duty called him and his son Philip to obtain the crowns of France and Germany.[432] Charles V bore the magic name according to German expectations; besides, he also

[431] Peuckert, *Die Grosse*..., 152.

[432] In 1495 Sebastian Brandt wrote a prophecy about Maximilian standing in front of Jerusalem as king of the Romans. First, the German monarch has to destroy the Church in order to be able to rebuild it on a Joachimite basis. Reeves*, The influence*..., 352.

fitted visions of a second Charlemagne, and he was also the heir of Burgundy. For Luther, however, Frederick the Wise was the manifestation of the prophecies related to Frederick III.[433]

Collective Identities of the Frontier

The Ultimate Battle and John Hunyadi

The early modern European apocalyptic model countering Islam was based on the two Syrian apocalyptic writings discussed above. The spatial and temporal perceptions of a newly shaping European identity were determined by this model until the eighteenth century. The cult of Pseudo-Methodius in the fifteenth century, however, represents a temporary deviation from this overall tendency. The Latin edition of the text is published in Cologne, where Lichtenberger's prophecy placed the site of the ultimate battle of Armageddon.

In his discussion of this text, Mihály Kmoskó was of the opinion that the prophecy relating the invasion of the Huns and the Turks at the end of times is an interpolation whose author was influenced by both Pseudo-Ephraim and Pseudo-Methodius. The 940 years mentioned in the passage cannot be counted from the beginning of the Seleucid era though, because it would yield the year of 628–629 AD, which does not make sense in the given context. The last sentence of the writing relates that at the end of the world the ruler of the Roman Empire would subjugate the kings of the earth and pass over the power to God. This conclusion is clearly affected by Pseudo-Methodius, since it is the central motif of his Apocalypse.

The work of Pseudo-Methodius could not have been written before 650 AD. The interpolator who inserted the prophecy of the 940 years after 650 AD could not have associated the Hun invasion with the year in which Emperor Heraclius made peace and agreed on the status quo with Persian Kavadh II following the Byzantine victory over his father Khosrau II, because the memory of the victory soon faded with the fall of Syria in 636 and the fall of Egypt in 640 as a result of the rapid expansion of Islam.

According to Kmoskó's calculations, the 940 years mentioned in the third prophecy should be added to the 825 years of the second prophecy, resulting in the year 1455. To the great consternation of Christendom, Constantinople fell in 1453, but in 1456 John (János) Hunyadi put the Turks to flight at Nándorfehérvár (present-day Beograd, Serbia). The news of the victory also reached the East and awakened the

[433] Reeves, *The influence...,* 369–374.

hope among the oriental Christians that "King Jankó" (Johnny), the Turkish sobriquet for John Hunyadi, would deal a death blow to Islam.

The Byzantine Greek refugees and the European humanists were hoping that the Hunyadis could restore the Hesiodic golden age.[434] In the last night of the siege of Byzantium the defenders thought to have seen the distant campfires of John Hunyadi's troops. In a poem written at the same time he is portrayed as the saviour of the Greeks.[435] After John Hunyadi's death, his son is crowned king of Hungary. In the second half of the fifteenth century the humanist intellectuals, who usually lived on various commissions from wealthy rulers, lined up behind the Hungarian king.

Even a hundred years later, prophecies related to 1455 may have been familiar to humanist Melanchthon, who integrated the magical number into his own apocalyptic Christian world view. His works attest to a cult of the Hunyadis, and it is no coincidence that he emphasized the role of both the German and the Hungarian nations in the history of salvation.[436]

The cult of the Hunyadis became a cornerstone of Transylvanian identity. As early as the 30s of the sixteenth century, the Bishop of Gyulafehérvár (present-day Alba Iulia, Romania) initiated the cult of John Hunyadi, which centred on his tomb.[437] A generation later, even Protestants of Transdanubia, Western Hungary developed strong attachments to the site.[438] Furthermore, the cult of Matthias nourished national confidence as early as the seventeenth century among both the common people and the nobility.[439]

[434] Tibor Klaniczai, "A keresztes had eszméje és a Mátyás mítosz," [The Idea of the Crusader Army and the Matthias Myth] in *Hagyományok ébresztése,* ed. Idem. (Budapest: 1976), 166–190.

[435] Runciman, *Konstantinápoly eleste...*

[436] Kmoskó, *Szír írók...*, 32f.

[437] Ágnes Ritoókné Szalai, "Hunyadi János gyulafehérvári síremlékének domborművei," [Reliefs of John Hunyadi's Tomb in Gyulafehérvár] in *Történelem – kép. Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatáról Magyarországon,* ed. Anna Jávor, (Budapest, 2000)

[438] "Alas, poor us, the Christians, with the endangered Transylvania. Lord shall make the ground lighter over the body of voivode John Hunyadi and shall grant him eternal peace. With the Transylvanians he had defeated the Turks not once, but at the sacrifice of much blood and force. His corpse shall remind any Christians to the words of Joseph, and so that must follow the route of Israeli people." Here I must remark that Joseph's coffin was taken by the Jews fleeing from the Egyptian bondage. I do not know what cult had been formed around Hunyadi's coffin, and the whole case seems much complicated if we consider that in the seventeenth century the Mongols, ravaging Gyulafehérvár, mutilated the coffin. The events are those of heroes triumphant over the Turks and not of simple mercenaries." Őze, Sándor: "The Stronghold of Christianity" or "A Country Between Hammer and Anvil". A Change of National Identity in the sixteenth Century Among the Soliders of the Turkish Frontier in Southwestern Hungary. In: Idem. *Virrasztó darvak...*, 149–161; Idem. *500 magyar levél...*

[439] Ildikó Kriza, "*Rex iustus – rex clarus.* Mátyás király a néphagyományban," [Rex iustus – rex clarus. King Matthias in Folk Tradition] in *Hunyadi Mátyás. Emlékkönyv Mátyás király halálának 500.évfordulójára.* (Budapest, 1990), 363–410.

The first Latin edition of Pseudo-Methodius was published in Cologne in the fifteenth century – a place of interest where the great battle of Armageddon was also predicted in Lichtenberger's *Prognosticatio*,published in the same century. The Battle of Cologne, a humanist speculation of the astrologist Lichtenberger, is known both in the European and Turkish traditions.[440]

Lichtenberger saw the Turks as the incarnation of evil. Having occupied Constantinople and encountered Hunyadi, the Turks reached Athens in 1456. The idea that the Turks were God's punishment for Europe also occurs in Chapter 25 of Lichtenberger's book. The proposition that the ultimate battle between Christians and Muslims would take place near Cologne was first formulated by Johannes Lichtenberger in 1448,[441] but it did not make a real impact until the sixteenth century, when the Turks posed a direct threat to the Empire. Cologne became to be identified with the "golden apple", even if the Turks never attacked the city. Although the apocalyptic prediction was familiar only to a narrow circle of intellectuals (it particularly affected reformers like Luther, Paracelsus and Melanchthon), through them it could filter into common discourse.

According to this apocalyptic vision, the battle of Armageddon of the New Testament was placed near Cologne. It was believed that the end of the world would come when the battle against the people of Gog and Magog (i.e. the Turks) was won. Indeed, Cologne was the appropriate venue for this all-decisive battle.[442] It was an important ecclesiastical centre, and its archbishop was one of the prince-electors of the Holy Roman Emperor. The *Colonia* of Roman times was one of the centres of the *limes,* and as such, it lay in the crossroads of the Roman and the barbarous worlds. The legend of Saint Ursula, killed by the Huns together with her eleven thousand female companions, was linked to the city. Cologne also preserved the relics of the Three Magi. Also known as the Kings from the East, the Magi symbolized the eastern powers paying homage to the infant Jesus, i. e. to Christianity.

[440] Aby M. Warburg, "Heidnisch-antike Weissagung in Wort und Bild zu Luthers Zeiten," in *Aby M. Warburg. Ausgewählte Schriften und Würdigungen* ed. Eadem and Dieter Wuttke, (Baden-Baden, 1979); Peuckert, *Die Grosse Wende...*

[441] Teply, *Kizil Elma...*, 86–89.

[442] The legend is exhaustively analysed by Teply, *Kizil Elma...* (cf. n. 38), and in Hungarian in Fodor, *Az Apokaliptikus hagyomány...* For he Turks as an apocalyptic power: Göllner, *Tvrcica...*; Jean *Delumeau, Angst im Abenland. Die Geschichte kollektiver Ängste im Europa des 14.–18. Jahrhunderts* Vol. 2. (Hamburg, 1985), 313.; Matthias Thumser, "Türkenfrage und öffentliche Meinung. Zeitgenössische Zeugnisse nach dem Fall von Konstantinopel 1453," in *Europa und die Osmanische Expansion im ausgehenden Mittelalter.* ed. Franz-Reiner Erkens. (Berlin, 1997), 62.

The Legend of the Golden Apple

The legend of the golden apple follows suit the historical and spiritual tradition described previously. At the siege of Byzantium, the golden apple (orb), a symbol of world rule, allegedly fell from the hand of Justinian's equestrian statue.[443] The Turkish invaders also believed that the end of time would come when the city, representing the golden or red apple, fell into their hands. Originating in the eastern steppe traditions, the belief was familiar to both the Christian and Ottoman sides, and the myth was thus commonly fostered by East and West.[444]

It is not clear what the golden apple (*Kizil Elma* in Turkish) exactly meant, since no extant source provides an explanation. Evliya Çelebi interpreted it as the main city of Christendom, without any further precision.[445]

The apple itself is a very ancient motif, which occurs in the Bible – also known to the Muslims – as the symbol of knowledge and divine power. Mortals can hardly acquire this kind of power and knowledge. Any attempt to do so is considered a sin against God (cf. the story of Adam and Eve in Genesis).[446] For this reason it becomes a widespread symbol of power both in the Muslim and Christian cultures. In the West the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa first used the orb, besides the crown and sceptre, to symbolize power.[447] The symbol was also present in Byzantium: the statue of Justinian depicted the emperor holding a golden apple surmounted by a cross in one hand, and pointing towards the East with the other hand, calling a halt to the invading barbarian hordes (later identified with the Arabs, then the Ottoman Turks). However, in Byzantium the orb never became an emblem of royal power; only popular beliefs attributed to it magical and healing power. Nevertheless, when the apple fell out of the statue's hand at the beginning of the fifteenth century (certainly before 1427), it was considered an ominous sign.

According to a widespread scholarly tradition, the motif of the golden apple was first introduced to the Turks in Constantinople.[448] Nevertheless, it appears that the *Kizil Elma* was not a well-defined concept, but one that was constantly reinterpreted depending on the political circumstances and conquests. Thus after their surrender,

[443] Ibid.

[444] Süleyman II prepared fort he end of the world on two occasions. First in 1532 when launching the siege of Vienna, a decisive combat to be fought with the German Roman Emperor Charles V for the supremacy of the world. Then in 1566 under the walls of Szigetvár, starting the last holy campaign immediately before his death.

[445] Teply, *Kizil Elma...* (cf. n. 38), 83.

[446] Fodor, *A szultán és az aranyalma...*, 132.

[447] Teply, *Kizil Elma...* (cf. n. 38), 78–80.

[448] Ibid. 82.

Constantinople, Buda and Vienna all became "golden apples".[449] Of course, the contemporary Christians did not understand the Turkish phrase *Kizil Elma* either; subsequently various legends and interpretations came to light both in the East and the West. The most widespread legend of the golden apple among the Turks, recorded by Evliya Çelebi[450] was associated with Constantinople. Back in the time of the Arab-Byzantine wars in the seventh century, tradition has, there was a man by the name of Abu Ayyub, who was martyred under the walls of Constantinople. There are several different accounts of the circumstances surrounding his death. The most popular version of the legend relates that, in their distressed situation, the Byzantines sought peace and admitted a group of unarmed Arabs – headed by Abu Ayyub – to allow them to admire the cathedral of Hagia Sophia. Having admired the immense church, the group of Arabs were on their way out of the city when Greek soldiers killed them in an ambush. At the site of Abu Ayyub's death, a beacon of light burst into the sky, where a giant cypress tree grew later. On seeing this, the Byzantines were startled and began to venerate Ayyub as a saint. They erected a chapel dedicated to him, soon to become a site of Christian pilgrimage, which also demonstrates that Christian and Muslim traditions merged in the cult of Ayyub. Under the influence of a vision, a sheik called Aksemsettin found the martyr's resting place during the siege of Constantinople in 1453. Beside the corpse a bronze orb was found, described as the golden apple.

Turkish sources first identify a city called "Klona" in 1645 as the golden apple. On the basis of geographical and other features, the settlement can be identified with Cologne.

The sixteenth-century Unitarian Kaspar Helth (Gáspár Heltai)[451] also refers to the golden apple. In his *Chronica az magyaroknac dolgairól*[Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians] he writes that the ultimate battle would be near the Red Church in Cologne.[452] The chronicle, published in Kolozsvár (present-day Cluj-Napoca, Romania) in 1575 but written much earlier, witnesses the apocalyptic view of its author. In the work, inspired by Bonfini, Heltai inserted the version of the mediaeval legend of the golden apple, which linked the symbol to Cologne and the Turkish threat. The legend was also known by other sixteenth-century Hungarian authors, including János Baranyai Decsi, who attempted to summarize the Hungarian historiographic tradition, as well as Péter Melius Juhász.

[449] Fodor, *A szultán és az aranyalma*..., 135. – Teply comes to the same conclusion in Teply, *Kizil Elma*... (cf. n. 38), 89–94. Thus, the Ottomans always saw the spheres on top of different churches of their great enemies as the golden apple. First it was Buda, a Turkish name of which was 'Red Apple', then Rome, Vienna and Cologne. Besides two surviving narratives, both referring to its 1529 siege, that connect Vienna to the legend of the golden apple, there are similar references both in the Muslim and the Christian traditions concerning e. g. Rome, Granada. Owing to its flexibility, the legend was suitable for ideologising all kinds of conquering ambitions.

[450] Teply, *Kizil Elma*... (cf. n. 38), 99–102.

[451] Gáspár Heltai (born Kaspar Helth, Nagydisznód (Heltau)?, 1490/1510, died in Cluj [Cluj-Napoca, Klausenburg], 1574) Transylvanian Protestant writer, translator and printer. Born in a Transylvanian Saxon family and having a German mother tongue, he later Hungarized his name and became a father of Hungarian literary language. In 1543 he enrolled in the University of Wittenberg. From 1544 he was pastor at Cluj and in 1550 together with György Hoffgreff he established the first print shop there. From Lutheran faith he converted to the Helvetic one, consequently he was excluded by the 1560 synod in Medgyes (Mediasch, Mediaş). In 1569, however, he sided with Ferenc Dávid in the religious debate in Nagyvárad (Großwardein, Oradea). Except for a few books together with his companions he translated most of the Bible into Hungarian, and by translating the work of Bonfini he produced the first coherent history in Hungarian language

[452] Heltai Gáspár, *Krónika a magyaroknak dolgairól* [Chronicle of the Affairs of the Hungarians] ed. Margit Kulcsár, (Budapest, 1995), 783.; Fodor, *A szultán és az aranyalma*..., 210f.

Little children, it is the last time. And as ye have heard that Antichrist shall come, even now are there many antichrists, whereby we know that this is the last time. They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us. But they went out, that they might be made manifest that they were not all of us. But ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things. I have not written unto you because ye know not the truth, but because ye know it, and that no lie is of the truth. Who is a liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? He is antichrist who denieth the Father and the Son. Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father; he that acknowledgeth the Son hath the Father also.

(*1 John 2:18-23*)

THE APOCALYPTIC MODELS OF THE REFORMATION

The Role of Daniel's Kingdoms in the Context European State Theories Following Melanchthon

Pages 2771–2780 of the *Magdeburg Centuries* describe the reign of Emperors Phocas and Maurice, as well as that of their successor Heraclius, whose rule coincided with the appearance of Muhammad and the birth of Islam. This density of the narrative marks out a structural focal point in the chronicle.

The section begins with Emperor Maurice waging war on the Avars, who replaced the Lombards in the Carpathian Basin in 561. The author gives the title *Bellum Ungarorum* [war of the Hungarians] to the chapter, which he explains as follows: the Avars appeared in Europe before the emergence of the Turks as a nation in Central Asia. Referring to Jordanes he argues that they mingled with the Huns, continued the Hunnic genealogy, and lived in the Carpathian Basin identified as a people identifiable with the Hungarians until the reign of King Matthias in the fifteenth century. The chronicle, then, gives an account of the murder of the emperor with a concluding note that Phocas acknowledged the pontificate of Pope Gregory.

Maurice's reign was an initially successful period in Byzantine history. He waged a successful war against Persia in order to recapture the territories conquered by Justinian and to stop the Slavic migration into the Balkans. In 592 he launched a huge offensive in the Balkans with the aim of stabilizing the northern border. Crossing the Danube to attack the Avars, the Byzantine troops invaded Slavic territories.[453]

The offensive, however, was soon exhausted. Having received orders to return across the Danube, the army revolted, elected a half-barbarian junior officer Phocas as its commander and marched on Constantinople, where a rebellion broke out. Subsequently, Maurice was dethroned and Phocas was crowned emperor. The Balkans fell under Slavic rule. After executing Maurice and his six sons before his eyes, the mass extermination of aristocracy started, and repeated conspiracies followed suit. A civil war raged throughout the empire. Meanwhile, the Slavs conquered the Balkans and the Persians eradicated the Byzantine defence zone, even threatening Constantinople. Byzantium teetered on the brink of collapse when the exarch of Carthage revolted and his son, Heraclius, after executing Phocas, received the imperial crown from the hands of the patriarch.

---

[453] Georg Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des Byzantinischen Staates* (München, 1963), 69.

Heraclius renewed the empire. Taking charge of the troops, in a long but successful campaign, he re-conquered provinces annexed by the Persians, *inter alia* the Holy Land and the Persian capital, and regained the Holy Cross. At the same time, however, the Avars laid siege on the capital in 626, which was only saved by the people and Patriarch Sergius, who took his office in the year of Phocas's death. In the following year, the emperor allied with Arabic troops won a decisive victory over the Persians at the battle near Nineveh.

The victory was not a lasting one, even if Byzantine diplomacy established a defence zone by forming an alliance with the Slavs against the Avars, as well as with the Khazar and Turkish tribes in the Caucasus. Indeed, already in 634 the Arabs, united under the banner of Islam, invaded the empire and powerfully defeated the army of the emperor at the battle of the Yarmuk River in 636. Thus, the eastern provinces, re-conquered by Heraclius some years earlier, were detached once more; moreover, Egypt and Persia also came under their rule.[454]

Muhammad and Sergius

The ensuing part of the *Chronicon* begins with Heraclius's reign and the appearance of Muhammad. Muhammad's life and environment, the dogmatics, moral rules and spread of his religion, and finally the Arab conquests, are discussed in detail. The *Chronicon* tells that Muhammad created his religion under the influence of erroneous teachers from both the Jewish and the Christian side, the latter represented by a heretic monk named Sergius, who was expelled from the empire.

As we could see earlier, Matthias Flacius intervenes in Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards*. Similarly to Melanchthon's discussion, Volume 7 of the *Magdeburg Centuries* reports on Muhammad and his religion and gives essentially the same account, though in a drier fashion, richer in information and in a less constructed pattern.[455] Flacius remarks that several peoples had been held for the apocalyptic people of Gog before the appearance of the Muslims, such as the Goths, the Huns, the Avars and the Arabs, but in fact all of them are identifiable as Turks.[456]

[454] Ibid., 92f.

[455] Ecclesiastica Historia, integram, ecclesiae Christi ideam, quantum ad locum, Propagationem, persecutionem, tranquillitatem, doctrinam, haereses, ceremonias, gubernationem, schismata, Syndos, personas, miracula, martyria, religiones extra Ecclesiam & statum imperi, politicum attinet, secundum singulas centurias, perspicuo ordine complectens: singulari diligentia & fide ex uetustifsimis & optims Historicis, patribus, & alijs scriptoribus congesta: Per aliquot studiosos & pios uiros in urbe Magdeburgica. Basileae, per 10an. Nem oporinum 1562, 641–665.

[456] Ibid., 641.

Sergius the monk who teaches Muhammad has the demonym Syrus, which probably indicates his denominational isolation. The demonym also makes it easier to identify the Sergius in question, as the book mentions three persons called Sergius. In the introduction Flacius writes about a monk who was of Armenian origin and was excommunicated. The ultimate source of Flacius is Bibliander.[457] Authors, living among the Muslims, also constructed several identities for this Sergius. The Hungarian Székely Benczédi speaks of a monk expelled from Rome, whilst Melanchthon mentions one who fled from Byzantium.

The name owned by the famous "teacher" is that of Saint Sergius, fourth-century martyr, who, however, was neither a Monophysite nor a Nestorian. Most likely it is an invented name, which assumes a Syrian (eventually Armenian) origin of the monk. Nestorianism and Monophysitism were the most powerful in these areas from where missionary bases could easily be established in the Arabian Peninsula at the beginning of the sixth century.

Syrus's flight from Rome or Byzantium symbolizes his conflict with the Catholic Church and iconically maps the route of those monks and religious communities which, after the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, separated from the Church and pursued a different course, such as the Chaldean Syrian Church, the Copts or the Jacobites. The situation of the Armenians differed only to the extent that, after suffering a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Persians, the Armenian Church was not represented at the Council of Chalcedon. Although the Byzantine emperor's conciliatory proposal, the Henotikon, was accepted, it proved unsuccessful and led to the dissolution of the Armenian connections with both ecclesiastical centres.

There was another patriarch by the name of Sergius who advocated reconciliation with the Monophysite clergy of the provinces re-conquered by Heraclius. Although this Sergius saved Constantinople during the Avar siege in 626, the Ecumenical Council of Constantinople excommunicated him in 680–681, together with Pope Honorius, Patriarch Cyrus of Alexandria and Patriarch Pyrrhus of Constantinople. In Protestant historiography, his figure as an excommunicated heretic was conflated with the probably historic person of a monk known as Bahira of Bosra.[458]

Besides Paul the Deacon, other similarly important sources of the *Chronicon* were the Byzantine authors. The Christian apologetic literature of the eighth–fourteenth centuries not only polemicized with Islam, but also shaped a most hostile attitude to the new religion. The Christian churches of the former Byzantine territories conquered by the Arabs, and later by the Turks, had to fight against the conversion of the subdued population to Islam. The authors worked towards three main objectives:

[457] Ibid., 26–57., 647.

[458] Ibid., 120.

first of all, they wanted to prove that Muhammad was not and could never have been a prophet. They also wanted to demonstrate that Islam is not adequate as a substitute for Christianity. Finally, they wanted to defend Christian dogmas against statements of the Qur'an and Muslim theology. Islam was considered a new kind of heresy.[459]

One of the earliest refutations of the Qur'an among early Byzantine writings, recurring to and imitating the works of Saint John of Damascus, was Bartholomew of Edessa's *Elenchus et Refutatio Agareni* [discussion and refutation of the Qur'an]. He emphasise the role of a Nestorian monk Bahira in counselling and teaching Muhammad.[460]

In sixteenth-century Europe, Brother Bahira became known as Sergius.[461] The monk appears in the Muslim counterpart of the story of the twelve-year-old Jesus in the Temple, which has survived in several versions, which I have compared to Al-Tabari's 1123 biography of Muhammad. According to this, the twelve-year-old Muhammad, upon coming of age, accompanied his guardian, uncle and head of the Hashim clan, Abu Talib, on his journey to Syria. In Bosra, the famous Christian ascetic monk or hermit Bahira[462] came out of his cell and invited them to a feast, since a bright cloud that drew attention to Abu Talib and his companions followed their caravan. Bahira, however, did not find the person he was looking for among the members of the company. When he asked if there was anyone else with them, the youngest son Muhammad, who had been left guarding the luggage, was summoned. Bahira asked the boy about his life, and between his scapulae he found the sign of his prophethood. He also experienced other signs. He predicted a great future to him and told Abu Talib and his companions to return home and hide his nephew from the Jews, because if they discovered his identity, they would attempt to take his life.

One of the Syriac versions claims to know that the monk had fled from Beth Armaye many years earlier, making it impossible for him to have met Muhammad at the turn of the sixth and seventh centuries. The first part of the Semitic toponym may also refer to a monastery. The second part resembles the designation used for the Armenians, but provides no further information. This version also relates that the monk had to flee because his party was defeated in the debate on the use of the single or double-barred

459 Astérios Argyriou, « Perception de l'Islam et traductions du Coran dans le monde byzantin grec, » *Byzantion* 75 (2005): 27–30.

460 Ibid., 30–32; Möhring, *Die Sergios-Bahira…* (cf. n. 50).

461 Theodor Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Qorans* (Leipzig, 1909), Second edition of the third reprint:. (Hildesheim–New York, 1981), 17; Martin Lings, *Muhammad. His Life Based on the Earliest Sources* (London, 1983), 29–30.; Hamilton A. R. Gibb, et al. ed., *The Encyclopaedia of Islam I.*, (Leiden, 1986), 922–923.; Uri Rubin Alderschot, ed., *The Life of Muhammad,* (Brookfield–Singapore–Sydney, 1998), 282–283.

462 The name derives from the Syriac *bhira* meaning honourable.

cross (the ninth century text here may refer to the competition between the Latin and Eastern Churches).

The figure of the monk reappeared in the last third of the ninth century as the teacher of Muhammad. Bahira is also called John, but his other name Sergius or Nestorius is more telling of his heretical and Syrian associations (In other sources he is called Baeira or Pakhyras.) The Persian, Syrian and Caucasian Armenian denominations deviating from Byzantine orthodoxy were labelled as Arian, Nestorian, or Monophysite, and held responsible for ultimately inspiring Islam.[463]

A new variation of the tradition appeared with the Apocalypse of Bahira, in whose Arabic and Syriac versions Christian elements were mixed with Pseudo-Methodian speculations of the Daniel Apocalypse. Their Christian arguments were coloured with the perspective of the Qur'an and the Mahdi.[464]

In this period, the Persian conquests blocked the maritime silk road leading towards India and China via the Persian Gulf. Thus, Byzantium turned towards the Caucasus and, behind the Persians, sought an alliance with the Khazars and Turkish tribes emerging in the foreground of the Caucasus. Living in the hell of the Persian-Byzantine frontier and continuing Methodius's prophecies, the author believed that the Doomsday-like Persian and Arabic attacks of his time would be followed by a Turkish invasion from the Caucasus (more precisely, through the Caucasian Gates of Alexander). All these expectations, however, would only be fulfilled with the Bulgar-Turkic foundation of a new state in the Balkan territories of the empire.

Muslims are referred to by the name Hagarenes, i. e. the descendants of the biblical Hagar and her son Ishmael. In the times before Muhammad the Arabian Peninsula gave refuge to heretical sects who contested the Holy Trinity or the unity of the human and divine natures of Jesus Christ. Indeed, the strict Islamic Tawhid also incorporates these views. The early Byzantine anti-Qur'anic literature also had a polemic edge directed against non-Chalcedonian Christianity, which was denounced as heretic and widely applied in the denunciations of Islam. Islam was conceptualized as the religion of the descendants of heretics, that is, the corrupted faith of the Abrahamic line which was excluded from the blessing of God and which fled into the wilderness. In early modern Europe, both Catholics and Protestants considered Islam as the religious legacy of the eastern heretical sects, that is, Nestorianism.

After Hagar's expulsion into the desert, Ishmael grew into a mighty and strong warrior. In the eyes of the Arab Jews he became the father of the Arabs and, according to apocryphal legends, Abraham entrusted his family to God in Mecca. Here, together with Ishmael, he later built up the first church of the Lord near the Kaaba stone,

463 Ibid.

464 Möhring, *Die Sergios-Bahira*...(cf. n. 50).

where they asked God to send a prophet to the Arabs. Then the prophet Muhammad brought outthe third holy book, the Qur'an, in which it was written that his people would be led to the faith of their ancestors, the cornerstone of Arabic religions, and thus gain salvation and historical importance. This interpretation was also embraced by Christian authors. In the sixteenth century, e.g. István Benczédi Székely's world chronicle[465] also calls the Arab followers of Muhammad Hagarenes, who misleadingly name themselves Saracens, that is, descendants of Sarah.

Christian apologetic writers identified the Turks with the invading people of the Apocalypse and called them "Red Jews" after the people of Esau and their land Edom, meaning "red". As opposed to the "pure" people of the Old Testament, they were rejected. Isaac, who had been deceived, gave his paternal blessing to Jacob instead of Esau. Following this pattern, Ishmael was rejected by his father, Abraham, for the sake of Isaac. Thus the peoples of the Doomsday will convert according to a chronological historical scheme according to the degree of their deviation from the true Christian faith. First, the descendants of Ishmael, i. e. the Arabs, will attack, followed by the Red Jews breaking out from the Caucasus. The latter will be accompanied by all the hypocrites. With the defeat of all these pernicious groups, the Jews will be converted, as predicted in the Apocalypse of John.

As a matter of fact, Chaldean Syrian missions of Nestorians reached as far as Sri Lanka and Madagascar in the sixth century, and Mongolia and China in the seventh century. There had been an episcopal see in Samarkand, which was destroyed by the conquests of Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) in the fourteenth–fifteenth century. Emperor Constantius II sent an Arian mission led by Bishop Theophilos (the Indian) to the Arabian Peninsula, where from the fifth century on Nestorian and Monophysite missionaries also spread Christian beliefs.

Sergius in Hungary

Melanchthon's apocalyptic frame invested Hungary and its population with a privileged role. They practically became not only the characters and venue, but also

[465] Rabán Gerézdi, ed., *Benczédi Székely István: Chronica ez világ yeles dolgairól Krakkó*, [Chronicle on the Notable Events of this World, Krakow 1559] ed. Rabán Gerézdi, (Budapest, 1960) (facsimile edition), 2961. István Benczédi Székely (between 1500–1510? – after 1563), Protestant preacher and writer, studied in the University of Krakow in 1529, where he adopted Protestant views. Returning to Hungary he served as schoolmaster and later as pastor in various places, e. g. in Gönc where his fellow pastor was Gáspár Károlyi, the translator of the first complete Hungarian Bible. In his world chronicle, being the first of the kind written in Hungarian and published in Krakow in 1559, strong anti-Catholic and anti-Turk views are expressed according to Melanchton's doctrine of the double Antichrist.

the exalted instruments of God's scheme of world history. The alleged descent from the Avars and the Huns, the major theatre of war against the Turks, the embracing of Christianity by the Hungarians whose origins go back beyond the Caucasus, and not the least the rapid spread of Reformation turned Melanchthon's keen attention to this region, as is attested by his intensive correspondence and network of informants. This interest is also borne out by the large number of Hungarians studying at Wittenberg who ranked second after the German students.

A disciple of Melanchthon's, István Benczédi Székely, explains the etymology of the name "Sergius" in his world chronicle of the 1540s:

> In the twelfth year of Emperor Heraclius, from among the Agarenes [Arabs] arose Mohamed, who was the son of a merchant. In those days Heraclius waged war against the Persians and hired the Arabs. After the war, the dismissed Agarenes robbed and looted in the empire, and when the Byzantines marched on them, they elected a prince due to the danger. Mohamed was chosen owing to his intelligence. He, then, because of his pretension, first called himself a teacher, then a man of God. […] When Mohamed saw the condition of his subject peoples, he did not consider it good that they were under different faiths and laws. For there were Jews, Christians and pagans under him, whom he wanted to unite not only in secular, but also in spiritual matters. For this reason Jewish doctors were summoned to him who taught him the Jewish faith. However, a monk named Sergius came to him; he was expelled from Rome due to his false knowledge, and he taught him the Christian faith according to the Nestorians's way. He himself was brought up in paganism. For this reason Mohamed made one out of the three different faiths to keep his subjects in one will, that he diligently wrote [and] called the Al-Qur'an, [and] indeed, under threat of decapitation he ordered that no one should ever quarrel.[466]

Péter Melius Juhász, another disciple of Melanchthon, also evoked the figure of the monk Sergius as teacher of Muhammad:

The first beast [is] the image of the Antichrist: the Pope; the sapience of Friar Sergius: knowledge: his tale; his deeds: the council; his decree: the host, the altar, the confession, the fast and all his dungy and fraudulent inventions. To this earthly beast, the two empires, as a punishment for not believing the truth [and] believing the lies, God gave power to Satan, the faithless princes, to raise the Antichrist, the Pope and

[466] Benczédi Székely, Chronica (cf. 67), 131.b–133.a. Quoted in: Őze, *Bűneiért bünteti*..., 98.

Sergius, the invention of Mahumet. If you dare not say Mahumet, say Sergius. Under the name of Sergius, you shall understand the Turkish faith.[467]

Attacks against the Protestant clerical leaders in Turkish-occupied Hungary, e. g. István Szegedi Kis,[468] once leader of Hungarian students learning in Wittenberg, and Mihály Sztárai[469], a Padua graduate, indicate that the Turks were well-informed, and therefore preachers living under Muslim rule did not dare to preach against them. Melius, however, considered it necessary lest the congregation should become Muslim. Melius regarded the Turks as Antichrist, at least as much as the Pope. Few people knew the Turkish culture better than he, and he saw no possibility of peaceful coexistence. This intransigence was the work of intellectual defence, based on personal courage and strict laws and, among other factors, this is why the Islamization of the Christian Hungarians living in Turkish-occupied Hungary was minimal. Authors of the first half of the century had not yet realized the danger, not even those who were directly threatened. The sermons of Melius, however, reveal a different attitude.[470]

Identifying Sergius with the faith of the Turks was a good weapon for Melius against the Antitrinitarians who, like Ferenc Dávid, the Antitrinitarian court preacher of the Prince of Transylvania, declared Nestorius to be their predecessor.

Melius called the Turks Sergius. Relying on the contemporary antipathy against the

[467] Péter Melius Juhász, *A Szent Jánosnak tött jelenésnek igaz és írás szerint való magyarázása...* [Commentary on the Revelation of Saint John, Truly and According to the Scripture...] Várad, 1567, 181.b. Péter Melius Juhász (1536–1572) bishop of the Reformed Church in Debrecen. Born in Horhi, Somogy county, into a noble family, he was raised in the Palatine court of Tamás Nádasdy. In 1556 he enrolled at the University of Wittenberg, where he became the senior of the Hungarian *bursa*. Having returned to Hungary he became pastor in Debrecen. He wrote a creed in 1563 for the soldiers of one of the largest garrisons, Eger, in the Helvetian manner that served as the foundation of the doctrines of the Hungarian Helvetian (Reformed) Church accepted at the synod of Debrecen in 1567. Melius became the first bishop of the Tiszántúl diocese. He debated hotly with the Antitrinitarians, i. e. Tamás Arany and especially Ferenc Dávid. In this activity Melius was greatly assisted by the print shop that he managed in Debrecen.

[468] István Szegedi Kis (1505–1572) Reformed theologian, bishop and poet, studied in Krakow and from 1543 at Wittenberg. In 1552 he was ordained a pastor. He preached mainly in Turkish-occupied areas, e. g. Csanád, Gyula, Cegléd, Temesvár, Mezőtúr, where he worked as a church organizer. Szegedi Kis became superintendent in Southern Transdanubia. Between 1561 and 563 he suffered Turkish captivity. In his last years he lived and worked in Ráckeve. He sought to systematize the Helvetian teachings in his theological works published in Geneva and Basel.

[469] Mihály Sztárai (?–1575?) studied in Padua, adopted Protestant views and in 1544 he began his service as a reformer. Similarly to Szegedi Kis he worked in the Turkish-occupied regions of Southern Hungary and Slavonia. Outside Turkish Hungary he turned up in Gyula under the captaincy of László Kelecsényi and then in the Perényi Court, Sárospatak. He ended his life as the pastor of the soldiers in Pápa. Besides his church organizing activity Sztárai is also an outstanding writer who authored the first drama in Hungarian.

[470] Dobrovits and Őze, *Wandel des Türkenbildes*...

Turks, he also embraced the popular idea of the Zurich theologians that all heretical sects are ultimately members of the Antichrist. Gog, mentioned by Ezekiel, is but another manifestation of the Antichrist. The name, however, does not figure in the Book of Life opened by the Lamb in John's Revelations, because it never existed: it is only the denial of existence and as such, it has no place in the realm of eternal light.

> The Antichrists have three crowns, for there are three main false religions. The first is the faith of the lions: that is, the faith of the Chaldeans, [the] Arabs, [the] Turks, [the] Canaanites, of the circumcised, the present-day Jews included. The Antichrist has crown, kingdom and empire over them. Like Daniel, the lion stands for the Babylonians. The second faith is the faith of the Parthians, the Persians, the Greeks, the Muscovites, the Serbs and the Russians. The third is the faith of the bear, that is, the faith and knowledge of the Roman pope. The three big horns engendered several other horns, that is, heresies, such as the Anabaptists, the faith of the long haired, that is, the Picards, and the other sects in Bohemia, Moravia and elsewhere. This Antichrist is the ruler after the devil, the vicar of the devil, which raised the three faiths.[471]
>
> [...] The Antichrist Sergius rules over the Turk, the Pope over the Roman Empire; Sergius and the Glagolites reign over Asia, Africa and India. The pope reigns over Europe and parts of Asia and Africa.[472]

Interestingly, Melius lists the Orthodox Churches (Russian, Greek, Serbian, Muscovite or Glagolitic), along with the allegorical heresiarch Sergius in line with the Turks, as Antichrist. The Serbs are more demonized than any other nations. Melius preaches against the Serbian way of fasting, idolatry and worship of images, probably because the population of the Hungarian Great Plain was not on good terms with the migrating Serbs (e. g. inhabitants of Hódmezővásárhely threatened to skin them). A substantial part of soldiers serving in border fortresses was also of Serbian origin.

The preachers regarded heresy as sin against God and listed as such not only the Antitrinitarian Anabaptism but also each other, and as God-deniers, the Turks, Jews, Ortodox Serbs and Russians as well. Armenians, however, are not mentioned in this context in the literature of Hungary, not even when, in the seventeenth century, their numbers greatly increased. The reason is that during the re-conquering wars, e. g. at the siege of Buda, Armenians spied for the Christian troops against the Ottoman armies.

[471] Ibid., 171.b–172.a.

[472] Ibid., 218.

The pope who benefitted from Emperor Phocas's decision is claimed by Melanchthon to have been Boniface, while the Magdeburgians assert that is was Gregory the Great. In reality, the events took place under Pope Gregory I (590-604), but the person who convinced Phocas in Constantinople was the papal nuncio, the future Boniface III (d. 607). The *Liber Pontificalis* tells us that he persuaded the emperor to issue his edict saying that "the apostolic see of Peter is first among all the Churches, and the see of Constantine lays claim to primacy on no grounds."[473] Gregory the Great challenged the right of the Patriarch of Constantinople to style himself as ecumenical patriarch. He argued that it was vanity and the violation of the rights of other patriarchs. He himself used the title "servus servorum dei."[474]

This account was borrowed also by Hungarian authors who were chiefly interested in the phenomena preceding the end of the world. They assumed that Hungary would have a central role in the events. Péter Bornemisza writes:

> [B]y happenstance this, that the pagan Turk rules on the borders of the empire of the pope, will also lead to the ruination. We can see that his [the pope's] idolatry is exterminated in many places, and then comes the Gospel of Christ. It could come to pass that all the Roman Empire be covered by the Turks, and the world end.[475]

Peter Melius identifies the two successive Beasts of the Apocalypse as follows:

> Firstly it bore the belief of the Arabs, the Chaldeans and the Turks. Second, it bore the belief of the Greeks, Serbs and Russians. Thirdly, it bore the religion of Rome. These are all the bastard spawn of Satan and the false Jew Philo, like Apoc. 1:2. This beast with a two-horned head signifies the two bodily emperors, the Roman and Turkish emperor. These, like Nebuchadnezzar and Darius, forced people to worship his image and lean to the false belief of the Chaldeans.So Phocas Theodosius and the other unbelieving Roman emperors forced people by the sword to bow to the Roman Pope and to receive his belief, knowledge and mass. Now the house of the Antichrist, the mass and the host of the Roman religion is defended by horned priests, monks and archbishops, with the power of the kings' swords.
>
> The emperor defends the land of friar Sergius and the faith of the Arabians with weapons: the first beast comes from the waters in the heavens [...] a comet, his false knowledge, is his spiritual weapon; the beast of the earth, that is the bodily politick empire, just as the first beast of the waters in the heavens, from the devil's realm, is the spiritual empire. As it has three horns, three faiths will spring from the Antichrist's religion, the Turkish, the Roman and the Greek religions. So the beast of the earth, that is the corporeal empire, has two horns. The big horns are the Turkish and the Roman empire. The small horns are the realms and countries obeying these. The two emperors think that they serve the Lamb, but they listen to the Dragon.[476]

Bornemisza incorporates the story of Phocas:

> Even if someone in their position is a false judge, a cruel prince, a lying preacher, a drunkard, a lecher, thy mother or thy father, thou shall hate their sins in their persons. But you shall respect the position they hold. The golden chain remains a golden chain even if worn in the neck of a harlot or a rogue; thus, the empire was good in Nero, even if he himself was a rogue. [...] And let us not look at the means he came by the princedom, whether by treachery, vagabondage, trade or theft. He shall account for his means. And if he became lord of the village, city or country thou dwell in, thou shall respect him as thy lord. [...] Phocas Maurice killed his lord to become emperor, but even so, respected he must be. And as the pagan princes conquer their possession with a strong grip, and they seek their empire evilly, thou shall respect them, for thou are his serf, his servant, his preacher, and he thy lord and judge. If he not be good in his position, let him account for it; but if he coerce you to sin, resist, but respect him for his position.[477]
>
> (a) Writing about Rome, the Scripture says it is the empire of wise burghers, i.e., Antique Rome. The courtly empire is the papal court. Daniel said that four and a half years are 1260 years. In John, the empire of burghers stood for 42 months, that is, four and a half years. Thus from Romulus or Cyrus until

[473] Mondin, *Pápák*..., 94.
[474] Ibid., 90.
[475] Péter Bornemisza, *Oetedic es utolso resze az evangeliomokbol es az epistolakbol valo tanusagoknac, mellyeket mindenic wrnapian szoktanac predikallani. Kit az Wr Iesus lelke altal az együgyü keresztenecnec idvösseges epületyekre ira Bornemisza Peter.*(Sempten) Detreköböl 1579 (henceforth Postilla V) 564.b., 588.b.
[476] Melius Juhász, *Szent Jánosnac tött jelenésnec*..., 179.a–180.a.
[477] Bornemisza*: Postilla*... V. 386. a–388. b

Julius Caesar there were 1260 years. Then the emperors ruled for 412 years. This makes 1652 years. This is how long the world lasts.
(b) After the Christian emperors held sway in Rome in 412, not very late, in 200 years, in 606 after Christ, the papacy arose. In Rome especially under Emperor Phocas.[478]

The explanations of Bornemisza, Melius and Szegedi Kis usually adapt the apocalyptic passages of the Bible to the religions and powers of their age: the figures of the Books of Daniel and Revelation, the beast, the false prophet, the great whore, Gog and Magog are all signify individually or collectively the Pope, the Turk or non-Protestant churches. Luther derives the identity of papacy with Antichrist from Pope Gregory VII, while Melius and Benczédi Székely trace the starting point back to other popes.[479]

The polemic of sixteenth-century Hungarian Protestant authors followed the European patterns. They used the texts of Luther, Melanchthon, Flacius and Bullinger in order to turn the presence of the Roman Catholic Church and the Ottoman Empire into a focus of enmity. Central to their endeavour became the narrative of the seventh-century emperor Phocas. A Catholic attempt to respond to the Lutheran *Magdeburg Centuries* was authored by Caesar Baronius, editor of the *Annales ecclesiastici* (Church annals). Its polemical strategies, however, are much less bound to the protagonists and conditions of its own age than those of his Protestants opponents.

The Concept of the Antichrist and the Turkish Issue in the Writings of mid-sixteenth-century Swiss Theologians

The Reception of the Book of Daniel by Heinrich Bullinger

The problem of the Turk became a subject of close scrutiny in Wittenberg and in the German parts of Switzerland by the 1530s.[480] The "Türkenfrage," or rather "Türkenfurcht," quickly reached this region after the first siege of Vienna and the campaign of 1532.[481] Switzerland is no farther from the Hungarian frontier than

[478] Ibid.
[479] Őze, *Bűneiért*..., 300.
[480] Segesváry, *Az iszlám*...
[481] Heinrich Bullinger, Der Türgg. Von anfang und ursprung des Türggischen Gloubens, der Türggen, ouch jrer Königen und keysern, und wie fürträffentlich vil landen unnd lüthen, sy inner 266. jaren, yngenomen, und der Christenheit abtrungen habind, kurtze verzeichniß, durch Matthiam Erben, 1566

Witteneberg. As Melanchthon recalls the Turkish cavalry under the walls of Meissen with fright, the Akinji were feared in Zurich and Basel.

We have seen the changing views of Zwingli, who, however, died in the battle of Kappel before the siege of Vienna and the capture of Buda.[482]He was succeeded in the leadership of the Zurich Church by Heinrich Bullinger.

Antichristology was a central theme of Bullinger's works, but the role of the Turk in the last things is equivocal all throughout. His oeuvre, including a commentary on the epistles of Paul, his book on the Turks (published under the name of his friend), his commentary on Daniel and finally his collection of over a hundred sermons expounding the Apocalypse of John, traces the intellectual progress of their author.

Bullinger's *Sermonum decades quinque* is a collection of fifty model sermons, which was highly popular in his age and translated into German, French, English and Dutch.[483] His historical works were also published in large numbers. Besides the history of the Reformation at Zurich, he also composed more general works of religious philosophy, such as *De origine erroris* (1528), *Der alte Glaube* (1537) and *De scripturae sanctae authotitate* (1538). His biblical commentaries, sermons and historical works were highly influential down to the middle of the seventeenth century, within and without the Protestant churches of Europe. His extended correspondence also testifies to his influence.

Bullinger became involvedinstudyingthe Book of Daniel in a relatively early phase of his career. *De hebdomadis, quae apud Danielem sunt, opusculum* was published in 1530, when he was a young teacher of the newly-founded school of the monastery of Kappel. This work was devoted to the exposition of the seventy weeks. His 1555 sermon on Chapter 7 of Daniel and the application of the vision to contemporary events is also noteworthy. He interprets the four beasts as four regressive stages in history: as the pope arrogates divine rights to himself, he is an Antichrist. Between 15 March 1563 and 15 June 1565 he was preaching every single Tuesday about the Book of Daniel in a series of sixty-six sermons. These sermons appeared in print in August 1565. Bullinger insists on the canonical authority of the Book of Daniel, a prophetic book inspired by God, which announces the empire of Christ and attests to the transience of earthly realms.[484]

[482] Segesváry makes no mention of this.
[483] Emidio Campi, "Über das Ende des Weltzeitalters Aspekte der Rezeption das Danielbuches bei Bullinger," in *Europa, Tausendjähriges Reich und Neue Welt. Zwei Jahrtausende Geschichte und Utopie in der Rezeption des Danielbuches* ed. Mariano Delgado,and Klaus Koch and Marsch Edgar, (Suttgart, 2003), (Studien zur christlichen Religions- und Kulturgeschichte, 1. Hrsg. Delgado, Mariano–Leppin, Volker), 225–239.
[484] Curiously, Bullinger dedicated his work to five Anglican bishops. The sermons are ordered by the passages in Daniel's book. The biblical text which introduces each chapter is not that of the Vulgate, but a translation which probably follows the Zurich Bible.

Follwoing a general exposition, Nebuchadnezzar's dream is commented in sermons 6–12. The exegesis of Daniel 2 is based on the commentary of Melanchthon, but Bullinger differs from his source in that he redefines the relationship of the four empires with the kingdom of Christ. He accepts the traditional interpretation of the colossal statue, inasmuch as it signifies the successive world empires and their fall. At the same time, he voices the idiosyncratic opinion that, for all their differences, these empires were all established by God and thus originate from the same source on the analogy of humankind which forms one body. The world empires sprang from God to order men appropriately. Bullinger's political philosophy questions the individual right of the superior powers. He uses the example of the Roman Empire: the larger empires extend and the more nations they subdue, the more they get alienated from divine will, and the more they precipitate towards their own fall. In Bullinger's argument, the regressive pattern of history enfolds also in the present.

According to Bullinger, the rock which destroys the statue stands for the fall of the world's empires and the arrival of Christ's reign. He then discusses the relationship between Church and the kingdom of Christ. He claims that, contrary to the earthly empires, the true Church will not fall but stand fast in eternity. Between Christ's incarnation and the second coming the Christian community is called to assist the legislation and jurisdiction of the superior power in the spirit of the biblical commandments.

Bullinger does not represent the strict literal interpretation of the Bible. He does not advocate the subordination of society and the secular government to church law, but recommends the commandments as a spiritual guide. His opinion positions Bullinger in the cross-fire of rivalling interpretations. He rejects the stance of the Baptists who hold that Christian communities have to organise themselves outside secular institutions, while he also denies that individuals should entirely withdraw from secular engagements. His theory implies that *imperia mundi* cannot be invested with absolute qualities.

And the sixth angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates; and the water thereof was dried up, that the way of the kings of the east might be prepared. And I saw three unclean spirits like frogs come out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet. For they are the spirits of devils working miracles, which go forth unto the kings of the earth and of the whole world to gather them for the battle of that great Day of God Almighty. "Behold, I come as a thief. Blessed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked, and they see his shame." And he gathered them together at a place called in the Hebrew tongue, Armageddon. And the seventh angel poured out his vial into the air; and there came a great voice out of the temple of Heaven from the throne, saying, "It Is Done!" And there were voices and thunders and lightnings; and there was a great earthquake, such as has not been since men were upon the earth, so mighty an earthquake and so great. And the great city was divided into three parts, and the cities of the nations fell, and great Babylon came to remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of His wrath. And every island fled away, and the mountains were not found. And there fell upon men a great hail out of heaven, every stone about the weight of a talent. And men blasphemed God because of the plague of the hail, for the plague thereof was exceeding great.

And there came one of the seven angels, who had the seven vials, and talked with me, saying unto me, "Come hither; I will show unto thee the judgment upon the great whore who sitteth upon many waters, with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication." So he carried me away in the Spirit into the wilderness; and I saw a woman sitting upon a scarlet-colored beast, full of names of blasphemy, and having seven heads and ten horns. And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet color, and bedecked with gold and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication; and upon her forehead was a name written: Mystery, Babylon the Great, Mother of Harlots and Abominations of the Earth. And I saw that the woman was drunk with the blood of the saints and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus. And when I saw her, I wondered with great amazement. And the angel said unto me, "Why dost thou marvel? I will tell thee the mystery of the woman and of the beast that carrieth her, which hath the seven heads and ten horns. The beast that thou sawest was, and is not, and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit and go into perdition; and they that dwell on the earth, whose names were not written in the Book of Life from the foundation of the world, shall wonder when they behold the beast that was, and is not, and yet is. "And here is the mind which hath wisdom: The seven heads are seven mountains on which the woman sitteth. And there are seven kings: five are fallen, and one is, and the other has not yet

come; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space. And the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, yet is one of the seven and goeth into perdition. And the ten horns which thou sawest are ten kings, who have received no kingdom as yet, but will receive power as kings for one hour with the beast. [13] These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast. These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them; for He is Lord of lords and King of kings, and they that are with Him are called, and chosen, and faithful."

And he saith unto me, "The waters which thou sawest, where the whore sitteth, are peoples and multitudes, and nations and tongues. And the ten horns which thou sawest upon the beast, these shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh and burn her with fire. For God hath put into their hearts to fulfill His will and to agree, and to give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God shall be fulfilled. And the woman whom thou sawest is that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth."

And after these things, I saw another angel come down from Heaven, having great power; and the earth was lightened by his glory. And he cried mightily with a strong voice, saying, "Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird. For all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication; and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her, and the merchants of the earth have waxed rich through the abundance of her indulgences pleasures."

(Apoc. 16:12-18:3)

Bullinger's Commentary on the Book of Revelation

Bullinger commented on the Book of Revelation in a hundred sermons in the late 1550s. The commentary appeared in Latin and was translated into English in three years. It greatly influenced the Protestantism of the years to come. The commentary is dedicated to the Protestant fugitives of Europe whom the author describes as the pilgrim Church of Christ. The sermons have an overarching structure, presenting the story of the fugitives from their exile until the emergence of Heavenly Jerusalem, the country prepared for them. Bullinger elaborates on a new apocalyptic model. As we have seen, neither of his Helvetian precursors, Zwingli and Calvin, nor their respective German and French circles, dealt with the explanation of the Book of Revelation. Their apocalypticism based on Daniel did not identify the four empires with the contemporary powers either, as did the theoreticians of Wittenberg. Contrary to Melnchthon, they viewed the Holy Roman Empire as negatively as the preceding three.

In his exegesis of Chapters 10–14 of Revelation, Bullinger portrays Rome neither in a positive, nor in a negative light. He claims that the moral state of the empire depends on the person of the prince. Although the Roman emperors started the persecution of Christians, Rome bears the stigma of collective sin only from the age of the Carolingians on, when, under Pippin the Younger, Rome, ruined for its transgressions, was seized by the papacy with ruse. Furthermore, the nations dismembering the Empire, such as the Huns, the Goths and Persians, have no apocalyptic significance or any symbolic role whatsoever. Bullinger identifies the beast of ten heads and seven horns with the Roman Empire and the papacy. He clearly states that Jesus Christ, king and head of all holies was crucified under Pilate, who acted in the name of Tiberius and as an emissary of Rome. Bullinger relates that the Empire was active in the persecutions: he mentions Nero and Domitian as the responsibles for the first two, and knows of further eight waves which were instigated by the remnant of the Empire against the faithful Church, since the latter refused to worship the "beasts": to give in Roma superstition, to pursue the pagan practices and to embrace the false gods and idolatry of the Romans. Some emperors, like the Christian Constantine, Constantinus and Theodosius, are not classified as servants of the beast.

Bullinger clarifies that a kingdom belongs to God, if its head is good, who does not abandon it to evil. The Roman Empire does not match this image: it did not seriously repent and turn to Christ. When it encountered other nations, it treated them as cruelly as they treated Rome. As a result, the Persians, Huns, Franks, Alemanns, the Goths and the Vandals destroyed the Empire.

Christ avenged the blood of his servants, Bullinger's argument goes, and Rome was in ruins ever after: it will never recover its ancient beauty. For 320 years, from the deposition of Augustulus by Odoacer until Charlemagne, the empire totally disintegrated. In this period of decay, the Bishop of Rome seized authority over the City and pretended that his power descended from Christ and Saint Peter. Yet, Bullinger warns, the early popes were not rulers, but ministers of the Church, poor and simple priests. He recalls Saint Paul's prophecy of the fall of the empire, the destruction of the City and the increment of the Antichrist.

Quoting Jerome, he writes that the Roman Empire, now standing above all nations, shall disappear, and then the Antichrist, source of all evil, shall come. The seven-headed beast of the Revelation, ousting the two-headed one, is the papacy superseding the Empire; it will be invested with the plenitude of power in mundane and spiritual matters. The triple crown of the pope is prefigured by the three horns of Daniel's prophecy, and his two keys signify his dual status as king and bishop, the vicar of Christ in earth and the possessor of fulfilment in Heaven. Thus the pope instituted a new empire in the image of the old Roman one.

Bullinger provides further examples to prove that the pope is the Antichrist. The bishop of Rome abused his power by anathemising and deposing great monarchs; he fomented wars to impel kings to blind obedience. In his zeal to become the only judge, he placed himself above the Empire, glorified himself and edited bulls that raised kings on the throne and dethroned others. The number of the Beast in the Book of Revelation is 666 – an easy riddle for Bullinger. He speculates that this number has to be added to the date of the composition of Revelation, which gives 763. In this year, the Bishop of Rome, oblivious to his poverty, humility and mission, accepted the generous gift of Pippin, paving his way to unprecedented rank in the Empire.

Unlike Bullinger's interpretation of history, his attitude to the Turks is entirely influenced by Melanchthon. Phocas also marks a turning point, but only in the story of the eastern Empire. The Turks are schismatics; nevertheless, the source of all sins is the papacy. Bullinger quotes Petrarch, Lorenzo Valla and Pico della Mirandola to support his argument.[485]He applies the story of Phocas to illustrate that he illegitimately obtained power, and subsequently, the popes were empowered by an emperor who in his bloddthirsty raging killed his own kin.[486]

Melchior Ambach, preacher in Frankfurt, published Bullinger's antichristological writings in 1541 under the title *Vom Antichrist und seinem Reich, warhafftige unnd schrifftliche Erweisung*.[487]The date is no coincidence. Bullinger identifies the small horn between the ninth and tenth horns in Daniel's vision with the Antichrist. For Luther, Melanchthon and the majority of the reformers, it stands for the Turkish Empire, consequently Islam. In his commentary on the Pauline epistles, Bullinger writes:

> It is thus inevitable that the small horn, that is, the Antichrist, be read as the figure of an empire, and not of a man: it should be understood as the universal whole which fights against Christ, His laws, principles, moral teaching and followers. The horns obviously mean disorder and chaos.[488]

Segesváry observes that Bullinger conflates the pope and Muhammad in the figure of the Antichrist; they jointly form the small horn in Daniel's vision. Like Luther and Melanchthon, Bullinger also struggled with the interpretation of the last small horn on the head of the beast, signifying the Roman Empire, can simultaneously ascribed to powers of his own age. As Segesváry puts, "they see ultimately one horn for two."[489] In Bullinger's words:

> And yet, he talks of two horns, the pope and Muhammad, although Daniel mentions only one… The pope holds sway over Rome and the prince of the Turks over Constantinople. Both fight against the law and teachings of Christ, both persecute Christians, defending their own laws and worship. Thus I could not make two horns out of the equal ones.[490]

Nevertheless, the opinion of Bullinger and of his Helvetian colleagues slightly differs from that of the Wittenberg school, even though their 1543 treatise on Islam recurs to the writings of Luther and Melanchthon on the subject. The Helvetian school, at least its Zurich branch, is more cautious to match contemporary powers and figures with apocalyptic motifs. Luther, on the other hand, frequently mentions Islam and Catholicism together, but he does not identify Muhammad with the Antichrist.

Bullinger also describes the Antichrist on the basis of the Pauline epistles.[491] He defines it as the negation of Christ: the man who is contrary to Christ in spirit, morals, life, acts, doctrines, laws, and the institutions established by him. Christ came to preach peace for all, as the prophets had foretold, to the effect that the strong antions "shall beat their swords into plowshares" (Mic. 4:3). The predominant feature of

485 Bullinger, *Schriften...* Zürich: 2006/II., 334., 375–379.
486 Ibid., 384–385.
487 Segesváry, *Az iszlám…*, 66.
488 Quoted and translated Segesváry, *Az iszlám…,* page 65, note 36.
489 Segesváry, *Az iszlám…*
490 Ibid., 410.
491 Quoted by Segesváry, *Az iszlám , note 32.*

Muhammad as Antichrist is his rebellion against God, His Commandments and His will revealed in Christ:

> Should one wish to evaluate the Turk or Muhammad according to their history, one can see that he is the Antichrist, the swamp of all filth, threatening the whole of mankind with extinction. He treads down the law of God and reveals his own, which is no other than superstition, and he favours hypocrisy even though craftily allowing many sins. Second, the Turk is a destructive power, characterised by endless cruelty against Christians and other nations. The work of the Antichrist is manifested by Muhammad […] He destroyed and ruined vast cities, extirpated the holy churches of God in Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Constantinople, Greece and Egypt. […] His store of cruelty is unheard-of, and thus we are justified in saying that the rule of Muhammad is the rule of the Son of Damnation and the Man of Sins.[492]

In Bullinger's views, Muhammad's doctrine and spirit amounts to lies, and his work to violence (iron and fire).[493] He concludes: "Briefly, the life and teachings of Muhammad, all his laws, acts and institutions are in direct opposition to Christ."[494]

Thus the blending of the inheritors of eastern and western Rome, as seen by Segesváry, is attributable to Bullinger's unwillingness to take sides with the exegetical arguments of the Zwinglian school.[495] Nevertheless, this should not mislead us to think that Bullinger was not aware of the perils of his own age, which he perceived in an increasingly apocalyptic colouring towards the middle of the century. The Antichrist is uncircumscribed in existence and in time, with no stable manifestations: it is the totality of negation and the will to negate, which induces actions and presses institutions and actors, even though the false prophet and the beast never existed as such, as the Book of Revelation relates. This explains why, for Bullinger, all heretical sects besides the Catholics and Muslims of the sundered Roman Empire represent the Antichrist.

For Theodor Bibliander, one of the most intimate friends of Bullinger, the Antichrist is contrary to Christian teaching in its very concept: it is the totality of resistance. The enemies of the faith, opposing to biblical orthodoxy, form one body. Bibliander, the youngest of the Zurich group, eventually became the greatest expert of the Turkish problem and Islamic studies. From early on he was the student of

[492] Quoted by Segesváry, *Az iszlám , note 32*.
[493] Ibid.
[494] Ibid., note 33.
[495] As we have seen, they often depict the Holy-German Roman Empire as enemy.

Myconius, who had warned Luther and Melanchthon of the Turks even before 1529 and the Marburg Colloquy, citing the apocalyptic attributes of Turkish rule. He drew the attention of the reformers to the late fifteenth-century sermons of Hilten, which used the Scriptures to prove the imminence of Islamic (Turkish) conquest and the Apocalypse. Myconius was head of the Zurich college where Bibliander studied. As member of a board, he convinced the leaders of Zurich in 1543 to publish Bibliander's translation of the Qur'an, even garnering the support of Wittenberg on the grounds that the false ways of the Antichrist have to be studied to know how to fight against it..[496] His views focussed on the Turkish danger instead of the positive eschatological view of the Holy Roman Empire, which could earn him sympathy in Hungary.

The Calvinist doctrine of double predestination was not central yet. However, after the forced retirement and exile of Bullinger from Zurich, the work of Peter Martyr Vermigli ensured Calvinist "victory" in Zurich.[497] Its result was that this vigorous doctrine reinforced the commitment of those fighting against the Turks in the frontier zone.[498] In the gradual progress of the view of double predestination, Hungary was more deeply affected due to her more direct exposure to the Turkish threat, and became an advocate of the doctrine much ahead of its time.[499] Csepregi, however, cannot establish the missing philological link in the chain of the transmission of the view from contemporary Swiss theologians to Hungary. Following scholarship, he accepts that the writings of Peter Martyr Vermigli, Wolfgang Musculus and Martin Bucer may have influenced Szegedi and Melius The books of the former can be found in the library of Hans Dernschwamm, and they cite Georg Moller, presbyter of Szepes, in the 1550s-60s.[500] Although Csepregi does not assume an early influence of Calvin in Hungary, he does not categorically exclude such evidence. My investigation will pursue this yet unexplored process from the 1540s to the 1562 creed of the soldiers of Eger.

[496] Melanchthon wrote the foreword to the piece, and the council revoked the ban of the work on the advice of Luther and him.
[497] Segesváry, *Az iszlám*..., 139.
[498] Őze, *A határ és a határtalan*…, 203-204.
[499] Csepregi, *A reformáció nyelve...,* 367-373.
[500] Ibid.

THE FUTURE HAS BEGUN: HELVETIAN APOCALYPTICISM IN HUNGARY IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Helvetian Influences on Hungarian Views of the Apocalypse

My investigation has confirmed the conclusions of Géza Kathona,[501] who observed that the exegetical and theological backgrounds, as well as the apocalyptic overtones of the sixteenth-century Judeo-Hungarian parallel belong to the historical model of Wittenberg, and not, as Kálmán Benda claimed, to Calvinism.[502] Calvin disagreed with the interpretation of the Wittenberg school; he denied their explanation of Daniel's four beasts, the closed framework of their exegesis and the apocalyptic role of the Turks. He identified the small horn with the emperors succeeding Julius Caesar. He acknowledged the pope as Antichrist, but without attributing an apocalyptic function to him. Benda, however, correctly points out that the Judeo-Hungarian parallels were not inspired by Luther and Melanchthon. What we see instead is the resurfacing of a more ancient Hungarian tradition, which resonated with the Helvetian currents.

Since the publication of my conclusions twenty years ago, however, I have investigated this question from various angles. I still hold that Calvin himself had no bearing on the contemporary polemic about Daniel's empires. Not so his followers, Bullinger, Musculus and Bibliander, who exerted a direct influence on Hungarian reformers, among others Gáspár Károlyi.

Károlyi's perception of history during the first years of the Reformation was shaped by the Book of Daniel. He adhered to the common interpretation of the secular four kingdoms, which was based on Daniel's interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream. This view held that the last kingdom is the Roman Empire, whose fall will coincide with the end of the world. Furthermore, the ten horns of the beast in Daniel 7 represented for him the monarchies of his own age. He identified the small horn with the Turk as scourge of God, God's punishment of Christianity for their unpardonable sins. Daniel 7:8 relates this vision: "behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots. And behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things". Károlyi speculates that the conquests of the Turks may predict the end of times, as they had subjugated the kingdoms of Asia Minor, Greece and Egypt.

[501] Kathona, *Károlyi Gáspár*...
[502] Benda, *A magyar nemzeti hivatástudat*...

Calvin was less concerned with the teleology of history. No reformer stood closer to Augustine than he. His eschatology exclusively focussed on salvation in death. Even though he frequently mentioned the Last Judgment, he emphasized the mystery of the last day. His view was unaffected by the radicalism of his age. Calvin (along with Luther) expressly refused the ideology of chilialism-millennialism. Both reformers deprecated the idea that Christ would return and reign for a thousand years, or that eventually a true divine kingdom would be established in His name.

Calvinists often considered themselves the active combatants against Satan; they also believed in the inevitability of their victory. Partly as a result of internationalism, Calvinists thought that they partook in a united Protestant community. Lutherans, on the other hand, tended to look upon them with much suspicion and hatred. Luther's eschatology was profoundly different not only from Calvin's, but also from other leaders of the Reformationfrom that of others: not only from Calvin's. Zwingli and Bucer came much under the influence of Erasmian humanism.[503] They did not share Luther's intensive feelings about the impending end. For Zwingli, God's kingdom is present in this world, and Doomsday is often obscured by the promise of a better world. His *Commentary on True and False Religion* contains no single reference to the Book of Revelation (and only one to the Book of Daniel).[504]

The theological literature of the 1560s, Szegedi's tracts, Melius's Apocalypse-commentaries and Károlyi's *Két könyv* [Two books] are novel in that they do not attempt to stir intense remorse. They maintain that abiding by their standards of Christianity warrants salvation through the apocalyptic end. This new approach underpins the essential turn from the first half of the century into the second.

[503] Segesváry, *Az iszlám*...
[504] Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis*.,., 1–140.

Apocalypticism as a Tool of Legitimisation during the Reformation in sixteenth-century Hungary: István Szegedi Kis

The central idea of the Reformation was the return to the religiosity of the first centuries of Christianity. The sixteenth-century wave of Protestant church foundations were all actively working for this goal, even though their distinct and systematic theologies were not articulated before the end of the sixteenth century, and their organization and practices did not crystallize before the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as Heinz Schilling's research has lately demonstrated. Views on particular theological issues could vary from city to city within the same denomination; moreover, local communities were split by internal dissent, and the fervent intragroup polemics were far from being settled by the end of the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, in spite of this diversity of opinions and attitudes, I will seek to elaborate on a number of shared characteristics which can be detected in the apocalyptic views of all the three largest distinct Protestant denominations.

The burgeoning idea of an early modern Germanic nation crossed with the mediaeval anti-Roman imperial ideology. The emperors, in their fight for the sacred political space, naturally justified their actions with the Turkish danger on the borders of the Empire and on the territory of German ethnics. The Turkish threat triggered a nation-wide hysteria in the 1620s.[505] A general mood resembling the apocalyptic fears of the early Christians took possession of the reforming preachers and their disciples. The only difference was that news, rumours and hoaxes reached an incomparably larger crowd much faster due to the information boom of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[506]

Lutheran apocalypticism declined after the Peasant's War of 1524 only to gain momentum from the 1580s on. By then, the apocalyptic tradition was fertilized with mathematical-astrological speculations, especially due to the appearance of Philipp Melanchthon in Wittenberg.[507] Due to the mediating role of neo-Platonism, this intellectual tradition had roots in ancient and oriental cultures, and showed certain affinities with the Jewish Kabbalah. This tradition confronted the newly emerging ideology of the Habsburg emperors in Germany. More often than not, apocalypticism had legitimizing claims.[508]

The mediaeval idea of the sacrality of the emperor had, by the reign of Maximilian I, transformed into a new ideological construct which was labelled by the estates and the governing bodies of the empire as the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. This ideology laid a claim on universal rule. Maximilian personally dealt withfinding the appropriate candidate to achieve this aim. Charles V imbibed the fully elaborated theoretical framework of universal emperorship at the very onset of his reign.[509] This ideology continued the mediaeval tradition of *translatio imperii*, and incorporated Augustinian political philosophy, Platonic ideas and Stoic universalism. It endeavoured to revive the universal emperorship of the Romans. In this, Roman constitutional law was completed with the concept of *imperium regimen mundi*, according to which the role of the "moderator", the *dominus*, was played by the world emperor. Another model to pursue was offered by the concept of the Universal Church, in which the world emperor is the head of the body political, outranking all princes: he is *protector* and *defensor ecclesiae*. The sixteenth century abounded in prophecies and writings concerning the world emperor.

The ideology presented to Charles V was greatly inspired by the imitations of Dante's *De monarchia*. Dante, however, does not argue in favour of the *imperium* and Christianity, but rather for *humanorum genus* and *humana civitas*, the fundamental unity of humankind. The Caroline version of the theory, however, not only narrowed the argumentation to Christendom, but readily applied it to the person of Charles V. This new imperial ideology offered a potential justification

[505] Buchanan, *Luther and the Turks*..., 145–160.

[506] Werner Rösener, ed., *Kommunikation in der ländlichen Gesellschaft vom Mittelalter bis zur Moderne* (Göttingen, 2000), (Veröfentlichungen Des Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte, 156.); Raymund Wilhelm, *Italienische Flugschriften des Cinquecento (1500–1550)*. Gattungsgeschichte und Sprachgeschichte (Tübingen, 1996); W. Robert Scribner, *Forthe Sake of the Simple Folk Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: 1981); W. Robert Scribner, *The German Reformation. (Studies in European History)* (Basingstoke, 2003)

[507] Leppin, *Antichrist und Jüngster Tag*...

[508] I elaborated on this during the 2000 May Pécs conference on Charles V.: Mihály Dobrovits and Sándor Őze, *Keleti és nyugati hatalmi ideológiák összeütközése a Kárpát-medencében V. Károly uralkodása idején*. May 26, 2000.

[509] Alfred Kohler, *Karl V. 1500-1558. Eine Biographie* (München, 2000), 79–196.; further see: Franz Bosbach, *Monarchia Universalis. Ein politischer Leitbegriff der frühen* Neuzei. (Göttingen, 1988), (Schriftenreiche der Historischen Komission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 32). Further studies of the age: Karl Brandi, *Kaiser Karl V. Werden und Schicksal einer Persönlichkeit und eines Weltreiches* (München, 1964); Peter Rassow, *Die Kaiser-Idee Karls V. Dargestellt an der Politik der Jahre 1528–1540* (Berlin, 1932);; Ernst Walter Zeeden, *Deutschland von der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts bis zum Westfälischen Frieden (1648)* in *Die Entstehung des neuzeitlichen Europa* ed. Josef Engel, (Stuttgart, 1971), (Handbuch der europäischen Geschichte, 3); Schilling, *Aufbruch und Krise*...; Horst Rabe, *Reich und Glaubensspaltung. Deutschland 1500–1600* (Frankfurt am Main, 1989), (Die Neue Deutsche Geschichte, IV)

for expansion into lands under the sway of the Turks and for the settlement and colonization in the Americas.

The ideology was, of course, opposed not only by the Holy See (which had been fighting against imperial hegemony since the Middle Ages), but also by rivalling theories of legitimization in sixteenth-century Spain and France. The humanist critic, formulated by Erasmus himself, insisted that the only head of Christianity is Christ.[510] Most remarkably, in Erasmus's political theories the opposite pole became the Turkish Sultan, and the fight against him legitimised the idea of a world emperor who will bring protection and everlasting peace to the Christians of the earth.

The envisaged role of the empire, based on internal consensus, was invigorated in the long term by the efforts of Maximilian II, who, relinquishing the dreams of world emperorship, concentrated on Germany. By respecting the autonomy of the territorial princes, he acknowledged their status as different from the hereditary lands of the dynasty.[511] This tendency to seek, mutually beneficial agreements will be typical in his Hungarian policy as well; Hungary never acknowledged the Holy Roman Empire, as it had a king, not an emperor.

Apocalypticism and Legitimacy

The apocalyptic view of the Wittenberg school was very influential from the middle of the sixteenth century on; it can be viewed as a morality-based programme of crisismanagement. Its historical model is, as we have seen, a fundamentally Augustinian, linear one, as contrasted to the cyclical-spiral model of Joachim of Fiore. Joachim's model was based upon the Trinity, and postulated a spiritual development: the last generations within earthly time should effect some amelioration of the world; thus this ideology was readily used by many apocalyptic heresies. Augustine, as well as Melanchthon, is pessimistic concerning the options of mankind. The aging world's successive empires lead up in six periods (corresponding to the six days of Creation) to a seventh one, immediately preceding the Apocalypse. According to Melanchthon, the last empire is actually the German one, the fall of which he envisions in an apocalyptic scene, despite his strong emotional attachment to it. As we have seen, his Hungarian disciples, such as Péter Melius Juhász, refused this concept.[512]

[510] Franz Bosbach, „Die Propaganda Karls V in der Kritik des Erasmus," *Res Publica Litterarum* 2 (1988): 32–58.

[511] Maximillian Lanzinner, *Friedenssicherung und politische Einheit des Reiches unter Kaiser Maximillian II.(1564–1576)* (Göttingen, 1993)

[512] Őze, *A határ és a határtalan*..., 263.

Melanchthon and other, mostly Swiss, theologians requested and received tidings from the Hungarian lands under Turkish occupation, especially on the changing position of the Turkish bureaucracy concerning the Protestant churches.[513] The traditional European image of Islam, which depicted the religion as the Antichrist of the Last Judgement, was doctrinally compatible with Melanchthon's concept of the double Antichrist.[514] Nevertheless, precisely the news from Hungary under Turkish occupation undermined the doctrinal certainty of Melanchthon and the Wittenberg school.

It is also very likely that the Turks did not indulge themselves in being called the Antichrist. After the retreat of the common enemy, Catholicism, around 1550, the shared hopes of Islam and Protestantism concerning the conversion of the opponent vanished. Both parties became impatient, unyielding and increasingly hostile; students returning from Wittenberg, e.g. Szegedi, Thuri and Melius, started to spread the doctrine of the double Antichrist, and they depicted the Turks as the nation of the Last Judgement. The Turk removed their mask, and so did they.[515]

After the permanent border between the Christian and Muslim territories became fixed,[516] the political situation in Hungary was one in which people were susceptible to apocalyptic thinking. This was further exacerbated by the shock thatthe Reformation caused in Europe. This apocalyptic thinking was a basis of legitimising the deeds of the inhabitants of the buffer zone against central power. It took a full thirty years until Hungarian society finally realised that the former southern border was now, in fact, in the north. This thirty years, a generation, was enough to cripple peasant and nobleman alike by the continuous warfare which had been going on in the Southern Borders for a hundred years. The border stripe in the middle of the country was ruled by incessant war. Serf or captain: one either adapted to this, or deserted, with no third option. Thus from the 1550s on the active search for political solutions was replaced by apocalyptic trauma.

The new military and political situation necessitated new life strategies, which demanded a new ideological structure. One of the most determining factors of the

[513] Ibid., 181.

[514] Concerning legends about the Antichrist, see: Sándor Eckhardt, "Az Antikrisztus legendája," *Katolikus Szemle* 57, no. 6 (1943) 161–165., Tarnai, *A Magyar nyelvet*..., 109–115., McGinn, *Az Antikrisztus*... On Turk-related apocalypticism: Teply, *Kizil Elma*..., 78–108.; Fodor, *Az apokaliptikus hagyomány*..., 21–49. and Fodor, *A szultán*...,179–211.; on Melanchthon's doctrin of the double Antichrist and the changing opinion of Wittenberg regarding the Turks, see: Lazius, *Luthers Stellung*..., 263–280.; Kaufmann, *1600*..., 73–128.; Fischer-Galati, *Ottoman Imperialism*..., 46–67; Kathona, *Károlyi Gáspár*...; Botta, *Luther*..., 51–65.; Imre, *Magyarország panasza*...

[515] Őze, *A határ és a határtalan*..., 186.

[516] Péter, *A haza és a nemzet*...,13–33.

decision of the frontier population to turn away from the religion of the central authorities and to affiliate with some other denomination was the spread of Melanchthon's concept of the Antichrist.[517] The popularity of Melanchthon was also increased by the anxieties that the lower layers of societies may be more prone to convert to Islam en masse.[518] From its very first appearance in Hungary, the passive apocalypticism of the Wittenberg school co-opted with the symbols and characteristic expressions of frontier mentality and collective identity. Such circumstances reinforced an important element of the intellectual legacy of the eleventh century, which claimed that Hungary was the bulwark of entire Christendom. The idea was quite naturally embraced by the frontier soldiers whose life consisted of alternating cycles of active operations and intermittent passive periods. The military actions intensified the notion of personal and historical time, and the survival of each and every Turkish raid and marauding campaign was believed to gain them individual grace. But after the fights they fell back into passivity, in which sin became relative, while space, time and administration became apocalyptic.

This mentality underlay the formation of a certain belief in fatality: fate rules over all, and "it is written". In this concept, the present is already part of the otherworld, which therefore diminishes in significance. Terror is fleeting and occurs immediately before and after the apocalypse. The terrestrial reign of Christ simply signifies the two halves of time. Earthly existence is but a series of minor actions. Human life is connected to this apocalyptic totality.[519] The theology of Zurich and Geneva appealed with its pragmatic solution and more practical form of repentance to the confused Hungarian frontier population.[520]

[517] Imre, *Magyarország panasza*...; Őze, *Bűneiért*...; Kathona, *Károlyi Gáspár*..

[518] Őze, *Bűneiért*...; Fodor, *Az apokaliptikus hagyomány*... 21-49., Sándor Őze and Mihály Dobrovits, "A török-kép változása a XVI. századi Magyarországon," in *Ezredforduló – századforduló – hetvenedik évforduló. Ünnepi tanulmányok Zimányi Vera tiszteletére*, ed. Zsuzsanna J. Újváry, (Piliscsaba, 2001), 228–237.

[519] Őze, *A határ és a határtalan*... 201.

[520] Ibid., 201-210.

István Szegedi Kis:[521] *Theologian of the Soldiers of the Hungarian Frontier*

The spread of the Reformation in the Southern Borders was intertwined with an "apocalyptic tradition", and the populace was militarized. The peasants of the frontier became a standing militia, but this way of life exhausted and mentally challenged them. As I have argued elsewhere, the Reformation provided a spiritual-ideological background to this process, which I have demonstrated more extensively in my book *A határ és a határtalan* [The limit and the limitless]. In the following I will limit my discussion to the most important findings of this research.

My investigation was based on the only surviving sixteenth-century biography of a Hungarian Protestant preacher István Szegedi Kis, who, I believe, chose deliberately the military centres (fortresses and field-bases) in the area of Szigetvár and Temesvár (present-day Timişoara, Romania) as the major venues of his activity.[522] As the person and biography of Szegedi is central in the research of the spread of the Helvetic Reformation in Hungary, I will also recur to this document and read it in the light of secondary literature to reconstruct this 25-year long episode of Protestantism in Hungary.[523]

His *magnum opus,* the *Theologiae sincerae loci communes,*[524] was first published in Basel, in 1585.[525] It proved to be the most influential Hungarian Protestant

[521] 1505–1572. He was educated at the Franciscan school of Szeged, and taught at Gyula (also a Franciscan outpost) and Lippa. He studies from 1535 onwards in Vienna and Cracow, and after 1543 in Wittenberg. Following this he taught at Csanád and Gyula, and travelled to Cegléd, Mezőtúr and Temesvár. 1552 onwards, he becomes the leader of the Protestants of Délvidék, staying at Tolna, Laskó and Kálmáncsehi. Between 1561–1563 e is in Turkish captivity, following which he is elected as bishop. He lived in Ráckeve. His theological work, Loci communes, is of European significance, and he frequently cites Bonaventura therein (a relic of his Franciscan past). Ibid., 137-138., 168-177.

[522] Máté Skaricza, "Szegedi Kis István élete," [The life of István Szegedi Kis](Basel, 1585). in Idem. *Fejezetek a hódoltsági reformáció történetéből* (Budapest, 1974), 83–89., henceforth: Kathona, Biography of Szegedi

[523] Őze*, A határ és a határtalan*… 131-260. In the following, I shall attempt to briefly summarise the book's contents.

[524] Szegedi Stephanus: Theologiae sincerae loci communes De Deo et Homine cum Confessione de Trinitate, Perpetuis Tabulis explicati, & Scholasticorum dogmatis illustrati. Praemissa est historica commonefactio, de Eclesiae Palingenesia saepius repatita. Editio Quinta. Cum Indicibus Rerum et Verborum, locorumque Sacrae Scripturae explicatorum locupleitissisimis: & Vita Auctoris. Basileae, per Conrad Waldkirchium, suis& Episcopianorum sumptibus. Basel: 1608

[525] László Földváry, *Szegedi Kis István élete és a Tisza-Duna mellékiek reformációja* [The life of István Szegedi Kis and the reformation of the inhabitants of the Danube-Tisza area] (Budapest, 1894),; Révész, *Magyar református*..., 74. (he mentions the bear-story and spying together); Mihály Zsilinszky, *A magyarhoni protestáns egyház története* [History of the Hungarian protestant church]

theological text. The chapters on the Antichrist and Doomsday were probably composed in southern Transdanubia, at Laskó. His theology combines the views of both the Swiss and Wittenberg schools. He projects the end of times onto his own age and identifies the major protagonists with the contemporary powers, the Turkish and Catholic camps, who meet in Hungary.[526]

This concept profoundly differs from Calvinist apocalypticism. Calvin expressly warned against identifying his present with the Last Judgement, as well as substituting the figures of the Apocalypse with the persons, locations and events of his own time, as this would impinge upon God's sovereignty. He acknowledged, though, that a certain kind of apocalypse was taking place on the level of the individual, which nevertheless was part of a cosmic battle. While one cannot stay out from this battle, one cannot influence it either; moreover, its spatial and temporal dimensions cannot and should not be investigated.[527] (As a matter of fact, I would not exclude the possibility of the formation of Szegedi's opinions years before the publication of his major work. We can often see the immediate appearance and influence of freshly published foreign Protestant works in Hungary.)

(Budapest, 1907), 55.; Zoványi: *A reformáció Magyarországon*...; Sándor Payr, *A Dunántúli Evangélium Egyházkerület története* [History of the Transdanubian Evangelist Diocese] (Sopron, 1924);. Pál Debreceni Ember, Historia ecclesiae reformatae in Hungaria et Transylvania. Ed. Lampe, Fridrich Adolphus. (Leipzig, 1728); Horváth, *A reformáció jegyében*...; Szakály, *Adalékok*…, 92–172.

526 Géza Kathona, "Svájci theológiai elemek Szegedi Kis István hittani nézeteiben. Tanulmányok és szövegek a magyarországi Református Egyház XVI. századi történetéből," [Swiss elements of István Szegedi Kis's concepts. Studies and texts ont he sixteenth century history of the Hungarian Reformatist Church] in Studia et acta Ecclesiastica 3. ed. Tibor Bartha, (Budapest, 1973), 13–107.; Géza Kathona, *Fejezetek a török hódoltsági reformáció történetéből* (Budapest, 1974); Imre, *Arbor Haereseon*... 53–85.

527 "Of course, Szegedi's posthumously published Theologiae sincerae loci communes provides us with ample evidence in order to determine the exact relationship between the texts; but it is not helpful in pinpointing the appearance of the doctrine of the double Antichrist. The chronology, however, is crucial; at the start of Melius's study, the above texts could hardly be known in Hungary. The 1564 edition of Vermigli, found in Debrecen, adds exciting details to the history of the expansion of Hungarian Proto-Calvinist thinking, but due to its late date, it does not solve our problems. Perhaps we have an autochthonous theology of election, as this thought was more important to Hungarians that their Swiss and Strassburger masters. I think not. It is important to clarify that during Melius's "Helvetian conversion" (according to Skaricza 1558-59) he was convinced by Szegedi. […]Thus Melius's first work to be published, the 1561 *Kolossé-explanation* (RMNy nr. 171) could easily reflect the Christology of Bullinger and the Predestination of Melanchthon at the same time. As the turning point in the religion of both the Cis- and Trans-Tisza populace (much researched by Őze) can be dated to 1561/62, there is no need to suppose that Szegedi would have been ahead of them by years. Therefore he could hardly have preached in his southern border-fortress parishes views completely new even to the Swiss" Csepregi, *A reformáció nyelve...,* 376.

However, in sixteenth-century Hungary, ravaged by the Turks, Calvin's theories were not yet widely received, especially because in the third quarter of the century Zurich's influence by far overshadowed that of Geneva. Like Melanchthon in Zurich, Wittenberg theologians also speculated the time the Turkish cavalry would take to reach the respective cities from Hungary. Bibliander collected a vast *antiturcica* volume of mediaeval and early modern lore of Islam, which he published in Switzerland.

In 1551–1552 the Turks led a punitive campaign against Easter Hungary. Several sources have been preserved from the period of this warfare which documented the denominational conflicts among the soldiers. A most significant episode of inter-denominational tensions took place in Temesvár. In the years preceding the campaign Szegedi and his colleagues attempted to establish a Protestant college in the city. This very ambition tacitly counted with the long-term tripartite division of Hungary and the severing of all sorts of connections with Rome.

I assume that Péter Petrovics was acting not only on behalf of reformist circles, but also as a politician of the Eastern Hungarian Kingdom taking shape under Ottoman protection. He used the Reformation as a political weapon against his archenemy, the Catholic Brother George Martinuzzi. Petrovics saw that the peace of the country depended on the Turks, and therefore, would not risk any conflict with the Sultan. Martinuzzi, on the other hand, hoped that with the aid of the Emperor, the Turks could eventually be chased out, which would preserve the integrity of the country and keep it in the sphere of Rome. As Esze has conjectured, Petrovics and his entourage were anticipating a Swiss-type Reformation. His college may have been conceived as an ideological basis in the centre of a communication network including various groups.

In my book I came to the conclusion that the Hungarian orientation towards Swiss Protestantism was also encouraged by the Ottoman government's intention to grant Eastern Hungary the status of a virtually autonomous republic with the primary role of mediating goods and information on the border zone. In this case the Szapolyai dynasty, loyal to the Turks, could have preserved its power. This idea resurfaced in 1566; Suleiman II would have granted autonomy to Eastern Hungary after the eventual capture of Vienna. Transylvania was aspiring to adopt the working church model of the continental free city states. Likewise, the republican form of state had constantly been on the political agenda of sixteenth-century Transylvania. The city state of the Ragusan traders, settled in larger numbers in Transylvania, appeared certainly as a working example for Petrovics and the Southern Slav courtiers of old King John Szapolyai, most of whom studied at the University of Padua, controlled by Venice, another city state stationing her own trade deposit and diplomatic corps in Istanbul.[528]

528 Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*..., 56–74., He notes that Szegedi had an argument at Ráckeve with the Dominican Friar Pantelon of Ragusa.

Besides Melanchthon, the teaching of Szegedi was also inspired by Bullinger, Beza and Musculus. We assume that in the course of the religious debates, which by the time of John II (John Sigismund) radicalized to Antitrinitarianism, Swiss Protestantism and its political preference for the republican government was approached by the circles of Petrovics.[529]

In 1556 John II returned to Transylvania. Following Petrovics's death, but especially after 1561, the king elect of Hungary was looking forward to troubled times: the rebellions of Menyhárt Balassa and the Szekler were retaliated by a Habsburg campaign, which was forced into retreat only by the Sultan's army. King John II, deserted by his supporters, turned towards the increasingly radical Reformation movement for consolation; at the same time, he sought for a wider basis of legitimacy.

The Hungarian apocalyptic writings of the period involve the works by Szegedi (1561), Melius (1566) and Károlyi's *Két könyv* [Two books], which has commonly been considered by scholarly literature as a typical embodiment of the genre.[530] Furthermore, Ferenc Dávid and Giorgio Blandrata were corresponding with Polish Antitrinitiarianists from 1564 and 1557 on, respectively. Imre Révész attributes the 1570 rebellion of György Karácsony to the mobilizing power of the apocalyptic-prophetic preaching of Dávid and his circle.[531] Although this assumption remains purely theoretical, the power of apocalypticism to legitimise political acts and movements is demonstrated clearly by the fact that extant sources attest to similar prophecies on the part of Dávid's opponents.[532]

Bocskay's rise to power provides yet another case study to illustrate the presence of apocalyptic views in contemporary Transylvania. The event was a historical turning point for Transylvania, teetering on the edge of complete disaster after the Fifteen Years' War (1591/3–1606). Bocskay appears as the biblical-mythical liberator, sent by God. Contrary to all political and rhetorical expectations, he did not justify his anti-Habsburg uprising with references to the right of resistance of the nobility.[533] Religious legitimacy proved to be a mobilising factor for both major Protestant denominations,

[529] The Venetian ambassador writes concerning Petrovics on the 6November 1550: " it is to be feared that the eastern part of the country be lost, as the Bán of Temes himself is half Turkish, even though he be Lutheran. He dresses like a Turk and wants to rear János Zsigmond in the same manner." However, his was Christian, just like Frater György, but he has different political concepts. Veress Endre: Izabella királyné. 1519–1559. Bp.: 1901.(Történeti Életrajzok) 306–307. Catholic authors depict him in a negative light, and call him greedy, and an "old Rác", supporting the neolog group. Mihály Horváth, *Magyarország történelme. I–V.* [History of Hungary, I-V.] (Pest, 1871-1873), 229., 251.

[530] Gáspár Károlyi: *Két könyv*... Debrecen, 1563. Republished: Bp.: 1940.; Bp.: 1986.

[531] . Révész, *Debrecen lelki válsága*...,

[532] Balázs, *Teológia és irodalom*...

[533] Öze, *Bűneiért*....

since they constituted 80–90% of the Christian population of the country by then.[534] Apocalypticism appears again later as a tool of legitimisation: preachers deployed its rhetoric for the benefit of Transylvania Princes Gábor Bethlen, György Rákóczi I and II and the Apafis. From the nineteenth century on, apocalypticism was gradually secularized and survived primarily in the *topoi* of Romantic literature, the most important media of communication of the time. The original ideology transformed into an action programme the pillars of which were hostility to the Habsburgs and the desire after a shared national identity.

Martyrdom and the Call of Military in sixteenth-century Hungary

In the first volume of his 1631 *postillae,* the Catholic György Káldi cites the conversation of Archbishop Kutasi with a leading military officer who was praising one of the militant priests of the archbishop. Kutasi replied that he "was not pleased by the militancy of the priest, just as the officer would not be pleased by a priestlike soldier." Kutasi's comment shows the alienation of the two worlds in the early modern age, even amongst Catholics. Dürer's knight, on the engraving *Knight, Death and the Devil* (1513)*,* is accompanied by Death, holding a sand-clock, and Satan lurking behind the horseman. At first hearing, the association of soldier with the Protestant martyr may seem squaring the circle.

Martyrs have an uncompromising commitment to a view or faith, for which they are persecuted and suffer death. Could an armed soldier, extinguishing lives, be a martyr? Was this subject to discussion in the age of the Reformation, whose theology was profoundly concerned with the revision of earlier crusading ideology, and delegated the right of preventive wars to the secular authorities?

Reformation started out from the counter-cult of the martyr: the early modern theological transformation was catalyzed by the contestation of the crusader hero and the idea of *athleta Christi*. Erasmus, Zwingli, Luther and most of the reformers were convinced that the coming of Christ's peace can be advanced only by pacifism. Luther's anti-crusading stance combines the conventional antagonism of Rome and the German Empire with his pacifism, which is reinforced by the foundational elements of the historico-theological interpretations of Lutheranism: the denial of the sacred tradition and the mediating role of the saints, and eventually the formation of the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith. Luther's writings clearly articulate that the war against the Turks must be preceded by moral improvement. This is the only

[534] Péter, *Reformáció és művelődés*..., 375–604.

way of defeating them, for God aids them in order to punish Christians. Leadership of a defensive war against the Turks can be resumed only by the secular authorities, but they cannot appropriate God's name either.

Melanchthon elaborated on the Wittenberg model of history. As we have seen, his depiction of the Turks in the *Chronicon Carionis* follows Pseudo-Methodius. It is no accidence that the Hungarian nation is given an outstanding role besides the German nation (Heiliges Römisches Reich Deutscher Nation the cult of the Hunyadi dynasty. The latter became a cornerstone of the Transylvanian identity. Ritoókné Szalay's research has demonstrated that the first step to the institutionalization of the cult was made by the Bishop of Gyulafehérvár (present-day Alba Iulia, Romania) in the 1530s.[535] The cult of King Matthias had been incorporated in the identity of both commoners and nobility by the seventeenth century.

Sources reveal that religious reforms in Hungary first targeted the cult of saints, which is attested, e.g. by Dévai's fierce criticism. Zoltán Csepregi writes that Dévai's sermons adapted Luther's theology of the Cross, but he was reluctant to ascribe to the concept of the suffering and martyr Church.[536] He disapproved of Luther's new position in the issue and was anxious about the possibility of the formation of a new cult of martyrdom.

In the dispute of Vaskaszentmárton (present-day Felsőszentmárton, Hungary), Mihály Sztárai also insisted on the denial of the cult of saints.[537] Precisely for this reason did Sztárai and many of his contemporaries adapt the Book of Maccabees

[535] Cf. Ritoókné Szalay, *Hunyadi János*...

[536] "On the frontier against those of the old faith, the statement that the false church persecutes the true one, the condemnation of the Roman church is manifested as a visible sign in the form of the Cross. The Cross of Passion in listed by Luther as late as 1520 among the sacramental acts of prayer and preaching, and as imbued with the promise of God – thus it is connected to the essence of the Church. Two decades later, in 1539, it becomes a *nota ecclesiae*, an attribute of the true Church. Luther forcefully describes this relationship: the Church is covered by these visible signs, as the child is covered by is garments and swaddling clothes. András Batizi sang of this criterion of the Church in 1530 at Kassa:
"We Christians must that Cross on earth carry,
Drink from the hard cups of misery,
After death with Him we shall make merry.
God said in Saint Paul's letter:
If one wants to be a pious brother,
For Jesus's name they shall suffer here prosecution."
The Cross as suffering and misery appears twice in the 1538 catechesis of Dévai: it is a sign of election, belief, unity with Christ (as in Luther's work), together with good works and holiness in life, and it is also the benefit of the sacraments, along with faith, charity and peace. The catechesis does not elaborate on the essence of the Church: from the definitions of the former Creed only the universal (partial and fighting) triumphalist delineation is present. Surprisingly, Dévai was unable to identify with this concept of the Cross due to his persecutions and captivity." Csepregi, *A reformáció nyelve...,* 199–200.

[537] Endre Zsindely, "Wolfgang Musculus magyar kapcsolatai," in Studia et acta Ecclesiastic III., ed. Tibor Bartha, 989-990.; also: Őze, *A határ és a határtalan*..., 182-183.

to the genre of a didactic verse history, which created a vogue in early modern Hunagrian literature. Sztárai was active in Tolna until Szegedi's arrival, whereupon he moved to Laskó (present-day Lug, Croatia). From Tolna and Southern Baranya, an area under Turkish occupation, he perceived the total disintegration of the Hungarian state and the aggressive establishment of Ottoman authority. While Sztárai was not complaining about the expansion of oriental culture in the wake of Turkish intrusion, in the following decades it became a matter of grievance in the writings of Pál Thúri Farkas, rector of. Tolna.[538] Sztárai's musical education made him a skilled translator of the Psalms and moral (and mostly biblical) anecdotes, which, unlike lives of saints, had a wide currency among the priests advocating the new tenets of the Reformation.[539] The history of the execution of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, by Queen Mary in Foxe's account travelled more swiftly to Turkish Hungary than it had actually been known in England.[540] Sztárai mostly revives the stories of resistance against heathen rulers (Eleazar and Antiochus, the Maccabees, Judith and Holofernes, Gideon, etc.), which were the most popular tales in the sixteenth century. Sztárai performed these stories with his own violin accompaniment. He is rumoured to have performed the tale of Achab and Elijah in the evenings for his household.[541]

Sztárai inveighed against both successor states of the Kingdom of Hungary: he reproved the government of both the Catholic King Ferdinand and of George Martinuzzi, the friar made king. This may be explained by his service to Péter Perényi, son of the palatine, who, following the earlier strategies of the Hunyadis and Szapolyais, cherished

[538] Born at Drávasztára, educated at Padua. From 1544 on he appears at Laskó as a Reformer, where he stayed for 10 years, returning after 5 years's service at Tolna (because his student Szegedi left for Kálmáncsehi in 1558). He also goes to the conquered lands under the captaincy of László Kerecsényi. He spent time at Sárospatak (1564-68), in the court of Perényi. He applied for a position at Sopron in 1574, but was ousted by Istvány Beythe.HEdied as the priest of the Pope's soldiers, at an unknown date. He quarrelled for a long time with Melius. According to János Horváth, he do not know what he did during the captivity of Perényi. Horváth, *A reformáció jegyében...*; Cf. Esze, *Sztárai Gyulán*...; Szakály, *Mezőváros és reformáció*...

[539] Idea Christianorum… Modern edition and Hungarian translation: Géza Kathona, *Fejezetek*...; Őze, *A Határ és a határtalan*…

[540] He wrote five historical songs: three biblical and two ecclesiastical ones. Batizi has anticipated him with his biblical songs, as well as Tinódi and Csikei, who also created adaptations of the story of Judith (1541) and Elijah (1542) He could been familiar with these, especially Batizi.His first piece was the story of Eleasar (1546). The story is the example of a man steadfast in his beliefs, who and whose sons refuse to eat pork even when tortured by the pagan king. This story was also used by Dézsi, Bornemisza and Zombori. In his paraphrases of the Psalms there are frequentsupplications to God to take revenge on the enemy, the unbelievers, the evil ones, often with detailed descriptions of these, and also of the suffering innocents. The oppressed poor could have sung these songs without any sort of explanation. Horváth, *A reformáció jegyében...,* 66–69.

[541] The presentation of Pál Ács at the 2011 Debrecen conference on Protestant martyrology.

plans to overthrow both kings and to unite the realm under his reign. To achieve this, he asked for the help of the Turk under their protectorate. Eventually, Perényi and János Balassa, captain-general of the mining towns of Lower Hungary, were imprisoned by Maximilian II for their parleying. Like Péter Petrovics, Perényi, also had in mind to establish a buffer state under Turkish protectorate on the model of Ragusa.[542]

Sztárai, on the other hand, considered the heathen Turks aliens and enemies. However, he does not portray the Turks as an apocalyptic enemy, nor are they the corporeal Antichrist, as with Szegedi, Melius or Batizi. He did not live in a fervent state of apocalyptic expectations; yet, he represented a viewpoint outside the state, and attributed the collective sin to the elite with social implications comparable to the charges of Szkhárosi. His critical edge will equally characterize all his later works.

The Jewish tradition had not developed the concept of an otherworld until as late as the Hellenistic composition of the Books of the Maccabees. Sheol simply denoted repository for those who were ejected from the community with God. Due to Hellenistic influences the Books of the Maccabees relate that the martyred youth recover in their body and regain their members lost during their torments. In other words, they resurrect and are received into eternal life. The casualties of the Maccabean revolt occasion the first funeral prayer for the soul of the dead in the Bible. The paryer also implores for their intercession. While dead bodies were untouchable in Judaism, some form of a funeral cult seems to be permitted for the Maccabean martyrs,[543] who are the servants of God and defenders of the faith, while the army of Antiochus is described as God's enemy.

Although the Maccabees were not saints in the sense later employed by the Catholic Church, but they were also canonized when the Byzantine emperor elevated their relics. Their ashes were sent first to Byzantium, then to Rome, as a gift of Justinian, and finally, according to tradition, to Lyon and Cologne.[544] Sztárai's Old Testament story of the Maccabees also inserts into this process.[545]

---

542 The song titled "Sz. Illyésnek és Ákháb királynak idejében lött dolgokról" [On the things occurred during the reign of Sz.Elias and King Akhab] recounts the confrontation of Elijah and the king, who took a pagan woman for wife. False belief, Ahab, loses, and Elijah is taken to heaven on a fiery chariot. Sztárai gives two interpretations: Elijah stands for Christians, persecuted since the beginning. Ahab, on the other hand trust in the bald [i.e., Catholic] priest, and worships idols with them. They stand for Ferdinand and Martinuzzi. One of them lives in Vienna, the other is a "king from friar", but they will both fail in their assault on Elijah. Horváth, *A reformáció jegyében*..., 66–69.

543 Imre Téglásy, Foreword to *Sztárai Mihály: História Perényi Ferenc kiszabadulásáról* (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1985), 7–26.

544 Pál Ács, "A Szent Makkabeusok nevei Erasmus és a magyar protestáns mártírológia kezdetei," [The names of the Holy Maccabees. Erasmus and the origins of the Hungarian martyrology] in Idem., *„Az idő ósága"* (Budapest, 2001), 165–186. Teply, *Kizil Elma*... I will elaborate on Cologne's role in apocalypticism later.

545 RMKT XVI./ 2. 317. 1546. Régen ó törvényben vala Jeruzsálemben.

For the Protestant denominations, the concept of martyrdom, which was closely connected to the denial of the cult of saints and the changing interpretation of the Antichrist, was drastically transformed in the sixteenth century. The soldeirs, stuck in the buffer zone of the two empires, as well as the civilian population needed a new sense of mission. This bore no influence on the oral epic poetry (always popular in the frontier culture), which could not be banned. In spite of their devout Protestantism, the frontier soldiers ignored Luther's condemnation of the crusading idea and consider themselves the defenders of Christendom.

Gergely Szegedi[546], leading figure of the Reformation of Debrecen, preached about the great peril of the Turks. He deploys and comments on the full repertory of the theme of sin and punishment in András Farkas's works in the light of the Wittenberg doctrine of salvation. He is, however, very much astonished at the 1566 devastation caused by the marauding of the slavehunting and exploring Crimean Tartar troops, in alliance with the Turks, in the lands north of Várad. No author ever since the Anonymous of Szászsebes (c. 1422–1502) had documented destruction, loss and suffering with such intensity as Szegedi. People are numbed by their collective sin, i.e. obedience to the Turk, which is why they cannot escape the Tartars either.

To heathens they themselves subjected,
And all their wishes they fulfilled.
They did not run, for in their obeisance,
They very strongly trusted.

Their heathen lord they served,
God's task to them never occurred
On Sunday they knee to lords,
But they ignore the worship of the Lord.

The people trusted in an idolatrous people, and did not even honour their own feasts, which incurs punishment on them. There is no more talk of the pope or of Catholics; he simply prays for the humbling of the avenging nation, the Muslim conquerors, in the tone of Jeremiah's laments. Szegedi also argues with God, saying that the punishment is righteous, but they are Christians, after all, while the Tartars are heathens:

---

546 Szeged, ?– ?, 1566. He stayed in Wittenerg in 1556. One year later he is active in Debrecen.

This cruel nation shall disappear,
Thus its ire is quick to appear:
It is time for you, Lord,
Your mercy for us to show.

The heathens chase us for you,
For the Christian religion, your Gospel too,
True God, defend and protect
Your honour from the foe.

When they wash their feet in the enemy's blood,
The righteous are happy to see their lot,
"The merciful God is the true God"
They with voices shout.[547]

Szegedi borrowed the sacred heroes from the Old Testament, and identified them with the contemporary leaders and Protestant martyrs, as he, too, was afraid of the formation of a new cult of saints. These new heroes were figures in the "Antichrist-wars" of the age: preachers, dead soldiers, victims who were used as merely moral exempla. In order to transform the soldier's despised life and duty into something approvable, the war which they fought had to be reinterpreted as a just war.

The second step in the process of the exaltation of the frontier soldiers required a new definition of military vocation, which always adapted to each situation. With the increasing Turkish threat and the apocalyptic expectations from the middle of the sixteenth century on, the mediaeval idea of *miles Christi* gained new currency. In Hungary the fighters of the border fortresses, as e.g. the defenders of Eger in 1552[548] or Miklós Zrínyi were commonly labelled so.[549] These heroes also appeared in foreign news and depictions and were remembered by collective memory.[550] An example of this is the oft-cited engraving of Nell, where next to the dead Hunyadis lay Louis II, Pál Bakics and Miklós Zrínyi as martyrs.[551]

By the seventeenth century, the Protestant glory of martyrdom was attributed to all heroes who died in fights against the Turks. They often appear as examples in sermons. They are also drawn into the tradition of an independent Hungary: they are

[547] Gergely Szegedi, Siralmas Ének a tatár rabságról. RMKT XVI. század.
[548] Their deeds are lauded in a law by the diet.
[549] Imre, *Magyarország panasza*…, 190-197.; Galavics, *Kössünk*..., 18-22.
[550] Őze, *A határ és a határtalan*..., 291-292.
[551] . Imre, *Magyarország panasza*…, 190-197.; Galavics, *Kössünk*..., 18-22.

not Turkish (Transylvanian) Hungarians or German (Austrian) Hungarians, but true Hungarian Hungarians, as phrased by Mihály Tolnai, preacher of the outlaws living on the border of the two countries. His examples are Pál Kinizsi and the Hunyadis,[552] heroic winners of the fight against the Turks; his list of martyrs include Miklós Zrínyi VI, victor of Gyurgyevó (present-day Giurgiu, Romania); Zsigmond Báthory, who died in 'German' captivity; and György Rákóczi II, who tried to outwit both powers only to be mortally wounded in the battle of Szászfenes (present-day Floreşti, Romania). In Tolnai's words: "The Hungarians of old ran not, for they were good. They were Hungarian Hungarians, whose glorious fame, as long as Hungarians last, shall endure."[553]

The Hungarian war-sermons of the sixteenth century also stress the new heroic ethos. Péter Pázmány war sermon concludes with the following: the soldier, however ill of fame, is not condemned to Hell. If God is fighting for him, his murders shall not be counted against him. If he leads an orderly life, he will suffer no defeat, nor will he torment the community for the protection of which he fights. The life of man on earth is a warfare."[554] Bornemisza's sermon ends with a prayer: "For the dreadful soldier only he can give bravery, victory and good luck."[555] Bálint Balassi expressed this in his second poem on the Trinity by depicting Christ as a soldier fighting against the heathen:

You are my strong sabre, the swiftness of my steed,
Leader of my mind, strength of my arms, courage in my heart's need,
Trusting in your holy name, gladly I attack your blasphemers.

Another prayer of Bornemisza poignantly rephrases the new Protestant ideal of martyrdom:

> Lord and God of all Hosts, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. We beg You to call by Your Holy Spirit our chivalrous people to take up the fight against Your enemies in the fear and honour of Your holy name, to be victorious

[552] See below.
[553] Őze, *A határ és a határtalan*..., 117.; Mihály Tolnai, Szent had azaz lelki és testi szabadságokért fegyvert vont vitézeknek tüköre. Cluj: 1676 RMK I. 197. Modern edition: Incze Gábor Bp.: 1937, Győri's research into the seventeenth century is fundamental.
[554] Őze, *A határ és a határtalan*…, 103–127.
[555] István Magyari, Az országokban való soc romlasoknac okairól es azokbol valo meg szabadulasnac io modgiarol mostan vyonnan irattatot es sok bölts embereknec irasokbol szereztetet hasznos könyvetske. Magyari István sarvari praedicator altal.Sárvár: 1602; modern edition: ed. Katona Tamás, Makkai László. Bp.: 1978

through You, and to be ever grateful from their heart for all Your good deeds, Your Sacred Majesty. Amen.[556]

Prayer is the vessel of hope, the expectation of the miraculous, and, together with terror, the basic ingredient of the Apocalypse – the eternal promise of a fair world after the tunnel's end.

[556] Bornemisza: *Postillák*, V. 476.

The German imperial troops, aiming to recapture Buda in 1542, return after a spectacular failure – almost two generations had to pass before the next attempt to retake the Hungarian capital. Thus the travesty of 1542 was met with general perplexity and interest, and resulted in three translations and exegeses of the Qur'an in the next year.[557] The first is that of Guillaume Postel, who as a Renaissance *uomo universale* and diplomat served in many places, and formed a more tolerant and accepting view of the Turk, even attempting conversation. His translation was little known, and had to be rediscovered in the nineteenth century.[558]

The second translation was created by Theodor Bibliander,[559] who, as an exegete of the Zurich school of Swiss Reformation felt the Turkish peril imminent. He also considered Erasmus's humanistic education model dangerous, and takes Luther's side in the question of free will. As an exegete, he sought the meanings of words, and with an open-minded approach did not avoid eschatology, especially as this forms a significant part of the Apocrypha, Revelation and other biblical texts. In his *De ratione communi omnium linguarum* he quotes the Qur'an in Latin, conspicuously not using Robert of Ketton's translation. Bibliander read other treatises and exegeses as well, which he published in the second volume of the above work. One of these would have been the *Confutatio Alcorani*[560] of Riccoldo de Monte Croce, with which the *De ratione* agrees on several points.

[557] Hartmut Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation. Studien zur frühgeschichte der Arabistik und Islamkunde in Europa*. (=Beiruter Texte und Studien. Band 42.) (Beirut, 1995)

[558] Frank Lestringant, "Guillaume Postel et l' «obsession turqe», » in *Guy Trédaniel, Éditions de La Maisnie, Postel, Guillaume 1581–1981.* (Paris : Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1981), 265–298.; Bobzin, *Der Koran*..., 365-496.; I hereby thank Miklós Altnéder who made his translation of the work available to me.

[559] Bobzin, *Der Koran*..., 159–276. Born c. 1504. He studies in Zurich, in 1527 becoming the exegetical teacher of the same church. He followed as read of the Septuagint Zwingli (who died in 1531). He went beyond the three classic Humanist languages (Latin, Greek and Hebrew), studying Aramaic and Arabic, and was deeply interested in philology, didactics and methodology.

[560] Riccoldo da Monte Croce, the Dominican friar of Florence was born in 1243, and spent two decades in the Near East until 1301. He went to east in order to study Arabic, planning to translate the Qur'an (which did not happen) He published his 17-chapter refutation of the Qur'an in 1320, which was translated into Greek between 1354-60 by Demetrios Cydones. In comparison with Niketas's work, Riccoldo is mediocre, mostly repetition. He writes about the differences between Catholicism and Islam, concluding that the latter is falsity. Riccoldo states that he read further Islamic works, and that in his opinion Muhammad is Evil itself. Anything that is true in the Qur'an is stolen from the Testaments, but the rest is lies. However, this is the refutation which presents the Qur'an most

De Monte Croce was a Florentine Domincan who stayed in the Near East between 1281 and 1301, and even attended the Baghdad academy of Islamic theology in 1291. His Latin work was published around 1320, and translated into Greek by 1360. His research was facilitated by the situation under the contemporary Iranian Mongol rule,[561] and the published work formed the basis of the Qur'an-refutation of John Kantakuzenos (former Byzantine emperor, who seized the throne with Turkish help, but was eventually exiled to a monastery), as well as of the *Cribatio Alcorani* of Nicholas of Cusa[562] which was widely used during the Reformation.[563]

Bibliander's source for the translation could have been Postel's *De orbis terrae concordia libri IV*, the second volume of which deals with Islam. As it was published in Basel, it is not impossible that Bibliander would have known it, but used it only sparingly: Postel and Robert of Ketton, too, were only guidelines for him. He became interested in Islam by listening to the speeches of Johannes Oporinus: Bibliander became curious to see the teachings "causing so much harm to Christianity", as he writes in a 1542 letter; already six years earlier he had borrowed some books on the topic from Oporinus.

Luther and Erasmus agreed on the point that without true, in-depth knowledge of the Turks fighting against them is useless: they cannot be convinced, only –at most- repelled. Bibliander also accepts this, and in the Turkish wars sees the conflict of religions: *vera versus falsa religio*. This was the basis of his publications. However, one had to be careful with the censorship: the Arabic Qur'an published by Paganini in 1530 in Venice was publicly burnt by Paul III. However, Postel and probably Bibliander too had a copy of it. The argument of Paul III was that "the Qur'an is a harmful book, intolerable among Christians". Oporinus, on the other hand, driven by the fear of the Turks and seeing a lucrative opportunity, was practically campaigning for the Qur'an's publication. Eventually his licence to do so was signed by the elite of Basel – Antistes Oswald Myconius, Marcus Bersius, Martin Borrhaus, Jakob Imelin – on the basis that the study of the "godless doctrines" was necessary to refute them

extensively, citing 34 *suwar* at a total 89 times. His translations are nearly not as correct as those of Niketas, but we can be sure that he possessed an original copy. Bobzin, *Der Koran…,* 22–29.; Orsolya Varsányi. "Pázmány Péter: A Mohamet vallása hamisságárúl című művének forrásai és citátum használata." [Usage and sources of Péter Pázmány's pamphlet titled 'On the falsity of the religion of Muhammad'.] in *Textológia és forráskritika. Pázmány-kutatások 2006-ban.* Edited by Emil Hargittay. (Piliscsaba: Pázmány Irodalmi Műhely, 2006), 47–55. ItK 2008/5–6. 645–678.33.; Hagemann,*Christentum*…. 55–62.; Őze and Dobrovits, *A korán-cáfolat*…

561 See: Dénes Sinor, "The Mongols and Western Europe," in *The History of the Crusades III. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,* ed. Kenneth Meyer Setton, (Madison, 1975), 513–544

562 Bobzin, *Der Koran*..., 29–34.; Varsányi, *Pázmány*..., not 32.; Hagemann, *Christentum*..., 68–80.

563 Argyriou,*Perception de l'Islam*..., 49–56.

and prevent the Islamisation of Europe. Even Luther supported the cause in front of the Council of Basel.[564]

The popularity of the publication is shown by the six variants extant by 1543, and that the *Praemonitio* is erroneously attributed to Luther. According to Bobzin, the edition is a "Encyclopédie de l'Islam", containing much more material than a simple translation of the Qur'an.[565] The first volume is on the sources, the second deals with 'theology', and the third concerns history, trying to discover and summarise the past of the Turks and Saracens. The Latin Qur'an is taken from the Corpus Toletanum (already 400 years old); they use this instead of an original because contemporary Arabic scientists made no translation. Bibliander used three Latin and one Arabic writing, and noted parallel passages with the Bible, the Church Fathers and early Christian heretic writings, although in the case of the latter, often vaguely. The theological comments of this section are not significant compared to the second volume; but he makes often note of contradictions within the Qur'an, from which he concludes that it cannot be divinely revealed. He also says that he cannot accept the novelty of Islam.[566]

The creator of the Nuremberg Qur'an lithography is a Catholic theologian, Johann Albrecth von Widmannstätter.[567] Even though he made no further prints of Arabic texts, his library was vast and incredibly valuable. He became acquainted with Postel in Vinna, in 1553-54, and they participated in the preparation the first European publication of a Syriac New Testament. He was invited to the group because of his knowledge of Syriac, Hebrew, and of the Kabbalah. After his death in 1557 his library was inherited by the Bavarian prince Albert V, who made it the basis of his collection,

564 Bobzin, *Der Koran*..., 181–208. The tripartite structure of the work has been analysed by Varsányi. A general introduction to the topic is Hagemann, Christentum..., 81–94.

565 Bobzin, *Der Koran*..., 221.

566 Ibid., 222–237.

567 Born in 1506, ennobled in 1548, and educated by the parisher of Nellingen, Gregor Bauler. Studies Hebrew by Jakob Jonas and Sebastian Münster. The researched Arabic languages and texts in Bologna and Naples,and met Samuel Abranabelt, leader of the Italian Jews, who introduced him to the Talmud. Instead of is planned African trip, he accepted the invitation of Egidio de Viterbo to Rome, where he further studied Arabic and the Kabbalah. He also came into the possession of Reuchlin's*Rudimenta linguae Hebraicae* and the *Āgurrumiyya*. He became in 1533 secretary of Clement VII and Paul III, after 1535 moving on to secretarial positions by various princes and bishops, thus securing access to many libraries. He showed to Martin Frecht and Wolfgang Musculus, visiting Reformers, a half-finsihed Latin translation of the Qur'an, and who tried to persuade him to publish it. After his first publication, the *Machometis Theologia* archbishop Marcello Cervini orders the Damascene diaconus, Petrus Galinus to be his aide. Their colleagues eventually were Guillaume Postel and Moses von Mardin. After the 1556 death of his wife he was broken and retired. He worked for a healthy Catholic renovation and a reform of the Church. Ibid., 282–295.

which eventually became, together with the books of Johann Jakobb Fugger, the Court Library of Müchen, the present-day Bayerische Staatsbibliotheke. The books of Widmannstätter are mostly from the subjects of Antique Studies, and various manuscripts from the Italian Renaissance, Humanism, and Hebrew and Arabic text. Almost a fifth of his collection are MSS and fragments of the Qur'an. Bobzin asks how he came by these: Hebrew texts were available for purchase, but Arabic works were sporadic and random. A collection of Maliki laws suggests that he might have had Spanish sources, reinforced by the *Commentary* of al-Gabari Satibiyya. His non-Qur'anic Arabic texts are mostly philosophical, political and medicinal. Three highly valuable MSS are also present, Arabic translations of parts of the Bible, and he also possessed the Psalm-commentary of Gaon Sa'adya al-Fayyumi which was written with Hebrew script even though being in Arabic. Moses von Mardin also presented Widmannstätter with a Syriac-Arabic-Latin dictionary.[568]

His work is titled *Mahometis Abdallae filii theologia dialogo explicata.* Its place of publication is not given, but it probably was Nuremberg, proven by the letters of Johannes Oporinus and a printer in Nuremberg. His reasons for the publication include his worries about the Turkish and Muslim danger, his concern for the internal state of the Church and his fear of the Reformation. The book also contains the *Docktrina Machumet* from the Corpus Toletanum. The problem is the identity of the translator. The pseudonym on the cover, Hermannus Nellingauensis could indicate Nellingen as a place of birth, which would make him into Widmannstätter himself. The text is different from Bibliander's version, however, but due to their similarities it can be supposed that they used a common source, with Widmannstätter expanding and reworking the material. His text focuses on the relationship of Judaism and Islam. It *Epitmoe Alcorani*, divided into four, is considered by scholars extremely important. Widmannstätter probably used in its composition the translation of Robert of Ketton, as it has a form different from that of the Corpus Toletanum. The text is partly a verbatim translation, partly a summarisation, and it often is completely unrelated to the Qur'an. Another problem is its division into four *Orationes Arabum* (both Postel and Juan Andrés talk of "the four parts of the Qur'an"). Its most important source is a manuscript (Codex Arab. Monac. 7.), which according to its colophon was created in Bellus in 1518 and is a varicoloured work of many hands. Its translation might have been made from a Spanish transcript, which would make it related to Diego Lopez Zuniga.

Like Bibliander, Widmannstätter calls attention to the similarities and differences between Christianity and Islam in his marginalia, e.g. Jesus as the Son of God,

[568] Ibid., 295–331.

which is acknowledged by the Qur'an. He claims that the Qur'an misunderstands the doctrine of the Trinity, and makes not of the biblical loci "misconstrued" by it. He stresses Muhammad's illegitimacy.Although these anti-Islam arguments (Muhammad as a traitor, who cannot de believed even when his words are concordant with Christianity) are frequent in the, but Widmannstätter, according to Bobzin, has a much wider horizon of understanding, due to his knowledge of the Talmud, Kabbalah and other Hebrew texts. Bibliander, for example, corrected corrupted names, but Widmannstätter refused to do so. This shows that his sources were primarily Occidental, most likelythe *Confusione della setta Machometana* of Juan Andrés. Therefore Widmannstätter bases his text not on the Arabic original, but on the summarisation of Andrés, which he could easily have obtained by his Spaniard teacher of Arabic, Zuniga.[569] Widmannstätter did not use an Arabic Qur'an even for his notes, which is the most significant difference between him and Bibliander. The latter translated the Qur'an directly from Arabic, whereas Widmannstätter did not.

The first reaction to the publication is that of Oporinus, whose comments are negative: he considers it to be a rival of the Basel edition. It also causes a vast polemic with Bibliander, throwing further light on him. Bibliander, like most of the German theologians of the Zurich school, follow Luther in interpreting Islam in an apocalyptic manner. This went against Calvin's teaching, which held the identification of the figures of Revelation with contemporary actors to be perilous and useless. Bibliander approached the Qur'an, too, from Luther's perspective, and his refutation and criticism of it was published in Basel. It follows the traditional European Christian tradition in depicting Muslims in an eschatological light (as did Postel), instead of the French 'school', which tried to understand them.

Naturally, it was the translation of Bibliander which was favoured by the hysterical reactions of the Europeans in the face of the rapid Ottoman conquest. The other two were not published again. Interestingly, Hungarian Jesuit writers on the turn on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when called on to explain the nature of the Turkish conquest, used Bibliander's apocalyptic exegesis of the Qur'an, not the Catholic ones. Thus the determining factors of one's attitude were geographical location and the dangers faced, not religion.

Melius's commentary of the Book of Revelation appeared at Várad in 1568. Its foreword was written in January of the same year, but the 58 sermons on the Apocalypse were finished by 10September 1566. Melius used in his work the *Chronici Carionis*,

[569] Juan Andrés, Confusión o confutación de la secta mahomética y del Alcorán.Ed. Elisa Ruiz García. Trans. Ma Isabel García-Monge, (Mérida: Regional de Extremadura, 2003)

popular among his precursors.[570] Based on the research of Nagy, Melius used the Bullinger's extremely influential commentary on the Apocalypse, which reflected the fear felt by German Swiss Protestants after the frequent campaigns of Suleiman (1529, 1532, 1541, 1543, 1552).[571] Melius also cites Calvin and Théodore de Bèze as his authorities, but these two, although Swiss, but still French, did not consider the Turk to be a serious enemy, least of all a contemporary figure of the Apocalypse.[572] Calvin did not even write a commentary on the Revelation. Actually, even Zwingli was of this opinion in the 1520's, but his mind was changed, along with the general German Swiss view, by the rapid expansion of the Turkish Empire.

István Kis Szegedi, as his precursors, too uses the 1543 Basel edition of Bibliander's *Mirror of the Roman Popes* as the basis of translation-paraphrase. He stresses that the onset of the retardation of the Papacy coincides with the birth of Islam, and both are related to emperor Phocas. The *Tabulae Analyticae* is, according to Nagy, a 33-sermon digestof Bullinger's above-mentioned hundred speeches on the Apocalypse.[573] This opus of Bullinger was extremely successful worldwide: it was translated into English in a mere four years and inspired four of the seven British Apocalypse-commentaries of the sixteenth century.[574] Bullinger recounts the story of Phocas on the basis of Paul the Deacon, refuting that that the bishopric of Constantinople would have been only a *filia* of Rome.[575] The Antichristian nature of the Papacy becomes apparent after the decision of Phocas, as the popes received their

[570] Barna Nagy, "Méliusz Péter művei - Könyvészeti és tartalmi áttekintés különös figyelemmel most felfedezett műveire s a forráskutatási feladatokra," [Péter Meliusz's books – a bibliographical and textual overview with a special regard to his lately discovered texts and the tasks of further research] in *Studia et acta Ecclesiastica II. Tanulmányok a Magyarországi Református Egyház történetéből. A második Helvét hitvallás Magyarországon és Méliusz életműve, (*Budapest, 1967), 195–354., 243–247.

[571] Melius, *Szent Jánosnac tött jelenésnec…,* 220b–220a.; Nagy, *Meliusz Péter...*, 195–354.; A munka szakirodalmi összefoglalója itt található. Erich Bryner, "Die Ausstrahlungen Bullingers auf die Reformation in Ungarn und Polen," *Zwingliana* 31, (2004).

[572] Imre, *Arbor Haereseon*.., 57. Especially useful in its bibliography.

[573] Ibid., 244.

[574] Heinrich Bullinger, In Apocalypsim …conciones centum Basel, 1557. further editions: 1558, 1559, 1560, 1561, 1564, 1565, 1570, 1573, 1587, 1589, 1590, 1597,1599, 1609, 1677, English transcription by John Daytől, 1561: The annotations for the Book of Revelation in the 1560 Geneva Bibel rely heavily upon Bullinger; Melius is unkown to Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition…,* 5.; although Bernard McGinn registered it in his cathalouge, he noted it as a volume of unknown author; see further: Fritz Büsser, "H. Bullingers 100 Predigten über die Apokalypse," *Zwingliana* 26 (2000): 117–131.

[575] Bullinger, *In Apocalypsim…,* 160.

primacy among the churches from power- and bloodthirsty emperor, a murderer.[576] He cites as authorities Petrarch and Pico della Mirandola.[577]

The appearance of the doctrine of the double Antichrist was analysed by Imre impressively on the basis of Szegedi's opus: on the figure appended to the work the Tree of the Heretics is shown.[578] The Tree sprouts from the heart of the Devil, its two branches being the Turkish Sultan and the Roman Pope. Imre was the first to notice that the historical model of Szegedi is an attempt to bring into harmony the life of Phocas and the deterioration of the Papacy with the development of Islam, following the Swiss exegete Theodor Bibliander.[579] Imre also treats the chapter *De Antichristo* in Szegedi's *Loci Communes*.[580]

Perhaps the most important difference between the views of Melanchton and Bullinger is that the Swiss exegete spoke of a double-natured Antichrist; and while he used the Danielic idea of the four empires, he refused to see the fourth (Roman) empire as a positive development, unlike the members of the school of Wittenberg. For Bullinger the thought-construct of the Holy Roman Empire is devoid of meaning, and he is inimical to it (as are all Swiss Protestants since Zwingli). Thus he has no difficulty in assuming that the evil of the Last Days will grow from the two halves of the Roman Empire, and he is able to connect it not to persons, but to institutions.

Although Melius does not mention it, it is probable that one of his sources was the 1562 Basel edition of the first volume of the *Magdeburg Centuries*. It forms the basis of his calculations concerning the Pope: he attempts to prove that it is the name of Pope Anacletos (considered by him to be an heir of Peter), not of Luther, which makes 666.[581] This century abounded in such calculations from both Catholic and Protestant

[576] Bullinger, *Schriften*..,. II. 384–385.

[577] Ibid. 333.; Peter Opitz, *Heinrich Bullinger als Theologe. Eine Studie zu „Dekaden"* (Zürich, 2004).

[578] Imre, *Arbor Haereseon…* 85.

[579] Ibid., 57.

[580] Szegedi, *Theologiae sincerae*..., 389.; quoted by: Imre, *Arbor Haereseon*…. 75.

[581] „The numbers of their letters, by whom six times sixty-six is written, 2 Thess in Hebrew the Roman, that is Romanus, made 666

R 2000	i.e.,	L 30	i.e.,	
	O 6	Roman	AE 1	Roman
	M 40	Pope	T 300	lator
	I 10		E 5	Pope
	I 10		I10	
	T 400		N 50	
	Summa 666		O 70	
			S 200	
			Summa 666	

sides, eventually condemned by archbishop Bellarmin and Calvin: the two claimed that figures of the Apocalypse cannot be identified with their contemporaries. Melius is unclear on just who the first popes are. On the basis of Eusebius's enumeration (which was used by the Magdeburg school) the first leader of the Roman church after Peter was no Anacletos but Linus.[582] Melius also claims that the first popes were not necessarily thoroughly evil, but since popes Clement and Alexander they certainly have been.[583] Confusingly, he names the third pope as Antichrist, but attributed the "moral decay" to the fourth and sixth ones. He also fails to mention that the popes were all martyred for their Christian faith.

Melius most likely could not use the seventh volume of the *Magdeburg Centuries* (1567), as we cannot find any hints at Muhammad's alleged Monophysite teacher, even though he mentions on several occasions the "science of friar Sergius".[584] An important character is pope Damasus (366–384), depicted negatively for trying

---

Their first Pope was Amcletus, or Anacletus, and do you see that the Pope is the Beast.

A 1
M 40
K 20
L 30
E 5
T 300
O 70
S 200
Summa 666

See you how the Spirit of God shows this by the numbers of letters. Count the word then, and see how it fits Luther not.

L 30	L 30
O 70	O 70
V 400	V 400
TH 9	T 300
E 5	E 5
R 100	R 100
O 70	O 70
S 200	Y 400
Summa 884	S 200
	summa 1475

It fits Luther by no means, but does to Pope Acletos and Mochometh. The Jews and Greeks counted by letters, and if you see the Jewish spelling of the Roman, Roman will make 666, and in Greek Lateinos makes 666. Luther calculates differently, and the friars err." Péter Melius,, *Szent Jánosnac tött jelenésnec*… op. cit. 182.b–183.a,b.

582 István Baán, Euzebiusz egyháztörténete [Church History by Eusebius] (Budapest, 1983), 207. Anacletus lived 76–88, and Linus 67–76.

583 SS Clement (88–97) and Alexander (105–115)

584 Knowledge of the seventh volume cannot be excluded in the case of Bornemisza.

to strengthen the centralised, papal government of the Church in opposition to its synodic leadership. He is the first to abuse the "succession of Peter", signed by c. 150 bishops in 378, and legally confirmed by Theodosius the Great. Thus Melius attacks them both, as well as Leo the Great (440–461) who attempted to secure even more power to the See, writing in one of his letters "the holy Roman church holds supremacy over all the churches of the world through the apostolic primarch."[585]

In response to this, Melius writes: "God did foreordain the end of all countries, empires, princes and emperors, and made them known by David, until he should come. Until then, electors and lords, bow your heads to the emperor. When God will make an end of it, the electors and lords will be alienated from the empire. And you warring lords should learn that God says that whichever prince you swear loyalty to, serve him."[586] He cites as an example of this Zedekiah of the Old Testament. Phocas in 606 commanded that all should bow to the Pope – Luther therefore is no 'traitor' as he had no country, not even three houses.

Melius's apocalyptic views are most readily seen in his homiletic works, especially his commentaries on the Book of Revelation. In this he did not follow Bullinger (as he was most probably unknown to Melius), but rather Musculus, Vermigli and Bibliander's Islamic studies. Bullinger will be first evinced in Hungary in the works of Szegedi.

Melius and the Qur'an

Melius (1536-72) was born at Horhi in county Somogy to a noble family. The village had a notable Franciscan monastery until the 1530's.[587] Melius was brought up in the company of noblemen at the court of the nádor Tamás Nádasdy. Later he was imprisoned because of his views, and banned from the diocese of Esztergom due to issues with the religious upbringing of his children. He began his study at the Wittenberg University in 1556, and became the senior of the Hungarian *bursa*. After his return, he became minister of Debrecen with the aid of János Török Enyingi, landholder in the Eastern Hungarian Kingdom.[588]

---

585 Konrád Szántó, *A katolikus egyház története. I–III.* [History of the Catholic Church. I-III.] (Budapest: Ecclesia, 1983), 209.

586 Péter Melius, *Szent Jánosnac tött jelenésnec*… op. cit.

587 Őze, *A határ és a határtalan*…; Botta: *Melius Péter ifjúsága*...

588 Áron Kiss, ed., *A XVI. században tartott magyar református zsinatok végzései* [Regulation of the Hungarian Calvinist synods in the sixteenth century.] (Budapest, 1888). 73.; Vilmos Fraknói et al., ed., *Magyar Országgyűlési Emlékek 1526–1606. I–XII.* [Documents oft he Hungarian Parliaments 1526-1606. I-XII.] (Budapest: Ráth, 1874-1917), 373.; The basis of the regulations of the synod in

His interest in Muslim culture and the lands under Turkish dominion is reflected by the story we know from Szegedi's biography of Skaricza. Melius was member of a mission travelling to the Bey of Szolnok to secure the freedom of a captive priest.[589] Let me quote my summation of the story from my book *A határ és határtalan*:

"Soon, in the year 1562, when the tidings of the lamentable captivity of this man had spread, Péter Melius, this noteworthy minster of the Church, György Czeglédi, first minister of Várad, and Balázs Fegyverneki arrived, presenting the Bey with a beautiful crystal goblet. Melius ordered Corius to ascertain the intentions of the Bey after they have left, and to inform them by way of a courier. Thus Corius, as soon as he had tidings of it, advised Melius not to return to the presence of the Barbarian; for he wishes to entrust Melius with the task of translating the Qur'an into Hungarian, having heard this inquisitive person had the Turkish alphabet written down for him. The Barbarian was wont to assault and try to trick the strong champion of Christ by mocking the weakness of his faith, either personally, or through his servants; to which Szegedi gracefully replied that such vituperation and deceit were fitting only for infants and the witless, and not to one, who by his age has learned to understand the opposite, and not to one who is deprecated by colourful lordly clothing."[590]

From this story Botta concludes that Melius could only communicate in Turkish by a translator, being unable to talk or write the language.[591] I agree with Botta's statement, but I add that I believe that the presence of the translator was not necessary only because of Melius's lack of Turkish. It is impossible that the Bey, however good Melius's Turkish might have been, would have ignored his translator, leaving

Debreced was the confession of Debrecen-Egervölgy, eventually evolving into the confessions of the Calvinist Church. The first bishop of the Tiszántúl district was Melius. He battled Antitrinitism, Tamás Aranyos, and most importantly Ferenc Dávid. His activities as a reformer and preacher was immensely supported by the printing house he established in Debrecen. Cf. Őze, *A határ és a határtalan...,* 100.

589 Ibid., 250-251.

590 Ibid., 248.

591 Knowledge of Turkish language in the occupied territories: the extent of the knowledge of Turkish language was affected by another circumstance. Turkish was in the state of diglossia, thus, it was a complicated literary language enrichened by Persian and Arabic elements, which took a long time and required a wide knowledge of the Islamic culture to learn. In the meantime, there existed a spoken – and written too – vernacular, which was easier to learn, however, it had not enabled its speaker to deepen his/her knowledge in Turkish high culture. Hungarian aristocracy, that had learned Turkish for practical reasons, choose to learn the later, written not in Arabic, but in Latin letters. It is very unlikely that there existed a Hungarian aristocratic class that had wide-scale knowledge on Turkish culture. On the contrary, the peasantry had. Even the Hungarian vernacular was affected by Turkish, especially regarding terms of everyday life and administration. Cf. Sándor Őze and Mihály Dobrovits, "Török nyelvhasználat a dél-dunántúli végvárakban a 16. században," *Zalai Múzeum* 12 (2003): 202–218., and also: Botta, *Melius Péter ifjúsága...*, 61.

him at Melius's mercy, especially in light of the fact that translators often were expert counsellors. Additionally, the source only tells us that Melius did not know the Turkish script, but was interested in it, and had some basic knowledge of the language. In this light, Botta's conclusions are far-fetched. The ferryman is ordered by Melius to reconnoitre, not to translate.

It is not at all impossible that the Turks would have had the Qur'an translated into Hungarian. Although Islamic tradition forbids the translation of the Qur'an on its own and its printing (to this day, only lithographic versions of hand-written Qur'ans are available), but its exegesis, interlinear translation, and summarisation in a foreign language was allowed. Perhaps the Bey would have had Melius translate some popular exegetical work – this is not without parallel.

We cannot dismiss the likelihood that the Bey would have liked to introduce his faith to the elite of the theologians of Partium and Transylvania when he had the chance. It is probable that he would have heard of Melius's skills – the Sanjak of Szolnok expressed interestinthe Protestant theologian who had a remarkably good relationship with Gyula and Eger – the same cities between which the Sanjak was wedged. Melius was writing in the year of the visit, 1562, the Creed of Debrecen-Egervölgy, which was a compromise beneficial for soldiers, but embarrassing to Catholicism and the Vienna government. Szegedi's Turkish captivity was also the result of his influence upon the military of the border fortresses, the extent of which became clear to the Turks only during his imprisonment. It is apparent from the text that the Bey wished to take advantage of this influence, by introducing the minister to Islam theology, and perhaps converting him.

Melius Botta's concept of a Turkish-Hungarian relationship was not the result of some sort of symbiosis or coexistence with Turkish culture; rather, it is based upon biblical speculation, from the legend of Gog and Magog, with all its parallels. The surprising thing is that both Melius and Szegedi dare to preach under Turkish rule that the Turks are the Antichrist, the ruthless final enemy. Melius at the same time stresses that Turks and Hungarians have the same ancestors, but that the latter by their baptism forsook the army of Gogmagog the Antichrist, and became the Chosen People of God.[592]

Melius was born in Horhi (Somogy), in a land under Turkish dominion. Another occasion for him to experience Muslim culture was the Sárvár court of the Nádasdys, where at the age of 16 he was the pupil of Bartholomaeus Georgievich for a year. Georgievich was a Humanist captured during the battle of Mohács, and in the Turkish Empire he receieved bureaucratic training in Arabic and Turkish as a herald. When he

592 Botta, *Melius Péter ifjúsága...,* 62–63. Őze, *Bűneiért...,* 90-91.

returned, he became the most famous news-bearer from the Turkish world in Europe, and his writings were published by Melanchthon in 1560. Thus we can establish that Melius is most likely to only have had a command of Turkish which sufficed in everyday matters, but did not reach the level needed to translate Arabic religious text. Neither his predisposition, nor his inheritance would have made him a likely translator; and he avoided any syncretism.[593]

[593] Őze, *A határ és a határtalan*... 249-250.

APOCALYPTICISM IN THE COGNITIVE SPHERE

The Expectations of Péter Bornemisza at the End of the sixteenth Century and the Prophecies of Luther

Part V of *Postils* was published at the end of February 1579. This book listed a whole string of years when the world was expected to end. (1652, 1656, 1672, 1684, 1695, 1866, 2000.) Bornemisza writes:

"See how this world goes: Golden Age, Silver Age, Copper Age, Iron Age; melding with clay. The world descends lower and lower, like an elderly man."[594]

Later he adds:

"They write that after Ptolemy, the sun and the entirety of the skies lowered and lessened; this is understood by the masters who know the ways of how the skies turn. Thus the world descends, and comes nearer and nearer to its end, which times Our Lord Christ and His Apostles called the end times, as occurring in the last two thousand years."[595]

Apocalypticism appears in Péter Bornemisza's earlier sermons as well, serving as one of the anchors for his world view. Nonetheless, it is interesting how all this gains so much significance five years before his death. The reasons Bornemisza emphasises the importance of the predictions so much include, as explored by Tibor Schulek, the various personal tribulations he endures, his persecuted existence, and the rising number of conflicts in his life. However, I would ascribe this state of affairs to a universal expectation; or rather, to an expectation that centres on the empire of the Germans. I would rather not go into an analysis of the concrete calculations that went into determining the list of dates, but I would like to briefly discuss the background of this phenomenon.

"In the years around 1600, many areas of Europe were characterised by intensive apocalyptic expectations. This was the strongest and most noticeable in the parts of Germany where Lutheran Reformation existed in an institutionalised form. Luther

[594] Bornemisza, *Postilla* V. 446.
[595] Folio Postilla Ix. Cited by Schulek, *Bornemissza*..., 203.

himself considered the Protestant movement as the last burst of fire of the Christian truth before the end of the world. Protestant sermons and writings have supported this notion from the beginning. Despite the stillness of external politics that existed across the empire after the Peace of Augsburg, the tone of Protestant sermons after 1555 have become increasingly radicalised. Around 1600, a truly expansive apocalyptical imagery unfolded amongst Luther's followers, which had significant intellectual and cultural effects," writes Robin B. Barnes in his 1999 study.[596]

We can conclude that the Protestantism of the early modern period in Hungary was profoundly defined by the expectation of the fulfilment of times, and this eschatological-apocalyptic vision was always an aspect of the Lutheran church. This appears most prominently in the 1570s and 1580s and the first years of the Thirty Years' War; nonetheless, it is clear that this has a tradition in mediaeval Germany. However, this is mostly connected to Luther's personality, as well as to the image of Luther purveyed by the second generation of reformers since his death, where Luther was cast into the role of the third Prophet Elijah. The image lasted until the Age of Enlightenment. According to this, the reformer is the eschatological figure and apocalyptic prophet of salvation history, chosen by God to restore pure Evangelical truth, and to remove the veil from the Antichrist during the battle against Satan.[597]

The parallel between him and the Prophet Elijah was made as early as the end of 1519 (most probably by Zwingli), citing Malachi 3:23, Luke 1:17 and Matthew 11:10. Salvation history's interpretation of Luther as being an apostle, a prophet, and the angel of the apocalypse took a deep root and soon got combined with the representation of the reformer as being "the prophet of the Germans". The first people to represent this idea and move it forward were Justus Jonas and Johannes Mathesius.

Behind their reasoning is the interpretation of the dreams of the four kingdoms in the Book of Daniel (Daniel 2): the approach known since mediaeval times identified the fourth, never-ending, Roman kingdom (that came after the Assyrian, the Persian and the Greek Empires) as being the Holy Roman Empire. With Luther's presence and work, God himself would have turned towards the Holy Roman Empire before

[596] Robin B. Barnes, "Der herabstürzende Himmel: "Kosmos und Apokalypse unter Luthers Erben um 1600," in *Jahrhundertwenden. Endzeit- und Zukunftsvorstellungen vom 15. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Manfred Jakubowski-Tiesse et al., Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 155. (Göttingen, 1999), 129.; Hartmut Lehman, "Endzeitwartung im Luthertum im späten 16. und im frühen 17. Jahrhundert," in *Die Lutherische Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland*, ed. Hans-Chirstoph Rublack, (Gütersloh, 1992)

[597] Sommer, *Luther…*,; Johannes Wallmann, "Zwischen Reformation und Pietismus Reich Gottes und Chiliasmus in der lutherischen Orthodoxie," in *Verificationen,* ed. Idem., (Tübingen, 1982), 187–205.

the Last Judgement, to reveal his word. But if God's word does not find listening ears, his punishment is inevitable: Luther's predictions of the atrocities coming to the empire support this idea.

Soon after Luther's death, the first compilations of Luther's sermons begin to be published. This includes Anton Otho's 1552 publication *Etliche Propheceysprüche D. Martini Lutheri/ Des dritten Elias, Nordhausen 1552.*(Few Prophecies of Dr Martin Luther, the Third Elijah, Nordhausen). (Note that Luther is being referred to as "the third Elijah", after the Prophet Elijah and John the Baptist.)The second collection was compiled by Johann Timann (Johannes Amsterdamus), who also saw Luther as being "the third Elijah".

The collection of Peter Glaser has a special place in the list of further compilations, having published 120 prophecies of Luther in Eisleben in 1557.[598] Luther appears here as the great punishing prophet, whose prophecies Glaser maps to *things* that have already happened or are happening at the time. The second edition contains two hundred prophecies, a part of which Glaser interprets as being anti-monarchical criticism.

Johannes Lapaeus's 1578 collection[599] references Luther and his words in a way that is strongly tied to the extremely pessimistic evaluations of Lapaeus's present: the church is being destroyed, teaching is being debased, the Last Judgement is imminent. We can read about this in the preface: with the end times fast approaching, God sent his holy man who, with the power and spirit of the Archangel Michael, overthrew the reign of the Antichrist that is the papacy, and re-introduced the truth of God's word.

Bornemisza evaluates Luther's apocalyptic role of Elijah as follows:

"We understand an angelic year as being 365 years. In 'Daniel said Christ will come after seventy sevens', seventy sevens is meant in angelic years, meaning that like our seventy sevens are made up of 490 parts, this many parts will make up the

[598] Glaser, Peter, „Hundert und zwanzig Propheceyungen/ oder Weissagung/ des Ehrwirdigen Vaters Herrn Doctoris Martini Luthers/ von allerley straffen/ so nach seinem tod uber Deutschland von wegen desselbigen großen/ und vielfaltigen Sünden kommen solten [...]Eisleben 1557..,Petrus Glaser: Zwey Hundert Prophezeiunge oder weissagunge/ des tewren Mans D. Martini Lutheri [...] Bautzen 1574, Vorrede, II., further editions: 1557, ,1559,, 1592,, 1628. Cited by Sommer, *Luther…*, 161–163.

[599] Lapeus, Johannes. „Wahrhafftige Prophezeiungen des thewren Propheten/ und heiligen Manns Gottes/ D. Martini Lutheri seliger Gedechtnis. Darinnen er den jetzigen klälichen Zustandt Deutscher Nation, die Zerstörung der Kirchen/ Verfelschunge der Lere/ vielerley grewliche Straffen Gottes/ den Jüngsten tag/ [...]Unterricht und Trost/ aus allen seinen Schrifften vleissig zusamen gezogen/ durch Iohannem Lapaeum Einbeccensem, Pfarrherren zu Langenberg. Ursel 1578." In: Ibid., 165.

sevens of years; thus, by the way of the angel, after seventy angelic sevens, that is, after 490 short years Christ will come, after the life of Daniel."[600]

Christ's life in angelic days: on the first day he preaches, on the second day he gets crucified. As such, according to Bornemisza, a parallel can be drawn between the birth of Jesus and the preaching of the apostles, or between Herod's massacre of the children of Bethlehem and the prosecution of Christians. The six years of hiding in Egypt means 300 years if calculated in Moses's great years: the gospel lived on through two great wars. The twelve-year-old Jesus in the temple refers to the 600-year-long battle against heretics fought from Arius to Mohammed. Just like it took people thirty years to recognise Jesus for who he is, the Christians did not find their way for 1500 years; and just like John the Baptist is a follower of Christ, so did Martin Luther appear on the scene.

The Decrepit World and the Scientific Thinking of the Period

Christoph Irenaeus's *Prognosticon* is one of the works published in the second half of the sixteenth century studying prognostications. It interpreted the natural phenomena of the period by leaning on the Bible and the prophecies of Luther. God, the creator, the keeper and the ruler of all warns us of the impending horrible changes to come because of our sins, by way of natural signals.

He primarily considered comets as proof of this, and he compiled an overview of comet phenomena that have happened since the birth of Jesus up until his time. According to him, these are signs of miracles, calling on us to convert and to repent. The Great Comet that was seen between the autumn of 1577 and the spring of 1578 also signifies the Second Coming of Jesus.[601] Irenaeus thought that there are obvious signs showing the forthcoming Last Judgement: the gospels are being preached everywhere, many false prophets have appeared, hate and discord reigns. All this is joined by various natural phenomena.

Bornemisza writes aboutthe same comet:

"Before the judgement comes, changes to the animal creatures and to the natural signs will be manifold, like it was before the siege of Jerusalem… Not too long ago, children were born with sabre for a hand who, once baptised, spoke of a great decay and died in their place. And many other monsters there will be, and many

[600] Bornemisza: *Postilla* V. 557.
[601] Sommer, *Luther*..., 165.

comet stars will appear, like in the year of 1578 a great long-haired one there was for a long time."[602].

The image of the world that is sinking into old age has a long history. The Stoics of the antiquity already had this, and many of the Church Fathers started out from this. However, there was also a need to support prophetic teaching with arguments from *outside* of the Bible. The expectation of miracles manifested itself in imagery that described the appearance of horrible monsters across the decaying world, as a warning from God for humanity growing ever more sinful.

The humanist world model of the early modern period harkens back to antiquity. Based on the ancient Greek philosophical systems of Plato and Aristotle, the world view of the sixteenth century was based on Ptolemy's geocentric model; even if there were some sceptics. The real drafters of the system lived and worked in Alexandria in the Hellenistic period. The astrological predictions related to this world view are also connected to this circle of thinkers.[603] The most cited works of the period were the writings of Cicero that were part of the education system. This included the Dream of Scipio[604] as well as his work written about nature, but Plinius and Seneca were also well-recognised names in the period. Plinius had an effect on future generations by way of his description of Caesar's Comet. When Emperor Augustus named Caesar a god, a comet appeared in the sky over Rome, signifying that the founder of the empire earned its place in the firmament, which could have only happened with divine permission.[605]

Plato describes the model in the form of a myth in his dialogue entitled *Phaedrus,* which primarily aims to discuss the anthropological dichotomy of the spirit and the Platonic version of reincarnation, but also gives a description of the imagined structure of the world. With their winged chariots, the gods aim for the firmament, which covers the earth like a cheese cover. In its geometric middle, where the cover's handle would be, there is a circular hole instead, through which the gods can exit to the upper strata, to survey reality.[606]

[602] Bornemisza, *Postilla* V. 557.
[603] János Bollók, *Asztrális misztika és asztrológia Janus Pannonius költészetében* (Budapest, 2003)
[604] László Havas, trans., Cicero válogatott művei [Collected writings of Cicero] (Budapest, 1987); *Scipio álma* [Somnium Scipionis] 418–428.
[605] László Borhy, *Par domus est caelo. A tér- és időszimbolika elemei a római császárkori boltozat- és kupoladíszítő művészetben* [Par domus est caelo. Elements of the symbolism of space and time in the artistic decorations of vaults and domes in the Roman Empire] (Budapest, 2007).
[606] Dénes Kövendi, trans., *Platón Összes művei* [Anthology of Plato] (Budapest, 1984), 711–808. The most relevant section is: 745–749.

The world consisted not only of the earth and the firmament that covered it, but also the sphere of stationary stars fixed onto that firmament,[607] called the "first mover". After these came the divinity – eternally motionless but making everything move. The astronomers of Alexandria saw images of creatures in these groups of stars, thus calling them zodiac signs (*signum zodiacum*).

"During the rotation of the Earth around its axis, the parts of the Earth – like the lens of a camera – pan across the entire universe every day (naturally, every part of the Earth from a different point of view), including those star points that are on nearly the same plane as its orbit. The mirror-image of this is that this groups of stars travel through the sky every day, with the Sun visible and 'being in' in one of these groups of stars. But, given that with every revolution around its axis, the Earth moves 0.98556 degrees further on its orbit, the apparent position of the Sun changes by the same amount in these groups of stars. Thus, in the one-year time it takes the Earth to complete its orbit, the Sun seems to go through each and every zodiac group of stars, 'visiting each of them'.[608]"

The celestial projection of the Earth's orbiting plane is the ecliptic. Astrology divides this into 12 times 30 degrees, that is, into 360 degrees. It assigns 30 degrees to each zodiac sign, starting with Aries all the way to Pisces. March 21was considered as the equinox, as degree 0, with the Sun being on the ecliptic on the day that it jumps from the southern to the northern hemisphere.[609]

Astrologers of the antiquity debated for a long time about the relative position of the planets. Eventually, the Alexandrians accepted Aristotle's system. Aristotle thought the spherical Earth to be the stationary centre of the universe, with the planets orbiting around it on seven concentric circles. (He considered the Sun and the Moon to be planets as well.) The eighth sphere consisted of the fixed stars. The names of the planets also come from the Alexandrians.[610] Thus, the changing world under the Moon was the so-called sublunary sphere. The eight spheres above it were the so-called aethereal, unchanging world. The material of the impure sphere near the ground is air, while aether is the material of the cosmic space, a mix of purified air and fire that is pure, light, transparent and calm. This fire is not destructive; it is a creating fire.

[607] Borhy, *Par domus...,* 47.
[608] Bollók, *Par domus...,* 11.
[609] Bollók, *Asztrális misztika...,* 13.
[610] Kronos/Saturn, Zeus/Jupiter, Ares/Mars, Hélios/Sol, Aphrodite/Venus, Hermes/Mercury, Selene/Luna. Cf. Bollók, *Asztrális misztika...*, 16.

According to this structure, the fourth (middle) sphere was that of the Sun. The three spheres below it made up the lower sphere with the Moon, Mercury and Venus, and with the three upper spheres above the Sun, with Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. The Sun and the Moon play a special role in this system, both being light sources. The astrologers believed that the planets shared two qualities: the good and the bad. Saturn is cold and dry: thus, it has a destructive effect. Jupiter is warm and wet: thus, it is benevolent. Mars is warm and dry: thus, it is benevolent. Venus is also warm, but wet: thus, it is benevolent. Mercury keeps on switching between the two natures.

Apart from their core qualities, multiple factors influence the effects of the planets. János Bollók writes:

"In astrology, planets can enter into aspects: they can come to be in different aspects with each other or with one of the points of the horoscope. The effects of such an aspect can either be good or bad. The type of the aspect is determined by the ecliptic distance of the two planets, or the planet and the given point. (One planet can, in theory, be in two or more aspects simultaneously.)"[611]

Planets only enter into aspects with each other temporarily; however, their relationship with the zodiac signs is permanent. There are zodiac signs in which the planets feel especially well; these are called houses or *domus*. They can exert significant effect in these cases. There are also houses in which the planets are in exile (*exilium*); their effects lessen in these cases. The Sun and the Moon have one, while all the other planets have two houses: a daytime and a night time one.[612]

"Whereas the starry sky is the external frame of life, the horoscope houses are the internal frames only applicable to the individual, since the human is a microcosm in the macrocosm."[613]

The movement of the planets in the universe runs for a 10,000-year period. According to Greek philosophy, this is followed by the restoration of the elements, and the world restarts from its starting point. Thus, depending on at what time of the World Clock one sees the light at, if the components are aptly described then the series of events that will happen in that person's lifetime can be mapped out, just like

[611] Bollók, *Asztrális misztika...*, 17.
[612] Ibid..
[613] [886] Ibid.,18.

the system of the movement of the stars can be plotted out in the macrocosmic world.[614]

According to Plato, eternal time was created simultaneously with the sky.[615] The Epicurean Lucretius thought of time as a space where the Sun eats up the years and the seasons with its movement.[616] Perpetual revolution, rebirth and mortality are, at the same time, symbols of eternity.[617] In ancient history, time was conceived of as a form in space. It was often depicted as a man rotating a ring.[618] Up until the Christian antiquity, *coelum*, *saeculum* and *aeternitas* were not separate but integrated concepts that made up the universe. (Only Saint Augustine gives the meaning "century" to the word *saeculum*.[619])

In mediaeval times, the universe was studied on the basis of Aristotle's system. In the Hungarian Kingdom, the humanist court of Matthias Hunyadi cherished the exploration of history that was written in the stars; the ruler himself was interested in astrology. His humanists, such as Galeotto Marzio and his peers, were experts of the subject. He even had his own personal astronomer, in the person of Regiomontanus. As we have seen above, János Bollók wrote a book about the astrological aspects of Janus Pannonius's epigrams.[620] After the country was divided into three parts, the courts of Alba Iulia further nursed this interest, due tothe Renaissances of Vienna (and of Prague during the time of Rudolph II) and of Poland. We can find its tracks in the courts of the leading Hungarian families, as well as in the schools of the cities.

However, in the denominational literature of the sixteenth century related to the Reformation, I have only found one occurrence of it, in Péter Bornemisza's description of the comet of 1572–1573.

Czech mathematician Cyprianus Leowitz published his great work on planets in 1564 *(Grundliche, klarliche Beschreibung und historischer Bericht der fürnemsten grosse Zusammenkunft der obern Planeten)*.[621]

614 "the most important factor in setting up a birth horoscope is to determine the degree of the ecliptic that is ascending at the time of birth on the horizon of the place of birth: this degree of the ecliptic will be the ascendant, or in Greek: *hóroskopos,* 'observer of the hour'." Bollók, *Asztrális misztika…*, 19.

615 Borhy, *Par domus...*, 46.

616 Ibid., 54–57.

617 "This point of view is deeply connected to the antique idea of eternity, as phrased by Aristotle, with regards to the spherical and straight movement (having no beginning and end, that is, being eternal, thus being "divine") towards the Centre of the spherical earth." Ibid., 46.

618 Ibid., 54–57.

619 Ibid., 54–57.

620 Bollók, *Asztrális misztika…*

621 According to Gábor Farkas Farkas, a copy of the prognosticon was also available in Sigismund Rákóczi's library. In it he predicted the year 1588 to be especially horrible, because twelvefold conjunction and occultation can be observed. The great expectation of 1588 then ended in the fatal disaster of the Spanish Armada, which signalled the beginning of the English Tudor apocalypse. See: Margaret Aston, "The Fiery Trigon Conjunction. An Elizabethan Astrological Prediction," in *Isis* 61 (1970): 164–165.; C. Scott Dixon, "Popular Astrology and Lutheran Propaganda in Reformation Germany," *History* 84 (1999): 404–405.; Joseph Mayer, "Der Astronom Cyprian Leovitius (1514–1574) und seine Schriften," *Bibliotheca Mathematica* 3, no. 4 (1903): 134–159.; Paola Zambelli, *"Astrologi hallucinati" Stars and the End of the World in Luther's Time* (Berlin–New York, 1986).

Gábor Farkas Farkas devoted an entire dissertation to the exploration of this issue, namely, the historical background behind the comet. It is a great work detailing the celestial phenomenon of 1572, as well as the natural historical knowledge and the expectations in the history of ideas that are related to it. I must express my gratitude to him for handing me his manuscript,[622] which is the source for the data that follows.

Leowitz learned from chronicles that celestial signs similar to the 1572 phenomenon have been observed on the border of Cassiopeia and Cepheus, in 945 and in 1264. In the predictions at the end of his tractate, he wrote that the new star has been glowing for four months by then, and that it will bring monstrous atrocities to monarchs and kings.

According to Gábor Farkas Farkas, Théodore de Bèze describes the phenomenon in an epigram, and draws a parallel between it and the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre.[623] As Elizabethan historical writer William Camden wrote regarding the new star in 1572:

"Théodore de Bèze appropriately applied it to the star that was shining at the time of Christ's birth, as well as to the killing of the infants under Herod. He warned French monarch Charles IX, who admitted to being the intellectual author behind

622 "Leovitius started studying the new star on 25 November 1572, with the use of a quadrant. It first glowed with a yellow and white light, turning blood red at the beginning of December, then by the middle of the month the red, yellow and white colours interflowed. When he finished his manuscript, the new star glimmered in blood red colour. From this, he extrapolated that Mars and Jupiter ignited it into flames, since both planets were in the vicinity of the constellation Taurus under which the supernova shined, near the throne of Queen Cassiopeia. By the spring of 1573, despite Leovitius finding the new object in a state of stillness, he thought that it had moved North towards the Cepheus by 3 degrees; from this he concluded that the star shall soon disappear. Nonetheless, Leovitius did not address the distance of the new celestial phenomenon from the Earth; he did, however, liken its behaviour (its position in the sky, its brightness) to that of the stars. Since he explained its creation as having been set to light by the two outer planets, he must have thought that it is positioned not in the sphere of the fixed stars, but in the sphere of the planets." Farkas, *Régi könyvek…*

623 Bèze, Théodore de, *Poemata varia, Hanoviae, apud Guilielmum Antonium, 1598*, 194. „In novam illam, et seculis omnibus superioribus inauditam stellam, cum illa carnificina Gallica nefandissima exortam, Augusto mense, Anno Domini 1572."; Thomas L. MacDonald, "Beza's Verses on Tycho's Nova," *Journal of the Royal Astronomical Society of Canada* 35 (1941): 366–367. Cited by Farkas, *Régi könyvek…*, 86.

the massacre of Paris, to beware, with the following verse: 'And look thou, bloody Herod, to thy self.' And, truly, he did not really heed this divination. Five months after the disappearance of the star, King Charles bled to death after long and painful suffering."

A copy of the aforementioned book, published in London, was available in his library, therefore it is possible that Camden used the Leovitius text for making the parallels between the star of 1572 and the star of the magi, between Herod and the French king Charles IX, and between the children of Bethlehem and the Huguenot victims of the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre. The historian acquired the book as early as 1573 April.[624]

According to Leowitz's calculations, this year of 1584 is the seventh time in world history that a "great constellation" can be observed; the so-called "Fiery Trigon", the combination of the Capricorn, the Leo and the Sagittarius. Kepler raises awareness to a similar constellation 30 years later, trying to draw historical conclusions regarding the creation of the world and to the birth of Jesus in his book.[625]

[624] Camden: „Theodorus Beza ad stellam illam quae Christo nascenti praeluxit, et internecionem infantium sub Herode, ingeniose accommodavit, Carolumque IX Galliae regem qui se Parisiensis lanienae authorem fassus erat, ut timeret, hoc versiculo monuit. Tu vero Herodes sanguinolente, time. Nec vana quidem fide. Mense enim post stellae huius disparitionem quinto, ille sanguinis profluvio inter longos et graves dolores expiravit." Farkas, *Régi könyvek*...; De Molen, Richard L.: "The Library of William Camden," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 128 (1984), 327–409., 380.; Possessor, „Guilielmi Camdeni 14 Calend. Maij 1573." – cited by Farkas, *Régi könyvek*..., 86.

[625] Kepler discusses the variable star of 1604 in his book. "He attempted to calculate the dates of Jesus's birth (and the creation of the world) in his tractate attached to his book about the new star. Similarly to the supernova of 1572, many people drew parallels between the appearance of the new star in 1604 and the star of the magi. Two things motivated Kepler. On the one hand, he wanted to figure out an explanation of the celestial phenomenon; i.e., was it a comet, a new star, a constellation of planets, or some other natural phenomenon. On the other hand, he wanted to come up with an exact answer to the problem of the birth of Jesus, invoking mathematics and the movement of the planets to support him in his quest. […] He was the first to draw attention to the "great conjunction" of A.D. 6 that was visible for months; i.e., to the constellation of Jupiter (the Star of Kings) and Saturn (the Star of Israel) when the spring equinox (the astronomical point in which daytime and night are of approximately equal duration during the spring) above Judea went from Aries to Pisces." Kepler believed that this extremely rare planetary constellation (and its concentration of light) created a new star, which could have been seen by Caspar, Melchior and Balthazar, leading them to Bethlehem. Historical sources and the Bible agree that Jesus must have been born under Herod the Great, and that this must have happened before his death in B.C. 4. Kepler successfully confirmed the credibility of, for example, Josephus Flavius, through the lunar eclipse that happened directly before the death of Herod. The work of Polish church historian Laurentius Suslyga (Vellificatio seu theoremata de anno ortus ac mortis Domini, deque universa Iesu Christi incarne oeconomia, Graecii, excudebat Georgius Widmanstadius, 1605), mentioned on the cover of the

According to the thinking of Leowitz this was the same conjunction that was there when God created the world, when the great flood happened, when Moses was born, when Elijah was preaching, when Christ was born, and when Charles the Great was crowned. There was always a 795-year-long interval between these events. Based on these conclusions, the end times must begin by no later than the year of 1584. People did not look for its direct traces in the years following 1584. They soon pushed the date to 1588 (appealing to Regiomontanus's authority). 1588 was the focal point of apocalyptic speculations, but the year came, and nothing happened. The scholars argued that every conjunction exerts its effects over a 200-year period. Far from causing it to cease, this argument actually strengthened apocalyptic thinking. After 1588 however, astrological works make fewer and fewer references to the Arabic scholars. This year has significantly decreased the influence that Arabic conjunction study had on the thinking of the followers of Luther.

Nevertheless, the Copernican world view does not acknowledge the distinct nature of an earthly and a celestial sphere. After this, the spread of stoical, Neoplatonist and magical doctrines, where nature was depicted as an organic whole, were crucial in the shaping of the views of sixteenth century theologians. Paracelsus[626] was a great source of inspiration for this line of thinking and also had a grand influence on Lutheran thinkers. The image of the collapse of a weathered building was often used to depict the collapse of creation in Luther's writings.

For us, the question that still remains unanswered is how Bornemisza gained knowledge of the astrological anticipation of the star of 1572. The most obvious link appears to be the university in Vienna, which connected him to the humanist network represented by the Melanchthon Circle in Wittenberg.

Peucer placed this new celestial phenomenon above the planets, into the sphere of fixed stars. Although his observations were in contrast with Aristotle's natural philosophy, his theological interpretation enabled him to come over this through his belief in God's divine providence and determine the position of the supernova correctly. Farkas did not manage to find documents pertaining to the supernova of 1572

book, proved to be of fundamental help in his historical reasoning regarding the years of the birth and death of Jesus. The Fiery Trigon (ignea triplicitas) mentioned in the title of his 1606 work refers to a spectacular celestial event, the alignment of Jupiter, Saturn and Mars. On 9 October 1604, one week after the well-observed, remarkable conjunction, a new star appeared to the east of Saturn, in the constellation Ophiuchus, shining as lightly as Jupiter. Since he was in constant observation of the alignments of Jupiter and Saturn for almost a year before it (which happened three times in a short period), the explanation was obvious to him: the new star was created by the Fiery Trigon that happened when Mars caught up with the two planets", writes Farkas, *Régi könyvek*..., 201.

[626] ; Kurt Goldammer, "Friedensidee und Toleranzgedanke bei Paracelsus und den Spiritualisten," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 46 (1955), 20–46.

in the catalogue of the Wittenberg mathematician's library. The collection boasting some 1,500 items was possibly catalogued after his death following the charges of Crypto-Calvinism pressed against him, but this was just part of his entire library. In the catalogue – as Gábor Farkas Farkas states – besides the works of Copernicus, Leovitius, Regiomontanus and Viennese mathematician and astronomer Georg von Peuerbach, several Ephemeris editions and astronomical charts were found.[627]

"In sources of the history of reading from the early modern period, we rarely find clues similar to one item of the probate inventory (1595) of Johann Haunold, school rector of Selmecbánya, where he lists a tractate which, unfortunately, cannot be identified more precisely,"[628] Farkas writes. We can also find astronomical works among the book receipts of Boldizsár Batthyány (III). Gábor Farkas Farkas makes a connection between several of his identifiable theses and the new star.[629]

Melanchthon played a part in the disintegration of the Aristotelian world view. In one of his ruminations, he talks about the fact that since the age of Ptolemy, the Sun got closer to the Earth by ten thousand miles. However, the

[627] Robert Kolb, *Caspar Peucer's Library. Portrait of a Wittenberg Professor of the mid-sixteenth Century* (Saint Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1976), (Sixteenth Century Bibliography, 5.) 37–76.; András Szabó, *Respublica litteraria, irodalom- és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a késő humanizmus koráról* [Respublica literaria. Studies on history of literature and culture of the late Renaissance humanism] (Budapest: Balassi, 1999), (Régi magyar könyvtár, 2.) 81–82. The latest summary of Peucer's astronomical activity according to Gábor Farkas. Uwe Koch, ed., *Zwischen Katheder, Thron und Kerker Leben und Werk des Humanisten Caspar Peucer 1525–1602. Katalog der Ausstellung im Stadtmuseum Bautzen 25. September bis 31. Dezember 2002,* (Bautzen, Domowina Verlag, 2002), 50–55. Wolf-Dieter Müller-Jahncke, "Kaspar Peucers Stellung zur Magie," in *Die okkulten Wissenschaften in der Renaissance,* ed. August Buck, in cooperation with Otto Harrassowitz, (Wiesbaden, 1992), (Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung, 12.) 94–101. "The Wittenberg teacher was seriously interested in Hungary, he had at least a dozen documents and manuscripts in his library which can be considered Hungaricums in their subject or author", writes Farkas. Cf. Farkas, *Régi könyvek*…, 54.

[628] András Varga, ed., *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak. I. (1533–1657)*, (Budapest–Szeged: MTA Könyvtára, 1986). (Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez, 13/1.) (hereinafter: Adattár 13/1.) 51. „De nova stella Anno Christi 1573", cited by Farkas, *Régi könyvek*..., 67.

[629] János Herner and István Monok, ed., *A magyar könyvkultúra múltjából. Iványi Béla cikkei és gyűjtése* [On the past of the Hungarian book culture. Articles and findings of Béla Iványi] (Szeged: JATE, 1983), (Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez, 11.) (hereinafter: Adattár 11.) 403–404.; Ö. Szabolcs Barlay, "Elias Corvinus és magyarországi barátai," [Elias Corvinus and his Hungarian friends] *Magyar Könyvszemle* 93 (1977), 345–353.; Edit Madas and István Monok, *A könyvkultúra Magyarországon a kezdetektől 1730-ig* [Book culture in Hungary from the beginnings up till 1730] (Budapest: Balassi, 1998), 133–134.; Dóra Bobory, "Batthyány Boldizsár és humanista köre," [Boldizsár Batthyány and his circle of humanists] *Századok* 139 (2005), 923–944.; István Monok, "Batthyány Boldizsár, a franciás," [Boldizsár Batthyány, the francophile] in *Acta Historiae Litterarum Hungaricarum Tomus XXIX.* (Ötvös Péter Festschrift), ed. Zsuzsa Font and Gizella Keserű, (Szeged: SZTE BTK, 2006), 185–198.

majority of sources that contemplate similar notions about the end of cosmos are from the 1590s. In the new century, the theory about the collapse of the cosmos became a popular *topos* of Lutheran sermons. In his sermon from 1613, Valerius Herberger confirms this image of an ever feeblerworld which is deeply rooted in Lutheranism. He says that even the most simple-minded peasant knows that creation is on the brink of death, considering that the sky got closer to the Earth by 26,000 miles since the time of the Genesis. Obviously, the collapsing cosmos means a changing cosmos, and this change does not exclusively involve life on Earth. He opposes Aristotelian theory through clear reasoning. This was a remarkable contribution to a unified and comprehensive change of world view, writes Barnes.[630]

However, the notion of the collapsing cosmos may be directly interpreted theologically. The notion had a strong influence on the views pertaining to the relationship between the world and divine power. God – similar to the crucifixion of Jesus Christ – appears to turn his back on his creation, which is a prerequisite for resurrection after doomsday comes. There are mystic tendencies in these images. In general, this means that the doctrine of the Renaissance about the analogy of the micro- and macrocosm was expanded upon with an apocalyptic interpretation: as humankind is in decay and disintegration, the cosmos appears to do so too. The only order in this system can be found in the notion of resurrection after doomsday comes. (The mystical Johann Arndt voices this notion in his preaching in 1615.)

In 1560, Melanchthon raised the world's attention to Johann Hillten, a Franciscan from the fifteenthcentury, who foretold before 1500 that in 1600, Germany will be controlled by the satanic Gog and Magog. Research done by Thomas Kaufman[631] *proved that according to a Joachimist tradition, an angelic envoy, a shepherd who has special powers has to appear who recruits Christians until the Antichrist arrives. In a prophecy cited by Jordanus, this is dated to 1600. This is a significant difference compared to Lutheran notions. The belief that the year 1600 is an eschatological turning point was inherited from Luther and Melanchthon by the followers of Reformation (a note written in chalk on the walls of Luther's room in the Augustinian monastery in Wittenberg). The certainty of this is only challenged by one prophecy of Hilten. He foretold that someone would come in 1516 who eradicates Monasticism, and puts pressure on the Pope (this seemed to have been confirmed in Luther's work, so the other notion was given credit too). Apart from this, he had a vision of Europe suffering under Turkish oppression by 1600. Islam*

[630] Barnes, *Der herabstürzende Himmel...,* 142.; Jürgen G. H. Hoppmann, *Astrologie der Reformationszeit* (Berlin, 1998)

[631] Kaufmann, *1600*…

as an apocalyptic power: based on the Biblical prophecies of the Last Judgement, Luther interpreted Islam as such.[632]

This train of thought was not new: Eulogius (titular bishop of Toledo) shared the same views in the ninth century, together with Paul Avarus (a layman from Cordoba), and was also applied by Joachim of Fiore in the twelfth century. Abbot Joachim also thinks that Islam is a tool of the Antichrist, moreover, the Antichrist is alive right now, living in Rome, and is waiting to occupy the throne of the Pope. According to him, Islam is his harbinger. The background of this notion is presumably provided by the discussions Joachim and Melanchthon had with Myconius in Marburg and Eisenach. Myconius told them that Franciscan monk Johannes Hilten had found references to the Turkish danger in Daniel's Prophecies years before.

The battle against the Turks is the last great effort before Doomsday which was dated to 1600. This oracle of Hilten (which was confirmed by the traditions founded by Luther and Melanchthon) was the root of all future calculations and speculations.

Although this was widely talked about up until the 1590s, the coming of the year of 1600 did not cause an extraordinary havoc. The fear of Doomsday which was very characteristic of the whole period, appeared to be much stronger than to be tied to one specific date. It is interesting to note that the year of 1600 does not appear in the works of Bornemisza. With regards to his own life, he could have waited for an end that is much closer in time, like the year 1584 or, as a measure of caution, a later one, which was described in the numbers mentioned above. He seemed as if he was afraid of his own prophecies in saying that every believer has to decide for themselves about the time of Doomsday, for he does not know it but everyone "should be prepared all the time".

According to Volker Leppin, based on the manuscripts he observed, two methods seem to be prevalent with regards to raising attention to the date of Doomsday.

1. As far as the first method is concerned, they are selecting an upcoming date based on chronological-astronomical calculations, the time elapsed since the creation, or other types of calculations, by interpreting and analysing them.

2. The second method is the presentation of a prophecy which is interpreted or, if you will, construed to fit the present. With regards to prophecies, Christ says that one can only learn them if they have faith, together with open eyes, mind and heart.

Many authors call attention to the fact that earlier prophecies were true for

[632] The legend, however, is probably fiction added after the fact, as the Wittenberg scholars's attention to Hilten was raised by Myconius who was a leading figure of the Circle of Zurich in the 1530s, and who, unlike Zwingli, attributed great importance to the Turkish issue. Myconius was Bullinger's spiritual guide and superior, and, after moving to Basel, the leader of a group in the city council which supports the publishing of Bibliander's Commentary of the Qur'an and his work offering an overview on Islam, whose foreword is written by the Wittenberg scholars in 1543. Cf. Segesváry, *Az iszlám*...

history's earlier events; thus, based on the prophecy, a time frame can be established, and after that gets fulfilled, the day or year of Doomsday can be reckoned by doing chronological-quantitative calculations. Therefore, different variations for the end of time were written based on templates existing beforehand.[633] Prophecies made by authors citing Daniel's visions (Daniel 2:31–46; 7:2–15 and 7:17–28) used this model as well. Daniel's prediction is based on his interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, where he sees four animals emerging from the sea: a lion, a bear, a panther and a dreadful beast with ten horns, symbolising four empires.[634] Hence, the prophecy states that the Lord will come after the break-up of the kingdom. In 1551, Daniel Schaller and Nikolaus von Amsdorff recite their direct experiences in a pamphlet. They identify war and feud within the empire with the prophecy of Daniel.[635]

Luther, similarly to other cases, tried to interpret his notions on state theory through the Antichrist. This world view, through which he tried to legitimise the Germans' claim by using Daniel's prophecy, the fourth monarchy and the theory of the little horn as a simile of the Roman Empire, urged other theologians of the age to share their own opinion. Naturally, Wittenberg scholars all sided with their master, but Zwingli, Calvin and Jean Bodin greatly swerved from the notions represented by Luther; they opposed him, especially in France. In Jean Bodin's work, there are no calculations based on Luther's theory. *In the works of Emanuele Tremellion and Francios de Jon, the prophecies of Daniel only refer to the era of Antiochus IV Epiphanes*. Nonetheless, contrary to contemporary Catholic theologians, German reformers revived apocalyptic thinking, to which the German Empire proved to be particularly susceptible.

Using Luther's notions as a starting point, the German Protestants of the end of the sixteenth century were absolutely certain that the end of the world could come any minute, and came to the conclusion that the fourth monarchy of Daniel was no other than the Holy Roman Empire. Calvinist writer Wolfgang Amiing also used Daniel's prophecies[636] in his voluminous work: he sees the divided state (or rather, the forces and attacks coming from two directions) of the Roman Empire as a sign of the looming of the apocalypse. On the West, he names the papacy, whereas on the East, the Turks as the forces of evil. According to the author, both could be the equivalent of the Antichrist.

As we saw earlier, this emerged in the chronicles edited by Melanchthon, however, the notion that the corruption of the Christian faith started with the popes' rise to

[633] Leppin, *Antichrist und Jüngster Tag*..., 59.

[634] Daniel 7.

[635] Leppin, *Antichrist und Jüngster Tag*..., 60–61.

[636] Daniel 2:40–43

power, which later led the Western Roman Empire to arrive at its current state in their era, first appeared in the *Magdeburg Centuries,* the great work of Flacius Illiricus. This work of Flacius Illiricus – who was the great adversary of Melanchthon – was an attempt to systematise history and whose structure was based on a chronological overview of the centuries. Its other half, the Byzantine Empire was conquered by the Turks. However, before that, it disobeyed the divine law and sank into a state of ungodly tyranny. Dominicus Aquinas identified the ten horns of the Book of Daniel with the whole territory of the Roman Empire: Asia, Africa, Hispania, Scotland, Gaul, England, Denmark, the Scandinavian Peninsula, Poland and *Hungary.* According to another notion harboured by an anonymous source in 1612, the kingdoms concerned are *Spain, France, England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Hungary and the Greek and German Empires.* Based on chapter 7 of the Book of Daniel, Luther saw the Antichrist in the Turks. They were followed by "three horns": Asia Minor, Greece and Egypt – all belonging to the Ottoman Empire.

Besides the template of the four empires, the apocalyptic manuscripts also feature judgement-like prophecies. The three-period pattern can be seen in the Talmud, which is based on the prophecy of Elijah: The source of the prophecy about the 6000 years was the *Chronica Carionis*. According to its sixteenth century author, Johannes Carion, in the 1500s, the world is in the 56th century. There was a more radical offshoot of this notion which said that the 6000 years should be divided into 12 parts, and they were already in the last, twelfth period.[637] Bornamisza refers to this as follows:

"The world stands for six thousand years, two thousand will be empty, two thousand will be lawful, two thousand will be the time of the Messiah. If this changes, it is the consequence of our sins."[638]

Leppin regards the apocalypse predicted to take place between 1584 and 1588 as a judgement-like prophecy. The coming of this apocalypse was proved through astrological proofs found via the era's mathematical-astronomical knowledge and certain traditions of the Antiquity.

Like his German and English contemporaries, Bornemisza believes in the natural disaster of the falling skies, as emphasised during Melanchthon's times, culminating

[637] Leppin, *Antichrist und Jüngster Tag*..., 63.; Jürgen G. H. Hoppmann, ed., *Melanchthons Astrologie : der Weg der Sternenwissenschaft zur Zeit von Humanismus und Reformation : Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 15. September bis 15. Dezember 1997 im Reformationsgeschichtlichen Museum Lutherhalle Wittenberg* (Wittemberg: Drei-Kastanien-Verl.,1997)

[638] Bornemisza: *Postilla. Első része az evangeliomokból es episztolakbol valo tanuságoknac, melleket a keresztyenekcnec gyülekezetiben szktac predikalni minden ünnepnap. Kit az uVr Iesusnac lelke altal az együgyü keresztyeneknec iduösseges tanusagokra ira Bornemisza Peter, Pestifi.* (comiatin) Sempteröl 1573 (Huszar Gal) I. 52.a.

in the 1580s, getting closer and closer; he utilises the changing world views of his time as evidence. This combined the image of the aging universe, inherited from antiquity and worked into Augustinus's world view, portrayed throughout the Golden, Silver, Copper and Iron Age, with the vision of the clay-legged statue that appears in the Book of Daniel in the Old Testament, as well as the animal symbols of the four successive empires.

"These four empires are the Babylonian, the Persian, the Macedonian and the Roman. According to Daniel, the Last Judgement will take place at the end of the sixth period in the fourth empire which was split in two – the Ottoman and the German Empire. (P I. L) From the era of Julius Caesar until that of Maximilian, 158 emperors ruled in this empire, 48 of whom reigned in Constantinople and 13 of whom were Turkish emperors. All in all, the fourth empire had 171 emperors. Upon the end of this Empire, Christ himself will be the emperor"[639], he writes.

As we can see, unlike Luther and Calvin, Bornemisza believes in Christ's empire of a thousand years. According to the legend, the world emperor defeats the army of the Antichrist. He hangs his shield on the dried-up tree, and hands over his power to Christ. Naturally, the tree is the tree leading to man's fall in Paradise, and it turns green.[640] The tree is usually specified as an apple tree, yet, Luther talks about a pear tree.[641] On 15 January 1538, Luther had dinner with Hieronymus Krappe in Wittenberg, where they talked about peace and the emperor. Luther said that Germany is an entity of the past because the time of the great battle against evil has come, irrespective of whether this evil is represented by the Turks or any other people.According to a prophecy from the sixteenth century, the final battle will be fought in Salzburg, under the shadow of a wonderful pear tree. Legend says that albeit the pear tree had been cut out many times, it always grew out of the ground again. This was an order from God. The prophecy is as follows:

"If this pear tree is not green anymore, the war will start. This war will be immensely powerful, it will turn people against each other, and dead bodies will be

[639] Péter Bornemisza, *Ördögi Kisirtetekröl, avagy röttenetes utalatossagokrol ez meg ferteztetet világnac és azbol való ki tisztogatasarol az mi Vrunc Iesus Christusnac*. Sempten 1578. RMK I. 148.; RMNY 433.
P. I. CLXIX.

[640] Möhring, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit*..., 166–269.

[641] Among Turks, the theory of the final battle was another stage of the decline experienced in the 1500s. This is an old theory from the Migration Period about a battle which settles the question of to be or not to be. Therefore, this is a tradition that encompasses several centuries, forming the basis of the prophecies made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

scattered all over the earth. Only one nation will stay alive but their days will be numbered too."[642]

Yet, Hungary does not have an emperor or a pear tree. In Bornemisza's view, the question whether the German Empire plays a negative or a positive role does not cause a state theory problem. He does not have emotional ties to any of the empires. Yet, he categorically states:

"Gog and Magog, the great number of the Turks mean that the Last Judgement is near."[643]

The sixteenth century is the time of the Great Schism and also one of the most successful periods of Islam's upsurge. The era's European thinking tries to make a model of this situation. To that end they use the apocalyptic manuscripts of the Bible. It was probably the Book of Daniel and its dream visions symbolising empires that prove to be the most suitable for this purpose. In Western Europe, by the middle of the century, a great dispute unfolded about constitutional law and the role of the Holy Roman Empire, which was considered as the last empire before the apocalypse by the theologians of Wittenberg. The French, the Italian, the Swiss and the Hungarians opposed to this statement, irrespective of the denomination they belonged to. German Lutherans saw their country and their own leaders (like Luther) in an apocalyptic, salvation history-related role. They thought the same thing about the Pope and the Ottomans. They tried to underpin this by the natural-scientific vision and catastrophe theories of their age which tried to fill the hole left by the disintegrating Aristotelian and Ptolemaic world view. The apocalyptic vision of Péter Bornemisza was partly rooted in these impulses gained in Germany. However, similarly to his contemporaries, an ever more eclectic perspective can be detected in his works. The other factor that shaped his thinking was the Turkish frontier country's mental background.

[642] Peuckert, *Die Grosse Wende*..., 160.
[643] Bornemisza, *Postilla*. I. LI.

CONCLUSION

According to the Biblical hermeneutics of Tyconius and Augustine, the monsters of Judgement Day are types or impressions which appear in God's eternal history as shadows, the antitheses of Christ the Redeemer. However, the truth of the matter is that – as the apocalypse of John the Apostle states – they never existed, as the Lamb's book of God who judges all never mentions them. They could only push themselves through the hole pierced by the emerging of sin into human time. Hence, the struggle against them is a recovery process and resurrective effort by God's time and power to reinstate the order in the world he created. The beginning and the process of halting the mushrooming of sin and the ever more prevalent devastation is the apocalypse itself.

A temporal process that rehabilitates eternity. The time of the Bible is set in eternity, its types-impressions (which are translated as figures in Latin, this is the reason why *The Book of Rules* by Tyconius became the *Book of Figures* (*Il Libro delle Figure dell' Abate*) in the works of Cistercian abbey Joachim of Fiore, the greatest visionary of the apocalypse of the Mediaeval period.[644])They appear and may be invoked in the historical books of the Bible and various testaments because they point to the eschaton, and they incorporate it similarly to how they incorporate the story of creation. They point to the centre, the redemption, and they fuse the pieces of the broken time (the moments of man's life) with eternity.

The waiting man, however, does not only survey history going back to the creation, but ventures into eternity by following the signs of God almighty who owns time, and the future reveals itself to him, *which from then on, becomes unchangeable.* Therefore, the apocalyptic author – as Bernard McGinn says – not only reacts to the current era's events but also sculpts history in his role as God's follower and fellow worker. [645]

On the one hand, Hungarian authors of the sixteenth century build on an existing apocalyptic literature that has its roots in the tradition of frontier mentality, while on the other hand, they invoke the modern apocalyptic feeling of the sixteenth century. This literature and feeling originate from the polemic connected to the birth of denominations, and the characters use it in accordance with the new circumstances. This polemic can be linked to traditional, already known notions and authors. It uses

[644] Fabiny, *Tyconius*..., 5–25.
[645] McGinn, *Antichrist*...

elements of European literature but its historical background lays the foundations of a fundamentally new world in terms of theology, state theory and sociology.

From the sixteenth century everyman's point of view, Hungary is in the centre of the history of the apocalypse. Practically, this closing of borders, this buffer zone symbolically marks the wall built against the people of Gog and Magog. This form of life – which is linked to the Antemurale *topos* and which emerges in the buffer zone between two religions and cultures – has been known in Hungary for almost half a millennium. They realized it quite early on that the wars of the Christian–Muslim buffer zone are very different in their nature. The battles fought in these zones were more destructive to the civilian population due to their ideological quality than the dynastical conflicts in Europe's western parts. Yet, they also functioned as a contact area.

Life in the buffer zone – owing to its unpredictability and the unmarked state of its borders in space and time for generations – was spent by constantly waiting for the apocalypse. This was the time experienced inwardly by the soldier communities living in the border area.The basis for the notion of time in the border area was this apocalyptic time. Every single event like this reinforces the knowledge they gained from their grandfathers about the people of the apocalypse. For the population of the border area, the atrocities of war confirm this constantly. Here, the community lives together with death, in an act of waiting which may be linked to an apocalyptic timeline. They lived in sin and great catharses, among suffering and humiliation. The time of their world became fragmented and rhapsodic. War sustained or destroyed the community. The act in which individual historical time came to life was either the prowl, or the defence against the attack and its survival.

Owing to the life-and-death struggle with the Turks, theHungarian late mediaevaltradition was much more susceptible to the apocalyptic vision than Western Europe, even as early as during the age of the Hunyadis and the Jagiellos. Although apocalyptic vision is not always the result of crises, in Hungary it is certainly the reason behind the fact that the most prominent centres of religious orders and authors turn back to this vision of the authors of Christian Mediaeval and ancient times.

The most significant apocalyptic writer from Hungary in the fifteenth century is Georgius de Hungaria, "the anonymous from Szászsebes". He publishes his book as a member of the Dominican order, which has the greatest influence on the apocalyptic literature about the role of the Turks before the Reformation, and has a notable effect on the views of Luther as well. "Turkish religion" could be interpreted as corrupted Christianity and heresy. The word is used in a theological sense. Based on a post-Joachimist document, he considers Mohammedanism as a spiritual form of the Antichrist. Due to this reason, others cannot coexist with them in a peaceful

manner and they are not religiously convertible. Hence, they must be fought to the end. The heretic sect not only goes astray because of its ignorance but – as he himself states – they may be interpreted within an apocalyptical framework. According to the encyclical of Pope Pius II, they are the people of the seven-headed dragon of the apocalypse. He asserts that he devotes his book to the reinforcement and preparation of Christians.

The Franciscan order had a key role in the spiritual maintenance of the border security system of the fourteenthand fifteenth century. He based his historical approach on an apocalyptic model which was developed during the history of the Franciscan order. The Franciscans had mystic characteristics as well, which made them suitable for the mediator role laid out by Joachim of Fiore between the contemplative and active religious orders. At the turn of the fifteenth century, the Joachimist apocalyptical influence cannot really be seen in the works of the most prominent Hungarian authors of the order, like Osvát Laskai. However, the sense of Muslim danger and its apocalyptic indication signifies that the radical, Franciscan version of the apocalypse was well known despite the caution exercised by the authors. This is proven by the fact that the Catholic priests of the southern parts of the country under the influence of Franciscans are using this apocalyptic phraseology and vision in their writings (like György Szerémi) during the second half of the sixteenth century.Based on this, we can assume that alongside the continuity of the libraries at the monasteries, their spiritual and preaching duties were similar to this. This went on during the time of the Turkish occupation, and formed the mediaeval apocalyptic historical approach of the order outliving the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Andor Tarnai exposed the existence of a system similar to that of the Franciscans in the case of the Paulists. In the spiritual wing of the order, the vivification of the notions of Joachim of Fiore and their alignment with Hungarian historical circumstances could be observed. At the beginning of the sixteenth century and ten years before the historic battle of the Hungarian Kingdom, Gergely Gyöngyösi, a member of the order writes about the Turks as the people of the last judgement, which evokes the Joachimist apocalyptic model once again.

The real description of the Antichrist's appearance – although without naming it as such – is featured in Saint Paul's second epistle to the Thessalonians. It emerges in the letter of John the Apostle under this name. Based on the Book of Revelation, he was mainly depicted as a false prophet who tempts people to sin and brings devastation. The prophecies of the Tiburtine Sybil and Pseudo-Methodius, and "The Origin and Life of Antichrist" by Adso gives an example of the apocalyptical tradition which prophetically depicts the Biblical texts covering eschatological topics. The characters of The Day of the Lord were substituted for by real historical persons from the present

and the future. The Antichrist will have Jewish ties, he builds his throne in Jerusalem, his coming cannot be prevented, only the souls may be prepared for it.

An example of the typological interpretations of the Book of Revelation is the *Book of the Tiburtine Sybil* which was originally written in Greek and was later translated into Latin. It provided a new apocalyptical vision by awaiting the coming of a new king who destroys the enemies of Christianity by defeating the barbaric people arriving from the north and Gog and Magog who are now locked behind the Caucasus. Meanwhile, the Antichrist who blindsides many with false wonders, occupies the temple in Jerusalem. Archangel Michael has the Antichrist killed on the Mount of Olives. *Revelation* by Pseudo-Methodius visions the defeat of the Muslim conquerors by a Christian knight. The version of the story of the Antichrist by Adso became a legend and became pervading mainly in the late Mediaeval times.

Luther's own notion is rooted in mediaevalexplanations, however, it radically reinterprets the concept of Antichrist. Luther does not solely consider individual popes as the Antichrist but the whole institution of the papacy. According to the scheme of Revelation, this revelation-interpretation facilitated – in an eschatologically special sense – the identification of the papacy with the Antichrist. The new concept of the Antichrist was born this way.

The argumentative nature of the texts manifests itself in the fact that it delivers material to those who already know that the pope is the Antichrist. When giving an answer, Catholics usually use the Biblical arguments of Luther. Thus, the Antichrist identification has a role in the denominational dissociation during the age of confessionalization. The concept of the Antichrist becomes a keyword which sheds light on the *clear distinctions* between Lutherans and Catholics. The "Antichrist-like" characteristic of the papacy comes from its authors' superficial knowledge of popes: they think that popes do not simply represent Christ but wish to take his place, and therefore to become Christ himself. Hence, the concept is a classifying, distinction-revealing element of the confessionalizationist process, which serves the purpose of reinforcing the borders between the denominations in the liturgy, ceremonial order, lifestyle and the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The Antichrist debate has a role in the split of mediaeval Christian society to different denominations. All denominations wished to have their own concept of space and time.

In Hungary, the first representative of this construction is Imre Ozorai. Still, in his case, the figure of the Antichrist has a "diffluent outline" and is not really a manifestation of the pope or Muslims. These will first appear in the work of András Batizi at the middle of the century, with the use of Melanchthon's doctrine of a bipartite Antichrist.

Szerémi does not explore the *topos* of "Propugnaculum Christianitatis" further in his search for a way out and assessing the situation of Hungary, since his Syrmian homeland (1526) together with the capital of his kingdom, Buda, the ancient royal seat of Esztergom (1543) and the royal burial site of Székesfehérvár (1543) all fell to the Turks. His personality was defined by his upbringing, his status as a Catholic priest and his sense of a pending catastrophe due to the dangers posed by the Turks. He wished to protect essential moral values even in this fundamentally changed world. According to his historical approach, the lack of these values, along with the sins and omissions committed made Hungary drift to the brink of disaster. In his point of view, the country which once was a frontline, a motherland and a cultural bastion celebrated by its Franciscan ancestors, became a blank space, and the formerly strong people depicted by the Franciscan Laskai became exiles, Babylonian prisoners and the perpetual servants of Gog's people. Szerémi interpreted the hopelessness of the political situation as a collective punishment of a transcendental nature for the collectively committed crimes.Szerémi might be the first to interpret national crimes as the centre and conclusion of a process of decline, and to depict them as the eventuation of the death and punishment of a nation which deserves this unavoidable divine punishment from which there is no absolution, only collective damnation. The insane, demented notions of a nation with regards to its own order, laws, state and rulers. The uprising led by György Dózsa, and the raging revenge in its wake, the loss of Nándorfehérvár, the demolition of castles, the exhaustion of the country's economy all lead to a logical ending, which is shown by Szerémi through a visionary, prophetic framework.

In the middle of the sixteenth century, András Farkas and his fellow preachers found a method which helped them through the period of Turkish conquest that lasted for almost six generations. The method is linked to the spiritual shock that came from the final split of Christian Europe to different denominations and the sense of "disunion" it experienced. This sense of disunion caused a war or, we could say, genocide of denominations that have not been seen for five hundred years and involved all layers of society in the heart of the old continent. This happened in a manner that, up to that point, had only characterised the rimland and the front lines next to the border of Islamic areas.

The apocalyptical framework becomes elaborate for the first time in András Batizi's world chronicle written in verse. The dynamics of his work are based on Melanchthon's concept of a bipartite Antichrist. The pope appears as the spiritual, whereas the Turks appear as the physical manifestations of the Antichrist, and are represented as the people of Gog and Magog, respectively, known from the Book of Ezekiel. Batizi refers to them within the framework of the literary *topos* system

which emerged during the age of Flavius Josephus and as the people living beyond the Caucasus. This train of thought is not very alien from the views of the Hungarians.

The topos of the "bastion of Christianity" was identified as their own country's border area, which demarcated a sacred space within which Christianity and the transient people of God, the Church lived. Apart from this, the land of the people of the apocalypse is the "no-space", the place of the people and the prophet which was not included in the book of the living as John the Apostle saw it in the Book of Revelation; therefore, it was non-existent.

In Batizi's writing we can see that this lethargic, pessimistic point of view enjoys a revivification and is inserted into Wittenberg's theology. On this matter, Wittenberg's theology used elements and argumentative systems that had already been worked out in the Middle Ages. It was during Mediaeval times that the pope started to be identified with the spiritual, and the Muslims with the bodily Antichrist. The idea of the Muslims being Gog's people originates from this period.

This concept found easy access to Hungarian public opinion, as it readily offered old *topoi* to apply to the new situation. They recognised it in the antagonism between Protestants and Catholics, and in the identification of the Turks, as the incursive people of the last judgement, with the people of Gog.

The frame of Batizi's poem is an old scheme of state theory, which had held a wide currency since the Christian Antiquity: like Melanchthon, returning to the Augustinian concept of history, and Luther, interpreting the horn breaking out the other three horns on the beast's front as the Turkish threat, it applies the four kingdoms from Daniel's visionary apocalypticism. He explains contemporary events in this matrix. It is most adequate to embrace the themes of *sin*, idolatry, *punishment*, Turkish subjugation and captivity well-known from the Old Testament. Batizi produces a link between apocalyptic figures and current people in power, and puts them in a context of state theory and salvation. He asserts that the danger may only be averted through taking a moral path, which, similarly to the fall into sin, may be found via religious conversion.

Apocalyptic theory in Hungary did not only serve as an explanation for the Turkish conquest but also carried within itself a reinforcement of a national sense of vocation. The first step to identifying as a nation-state is marked by the notions of a national sense of vocation evoking the Bible. The Reformation and a strengthening Islam gives a new notion like this to Spanish, Portuguese, English, German, Hungarian, Polish and – with a little phase delay – Russian areas.

In the Christian *universitas* that was coming undone, following the pattern of the Jewish people, their own nation and country were endowed by with a sense of divine chosenness. The first manifestation of this effort was a highly respected but long gone

ruler. The wandering ruler is a symbol of a nation in exile in the apocalyptic tradition. The Biblical worldview evocative of the Old Testament of the age of Reformation may have built its national and Jewish linguistic parallels on this tradition in the case of the people living in exile in the wilderness, waiting to be free. In lieu of rulers living in exile, like in the case of the nations featured as negative symbols of the monarchy whom they wished to part with, or during times of changes of forms of government, they used the image of Jews living in exile in the wilderness from the Old Testament.

The Book of Daniel provides a framework for establishing a new sense of national vocation and a new state apparatus, whose comments will become a major compass during state theory debates at the different branches of Reformation and contemporary theological-legal analysts. The book's apocalyptic notion of time is based on other books of the Bible, mainly the Book of Revelation, and by following this pattern, a world view characterised by a state of crisis and the waiting for a new world becomes prevalent in it. Apart from other denominations, the major adversary to be blamed for doomsday is the Ottoman Empire.

Luther and especially Melanchthon integrates into his work the four kingdoms concept, which was based on Daniel's interpretation the dream of Nebuchadnezzar. According to this, the last monarchy is the Roman Empire, whose fall coincides with the end of the world. The fourth beast in the Daniel 7 prophecy represented the kingdoms of its own era with its ten horns. The "little horn" tearing out all the other horns are identified with the Turks, as God's scourge as a form of punishment of the Christians for their irremediable sins.

The state theory debate revolving around the Book of Daniel and sweeping over Europe resulted in the reappraisal of the history of the church. There was an urgent need for an explicative criteria linked to the Bible which could select the uncanonised texts and argumentative basis that were related to the corpus of the Holy Book. The worship of martyrs and saints, the development of the institution of the church since early Christianity waiting for the Parousia, along with its relationship with the secular powers had to be explained too. For these reasons, taking into account a historical factor for the critical analysis of the holy tradition became necessary, which resulted in a need for a new historical model which was in harmony with the methodology of humanist historiography. In this historical model, Christian apocalyptic theory had a key role.

In Europe, in contrast with Islam, the apocalyptic model was worked out on the basis of two Syrian apocalypses which responded to the new situation after the breakthrough of the Muslim world. The newly developed European identity's notion of space and time was built on this model until the eighteenth century.

The work of Pseudo-Methodius was first published in Latin in Cologne in the fifteenth century. This is interesting because a *Prognosticon* written by Lichtenberg in the fifteenth century predicted the great battle at the end of the world to take place exactly there. The battle of Cologne is well-known both in the European and Turkish tradition. A humanist speculation written by Lichtenberger, the above-mentioned astrologer. Lichtenberger saw the manifestation of the evil in the Turks. In those Turks who occupied Istanbul in 1453, whom Hunyadi fought against, and who got as far as the walls of Athens in 1456.

The idea that the Turks are God's punishment on Europe already appears in Chapter 25 of Lichtenberger's book. As we saw, it was Johannes Lichtenberger who first conceived of this notion back in 1448, positing that the final and conclusive clash between the Christian and the Islamic armies will unfold near the city of Cologne. Its real effects could only be felt in the sixteenth century when the Turks meant an indirect threat to the empire. Even though only a small group of intellectuals were aware of this prophecy (it exerted its effects mostly on reformers), through them the prediction influenced public morale quite significantly. Hungary is linked to this model by the Turks, since the country is thought of as the wartime buffer zone of Gog's people and the symbolic location of the Caucasian Gates. It is also linked to it as the reverse *translatio imperii* of the Huns, Avars and Magyars (as emphasised by Melanchthon), whose empires and peoples were connected to the threat of the inherited empires of Alexander the Great, both genetically and in terms of their vocation.

However, by virtue of their Christianisation, Hungarians in fact became the protectors of the symbolic gate. Here, Melanchthon refers to the Hunyadis. This is how Lichtenberger of Germany relates to the prophecies of the two Syrian apocalypses and of the Tiburtine Sybil. The explanations of Hungary's Bornemisza, Melius and Szegedi Kis usually insert the powers and religions of our time into the sections of the Bible that describe the end of the world: the incidents of the time, the pope, the Turks, and the non-protestant denominations are signified, individually or collectively, by the characters of The Apocalypse and the Book of Daniel, such as the beast, the false prophet, the great whore, Gog and Magog. Luther associates Pope Gregory VII with the birth of the Antichrist nature of the papacy; Melius and Benczédi Székely both name other popes as being the starting point for this.

The Protestant polemic of sixteenth century Hungary followed the European examples quite precisely. It strove to make use of the writings of Luther, Melanchthon, Flacius and Bullinger, and to turn the presence of the Roman Catholic Church and the Ottoman Empire into one image of a collective enemy. The character of Emperor Phocas from the seventh century proved to be a good basis and connective tissue for these efforts. Even though the Magdeburg undertaking of the Lutherans received a

Catholic answer in the form of Caesar Baronius's church history *Annales ecclesiastici* (Ecclesiastical annals), by this time the polemical literature of the Catholics is much less specific to eras and persons than their opponents.

The writings of the 1560s – the theological accounts of István Szegedi Kis, the Apocalypse annotations of Péter Melius, and the "Two Books" of Gáspár Károlyi – bring a change in that they do not wish for painstaking repentance. Those who remained Christian according to these writers' tenets will find salvation during the apocalyptical end. This explains the difference between the two halves of the century. According to the new state of affairs, the end times have begun to transpire. The veil has been lifted from the mysterious secret. The characters are chosen and well-defined. The battle between the kingdom of God and the peoples beyond the Caucasus. There is no more need for protective gates, towers and walls because Gog's people have knocked these down. It is only a matter of time for the truth to come to light. The future has come. The Apocalypse, expected for centuries, has now begun in the buffer zone.

Similarly to those who came before him, István Szegedi Kis also uses Theodor Bibliander's 1543 writing *Speculum Pontificum Romanorum* ("The Mirror of the Roman Popes") released in Basel for his work adapted from translation. He emphasises that the formation of Mohammedanism and the retardation of the papacy started at the same time, and he connects these to the figure of Emperor Phocas. According to Barna Nagy's research, *Tabulae Analyticae…* condenses a hundred of Bullinger's aforementioned speeches on apocalyptic analysis into 33 sermons. Thus, the effects can be very clearly seen in this case. Bullinger's annotations of the work enjoyed widespread success. His sermons were translated into English in only four years. His work inspired four out of the seven annotations written in Great Britain in the sixteenth century, as recorded in scholarly literature.

Referencing Paulus Diaconus, Bullinger tells the story of Phocas in virtually the same manner; refuting the notion that the episcopate in Constantinople was only a daughter church of Saint Peter's episcopate in Rome. According to him, the pope's Antichrist nature crystallised after Phocas's changes, because the papal superiority amongst the Christian churches was given by a bloodthirsty, power-hungry emperor who was a murderer and a thief. Regarding the idea of the pope being the Antichrist, Bullinger invokes Petrarca and Pico della Mirandola. The most inventive study of the sixteenth century where the bipartite Antichrist emerges comes from Mihály Imre, in connection with the work of István Szegedi Kis. Imre's book includes a woodcut representing the tree of heretics. The tree grows from the heart of the devil, with one of its branches being the Turkish sultan and the other being the pope of Rome. Imre is the first to notice that Szegedi's historical model is based on the works of

famous Swiss Islamist exegete Theodor Bibliander, in that it fuses together the birth of Mohammedanism and the negative developments of the papacy, all through the lens of Emperor Phocas's life. Mihály Imre's analysis also extends to the chapter entitled "De Antichristo" in Szegedi's *Loci Communes*.

The most significant difference between the approaches of Melanchthon and Bullinger is that the Swiss exegete portrayed the Antichrist as doubled; and even though he does make use of the four-kingdom theory of Daniel, he is not willing to see positive signs in the fourth kingdom, the Roman Empire, unlike the scholars of Wittenberg. The reason for this is that he does not find the Holy Roman Empire construct of the German nation meaningful at all. In fact, like all Swiss Protestants since Zwingli, he disapproves of the concept. Thus, he easily embraces the idea that the evil of the doomsday emerges from the two halves of the empire, thus identifying this evil not with human beings but with institutions.

The Reformation starts out from an anti-martyr story. Challenging the notion of Athleta Christi (the Champions of Christ) played a central role in its theological transformation. Melanchthon will become the real author of the historical model of Wittenberg. His portrayal of the Turks in *Carion's Chronicles* relates to the work of Pseudo-Methodius. Thus, the emergence of a Hunyadi cult, as well as the celebration of both the German nation's (Heilige Römisches Reich Deutscher Nation) and the Hungarian nation's role in salvation history is no coincidence.

The Hunyadi cult became a cornerstone of Transylvanian tradition and sense of identity. The worship of the tombs of John Hunyadi was formed by the bishop of Alba Iulia as early as the 1530s, as we have learnt from Ágnes Ritoókné Szalay's work. By the seventeenth century, the Matthias cult has been a fundamental aspect of the national identity of the public as well as of the Hungarian nobility.

We can glean that the first changes in Hungary were also against the cult of saints; Dévai's strong stance against saints already gives ample evidence for this. Zoltán Csepregi writes about Matthias Dévai Biró that he promotes the theology of the cross-based on Luther's teachings, but he keeps a safe distance from the idea of the church being a suffering and martyrish institution. He borrowed sacral heroes from the Old Testament and connected them with the leaders and Protestant martyrs of his time, because they were afraid of the emergence of a new cult of saints. At first, these heroes were the characters of the "Antichrist" wars of the era: preachers, dead soldiers sacrificed casualties, mentioned strictly for the purpose of giving examples.

In order to win the public's acceptance of soldiers, whose duties and unbridled nature were generally disdained, it is important that the war in which they serve is declared as just. The next step presupposes a soldier's sense of duty that always adapts to the situation at hand. Later, from the middle of the sixteenth century, with

the arrival of the Turkish threat, as a reaction to apocalyptical anticipation we see sacredness making a comeback; "Solider of Christ" is a Mediaeval title. In Hungary, it was of course the heroes of the border castle battles against the Turks that were recognised as such soldiers. Miklós Zrínyi and the protectors of Eger during its siege in 1552 enjoyed a great reputation in the second half of the century. By the seventeenth century, the Protestant glory of martyrdom is extended to the heroes who lost their lives to the Turks; they appear in sermons as exemplary characters, although their memory is already strongly attached to the traditions of an independent Hungary.

Unlike John Calvin, who was also French, and who thought it unnecessary and even dangerous to correlate the characters of the Book of Daniel and of the Apocalypse with the powerful entities of his time, including the Turks, Bibliander follows Luther, like the majority of the German theologians of the Zürich branch, and portrays Islam through an apocalyptical understanding. He also approaches the Qur'an from the same point of view. His rebuttals and explanations were published in Basel. His accounts of the Qur'an, similarly to Postel's, traverses a conventional road, being a continuation of the European Christian tradition that, as opposed to the French authors, does not primarily aim to understand the Muslims, casting them into a Biblical eschatological role instead. The third translation is the work of Catholic scholar Johann Albrecht Widmannstetter who served as the secretary of Pope Clement VII, then Pope Paul III. Approaching the end of the sixteenth century, his translation reflects the Catholics' increasingly careful judgment of the apocalyptic role of Islam, despite the fact that the translator is from Southern Germany, and that the place of publication is Nürnberg.

It is almost trivial to mention that the hysterical European reaction to the rapid pace of Ottoman conquest resulted in Bibliander's translation being the favoured one. The other two did not get published again. Even more interesting is the fact that the Hungarian Jesuit authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth century who were forced to comment on the nature of the Turkish conquest also favoured Bibliander's apocalyptic Qur'an analysis, and not that of the Catholics. Thus, the subject of the compilation was determined by geographic location and exposure to danger, and not by denominational belonging.

István Szegedi Kis's biographer Máté Skarica inform us that the Ottoman authorities tried to get Melius to translate the Qur'an. It is possible that when the *crème de la crème* of the Calvinist theologians from Transylvania and Partium visited the bey of Szolnok, he tried to familiarise them with his own religion. It is also probable that the bey had knowledge of Melius's talents: the sanjak of Szolnok, wedged in between Gyula and Eger since 1552, showed interest in the Protestant Christian theologian who had a good relationship with the Protestant troops of two

of the most significant border castles of Hungary. In this year of 1562, Melius writes the treatise called The Creed of Debrecen and the Eger Valley, which was a new compromise that was favourable to the troops but embarrassing to the leadership of Vienna and the Catholic bishop of Eger.

Szegedi's captivity by the Turks was also a result of his influence on the troops of the border castles; this was clear to the Turks even during the time of his captivity, due to the spiritual maintenance he provided to the prisoners of war. The text also makes it clear that they wanted to take advantage of this influence by terrorising the priest and by making him confront Islamic theology. Melius's apocalypticism is primarily defined by his literary work as a writer of sermons. This is another instance in which we can mention the sermons that explain The Revelation of Saint John. However, scholarly literature demonstrates that he did not know Bullinger, therefore he could not follow in his footsteps. Instead, he bases his work on Musculus, Peter Martyr Vermigli, and the Islamistic treatises of Bibliander. Bullinger's effect is felt in Szegedi Kis's works.

The Hungarian role differs from the Reformation of the other countries in Europe in that there was a large number of soldiers and military service personnel due to the presence of the front zones of the Ottoman Empire and the Holy Roman Empire whose bruises were being burnt by the issue even more. In the second half of the century, the theologians of the German communities of Helvetia (Myconius, Bibliander, and Bullinger) release another set of apocalyptic Bible interpretations in which the Turkish conquest takes on end-of-the-world tones. In these annotations and composite volumes, the two successive halves of the torn Holy Roman Empire (the empires of the Turks and the Germans) also appear as the evil empires of the end times. This draws sympathy for the works in Hungary, because they provide an explanation for their situation as a torn country, sieged from all sides.

The other concept that will become one of the principle motifs of the theology of Helvetia is the theory of double predestination. This theological doctrine is present in the Creed of Debrecen and the Eger Valley, and it appears in Hungary at a very early stage, especially in military circles. It provides protection and an explanation for them; a reason to be hopeful about salvation; and gives a sense of security. This helped the Helvetian doctrines to be spread so quickly and efficiently by the turn of the sixteenth century.

In my book written 25 years ago I investigated the material of the sermons and polemics of the era, and explored the volumes of the RMKT (Anthology of Early Hungarian Poets). I was curious about finding occurrences of apocalyptical escapism in the Biblical parallel captured in the motif of "God punishes the Hungarian people for their sins". I observed a demonstrable manifestation of apocalyptical thinking in

11 out of 29 authors; in some other cases I also showed that the same thinking can be assumed, but these could not be verified properly. Moreover, I did not make mention of works that were apocalyptical in their point of view but did not contain the parallel that I was looking for. In the case of prose and sermons, this is much easier to see, prove and expand upon; both in works that were born during the period (such as those by Imre Ozorai, Gáspár Károlyi, and Péter Melius) and those that were written by authors stepping over the dividing line of 1566 (such as Péter Bornemisza, Ferenc Dávid). In the case of the latter, there can be no doubt of the presence of apocalyptical thought. However, a numerical review of the data does not lead us to conclusive results; only an analysis of the relevant sections in each source in context helps to achieve that. Even the study of a large catalogue of library and archival materials would not put the question to rest.

As he travelled from border castle to border castle, István Szegedi Kis probably made use of apocalyptical reasoning in his sermons. His work, released posthumously in Latin, gives way to doubts about its intended target audience: it seems that the work was meant to appeal to the audience of foreign and native theologians, and not to the public. (Although we cannot be sure about the scale with which the buyers utilised the apocalypse-related texts written in Latin in their daily sermons that were delivered in Hungarian. Szegedi also writes a formulaic theological book in Latin that can be used for preaching.)

However, in the case of Károlyi, Melius and Bornemisza, the Hungarian language sermons and polemics were written with the goal of disseminating the philosophically-historically drawn apocalyptical theses of Melanchthon's *Carion's Chronicles* and of the Swiss theologians to the broader Hungarian reading and (more importantly) listening public. As István Monok's research shows that there are several copies of *Carion's Chronicles* in libraries across Hungary, which demonstrates that there was indeed an interest in a view of history that is based on apocalyptical thinking. I would hereby like to thank him for having recently provided me with his work-in-progress summary of his research into the availability of Melanchthon's works in sixteenth century Hungary. In it he writes that *Carion's Chronicles* was one of the fundamental texts on world history in almost every noble's collection of books:

"And this leads us to an area of knowledge that is more significant in its effects, propagated in the works of the two reformers: namely, the reception of the *Wittenberg concept of history*. It seems that, besides the Luther volumes used in the daily practice of the religion, as well as Melanchthon's works available in schools, these were the works that were present in the fullest form. Regardless of the owner's religion, or which social or professional group they belonged to. As we saw earlier, these were conspicuously high in number in the libraries of the nobility. The best-known editions

of *Johann Carion's Chronicles* were the ones edited by Melanchthon. It is also significant that both authors' annotations of the *Book of Daniel* were able to remain popular; although Melanchthon's were more common."

Why did the public's wide Protestant population – from priest to humanist intellectual, from civilian to gentry, from lord to country town schools – purchase this specific chronicle, sometimes in multiple editions, if not for the fact that it provided some kind of solution to the problems in their lives? Did the Helvetian professor from the town of Sárospatak, the Hungarian gentry, and the civilian from Eperjes have an equal interest in history, and wanted to take a journey similar to how Hans Dernschwam toured the Ottoman Empire? Not likely! It is much more probable that they shared a fear that the little horn mentioned by Daniel the Prophet, which Melanchthon associated with the Turks, will 'make a visit' in their homes. They sought a solution and solace for this.

As mentioned above, I attempted to perform a vertical social study of the question in my PhD thesis. In my analysis of the trope of "crime and punishment" (Turks) and 'the chosen people', I made use of a large amount of sermons and polemics to show that the trope appeared in various parts of the country that was broken into three, showing up in wildly different social classes in the sixteenth century.

Admittedly, there is no answer regarding how the sermons (such as Melius's) were received by the soldiers of Eger or the merchants of Debrecen; and it would be hard to expect an answer from these people, the majority of them being illiterate. (I made an attempt to research this with regards to soldiers, as acknowledged in the opponents' report.) Nonetheless, it can be argued that had the audience not receive the concept well, and had they not wanted to listen to it, they would have raised their voices, and the soldiers would have asked the preacher to leave – the merchants surely would not have given money for the edition. We are talking about sermons, histories and songs of praise. Naturally, orality plays a bigger role in church liturgy and in secular culture during this era. The study of the distribution methods of printed works and the manuscript tradition should, I believe, be the goal of a different book, which shall probably not be written by me in 25 years' time.

Volker Leppin studies the appearance of the apocalyptical notion of time in the early modern period through historical and cognitive lenses. This cognitive plane, connected to the humanist scientific world view of the period, also magnifies the apocalyptic anticipation of the time.

In ancient history, time was conceived of as a form in space. Perpetual revolution, rebirth and mortality were, at the same time, symbols of eternity. The humanist world model of the early modern period harkens back to antiquity. Making use of the ancient

Greek philosophical systems of Plato and Aristotle, the world view of the sixteenth century was based on Ptolemy's geocentric model; even if there were some sceptics.

We can observe this process in the second generation of the Reformation in Hungary. Like his German and English contemporaries, Bornemisza believes in the natural disaster of the falling skies, as emphasised during Melanchthon's times, culminating in the 1580s, getting closer and closer; he utilises the changing world views of his time as evidence. This combined the image of the aging universe, inherited from antiquity and worked into Augustus's world view, portrayed throughout the Golden, Silver, Copper and Iron Age, with the vision of the iron-and-clay-legged statue that appears in the Book of Daniel in the Old Testament, as well as the animal symbols of the four successive empires.

According to the new state of affairs, the end times have begun to emerge. The veil has been lifted from the mysterious secret. The characters are chosen and well-defined. The battle between the kingdom of God and the peoples beyond the Caucasus. There is no more need for protective gates, towers and walls because Gog's people have knocked these down. It is only a matter of time for the truth to come to light. The future has come. The Apocalypse, expected for centuries, has now begun in the buffer zone.

REFERENCES

Sources

Barnes, Robert. *Vitae Romanorum Pontificum*. Basel, 1535.

Batizi, András. *Meglött és megleendő dolgoknak teremtéstől fogva az itéletig való historia*. 1544.

Bèze, Théodore de. *Poemata varia, Hanoviae, apud Guilielmum Antonium*. 1598.

Bibliander, Theodor. *Machumetis Sarracenorum principis vita ac doctrina omnis, quae et ismaelitarum tex, et ALCORANUM dicitur, ex Arabica lingua ante CCCC annos in Latinam translata,...* Basileae, 1543.

Bornemisza, Péter. *Első része az evangeliomokból és az epistolákból való tanúságoknak... (Postilla).* Sempte, 1573. RMNY 333.

Bornemisza, Péter. *Ördögi Kisirtetekröl, avagy röttenetes utalatossagokrol ez meg ferteztetet világnac és azbol való ki tisztogatasarol az mi Vrunc Iesus Christusnac*. Sempten 1578. RmkI. 148. Rmny433

Bucer, Martin. *De regno Christi libri duo (1550)*. Oporinus, Basel, 1557.

Bullinger, Heinrich. *Der Türgg. Von anfang und ursprung deß Türggischen Gloubens, der Türggen, ouch jrer Könige und Keyseren, und wie fürträffentlich vil landen unnd lüthen, sy innet 266. jaren, yngenommen, und der Christenheit abtrungen habind, Kurtze verzeichnuß, durch Matthiam Erben*, 1566.

Bullinger, Heinrich. *Schriften*. Zürich, 2006.

Calvin, Johannes. *Praelectiones in Danielem*, col. 50.

Debreceni Ember, Pál. *Historia ecclesiae reformatae in Hungaria et Transylvania. Ed. Lampe, Fridrich Adolphus*. Leipzig, 1728.

Dézsi, András. *Moyzes és Józsue hadáról…* RMKT V/50–57.

Lapeus, Johannes. Wahrhafftige Prophezeiungen des thewren Propheten/ und heiligen Manns Gottes/ D. Martini Lutheri seliger Gedechtnis. Darinnen er den jetzigen klälichen Zustandt Deutscher Nation, die Zerstörung der Kirchen/ Verfelschunge der Lere/ vielerley grewliche Straffen Gottes/ den Jüngsten tag/ [...]Unterricht und Trost/ aus allen seinen Schrifften vleissig zusamen gezogen/ durch Iohannem Lapaeum Einbeccensem, Pfarrherren zu Langenberg. Ursel 1578.

Laskai, Osvát. *Sermones de sanctis*. 1494.

Luther, Martin. *Eine Heerpredigt wider den Türken*

Melius, Péter. *Szent Jánosnac tött jelenésnec igaz és írás szerint való magyarázása prédikatioc szerint a iámbor bölcz és tudós emberec írásából szereztetett Melius Péter által*. Váradon, 1568. RMNY 259

Musculus, Wolfgang. *Loci communes in usus sacrae theologiae candidatorum parati*. Basileae, per Ioannem Hervagium, 1560. 16. M 7292

Ozorai, Imre. *De christo et eius Ecclesia item de Antichristo, eiusqve Ecclesia*. Kraków, 1535. RMNY 15

Stöckel, Leonard. Tractatus cuius titulus desumptus est ex 1 Ioan. 2 ,18 apologiam ecclesiae Bartphensis comitens contra barbarorum blasphemias, qui accusabant eam ut haereticam et propugnatricem idolorum, 1558.

Stöckel, Leonard. *Postilla*. 1596. RMNY 773

Szikszai, Fabricius Balázs. *Oratio funebris de vita et morte... Johannis Viti Balsaratii..., Clemens Schleich et Antonius Schöne*. Wittenberg, 1576. (RMK III. 658.)

Vermigli, Pietro Martire. *Locorum communium theologicorum ex ipsius scriptis sincere decerptorum* tomus I–III. Basileae, ad Perneam Lecythum, 1580–1582.

Szegedi (Kis), Stephanus. *Theologiae sincerae loci communes De Deo et Homine cum Confessione de Trinitate, Perpetuis Tabulis explicati, & Scholasticorum dogmatis illustrati. Praemissa est historica commonefactio, de Eclesiae Palingenesia saepius repatita. Editio Quinta. Cum Indicibus Rerum et Verborum, locorumque Sacrae Scripturae explicatorum locupleitissisimis: & Vita Auctoris*. Basileae, per Conrad Waldkirchium, suis & Episcopianorum sumptibus. Basel: 1608

Special literature and primary source collections

Ábel, Jenő. *Egyetemeink a középkorban.* [Our Universities in the Middle Ages] Budapest, 1881.

Ács, Pál. "Apocalypsis cum figuris. A régi magyar irodalom történelemképe," In *Történelem-kép. Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából*, edited by Árpád Mikó and Katalin Sinkó, 48–63. Budapest, 2000.

Ács, Pál. *„Az idő ósága" Történetiség és történetszemlélet a régi magyar irodalomban*. [The ancient-ness of time. Historical consciousness and approaches of history in old Hungarian literature] Budapest: Osiris, 2001.

Ács, Pál. "Sztárai Mihály különös mártíromsága −a Cranmerus Tamás című Foxius-parafrázis tükrében," *Studia Litteraria* 2012/3-4, 84-95.

Alderschot, Rubin Uri, ed. *The Life of Muhammad*. Alderschot. Brookfield–Singapore–Sydney, 1998.

Alexander, Paul. *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*. Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, 1985.

Andermann, Ulrich. “Geschichtsdeutung und Prophetie. Kriesenerfahrung und -bewältigung am beispiel der osmanischen Expansion im Spätmittelalter und in der Reformationszeit,” In *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance,* edited by Bodo Guthmüller and Wilhelm Kühlmann, 29–55. Tübingen, 2000.

Anderson, Benedict. *Die Erfindung der Nation.Zur Karrierre eines folgenreichen Konzepts*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Fachbuch, 1996,

Andrés, Juan. Confusión o confutación de la secta mahométicа y del Alcorán. Edited by Elisa Ruiz García. Transcribed by Mª Isabel García-Monge. Mérida: Editorial Regional de Extremadura, 2003.

Argyriou, Astérios. “Perception de l’Islam et traductions du Coran dans le monde byzantin grec,” *Byzantion* LXXV (2005) : 25–69.

Assmann, Aleida. *Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*. München: C.H. Beck, 1999.

Assmann, Jan. *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Assmann, Jan. *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* München: C.H. Beck, 1997.

Aston, Margaret. “The Fiery Trigon Conjunction. An Elizabethan Astrological Prediction,” *Isis* 61 (1970): 164–165.

Baán, István. *Euszebiosz egyháztörténete*. [Church History of Eusebius] Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1983.

Babinger, Franz. “Hans Derschwams Leben und Wirken (1494-1568),“ In *Hans Derschwams Tagenbuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Keinsasien (1553-55)*. Edited by Franz Babinger. München–Leipzig, 1923. (Studien zur Fugger-Geschichte, 7.)

Baják. László. *Szerémi György világképe*. *Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok* 1, no. 1 (1989): 123–136.

Balázs, József. Két mű bemutatása Bibliander 1543-as gyűjteményéből. Nicolaus Cusanus és Georgius de Hungaria műveinek bemutatása [The Presentation of Two Works from Bibliander’s 1543 Collection and Nicholas Kues and Georgius de Hungaria]. (MA Thesis. Pázmány Péter Catholic University, supervisior: Sándor Őze).

Balázs, Mihály. *Teológia és irodalom. Az Erdélyen kívüli antitrinitarizmus kezdetei.* (Theology and literature. The initiation of Antitrinitarianism outside of Transylvania) Budapest: Balassi, 1998.Bálint, Sándor. “A napba öltözött asszony.” [The woman clothed with the sun] In *Sacra Hungaria. Tanulmányok a magyar vallásos népélet köréből*. Edited by Sándor Bálint, Kassa, 1943.

Bálint, Sándor – Barna, Gábor 1994. *Búcsújáró magyarok*. [Hungarian pilgrims] Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1994.

Bán, Imre: “Nyéki Vörös Mátyás: Aeternitas. Örökké-valóság.” [Mátyás Nyéki Vörös: Aeterntas. Immortality.] In *Régi magyar vers*. Edited by Tibor Komlovszki, 235-257. Budapest, 1979.

Bárczi, Ildikó, *Ars compillandi*. Budapest, 2009.

Barlay, Ö. Szabolcs. “Elias Corvinus és magyarországi barátai.” [Elias Corvinus and his Hungarian friends] *Magyar Könyvszemle* 93 (1977): 345–353.

Barlay, Ö. Szabolcs. *Romon virág. Fejezetek a Mohács utáni reneszánszról*. [Flowers on the Ruin: Chapters about the Renaissance after Mohács].Budapest: Gondolat, 1986.

Barnes, Robin B. “Der herabstürzende Himmel: Kosmos und Apokalypse unter Luthers Erben um 1600.” In *Jahrhundertwenden. Endzeit- und Zukunftsvorstellungen vom 15. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*. Edited by Manfred Jakubowski-Tiesse et al., Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 155. 129–146. Göttingen, 1999.Barnes, Robin Bruce. *Prophecy and Gnosis: Apocalypticism in the Wake of the Lutheran Reformation.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988.

Bartha, Tibor, ed. *Keresztyén Bibliai Lexikon*. [Christian Lexicon of the Biblie] Budapest: Kálvin Kiadó, 2000.

Bartoniek, Emma. *Fejezetek a XVI–XVII. századi magyarországi történetírás történetéből*. [Chapters of the historiography of sixteenth-seventeenth century Hungary] Budapest, 1975.

Baylor, Michael G.. “The Harvest and the Rainbow: Crisis and Apocalypse in Thomas Münzer.” In *Krisenbewußtsein und Kriesenbewältigung in Frühen Neuzeit-Crisis in Early Modern Europe.* Edited by Hans-Christoph Rublack, et al. 293-307. Frankfurt am Main-Berlin-New York-Paris-Wien, 1992.

Benda, Kálmán. *A Bocskai-kori hajdúság összetétele és társadalmi törekvései.* [The structure and aims of the *hajdúság* in the age of Bocskai] Debrecen, 1963.

Benda, Kálmán. *A Bocskai-szabadásgharc.* [The Revolt of Bocskai.] Budapest: Művelt Nép Könyvkiadó, 1995.

Benda, Kálmán. “A kálvini tanok hatása a magyar rendi ellenállás ideológiájára.” [The effect of the doctrines of Calvin on the ideology of Hungarian aristocratic resitance] *Helikon Világirodalmi Figyelő* 17, no. 1 (1971): 322-330.

Benda, Kálmán. “A magyar nemesség iskolázottsága a 16–17. században.” [Education of the Hungarian nobility in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries] In *Magyarország társadalma a török kiűzésének idején.* Edited by Ferenc Szvircsek. 98-102. Salgótarján, 1984.

Benda, Kálmán. *A Magyar nemzeti hivatástudat története a XV-XVII. században.* (Hungarian national sense of vocation in the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries.) Budapest: Bethlen Nyomda, 1937.

Benda, Kálmán,. *A törökkor német újságirodalma. A XV-XVI. századi német hírlapok magyar vonatkozásainak forráskritikájához.* [German newspapers during the Turkish Age. Additions to the source criticism of the Hungarian aspects of fifteenth and sixteenth century German journalism]. Budapest: Athenaeum, 1942.

Benda, Kálmán. *Habsburg-abszolutizmus és rendi ellenállás a XVI-XVII. században.* (Hubsburg absolutism and feudal resistance in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.) Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1975.

Benda, Kálmán. "Habsburg politika és rendi ellenállás." [Habsburg policy and the resistance of the aristocracy] *Történelmi Szemle* 13. no. 3 (1970): 404-427.

Benda, Kálmán ed. *Magyarország történeti kronológiája I. A kezdetektől 1526-ig; Magyarország történeti kronológiája II., 1526–1848* [The historical chronology of Hungary in 2 vols.] Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983.

Bezold, Friedrich von. "Astroligische Geschitskonstruktion im Mittelalter." In *Aus Mittelalter und Renaisance. Kulturgeschichtliche Studien.* 5–195. München–Berlin, 1918.Bíró, Sándor et al. *A magyar református egyház története.* [History of the Hungarian Calvinist Church] Budapest: Kossuth Kiadó, 1949.

Bitskey, István. "A nemzetsors toposzai a 17. századi magyar irodalomban." (The topoi of national fate in seventeenth-century Hungarian literature) In *Nemzet – identitás – irodalom. A nemzetfogalom változatai és a közösségi identifikáció kérdései a régi és a klasszikus magyar irodalomban.* Edited by Péter Bényei and Mónika Gönczy, 13-33. Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2005.

Bitskey, István. "História, emlékirat, önvallomás." (*Historia*, memoir, self-confession.) In *Irodalom és ideológia a 16–17. században.* Edited by Béla Varjas, 61-89. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987. Bitskey, István. *Pázmány Péter*. [Péter Pázmány.] Budapest: Gondolat, 1986.

Bitskey, István,. "Virtus és poézis. Az önszemlélet és nemzettudat toposzai Zrínyi műveiben." (Virtue and poesy. Topoi of self-perception and national identity in Zrínyi's works) In *"Nemzet – identitás – irodalom". A nemzetfogalom változatai és a közösségi identifikáció kérdései a régi és a klasszikus magyar irodalomban.* Edited by Péter Bényei and Mónika Gönczy, 34-65. Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2005.

Bitskey, István. *Virtus és religió. Tanulmányok a régi magyar irodalmi műveltségről.* (Virtue and religion. Studies on old Hungarian literature.) Miskolc: Felsőmagyarország, 1999.

Bitskey, István and Szabolcs Oláh, ed. *Religio, retorika, nemzettudat régi irodalmunkban. Klaniczay Tibor emlékére. Nemzetközi konferencia*. [Religio, rethoric and national consciousness in early Hungarian Literature. In memoriam Tibor Klaniczay] Debrecen, 2004. (Csokonai Universitas Könyvtár, 31)

Blöche, Herbert. *Luthers Stellung zum Heidentum im Spannungsfeld von Tradition, Humanismus und Reformation*. Frankfurt am Main–Berlin–Bern–New York–Paris–Wien, 1995. (Europäische Hochschulschriften Reihe XXIII Theologie Bd/vol. 53.)

Bobory, Dóra. "Batthyány Boldizsár és humanista köre." [Boldizsár Batthyány and his circle of humanists] *Századok* 139 (2005): 923–944.

Bobzin, Hartmut. "*Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation." Studien zur frühgeschichte der Arabistik und Islamkunde in Europa.* Beirut, 1995. (Beiruter Texte und Studien. Band 42.)

Bobzin, Hartmut. „Zur islamischen Danielrezeption." In *Europa, Tausendjähriges Reich und Neue Welt. Zwei Jahrtausende Geschichte und Utopie in der Rezeption des Danielbuches.* Edited by Mariano Delgado et al., 159-175. Suttgart, 2003. (Studien zur christlichen Religions- und Kulturgeschichte, 1.)

Bojtos, Anita. "Hivatástudat és a közösségért való áldozatvállalás eszméje Szerméni György Epistolájának első felében." [The idea(l) of vocation and sacrifice fort he community in the epistola of György Szerémi.] In *Nyolcszáz esztendős a Ferences Rend. Tanulmányok a rend lelkiségéről, történeti hivatásáról és kulturális-művészeti szerepéről*. Edited by Norbert Medgyesy-Schmikli, István Ötvös and Sándor Őze, 220-236. Budapest, 2013. (Művelődéstörténeti Műhely – Rendtörténeti konferenciák 8/1.)

Bollók, János. *Asztrális misztika és asztrológia Janus Pannonius költészetében*. [Astrology and astro-mysticism in the poetry of Janus Pannonius.] Budapest, 2003.

Bolyki, János. *Az újszövetségi írásmagyarázat elvei, módszerei és példái.* [The methodology, system and examples of New Testament exegesis] Budapest, 1998.

Borhy, László. *Par domus est caelo. A tér- és időszimbolika elemei a római császárkori boltozat- és kupoladíszítő művészetben.* [Par domus est caelo. Elements of the symbolism of space and time in the artistic decorations of vaults and domes in the Roman Empire] Budapest, 2007.

Borsa, Gedeon ed. Régi magyarországi nyomtatványok. I-II. [RMNY I-II., Early Hungarian Prints], third volume [RMNY III.] edited by János Heltai. Budapest, 2000.

Borzsák, István. *Az antikvitás XVI. századi képe. Bornemisza-tanulmányok.* [The image on Antiquity in the sixteenth century. Studies on Bornemisza] Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1960.

Bosbach, Franz. *„Die Propaganda Karls V in der Kritik des Erasmus.“ Res Publica Litterarum* II (1988) 32–58.

Bosbach, Franz. *Monarchia Universalis. Ein politischer Leitbegriff der frühen Neuzeit.* Göttingen, 1988. (Schriftenreiche der Historischen Komission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 32.)

Bostick, Curtis V. *The Antichrist and the Lollards. Apocalypticism in Late Mediaeval and Reformation England*. Leiden–Boston–Köln, 1998. (Studies in Mediaeval and Reformation Thought, 70.)

Botta, István. “Luther Antikrisztus-fogalmának hatása a magyar reformátorok társadalomszemléletére.” [The influence of Luther’s concept of the Antichrist on the social views of Hungarian reformers] In *Tanulmányok a lutheri reformáció történetéből.* Edited by Tibor Fabiny, 51-65. Budapest: Magyarországi Evangélikus Egyház, 1984.Botta, István. *Melius Péter ifjúsága. A magyarországi reformáció lutheri és helvét irányai elkülönüléseinek kezdete*. [The youth of Péter Melius. The beginnings of the separation of Lutheran and Helvetian Reformation in Hungary] Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978.

Brandi, Karl. *Kaiser Karl V. Werden und Schicksal einer Persönlichkeit und eines Weltreiches*. München, 1964.

Brecht, Martin. “Luther und die Türken.” In *Europa und die Türken in der Renaisance.* Edited by Bodo–Kühlmann Guthmüller, 9-29. Tübingen, 2000.

Breisach, Ernst. *Historiográfia*. [Historiography.] Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2004.

Bright, John. *Izrael története*. [History of Israel.] Budapest: Kálvin Kiadó, 2001.

Brodarics István: “Igaz leírás a magyaroknak a törökökkel történt mohácsi összecsapásáról.” Trans. by Tibor Kardos. In *Mohács emlékezete.* Edited by Tamás Katona. Budapest, 1976.

Bryner, Erich. “Die Ausstrahlungen Bullingers auf die Reformation in Ungarn und Polen.“ *Zwingliana* 31 (2004).

Buchanan, Harvey. “Luther and the Turks 1519–1529.” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 47 (1956): 145–160.

Bucsay, Mihály. *A protestantizmus története Magyarországon*. [The history of Protestantism in Hungary]. Budapest: Gondolat, 1985.

Bucsay, Mihály. *A reformátorok úrvacsora-vitái*. [Reformationist polemy on the Communion] Budapest: Bethlen Nyomda, 1942.

Bucsay, Mihály. *Belényesi Gergely, Kálvin magyar tanítványa*. [Gergely Belényesi, the Hungarian student of Calvin.] Budapest, 1944.

Bucsay, Mihály. Szegedi Gergely, debreceni reformátor, a kálvini irány úttörője hazánkban. [Gergely Szegedi, Reformator of Debrecen, pioneer of Calvisim in our country]Budapest, 1945.

Budge, Ernest A. Wallis, ed. *The history of Alexander the Great. Being the Syriac version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes.* Cambridge: The University Press, 1889.

Bullinger, Heinrich. *Schriften*. Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2006.

Bunyitay, Vince et al., ed. *Egyháztörténeti emlékek a magyarországi hitújítás korából I–V.* (Church history monuments from the era of the Reformation in Hungary I-V). Budapest, 1902-1912.

Büsser, Fritz. “H. Bullingers 100 Predigten über die Apokalypse.” *Zwingliana* 26 (2000): 117–131.

Campi, Emidio. “Über das Ende des Weltzeitalters Aspekte der Rezeption das Danielbuches bei Bullinger.“ In *Europa, Tausendjähriges Reich und Neue Welt. Zwei Jahrtausende Geschichte und Utopie in der Rezeption des Danielbuches.* Edited by Mariano Delgado et al., 225-239. Suttgart, 2003. (Studien zur christlichen Religions- und Kulturgeschichte, 1. Hrsg. Delgado, Mariano–Leppin, Volker).

Cohn, Norman. *Das neue irdische Paradies. Revolutionärer Millenarismus und mystischer Anarchismus im mittelalterlichen Europa*. Reinbek 1988.

Csepregi, Zoltán. *A reformáció nyelve.* [The language of reformation] (Academic doctoral dissertation, 2011)

Csepregi, Zoltán. “A reformáció szó értelme Honterus 1543-as művének címében.” [The meaning of the word “Reformation” in the title of Honterus’ study of 1543] In *Honterus-emlékkönyv.* Edited by Ágnes W. Salgó and Ágnes Stemler, 19-27. Budapest: Osiris, 2001. pp. 19-27.

Csepregi, Zoltán,. “A váradi vita 1544-ben.” [The Dispute of Várad in 1544] In *Szentírás, hagyomány, reformáció. Teológia- és egyháztörténeti tanulmányok.* Edited by Beatrix F. Romhányi and Gábor Kendeffy, 167-189. Budapest: Gondolat, 2009. pp. 167-189.

Csepregi, Zoltán. “Die Auffassung der Reformation bei Honterus und seinen Zeitgenossen.“ In *Humanistische Beziehungen in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen: Politik, Religion und Kunst im 16. Jahrhundert. Siebenbürgisches Archiv 37.* Edited by Ulrich A. Wien and Krista Zach 1-17. Köln – Weimar – Wien, 2004.

Csepregi, Zoltán. “„Ich wil alle ding wol erfaren.“ Mária királyné és udvari papjai.“ [„Ich wil alle ding wol erfaren.“ Queen Mary and her court priests] *Lelkipásztor* 79, no. 6 (2000): 202-208.

Csepregi, Zoltán. “Konfessionsbildung und Einheitsbestrebungen im Königreich Ungarn zur Regierungszeit Ferdinands I.” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 94 (2003):243-275.

Csepregi, Zoltán. “Udvari lelkész az esztergomi börtönben? Conrad Cordatus (1480-1546) tevékenysége Magyarországon.” [Court presbyter in the Esztergom prison?

The activity of Conrad Cordatus (1480-1546) in Hungary.] *Limes*, 14, no. 3 (2001): 65-72.

Csepregi, Zoltán. "Udvari papok Mária királyné környezetében." [Court Priests in the Entourage of Queen Mary of Hungary] In *Mary of Hungary. The Queen and Her Court 1521-1531*. Edited by Orsolya Réthelyi, et al., 49-61. Budapest, 2005,

Csepregi, Zoltán. *Tanulmányok a magyarországi reformáció első negyedszázadának vizsgálata alapján.* [Studies in light of the research of the first twentyfive years of reformation] Budapest, 2013.

Csíkszentmihályi, Mihály. *A fejlődés útjai. A harmadik évezred pszichológiája*. [Ways of development. Psychology of the third millennia.) Budapest: Nyitott Könyvműhely, 2008.

Czeglédy, Károly. *A szír Nagy Sándor legenda.* [The Syriac Alexander Legend]. Budapest, 1958.

Delumeau, Jean: *Angst im Abenland. Die Geschichte kollektiver Ängste im Europa des 14.–18. Jahrhunderts*. Vol. 2., Hamburg, 1985.

De Molen, Richard L. "The Library of William Camden." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 128 (1984): 327–409.

Derschwam, Hans. *Erdély, Besztercebánya, törökországi útinapló.* [Travels in Transylvania, Besztercebánya and Turkey.] Edited by Lajos Tardy. Budapest, 1984.

Diaconus, Paulus. *History of the Lombards.* Trans. by William Dudley Foulke, edited by Edward Peters. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.

Diós, István, ed. *Magyar Katolikus Lexikon*. [Hungarian Catholic Lexicon.] Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1993.

Dixon, C. Scott. "Popular Astrology and Lutheran Propaganda in Reformation Germany." *History* 84 (1999): 404–405.

Domanovszky, Sándor. *Hóman Bálint és Szekfű Gyula: Magyar történet. IV-V. kötet. 16-17. század.* [Bálint Hóman and Gyula Szekfű: History of Hungary. Vol. IV-V. Sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.] *Századok* 63, no. 9-10 (1929); 64, no. 9-10 (1930): 423-429., 881–903.

Eberhard, Winfried. *Konfessionsbildung und Stände in Böhmen. 1478-1530*. München: Oldenbourg, 1981.

Eberhard, Winfried. *Humanismus und Renaissance in Ostmitteleuropa vor der Reformation.* Köln–Weimar–Wien: Böhlau, 1996.

Eberhard, Winfried. *Monarchia und Widerstand: Zur ständischen Oppositionsbildung im Herrschaftssystem Ferdinands I. in Böhmen.* München: Oldenbourg, 1985.

Eckhardt, Sándor: Az Antikrisztus legendája [The Legend of the Antichrist]. Katholikus Szemle 57, 1943/6, 161–165.

Eckhart, Ferenc. *A szentkorona eszme története.* [History of the idea of the Holy Crown]. Budapest, 1941.

Eliade, Mircea. *A History of Religious Ideas I–III*. Chicago, 1978–1985.

Eliade, Mircea. *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return*. Princeton, 1954.

Eliade, Mircea. *The Forge and the Crucible*. Chicago, 1978.

Eliade, Mircea. *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*. Harvest, 1957.

Eliade, Mircea: *Vallási hiedelmek és eszmék története*. [The history of religious beliefs and thoughts.] Budapest: Osiris, 2006.

Emerson, Richard K.. *Antichrist in the Middle Ages. A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art and Litterature*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981.

Engel, Josef. „Von der spätmittelalterlichen respublica christiana zum Mächte-Europa der Neuzeit." In *Handbuch den Europäischen Geschichte*. Edited by Theodor Schieder, III. Stuttgart, 1971.

Erdélyi, László. *A mohácsi vész nemzedéke. Néplélektörténeti korrajz egykorú emlékiratból*. [The Generation of Mohács. Depicting period mentality in light of a monochronic memoire] Szeged, 1941.

Esze, Tamás. *A református kegyesség múltja*. [The past of Calvinist piety] Debrecen: Református Egyház, 1957.

Esze, Tamás 1973. Sztárai Gyulán [Sztárai at Gyula] In: *Könyv és könyvtár 9.* Edited by László Czeglédi, 89-194. Debrecen: KLTE Könyvtár, 1973.

Fabiny, Tibor. *A keresztény hermeneutika kérdései és története.* [Questions and history on Christian hermeneutics.] Budapest: Hermeneutikai Kutatóközpont, 1998.

Fabiny Tibor 2001. "Tyconius kettős egyházról alkotott elképzelésének ágostoni átvétele és/vagy félreértelmezése: kettős ige, kettős egyház, kettős szabály." [Aurelius Augustinus' reception and misreading of Tyconius' theory of a dual church: dual preching, dual church, dual order.] In *Tyconius tanulmányok*. Edited by Tibor Fabiny, 2-25. Budapest: Hermeneutikai Kutatóközpont, 2001. (Hermeneutikai füzetek, 26.)

Farkas, Gábor Farkas. *Régi könyvek, új csillagok.* [Old books, new stars.] Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2011.

Farkas, Gábor Farkas. "Szerémi György hitelességének a kérdése." In *Az Egyetemi Könyvtár évkönyvei*. Edited by László Szögi, 65-85. Budapest, 2001.

Fischer-Galati, Stephen A.. "Ottoman Imperialism and the Lutheran Struggle for Recognition in Germany, 1520–1529." *Church History* 23 (1954): 46–67.

Firth, Katherine R. *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530–1645*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Flasch, Kurt. *Nikolaus von Kues. Geschichte einer Entwicklung*. Frankfurt am Main, 1998.

Fodor, Pál. *A szultán és az aranyalma* [The Sultan and the Golden Apple]. Budapest, 2001.

Fodor, Pál. "Az Apokaliptikus hagyomány és az „aranyalma" legendája. A török a 15–16.századi közvéleményben." [The Apocalyptic Tradition and the Legend of the "Golden Apple"]. *Történelmi Szemle* 39, no. 1 (1997): 21–49.

Fógel, József. *II. Ulászló udvartartása (1490–1516).* [The Royal Court of László II (1490-1516)] Budapest, 1913.

Földváry, László. *Szegedi Kis István élete és a Tisza-Duna mellékiek reformációja.* [The life of István Szegedi Kis and the reformation of the inhabitants of the Danube-Tisza area] Budapest, 1894.

Forgó, András, ed. *A Piarista rend Magyarországon.* [The Piarist Order in Hungary.] Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2010. (Művelődéstörténeti Műhely – Rendtörténeti konferenciák, 6.)

Foulke, William Dudley, trans. *Paul the Deacon: History of the Lombards.* Edited by Edward Peters. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.

Fraknói, Vilmos et al., ed. *Magyar Országgyűlési Emlékek 1526-1606*. I-XII. [Documents oft he Hungarian Parliaments 1526-1606. I-XII.] Budapest: Ráth, 1874-1917.

Frei, Norbert. *Vergangenheitspolitik. Die Anfänge der Bundesrepublik und die NS-Vergangenheit*. München: C.H. Beck 1996.

Freier, Johannes. "A ferences teológia befolyása a reformációra: recepció és elutasítás között." In *A ferences lelkiség hatása az újkori Közép-Európa Történetére és kultúrájára*. Edited by Sándor Őze et al., 143-157. Budapest, 2005.

Galamb, György. "A Huszita biblia és a ferencesek. Megjegyzések az első magyar bibliafordítás kérdéséhez." [The Hussite Bible and the Franciscans. Commentaries on the question of the first Hungarian translation of the Bible] *Egyháztörténeti Szemle* 10, no. 2-3 (2009)-

Galavics, Géza. *Kössünk kardot a pogány ellen. Török háborúk és képzőművészet*. [Let Us Fasten Our Swords against the Pagans. Turkish Wars and Fine Art]. Budapest, 1986.

Gánóczy, Sándor and Stefan Scheld. *Kálvin hermeneutikája. Szellemtörténeti feltételek és alapvonalak.* [The hermeneutics of Calvin. Prerequisites and bases from the history of philosophy] Budapest: Kálvin Kiadó, 1997.

Gibb, HamiltonA. R. et al., ed. *Encyclopaedia of Islam.* Leiden, 1960-2009.

Gerézdi, Rabán, ed. *Benczédi Székely István: Chronica ez világ yeles dolgairól Krakkó*. [István Benczédi Székyel: Chronicle on the Notable Events of this World, Krakow 1559, facsimile.] Budapest, 1960.

Glassl, Horst 1975. "Das Heilige Römische Reich und die Osmanen im Zeitalter der Reformation." In *Südosteuropa unter dem Halbmond. Untersuchungen über Geschichte und Kultur der südosteuropäischen Volker während der Türkenzeit.* Festschrift für Georg Stadtmüller, 61-73. München, 1975.

Goetz, Hans Werner. *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewusstsein im hohen Mittelalter*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1999.

Goetz, Hans Werner. *Translatio imperii: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Geschichtsdenkens und der politischen Theorien im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1958.

Goldammer, Kurt. "Friedensidee und Toleranzgedanke bei Paracelsus und den Spiritualisten." *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 46 (1955): 20–46.

Goldammer, Kurt. "Paracelsische Eschatologie. Zum Verständnis der Anthropologie und Kosmonologie Hohenheims." In *Nova Acta Paracelsica* 5 (1948): 45–85.

Göllner, Carl. *Tvrcica. Die Türkenfrage in der öffentlichen Meinung Europas im 16. Jahrhundert*. Vol. 3. Bucureşti-Baden-Baden, 1978.

Guitman, Barnabás: A bártfai reformáció első évtizedei és kapcsolatrenszere. [The first decade and connections of Reformation at Bártfa] (Doctoral dissertation. Piliscsaba, 2010.)Guitman, Barnabás, ed. *A Ciszterci Rend Magyarországon*. [The Cistercian Order in Hungary.]Piliscsaba: PPKE BTK 2010. (Művelődéstörténeti Műhely – Rendtörténeti konferenciák, 6.)

Hagemann, Ludwig. *Christentum contra Islam. Eine Geschichte gescheiterter Beziehungen*. Darmstadt, 1999.

Harsányi, András. *A domonkos rend Magyarországon a reformáció előtt.* [The Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit in Hungary before the Reofrmation.] (Doctoral dissertation. Debrecen, 1938.)

Havas, László, trans. *Cicero válogatott művei.* [Collected texts of Cicero.] Budapest, 1987.

Hegyi, Klára. *A török hódoltság várai és várkatonasága*. [Castles and Garrisons under the Turkish Domination] I. Budapest, 2009.

Helmrath, Johannes. "Pius II. und die Türken." In *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance.* Edited by Bodo Guthmüller and Wilhelm Kühlmann, 79-139. Tübingen, 2000,

Heltai Gáspár. *Chronicaa magyaroknak dolgairól. Kolozsvár 1575.* [Chronicle of the Affairs of the Hungarians] Edited by Margit Kulcsár. Budapest, 1995.

Herner, János and István Monok, ed. *A magyar könyvkultúra múltjából. Iványi Béla cikkei és gyűjtése.* [On the past of the Hungarian book culture. Articles and findings of Béla Iványi.] Szeged, 1983.

Heuß, Alfred. "„Geschichtliche Gegenwart", ihr Erwerb und ihr Verlust." In *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 7 (1987): 389 – 401.

Hevesi Attila, "Hogy ihatnám a Szerémnek borát" Szőlő és borvidékeink történeti földrajza. ["How could I drink the wine of Syrmia?" The historical geography of our grape and wine regions.] In *Borok és Korok. Bepillantás a bor kultúrtörténetébe.* Edited by Zoltán Benyák and Ferenc Benyák, 95-100. Budapest: Hermész Kör, 1999.

Hobsbawm, Eric J. *Nations and nationalism since 1780. Programme, myth, reality.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Hofer, Tamás, ed. *Magyarok Kelet és Nyugat közt. A nemzettudat változó jelképei.* (Hungarians between West and East. Changing symbols of national identity.) Budapest: Balassi, 1996.

Höfert, Almut. *Den Feind beschreiben. „Türkengefahr" und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich 1450–1600.* Frankfurt am. Main–New York, 2003, (Campus Hischtorische Studien, 35.)

Hofmann, Hans-Ulrich. *Luther und die Johannes-Apokalypse*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1992.

Holl, Béla. "Ozorai Imre vitairatának kiadásairól." [On the publishing of Imre Ozorai's pamphlet] *Magyar Könyvszemle* 92 (1976): 156-170.

Hóman, Bálint and Gyula Szekfű. *Magyar történet. Vol. IV-VII.* (History of Hungary. Vol. IV-VII.) Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1935-1936.

Hopp Lajos. *Az „antemurale és Conformitas" humanista eszméje a magyar–lengyel hagyományban.* [The Humanist Ideal of "Antermurale et Conformitas" in the Hungarian-Polish Tradition]. Budapest, 1992. (Humanizmus és Reformáció, 19.)

Hoppmann, Jürgen G. H. *Astrologie der Reformationszeit.* Berlin, 1998.

Hoppmann, Jürgen G. H., ed., *Melanchthons Astrologie: der Weg der Sternenwissenschaft zur Zeit von Humanismus und Reformation : Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 15. September bis 15. Dezember 1997 im Reformationsgeschichtlichen Museum Lutherhalle Wittenberg.* Wittemberg: Drei-Kastanien-Verl., 1997.

Horváth, Cyrill. *Temesvári Pelbárt és Codexeink.* [Pelbárt Temesvári and our Codexes] Budapest, 1891.

Horváth, János. *A magyar irodalmi műveltség kezdetei*. [The beginnings of Hungarian literary culture] Budapest: Magyar Szemle, 1931.

Horváth, János. *A magyar irodalmi műveltség megoszlása. Magyar humanizmus.* [The Segmentation of Hungarian Written Culture: Hungarian Humanism]. Budapest, 1935.

Horváth, János. *A reformáció jegyében. (A Mohács utáni félszázad irodalomtörténete.)* [Influenced by Reformation – The history of literature of half a century after Mohács] Budapest: Gondolat, 1957.

Horváth, Magda. *A török a német közvéleményben* [The Turk in German popular opinion] Budapest, 1937.

Horváth, Mihály: *Magyarország történelme.* I-V. [History of Hungary I-V.] Pest, 1871-1873.

Hosking, Geofrey and George Schöpflin. *Myths and Nationhood*. London: Routledge, 1997.

Huszti, József. "Pier Paolo Vergerio és a magyar humanizmus kezdete." [Pier Paolo Vergerio and the Beginnings of Hungarian Humanism] *Filológiai Közlöny* 4 (1955): 521–533.

Illés, Pál Attila and Balázs Zágorhidi Czigány, ed. *A domonkos rend Magyarországon*. [The Dominican Order in Hungary] Piliscsaba–Budapest: PPKE BTK–METEM, 2007. (Művelődéstörténeti Műhely – Rendtörténeti konferenciák, 3)

Imre, Mihály. "Arbor Haereseon. A wittenbergi történetszemlélet ikonográfiai ábrázolása Szegedi Kis István Speculum pontificum Romanorum című művének 1592-es kiadásában." [The iconograpical depiction of the Wittenberg view of history in the 1592 edition of István Kis Szegedi'sSpeculum pontificum Romanorum] In *Egyház és művelődés. Fejezetek a reformátusság és a művelődés XVI–XIX. századi történetéből.* Edited by Botond Gáborjáni Szabó et al., 53-85. Debrecen, 2000.

Imre, Mihály. *„Magyarország panasza". A Querela Hungariae toposz a XVI–XVII. század irodalmában.* ["The lamentation of Hungary". The topos of *Querela Hungariae* in sixteenth and seventeenth century literature] Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 1995.

Imre, Mihály. Nemzeti önszemlélet és politikai publicisztika formálódása egy 1674-es prédikációs kötetben. [National Identity and Political Journalism in the Making: The Case Study of a 1674 Volume of Sermons]. *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 91-92, no. 1-2 (1987): 20–46.

Julow, Viktor. "Balassi katonaénekének kompozíciója." [The composition of Balassi's Soldier's Song] *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 76, no. 5-6 (1972): 640-652.

Karácsonyi, János. *Szent Ferenc Rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig*. [The History of the Order of Saint Francis in Hungary until 1711]. I–II. Budapest, 1924.

Kardos, Tibor. *A magyarországi humanizmus kora.* [The Age of Humanism in Hungary]. Budapest, 1955,

Kardos, Tibor. *A magyarság antik hagyományai*. [The Antique Traditions of the Hungarians]. Budapest, 1942,

Kardos, Tibor. *Középkori kultúra, középkori költészet.* [Mediaeval Culture, Mediaeval Poetry]. Budapest, 1985,

Karner, Károly. *Apokalipszis: Fordítás és magyarázat.* [Apocalypse: Translation and exposition]. Bécs: Szépfalusi István, 1974.

Kathona, Géza,. Fejezetek a török hódoltsági reformáció történetéből. [Chapters on the history of the reformation on the Turkish-occupied territories] Budapest, 1974. (Humanizmus és Reformáció, 4).

Kathona, Géza. *Károlyi Gáspár történelmi világképe. Tanulmány a magyar protestáns reformátori apokalyptika köréből* [Gáspár Károlyi's historical world view. A study on Hungarian Protestant reformers' apocalypticism] *Theologiai tanulmányok* 75 (1943)

Kathona, Géza. "Svájci theológiai elemek Szegedi Kis István hittani nézeteiben. Tanulmányok és szövegek a magyarországi Református Egyház XVI. századi történetéből." [Swiss elements of István Szegedi Kis's concepts. Studies and texts ont he sixteenth century history of the Hungarian Reformatist Church] In *Studia et acta Ecclesiastica 3*. Edited by *Tiber* Bartha, 13-107. Budapest, 1973. Kathona, Géza. "Tofeus Mihály kora szellemi áramlataiban." [Mihály Tofeus in the philosophical trends of his age]. In *Irodalom és ideológia a 16–17. században.* Edited by Béla Varjas. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987.

Kaufmann, Thomas. "1600 – Deutungen der Jahrhundertwende im deutschen Luthertum." In: *Jahrhundertswenden, Endzeit- und Zukunftsvorstellungen vom 15. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*. Edited by Manfred Jakubowsky-Tiessen et al., 73-128. Göttingen, 1999. (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 155)

Keel, Othmar. "Die Tiere und der Mensch in Daniel 7." In *Europa, Tausendjähriges Reich und Neue Welt. Zwei Jahrtausende Geschichte und Utopie in der Rezeption des Danielbuches*. Edited by Mariano Delgado et al., 37-66. Suttgart, 2003. (Studien zur christlichen Religions- und Kulturgeschichte, 1. Hrsg. Delgado, Mariano–Leppin, Volker)

Keveházi, László. *„A kereszt igéjét hirdetni kezdtem".Sztárai Mihály élete és szolgálata.* [„I started to preach the word of the cross". Mihály Sztáray's life and service] Budapest, 2005..

Kisbán, Emil. A magyar pálos rend története [History of the Hungarian Paulist Order]. Budapest, 1938.

Kiss, Áron, ed. *A XVI. században tartott magyar református zsinatok végzései.* [Regulation of the Hungarian Calvinist synods in the sixteenth century.] Budapest, 1988.

Kissling, Hans Joachim. "Türkenfurcht und Türkenhoffnung im 15/16. Jahrhundert. Zur Geschichte eines "Komplexes"." *Südostforschungen* 23, no. 16 (1964)

Klaniczai, Tibor. "A keresztes had eszméje és a Mátyás mítosz." [The Idea of the Crusader Army and the Matthias Myth]. In *Hagyományok ébresztése.* Edited by Idem. Budapest, 1976. 166–190.

Kmoskó, Mihály. *Szír írók a steppe népeiről.* [Syrian authors about the peoples of the steppes] Budapest, 2004.

Koch, Klaus. "Auserwähltes Volk, Universalgeschichte und Reich der Ewigkeit – Das Geschichtsverstandnis des Danielbuches." In *Europa, Tausendjähriges Reich und Neue Welt. Zwei Jahrtausende Geschichte und Utopie in der Rezeption des Danielbuches*. Edited by Mariano Delgado et al., 12-37. Suttgart, 2003. (Studien zur christlichen Religions- und Kulturgeschichte, 1. Hrsg. Delgado, Mariano–Leppin, Volker)

Koch, Klaus. *Das Buch Daniel*. (Erträge der Forschung. Vol. 144.) Darmstadt: Wissentschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980.

Koch, Uwe, ed. *Zwischen Katheder, Thron und Kerker: Leben und Werk des Humanisten Caspar Peucer 1525–1602. Katalog der Ausstellung im Stadtmuseum Bautzen 25. September bis 31. Dezember 2002*. Bautzen: Domowina Verlag, 2002.

Kohler, Alfred. *Karl V. 1500-1558. Eine Biographie.* München, 2000.

Kolb, Robert. *Caspar Peucer's Library. Portrait of a Wittenberg Professor of the mid-sixteenth Century.* Saint Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1976. (Sixteenth Century Bibliography, 5.)

Kovács, Bálint. *Az irodalom és vallás kulturális közvetítő szerepe az erdélyi örmények integrációja során a 18. században.* [The cultural medial role of literature and religion in the integration of the Transylvanian Armenians in the 18th century.] (A summary of the doctoral dissertation – second, last chapter. Piliscsaba, 2010.)

Kovács, Eszter. "Egy cseh nemes írása a törökök vallásáról a 17. századból (Václav Budovec z Budova és az Antialkorán)." [The writings of a Czech nobleman on the religion of the Turks in the seventeenth century]. *Egyháztörténeti Szemle* 3 (2008): 53–66.

Kovács, Eszter. Cseh és magyarországi jezsuiták kapcsolata a 16–17. században. [The connections of Czech and Hungarian Jesuits in the sixteenth and seventeenth century]. (Doctoral dissertation. Piliscsaba, 2009.)

Kövendi, Dénes, trans. *Platón Összes művei.* [Anthology of Plato.] Budapest, 1984.

Kriza, Ildikó. "Rex iustus – rex clarus. (Mátyás király a néphagyományban.)" [Rex iustus – rex clarus. King Matthias in Folk Tradition] In *Hunyadi Mátyás. Emlékkönyv Mátyás király halálának 500. évfordulójára.* Edited by Gyula Rászó and László Molnár, 363-410. Budapest, 1990.

Kues, Nikolaus von (Nicolaus Cusanus). *Cribratio Alkorani – Sichtung des Korans, lateinisch-deutsch.* (3 Bde.) Edited by Ludwig Hagemann. Hamburg, 1993.

Ladányi, Sándor. "A coccejanismus jelentkezése és hatása a magyar református teológiai gondolkodásra a 17–18. században – különös tekintettel a bibliai tudományokra." [The appearance and influence of Coccejanism in Hungarian

Calvinist theological thinking in the seventeenth and 18th centuries, especially in biblical studies] In *Ostium in caelo. Jubileumi kötet dr. Bolyki János teológiaprofesszor 75.születésnapjára*. Budapest: KRE HTK Ráday Könyvesház, 2006, 191–196.

Ladányi, Sándor, ed. *Magyarországi protestáns egyháztörténeti lexikon.* [Lexicon of the history of the Hungarian Calvinist Church.] Budapest: Református Egyház Zsinati Iroda, 1977.

Lamparter, Helmut. *Luthers Stellung zum Türkenkrieg.* München, 1940. (Forschungen zur Geschichte und Lehre des Protestantismus, Neunte Reihe, Bd. IV)

Láng, Benedek. "Rajmundus Lullus és az Ars Magna." [Ramon Llull and Ars Magna]. *Magyar Filozófiai Szemle* 1997/1–2. 187–216.

Lanzinner, Maximillian. *Friedenssicherung und politische Einheit des Reiches unter Kaiser Maximillian II. (1564–1576)*. Göttingen, 1993.

Lazius, F.. „Luthers Stellung zur türkischen Weltmacht," *Baltische Monatschrift* 38 (1891): 263–280.

Lehman, Hartmut. "Endzeitwartung im Luthertum im späten 16. und im frühen 17. Jahrhundert." In *Die Lutherische Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland*. Edited by Hans-Chirstoph Rublack. Gütersloh, 1992.

Lénárd Magyar, István. „A spirituális mozgalmaktól a ferences obszervanciáig," [From spiritual movements to the Franciscan Observance] *Vigilia* 1999/2, 100-104.

Leppin, Volker. *Antichrist und Jüngster Tag.Das Profil apokalyptischer Flugschriftenpublizistik im deutschen Luthertum 1548–1618* (Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte, 69.). Gütersloh, 1999.

Lerner, Robert E.. "Popular Justice": Rupescissa in Hussite Bohemia. In *Eschatologie und Hussitismus*. Edited by Alexander Patschovsky et al., 39-52. Praha, 1996. (Historica, Series nova, suppiementum, 1)

Lerner, Robert E.. *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middie Ages.* Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, 1972.

Lerner, Robert E.. *The Powers of Prophecy. The Cedar of Lebanon Vision from the Mongol Ortslaught to the Dawn of the Enlightenment.* Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, 1983.

Lestringant, Frank. "Guillaume Postel et l' «obsession turqe»." In *Éditions de La Maisnie, Postel, Guillaume 1581–1981.* Edited by Guy Trédaniel. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1981. 265-298.

Lings, Martin. *Muhammad. His Life Based on the Earliest Sources*. London, 1983.

Madas, Edit. A prédikáció magvetésével a magyar nemzet védelmében. [Defending the Hungarian nation by sowing preachings] Budapest, 2003.

MacDonald, Thomas L. "Beza's Verses on Tycho's Nova." *Journal of the Royal Astronomical Society of Canada* 35 (1941): 366–367.

Madas, Edit and István Monok. *A könyvkultúra Magyarországon a kezdetektől 1730-ig.* [Book culture in Hungary from the beginnings up till 1730] Budapest: Balassi, 1998.

Makkai, László: *A kuruc nemzeti összefogás előzményei. Népi felkelések Magyarországon 1630–32-ben.* [The precursors of the Kuruc national revolt. Popular rebellions in Hungary in 1630-32.] Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1956.

Makkai, László. *Debrecen város művelődéstörténete*. [Cultural history of Debrecen.] Debrecen, 1984.

Makkai, László, ed. *Erdély öröksége. Erdélyi emlékírók Erdélyről. I–X.* [The inheritance of Transylvania. Transylvanian writers on Transylvania, I-X.] Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1942.

Makkai, László. *Erdély története*. [History of Transylvania.] Budapest: Renaissance, 1944.

Makkai, László. *Erdélyi városok*. [Cities of Transylvania]. Budapest: Officina, 1940.

Makkai, László. Foreword to *Bethlen Gábor emlékezete*. Edited by Idem. Budapest: Helikon, 1980.

Makkai, László and András Mócsy, ed. *Erdély története: A kezdetektől 1606-ig.* [History of Transylvania: From the early times till-1606.] Budapest, 1986.

Mályusz, Elemér. *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon.* [Ecclesiastical society in mediaeval Hungary] Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971.

Mályusz Elemér. "Pálos rend a középkor végén." [Paulist Order at the End of the Middle Ages]. *Egyháztörténet* 1945/3. 1–55.

Mályusz, Elemér. *Zsigmond király uralkodása Magyarországon.* [King Sigismund's Reign in Hungary]. Budapest, 1984.

Marczali, Henrik. *A magyar történet középkori kútfői az Árpádok korában.* [Mediaeval Sources of Hungarian History in the Árpád Era]. Budapest, 1880.

Marosi, Ernő. "A XIV–XV. századi magyarországi művészet európai helyzetének néhány kérdése." [Some Questions Concerning the European Status of fourteenth and fifteenth-century Hungarian Art]. *Ars Hungarica* 1, no. 1 (1974): 25-66.

Marosi, Ernő et al., ed. *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342–1382.* [Art in the Court of King Louis I, 1342–1382.] Budapest, 1982.

Mayer, Joseph. *Der Astronom Cyprian Leovitius (1514–1574) und seine Schriften.* In: Bibliotheca Mathematica, 3. Folge 4, 1903) 134–159.

McGinn, Bernard. *Az Antikrisztus. Az emberiség kétezer éve a gonosz bűvöletében.* [The Antichrist. Mankind's two millenia under the enchantment of evil.] Budapest, 1995.

McGinn, Bernard, *Die Mystik am Abendland.* (Gesamtaufnahme mehrbändiges Werk). Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1994.
McGinn, Bernard. Geschichte der christlichen Spiritualität I-III. Würzburg, 1993-1997.
Medgyesy-Schmikli, Norbert. *A csíksomlyói ferences misztériumdrámák forrásai, művelődés- és lelkiségtörténeti háttere.* [Sources and backgrounds regarding the cultural and spiritual history of the Franciscan dramas of Csíksomlyó.] Budapest, 2009. (Fontes Historici Oridinis Fratrum Minorum in Hungaria Magyar ferences források, 5 – Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar Művelődéstörténeti Műhely Monográfiák 5.)
Medgyesy-Schmikli, Norbert 2009. "Az utolsó ítélet a magyarországi iskoladrámákban." [The Last Judgment in Hungarian school plays] In *Apokaliptika és posztmodernitás*. Edited by Sándor Őze and László Szelke, 133-149. Piliscsaba: Szent Vince Szakkollégium, 2009. (Szent Vince Füzetek)
Mertens, Dieter, "Claromontani passagi exemplum. Papst Urban II. und der erste Kreuzzug in der Türkenkriegspropaganda des Renaissance-Humanismus." In *Europa und dieTürken in der Renaissance*. Edited by Bodo Guthmüller et al., 65. Tübingen, 2000.
Meserve, Margaret. *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*. Chicago. 2008.
Mezey, László. A Báthori-Biblia körül. [On the Báthori-Bible.] Budapest: Akadémia, 1956.
Miller, J. Maxwell and John Hayes. *Az ókori Izrael és Júda története*. [The history of ancient Israel and Judaea.] Piliscsaba, 2003.
Möhring, Hannes. *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit Entstehung, Wandel und Wirkung einer tausendjahrigen Weissagung. Jan Thorbecke Verlag.* Stuttgart, 2000.
Molnár, Antal. *A katolikus egyház a hódolt Dunántúlon.* [The Catholic Church on Turkish-occupied Transdanubia] Budapest, 2003.
Molnár, Antal. *Mezőváros és katolicizmus. Katolikus Egyház az Egri Püspökség hódoltsági területein.* [Market town and Ctholicism. The Catholic Church on the Turkish-occupied territories of the Diocese of Eger] Budapest, 2005.
Molnár, Antal. *Katolikus missziók a hódolt Magyarországon I. (1572–1647).* [Catholic missions in Turkish-occupied Hungary I. (1572-1647)] (Humanizmus és reformáció, 26.). Budapest, Balassi, 2002.
Molnár Antal: Püspökök, barátok, parasztok. Fejezetek a szegedi ferencesek törökkori történetéből. [Bishops, monks, peasants. Chapters of the history of the Franciscan Order in Szeged in the Turkish-times] Budapest, 2003.

Mondin, Battist. *Pápák enciklopédiája*. [Encyclopedia of Popes.] Budapest, 2005.
Monok, István. Batthyány Boldizsár, a franciás. [Boldizsár Batthyány, the francophile] In *Acta Historiae Litterarum Hungaricarum Tomus XXIX.* (Ötvös Péter Festschrift). Compiled by Zsuzsa Font–Gizella Keserű. 185–198. Szeged: SZTE BTK, 2006.
Monte Crucis, Ricoldus des. *Confutatio Alcorani (1300) – Martin Luther, Verlegung des Alkoran (1442).* Latin-German edition with commentary, ed. by Johannes Ehmann. Würzburg-Altenberge, 1999.
Müller-Jahncke, Wolf-Dieter. "Kaspar Peucers Stellung zur Magie." In *Die okkulten Wissenschaften in der Renaissance.* Edited by August Buck, in cooperation with Otto Harrassowitz. 94–101. Wiesbaden, 1992, (Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung, 12.)
Nagy Barna: "Méliusz Péter művei- könyvészeti és tartalmi áttekintés különös figyelemmel most felfedezett műveire s a forráskutatási feladatokra." [Péter Meliusz's books – a bibliographical and textual overview with a special regard to his lately discovered texts and the tasks of further research] In *Studia et acta Ecclesiastica II. Tanulmányok a Magyarországi Református Egyház történetéből. A második Helvét hitvallás Magyarországon és Méliusz életműve*. 195–354. Budapest, 1967.
Nehring, Karl. *Matthias Corvinus, Kaiser Friedrich III. und das Reich. Zum hunyadisch-habsburgischen Gegensatz im Donauraum.* München, 1989.
Nemeskürty, István. *Bornemisza Péter, az ember és az író.* [Péter Bornemissza. The man and the author.] Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1959.
Nemeskürty, István, ed. *Ozorai Imre vitairata – Krakkó: 1535.* [Imre Ozorai's pamphlet – Cracow: 1535.] Budapest, 1961.
Nöldeke, Theodor*: Geschichte der Qorans. Leipzig: 1909.* Dritte reprografische Nachdruck der 2. Auflage. Hildesheim–New York, 1981.
Nora, Pierre. *Zwischen Geschichte und Gedächtnis*. Berlin: Verlag Klaus Wagenbach, 1990.
Nora, Pierre. *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*. 1996, 21-31
Oberman, Heiko Augustinus. *Luther. Mensch zwischen Gott und Teufel*. München, 1986
Opitz, Peter. *Heinrich Bullinger als Theologe. Eine Studie zu „Dekaden"*. Zürich, 2004.
Ostrogorsky, Georg: *Geschichte des Byzantinischen Staates*. München, 1963.
Őze, Sándor, ed. 500 magyar levél a 16. századból. Csányi Ákos Levelei Nádasdy Tamáshoz (1549–1562) [500 Letters from the sixteenth Century addressing Tamás Nádasdy (1549-1562).] Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1995.

Őze, Sándor. "A ferencesek és a reformáció kapcsolata a XVI. századi Magyarországon." [The relationship of Reformation and Franciscans in sixteenth-century Hungary] In *A ferences lelkiség hatása az újkori közép-Európa történetére és kultúrájára.* Edited by Sándor Őze, Medgyesy-Schmikli Norbert, 157-175. Budapest- Piliscsaba: PPKE – METEM, 2005.

Őze, Sándor. *A határ és a határtalan. Identitáselemek vizsgálata a 16.századi magyar ütközőzóna népességénél* [Limits and the limitless. Examination of identity elements among the population of sixteenth-century Hungarian buffer zone]. Budapest: METEM – Historia Ecclesiastica Hungarica Alapítvány, 2006.

Őze, Sándor. "A Molnár Erik-vita és a Mohács-szindróma." [The Erik Molnár-debate and the Mohács-disorder] In *Variációk. Ünnepi tanulmányok M. Kiss Sándor tiszteletére.* Edited by István Ötvösm 360-427. Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar, 2004.

Őze, Sándor. "A művelődés közege és szektorai a XVI. század magyar határvidéki népességénél." [Sectors and media of culture in sixteenth-century Hungarian border populace] In *Szentírás, hagyomány, reformáció. Teológia- és egyháztörténeti tanulmányok.* Edited by B. F. Romhányi and G. Kendeffy, 297-307. Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2009.

Őze, Sándor. "A szent had, Hadiprédikáció Magyarországon a 16-17. században Bornemisza Péter, Pázmány Péter, Tolnai Mihály és Nagyari István művei alapján." [The Holy Army: military preaching in Hungary in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, based on the works of Bornemisza, Pázmány, Tolnai and Nagyari] In *A politika műfajai a régi magyar irodalomban (Gyula: 2005. május 25–28.)*. Edited by Sándor Bene, 1-16. Budapest: MTA Irodalomtudományi Intézet, 2005.

Őze, Sándor. "A tábori prédikáció műfaja és beszédhelyzete a 16-17. században." Lecture given at the Classical Studies and Textual Criticism Colloquium in Memory of István Borzsák; Eötvös Collegium, Budapest, 20-25 Aptil 2009. Accessed: 28.09.2015., http://www.iti.mta.hu/gyula-program.html

Őze, Sándor. "Apokaliptika és nemzettudat a XVI. századi Magyarországon." [Apocalytics and national consciousness in sixteenth-century Hungary] In:*"Religió, retorika, nemzettudat régi irodalmunkban."* Edited by Isván Bitskey and Szabolcs Oláh, 112-125. Debrecen: Egyetemi Kiadó, 2004.

Őze, Sándor. "Aspekte der Rezeption des Danielbuches bei Peter Bornemisza." In *„Was ich bin, und was ich habe, dank, ich dir, mein Collegium" Classical Textual in Memory of István Borzsák.* Budapest, 2009.

Őze, Sándor. "Az apokaliptika, mint legitimációs eszköz a 16. századi Magyarországon, a reformáció idején." [Apocalypticism as a tool of legitimacy during the Reformation in sixteenth-century Hungary] In *Mindennapi választások. Tanulmányok Péter Katalin 70. születésnapjára.* Edited by G. Erdélyi and P. Tusor, 465-483. Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 2007.

Őze, Sándor. "Az apokaliptika, mint a politikai propaganda eszköze a 16. századi Magyarországon." [Apocalpytics as the tool of political propaganda in sixteenth-century Hungary] In *Hatalom, legitimáció, ideológia : történeti tanulmányok.* Edited by Éva Gedő and Emőke Horváth, 130-143. Budapest: L'Harmattan Kiadó, 2007.

Őze, Sándor. "Az apokaliptikus gondolkodás az újkorban és Magyarországon." [Apocalpytic thinking in early modern Hungary] In *Nemzeti művelődés – egységesülő világ.* Edited by Mihály Szegedy-Maszák et al., 223-251. Budapest: Napkút kiadó, 2010.

Őze, Sándor. *„Bűneiért bünteti Isten a magyar népet". Egy 16. századi bibliai párhuzam elemzése a nyomtatott egyházi irodalom alapján* ["God Punishes the Hungarian People for their Sins". A Sixteenth-Century Biblical Parallel in Printed Ecclesiastical Literature]. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1991.

Őze, Sándor. "Dániel Birodalmai Magyarországon. Batizi András: Meglött és megleendő verses világkrónikája alapján." [The empires of Daniel in Hungary, on the basis of Baitzi's poetic world chronicle] In *Tíz éves a Történelemtudományi Doktori Iskola.* Edited by Sándor Őze, 59-78. Budapest: Loisir Kiadó, 2011.

Őze, Sándor. "Die Vertreibung der helvetischen Reformation in den ungarischen Grenzgebieten des sechzenten Jahrhundert." In *Pietas non sola Romana. Studia memoriae Stephani Borzsák dedicata.* Edited by Anita Czeglédy et al., 613-622. Budapest: Typotex – Eötvös Collegium, 2010.

Őze, Sándor. "Fokasz császár szerepe az európai és magyarországi protestantizmus történetszemléletében." [The role of the emperor Phocas in the historical view of Hungarian and Eurpean Protestantism] In *Eruditio, virtus et constantia: Tanulmányok a 70 éves Bitskey István tiszteletére.* Edited by Mihály Imre et al., 526-535. Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó, 2011.

Őze, Sándor. "Inside and outside the Gates of Alexander. Various aspects of a topos among Armenian and Hungarian inhabitants of early modern Hungary." In *Armenier im östlichen Europa (15.-19. Jahrhundert). EineAnthologie.* Edited by Balint Kovacs and Stefan Troebst, 311- 335. Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2012.

Őze, Sándor. "Korán-cáfolatok a 16-17. századfordulóján Közép-Európában." [Central European criticism of the Qur'an in sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe] *Egyháztörténeti szemle* 10, no. 2 (2009): 19-33.

Őze, Sándor. "Még egyszer a ferencesekről. Válasz Szabó András: *A magyarországi reformáció kezdete és az átmeneti korszaka a reformátorok életútjának tükrében*

című cikkére.*”* [Once more on Franciscans. Reply to Szabó’s *The beginnings of Reformation and in Hungary and its transition period, on the basis of the lives of Hungarian reformers*] *Egyháztörténet* 2010/2. 118-134.

Őze, Sándor. “Nádasdy Tamás és az örményesi pálos kolostor.” [Tamás Nádasdy and the Paulist Monastery in Örményes] In *Decus solitudinis: pálos évszázadok*. Edited by Sarbak Gábor. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2007. (Művelődéstörténeti Műhely – Rendtörténeti konferenciák, 4/1).

Őze, Sándor. *Nemzettudat és historiográfia.* [National identity and historiography] Budapest: Hamvas Intézet 2009.

Őze, Sándor. “Szegedi Kis István temesvári tartózkodása Skaricza Máté életrajza alapján.” [István Szegdi Kis’s residence in Temesvár in the light of Máté Skaricza”s biography] In *Emlékezet és devóció a régi magyar irodalomban.* Edited by Mihály Balázs and Csilla Gábor, 457-470. Kolozsvár: Kolozsvári Egyetemi Kiadó, 2007.

Őze, Sándor. “The stronghold of Christianity” or “A country between hammer and anvil”. A change of national identity in the 16th century among the soldiers of the Turkish frontier in Southwestern Hungary. In *Virrasztó darvak. Tanulmányok a Dél-Alföld történetéből,* 149-161., Hódmezővásárhely: Norma Nyomdász KFT, 2008.

Őze, Sándor. “Török fenyegetettség és protestáns apokaliptika a XVI. századi Magyarországon.” [Turkish danger and Protestant apocalypticism in sixteenth-century Hungary] In *A Kelet ritka nyugalma: A VII. Nemzetközi Vámbéry konferencia.* Edited by. Mihály Dobrovits, 394-445. Dunaszerdahely: Lilium Aurum, 2010.

Őze, Sándor. “Török veszély és ferences apokaliptika a kora újkori Magyarországon.’ [Turkish danger and Franciscan apocalypticism in early modern Hungary] In *Nyolcszáz esztendős a Ferences Rend: Tanulmányok a Rend lelkiségéről, történelmi hivatásáról és kulturális-művészeti szerepéről.* Edited by. Norbert Medgyesy-S., István Ötvös and Sándor Őze, 197-219. Budapest: METEM – Hiistoria Ecclesiastica Hungarica Alapítvány, 2013.

Őze, Sándor. “Унгарското кралство и идеологията на кръстоносните походи от началото на османската угроза доизграждането на хабсбургската отбранителна линия (1395 – 1556).” In *От Никополог до Виена 1396-1683 = NikápolytólBécsig 1396-1683*. Edited by Hristo Matanov and György Arató, 39-68. Sofia: Svyatnauka, 2008.

Őze, Sándor and Mihály Dobrovics. “A Korán-cáfolat műfaja közép-európai reformáció és katolikus reform eszmei fegyvertárában.” [The genre of the refutation of the Qur’an in the intellectual arsenal of Central European Reformation and Catholic reform] *Egyháztörténet* 2 (2009): 19–33.

Őze, Sándor and Mihály Dobrovics. “A török-kép változása a XVI. századi Magyarországon.” In *Ezredforduló – századforduló – hetvenedik évforduló. Ünnepi tanulmányok Zimányi Vera tiszteletére*. Edited by Zsuzsanna J. Újváry, 228-237. Piliscsaba, 2001.

Őze, Sándor and Mihály Dobrovics. “Melanchton és a hódoltsági reformáció iszlámképe.” [Melanchthon and the image of Islam of the Reformation in the Hungary under Turkish occupation] *Lelkipásztor* 73 (1998): 46-50 and 89-92.

Őze, Sándor and Mihály Dobrovics. “Pázmány Korán-cáfolatának előzményei: a török XVI. századi magyarországi megítélése.” [The precursors of Pázmány’s Qur’an-criticism: the perception of Turks in sixteenth-century Hungary] In *Pázmány Péter és kora.* Edited by Emil Hargittay, 62-70. Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem BTK, 2001.

Őze, Sándor and Mihály Dobrovics. “Török hatalom és parasztság” [Turkish Domination and Peasantry] *Zalai Múzeum* 10 (2001): 151-160.

Őze, Sándor and Mihály Dobrovics. „Török nyelvhasználat a dél-dunántúli végvárakban a 16. században,” [Usage of Turkish language in the South-Transdunabian border castles of the sixteenth century] *Zalai Múzeum* 12 (2003): 202-218.

Őze, Sándor and Mihály Dobrovics. „Wandel des Türkenbildes bei den ungarischen Protestanten im 16. Jahrhundert.” *Suevia Pannonica: Arhiv der Deutschen aus Ungarn* XVIII, no. 28 (2000): 42-47.

Őze Sándor and Norbert Medgyesy-Schmikli, ed. A ferences lelkiség hatása az újkori Közép-Európa történetére és kultúrájára I-II. [The effect of the Franciscan Order on modern Central European history and culture, I-II.] Budapest–Piliscsaba: METEM, PPKE BTK, 2005.

Őze, Sándor and Norbert Spanenberger. “Hungaria vulgo apellatur propugnaculum Christianitatis”.: Zur politischen Instrumentalisierung einer Selbstlegitimierung in Ungarn.“ In *Jahrbücher für Geschichte und Kultur Südosteuropas*. Edted by Markus Krzoska and Hans Christian Maner, 19-39. Münster: LIT Verlag, 2005.

Pálffi, Géza. “A török elleni védelmi rendszer története a kezdetektől a 18. század elejéig.” [The History of the Defensive System against the Turks from the Beginnings until the 18th Century]. *Történelmi Szemle* 38, no. 2-3. (1996): 257–288.

Pálosfalvi, Tamás. *Nikápolytól Mohácsig. 1396–1526.* [From Nikopol to Mohács. 1396-1526.] Budapest: Zrínyi, 2005.

Payr, Sándor. *A Dunántúli Evangélium Egyházkerület története*. [History of the Transdanubian Evangelist Diocese] Sopron, 1924.

Perjés, Géza. *Országút szélére vetett ország*. [The country led to the edge of the highway] Budapest: Magvető, 1975.

Péter, Katalin. “A haza és a nemzet az ország három részre hullott állapotában.” [Nation and patria in the three parts of Hungary] *Folia Historica* 18 (1993): 13–33.
Péter, Katalin. “A katolikus megújulás és a protestáns reformáció.” [Catholic revival and Protestant Reformation] In *Papok és nemesek. Magyar művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a reformációval kezdődő másfél évszázadból.* 5-15. Budapest, 1995.
Péter, Katalin,. *A magyar nyelvű politikai publicisztika kezdetei. A Siralmas Panasz keletkezéstörténete.* [The beginnings of vernacular Hungarian political publications. The origins of the *Weeping Lament.*] Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973.
Péter, Katalin. *A magyar romlásnak századában.* [In the century of Hungarian fall.] Budapest: Gondolat, 1975.
Péter, Katalin. “Az utolsó idők hangulata a 16. századi Magyarországon.” [The mentality of the End of Time in sixteenth-century Hungary] In *Történelmi Szemle* 47, no. 3-4 (2005): 277–286, 283–285.
Péter, Katalin. *Papok és nemesek. Magyar művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a reformációval kezdődő másfél évszázadból.* [Priests and nobles. Studies in Hungarian cultural history from the Reformation onwards.] Budapest: Ráday Gyűjtemény, 1995.
Péter, Katalin. “Reformáció és művelődés a 16. században.” [Reformation an culture in 16-th century Hungary] In *Magyarország története 1526–1686.* III/1. Edited by Pál Pach Zsigmond and Ágnes R. Várkonyi, 475-604. Budapest, 1985.
Peuckert, Will-Erich. *Die Grosse Wende. Das apokalyptische Saeculum und Luther. Geistesgeschichte und Volkskunde*. Hamburg, 1948.
Pirnát, Antal. *Die Ideologie der Siebenbürger antitrinitarier in den 1570-er Jahren.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1961.
Postel, Rainer. “Geschwinde Zeiten. Zum Kriesenproblem im 16. Jahrhundert.” In *Krisenbewußtsein und Kriesenbewältigung in Frühen Neuzeit-Crisis in Early Modern Europe Festschrift für Hans-Christoph Rublack*. Edited by Monika Hagenmaier and Sabina Hotz, 13-21. Frankfurt am Main–Berlin–New York–Paris–Wien, 1992.
R. Várkonyi, Ágnes. *A királyi Magyarország 1541–1686* [Royal Hungary]. Budapest: VinceKiadó, 1999. *(Tudomány-Egyetem sorozat)*
R. Várkonyi, Ágnes. “A nemzet, a haza fogalma a török harcok és a Habsburg-ellenes küzdelmek idején (1526–1711).” [The concepts of nation and patria during the conflicts with the Turks and the Habsburgs] In: *A magyar nacionalizmus kialakulása és története*, 27-78. Budapest: Kossuth Kiadó, 1964.
R. Várkonyi, Ágnes. “Az önálló fejedelemség utolsó évtizedei (1660–1711).” [The last decades of an independent principality]. In *Erdély története. II. 1606-tól 1830-ig.*

Erdély története három kötetben. Chief editor: Béla Köpeczi. Edited by László Makkai and András Mócsy and Zoltán Szász,784-971 and 1153-1170.. Budapest: Akadémiai, 1986.
R. Várkonyi, Ágnes. *Erdélyi változások. Az erdélyi fejedelemség a török kiűzésének korában 1660–1711. Nemzet és emlékezet.* [Transylvanian changes. The Principality of Transylvania in the age of the expulsion of the Turks; Nation and memory] Budapest: Magvető, 1984.
R. Várkonyi, Ágnes. *Europica varietas – Hungarica varietas 1526–1762.* Budapest, 2000.
R. Várkonyi, Ágnes. *Magyarország keresztútjain. Tanulmányok a XVII.századról.* [On the cross-roads of Hungary. Studies on the seventeenth century] Budapest: Gondolat, 1978.
R. Várkonyi, Ágnes. *Országegyesítő kísérletek (1648–1664); Gazdaság és társadalom a 17.század második felében (1648–1686)*; and *A török háború: Bécstől Budáig (1683–1686)*. In Magyarország története 1526–1686. In: *Magyarország története tíz kötetben. 3/2.* Chief editor: Pál Pach Zsigmond. Budapest: Akadémiai. 1985. 1043–1054. 1273–1424. 1577–1636. 1812–1823. 1841–1854. 1871–1876.
R. Várkonyi, Ágnes. *Rákóczi Ferenc államáról* [On the state of Ferenc Rákóczi]. Budapest, 2002.
R. Várkonyi, Ágnes. “Végvár: állam, társadalom, mentalitás.” [Border fortress: state, society, mentality] In *Magyarországi végvárak a XVI–XVII. században. Tudományos tanácskozás előadásai.* Noszvaj: 1982. okt. 20–21. Edited by Sándor Bodó and Jolán Szabó, 7-21. Eger: Dobó István Vármúzeum, 1983. (also Studia Agriensia, 3.)
Rabe, Horst. *Reich und Glaubensspaltung. Deutschland 1500–1600*, Frankfurt am Main: 1989. (Die Neue Deutsche Geschichte, IV)
Rahner, Karl and Herbert Vorgrimler. *Teológiai Kisszótár*. [Theological dictionary.] Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1980.
Raymund, Wilhelm. *Italienische Flugschriften des Cinquecento (1500–1550). Gattungsgeschichte und Sprachgeschichte*. Tübingen, 1996.
Rassow, Peter. *Die Kaiser-Idee Karls V. Dargestellt an der Politik der Jahre 1528–1540*. Berlin, 1932
Reeves, Marjoire. *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages. A Study in Joachimism.* Oxford, 1969
Révész, Imre. *A magyarországi protestantizmus történelme.* [The history of Hungarian Protestantism]. Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1925.
Révész, Imre. *A reformáció.* [Reformation.] Budapest: Magyar Szemle Társulat, 1932.

Révész, Imre,. *Bod Péter, mint történetíró*. [Péter Bod, as historian.] Kolozsvár: Stief nyomda, 1916.Révész, Imre. *Debrecen lelki válsága, 1561-1571* (Spiritual Crisis of Debrecen, 1561-1571). Budapest: Akadémia, 1936.

Révész, Imre,. Dévai Bíró Mátyás tanításai. [The teachings of Mátyás Dévai Bíró.] Kolozsvár, 1915.

Révész Imre. Krisztus és Antikrisztus. Ozorai Imre és műve. Tanulmány a magyar protestáns theológiai gondolkodás kezdeteiből. [Christ and Antichrist. A study on Hungarian protestant tehological thoughts]Debrecen, 1928.

Révész, Imre. *Magyar református egyháztörténet.* [History of the Hungarian Calvinist Church.] Debrecen: Magyar Rformátus Egyház, 1938.

Révész, Imre. *Társadalmi és politikai eszmék a magyar puritanizmusban.* [Social and political philosophy in Hungarian Puritanism]. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1948.

Richardsen-Friedrich, Ingvild: *Antichrist-Polemik in der Zeit der Reformation und der Glaubenskämpfe bis Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts. Argumentation, Form und Funktion*. Frankfurt am Main, 2003.

Ritoók-Szalay, Ágnes. "Hunyadi János gyulafehérvári síremlékének domborművei." [Reliefs of John Hunyadi's Tomb in Gyulafehérvár]. In: *Történelem – kép. Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatáról Magyarországon.* Edited by Anna Jávor. Budapest: 2000.

Ritoók-Szalay, Ágnes. "Warum Melanchthon? Über die Wirkung Melanchthons im ehemaligen Ungarn." [Why Melanchton? Of Melanchton's influence in early modern Hungary] In *Melanchthon und Europa*. Edited by Günter Frank and Martin Treu. Vol. VI/1. 273–284. Melanchthon-Schriften der Stadt Bretten. [Melanchton's writings of the city of Bretten] Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2001.

Rösener, Werner, ed. *Kommunikation in der ländlichen Gesellschaft vom Mittelalter bis zur Moderne.* Göttingen, 2000. (Veröfentlichungen Des Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte, 156.)

Rózsa, Huba. *Az Ószövetség keletkezése* I-II. [The Creation of the Old Testament] Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1999.

Rózsa, Huba. *Ószövetségi egzegézis*. [Old Testament exegesis] Budapest, 1992.

Rózsa, Huba. *Üdvösségközvetítők az Ószövetségben I. A királyi Messiás*.[Mediators of salvation in the Old Testament I. The royal Messiah] Budapest, 1993.

Runciman, Steven. *A keresztes hadjáratok története.* [The History of the Crusades]. Budapest: Osiris, 2002.

Runciman, Steven. *Konstantinápoly eleste. 1453*. [The Fall of Constantinople]. Budapest, 2000.

Sarbak, Gábor, ed. *Decus solitudinis: pálos évszázadok.* [Decus solitudinis: Paulist Centuries]. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2007. (Művelődéstörténeti Műhely – Rendtörténeti konferenciák, 4/1)

Sarbak, Gábor, ed. *Der Paulánerorden. Gesichte – Geist – Kultur*. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2007. (Művelődéstörténeti Műhely – Rendtörténeti konferenciák 4/2)

Sarbak, Gábor. "Előszó Gregorius Coelius Pannonicusnak Szent Ágoston regulájához írott magyarázataihoz." [Preface to Gregorius Coelius Pannonius's Annotations to Saint Augustine's Rules.] In *Annotationes in regulam divi Augustini episcopi, Hungarico sermone luculentissimedonatam, in gratiam fratrum eremitarum ordinis sancti Pauli primi eremite.*, Reprinting of the work printed in Venice in 1537 based on the original kept in the Csíki Székely Museum. Edited by Sarbak Gábor. Csíkszereda, 2001(Csíksomlyói Ferences Kolostor Kincsei, 2).

Scheible, Heinz. *Der Plan der Magdeburger Zenturien und ihre ungedruckte Reformationsgescichte*. Heidelberg: 1960

Scheible, Heinz. *Melanchthon und die Reformation.* Mainz: Zabern, 1996.

Scheible, Heinz."Melanchthons biographische Reden. Literarische Form und akademischer Unterricht" [Melanchton's biographic speeches. Literary form and academic education] in *Biographie zwischen Renaissance und Barock. Zwölf Studien.* [Biography between Renaissance and Baroque, 12 studies] Edited by Walter Berschin. Heidelberg: Mattes Verlag, 1993.

Schilling, Heinz, ed .*Ausgewählte Abhandlungen zur europäischen Reformations- und Konfessionsgeschichte.* Berlin, 2002.

Schilling, Heinz. *Aufbruch und Krise.Deutsche Geschichte von 1517 bis 1648.* Berlin, 1998.

Schilling, Heinz. "Die Konfessionalisierung von Kirche. Staat und Gesellschaft-Profil, Leistung, Defizite und Perspektiven eines geschichtwissenschaftlichen Paradigmas." In *Katholische Konfessionalisierung*. Edited by Reinhard, Wolfgang – Schilling, Heinz. Gütersloh/Münster, 1995. 1–49.

Schilling, Heinz ed. *Die Reformierte Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland. Das Problem der „Zweiten Reformation". Wissenschaftliches Symposium des Vereins für Reformationsgeshichte 1985.* Güntersloh, 1986.

Schulek, Tibor. *Bornemisza Péter 1535–1584. A XVI. századi magyar művelődés történetéből*. [Péter Bornemissza 1535-1584. From the history on sixteenth-century Hungarian culture] Sopron–Budapest–Győr: Keresztyén Igazság, 1939.

Scribner, W. Robert. "1525-Revolutionary Crisis." In *Krisenbewußtsein und Kriesenbewältigung in Frühen Neuzeit-Crisis in Early Modern Europe.* Edited by Hans-Christoph Rublack: Hagenmaier, Monika. Hotz, Sabina, 25-46.Frankfurt am Main-Berlin-New York-Paris-Wien, 1992.

Scriber, W. Robert. *For the Sake of the Simple Folk Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation*. Cambridge, 1981.
Scriber, W. Robert. *The German Reformation*. (Studies in European History) Basingstoke, 2003.
Scribner, W. Robert. *Religion and Culture in Germany, 1400–1800.* Leiden: Brill, 2001.
Sinor, Dénes. "The Mongols and Western Europe." In: *The History of the Crusades. III. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*. Edited by Setton, Kenneth Meyer, 513-544. Madison, 1975.
Segesváry, Viktor. *Az iszlám és a reformáció. Tanulmány zürichi reformátorok iszlámmal szembeni magatartásáról 1510–1550*. [The Islam and the reformation. A study on the opposition of Zürich reformers against Islam 1510-1550] Hága, 2005.
Seifert, Arno. *Der Rükzug der biblischen Prophetie von der neueren Geschichte. Studien zur Geschichte der Reichsteologie des frühneuzeitlichen deutschen Protestantismus*. Köln–Wien, 1990.
Skaricza, Máté. "Szegedi Kis István élete, Basel, 1585." [Life of István Szegedi Kis, Basel, 1585.] In: *Fejezetek a hódoltsági reformáció történetéből*. Edited by Géza Kathona, 83-89. Budapest, 1974.Soggin, Alberto J.. *Bevezetés az ószövetségbe*. [Introduction to the study of the Old-Testament.] Budapest, 1999.
Sólyom, Jenő. *Luther és Magyarország. A reformátor kapcsolata hazánkkal haláláig*. [Luther and Hungary: the relationship of the Reformer with our country until his death]. Budapest: Magyar Luther Szövetség, 1996.
Sommer, Wolfgang. "Luther – Prophet der Deutschen und der Endzeit. Zur Aufnahme der Prophezeiungen Luthers in der Theologie des älteren deutschen Luthertums," in *Politik, Theologie und Frömmigkeit im Luthertum der Frühen Neuzeit. Ausgewählte Aufsätze.* Ed. Adolf Martin Ritter. Forschungen zur Kirchen und Dogmengeschichte 74. 155-176. Göttingen, 1999,
Speth, Rudolf and Edgar Wolfrum. "Einleitung." In: *Politische Mythen – Geschichtspolitik*. Berlin: Centre Marc Bloch, 1996.
Szabó András. *A késő humanizmus irodalma Sárospatakon (1558–1598)*. Debrecen: Hernád Kiadó, 2004. (Nemzet, egyház, művelődés, I),
Szabó, András. "A magyarországi reformáció kezdete és az átmeneti korszak a reformátorok életútjának tükrében." [The commencement of Hungarian reformation and the intermediate period in the light of the biographies of reformers] In *Szentírás, hagyomány, reformáció. Teológia- és egyháztörténeti tanulmányok*. Edited by Beatrix F. Romhányi and Gábor Kendeffy, 224-231. Budapest, 2009.

Szabó, András. "Die Türkenfrage in der Geschichtsauffassung der ungarischen Reformation." In *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance.* Edited by Bodo Guthmüller et al., 275-281. Tübingen, 2000. Szabó, András. "Hogyan használjuk Zoványi Jenő lexikonát? Válasz Őze Sándornak." [How to use Jenő Zoványi's lixeicon? An answer to Sándor Őze] *Egyháztörténet* 11, no. 1 (2010): 134–135.
Szabó, András, ed. *Károlyi Gáspár a gönci prédikátor.* [Gáspár Károlyi, the preacher of Gönc] Budapest: Magvető, 1984,
Szabó, András. "Magyarok Wittenbergben 1555–1592" in *Régi és új peregrináció. Magyarok külföldön, külföldiek Magyarországon. A III. Nemzetközi Hungarológiai Kongresszuson (Szeged, 1991. augusztus 12–16.) elhangzott előadások.* [Old and new university peregrination. Hungarians abroad, foreigners in Hungary. Proceedings of the 3rd International Congress of Hungarology, Szeged, 12-16 August 1991] Vol. 2., 626-638. Budapest–Szeged, 1993.
Szabó, András, ed. *Mezőváros, reformáció és irodalom (16–18. század)* [Oppidium, Reformation and literature. (16-18. centuries).] Budapest, 2005.
Szabó, András. *Respublica litteraria, irodalom- és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a késő humanizmus koráról*. [Respublica literaria. Studies on history of literature and culture of the late Renaissance humanism] Budapest: Balassi, 1999. (Régi magyar könyvtár, 2.)
Szabó, Géza. *Geschichte des ungarischen Coetus an der Universität Wittenberg 1555–1613* [The history of the Hungarian *coetus* at the University of Wittenberg 1555-1613] Halle, 1941, (Bibliothek des Protestantismus im mittleren Donauraum, 2.)
Szádeczky, Lajos. *Szerémi György élete és emlékirata*. [The life and memoire of György Szerémi] Budapest, 1892.
Szakály, Ferenc. *A mohácsi csata* [The Battle of Mohács]. Budapest: Akadémiai, 1975.
Szakály, Ferenc. "Adalékok Szegedi Kis István és Skaricza Máté életéhez és működéséhez." In *Mezőváros és reformáció. Tanulmányok a korai magyar polgárosodás kérdéshez.* 92–172. Budapest, 1995.
Szakály, Ferenc. *Virágkor és hanyatlás 1440–1711*. [Golden age and decadence 1440-1711] Budapest: Háttér, 1990. (Magyarok Európában II.)
Szakály, Ferenc. *Mezőváros és reformáció. Tanulmányok a korai magyar polgárosodás kérdéséhez*. [Market-towns and reformation. Studies on early early Hungarian middle-class] Budapest, 1995.
Szántó, Konrád. *A katolikus egyház története.* I-III. [History of the Catholic Church. I-III.] Budapest: Ecclesia, 1983.
Székely, György. "Élmény, néphit és valóság Szerémi művében." In: *Szerémi György: Magyarország romlásáról*. Budapest, 1961.

Szekfű, Gyula. *A száműzött Rákóczi*.[Rákóczi in exile] Budapest: Akadémia, 1913.
Szekfű, Gyula. *Adatok Szamosközy István történeti munkáinak kritikájához.* [Data for the criticism of the historiographical works of István Szamosközy] Budapest: Barcza Nyomda, 1904.
Szekfű, Gyula. *Bethlen Gábor.* (Gábor Bethlen.) Budapest: Bíró Nyomda, 1929.
Szelestei N., László. *Magyar ferencesek prédikációs gyakorlata a 17. században –Csíksomlyói kéziratos prédikációk*. [Preaching techniques of Hungarian Franciscans – Manuscripts of preachings from Csíksomlyó] Piliscsaba: PPKE BTK, 2003.
Szentpéteri, Márton. *Egyetemes tudomány Erdélyben. Johann Heinrich Alsted és a herborni hagyomány*. [Universal science in Transylvania. Johann Heinrich Alsted and the tradition of Herborn] Budapest: Universitas, 2008.
Szerémi, György. *Magyarország romlásáról*. Translated by László Erdélyi, edited by László Juhász and György Székely. Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1979.
Szikszai, Fabricius Balázs. "Halotti beszéd Balsaráti Vitus János életéről és haláláról, 1575. április," Translated by Ágnes Ritoókné Szalay. In *Janus Pannonius – Magyarországi humanisták*. Edited by Tibor Klaniczay, 942–974. Budapest: Szépirodalmi, Bp. 1982.
Szilády, Áron, ed. *Régi Magyar Költők Tára.* [Anthology of Early Hungarian Poets] Budapest: MTA, 1877-1930.
Szilágyi, Csaba, ed. A magyar jezsuiták küldetése a kezdetektől napjainkig. [The mission of Hungarian Jesuits up till today] Piliscsaba: PPKE BTK,, 2006. (Művelődéstörténeti Műhely – Rendtörténeti konferenciák, 2)
Sziráki, Szilvia. "Nemzeti identitás és biblikus látásmód a XVII. század végi Erdélyben." [National identity and biblical vision in the Transylvania of the late seventeenth century] (PhD diss. Pázmány Péter Catholic University, 2010.)
Szőcs, Géza, ed. *Morus Tamás: Erősítő Párbeszéd Balsors idején*. [Tamás Morus: A hortative dialogue for harsh times] Translated by Zsuzsa Gergely. Kolozsvár, 2004.
Szörényi, László. *Hunok és jezsuiták. Fejezetek a magyarországi latin hősepika történetéből.* [Huns and Jesuits. Chapters from the history of the Hungarian Latin heroic epic] Budapest, 1993.
Szörényi, László. *Memoria Hungarorum. Tanulmányok a régi magyar irodalomról.* [Studies on old Hungarian literature] Budapest, 1996.
Szörényi, László. *Studia Hungarolatina. Tanulmányok a régi magyar és neolatin irodalomról.* [Studies on old Hungarian and Neolatin literature] Budapest, 1999
Szűcs, Jenő. "A ferences ellenzéki áramlat a magyar parasztháború és a reformáció hátterében." [The Franciscan ideology in the background of the Hungarian Rformation and peasant revolts] *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 78 (1974): 409–435.
Szűcs, Jenő. "A ferences obszervancia és az 1514. évi parasztháború. Egy kódex tanúságai." [Fransican Observation and the peasant revolt of 1514 – the testimonials of a codex] In *Levéltári Közlemények* 43 (1972): 128–163.
Szűcs, Jenő. *Nemzet és történelem*. [Nation and history.] Budapest, 1984.
Tardy, Lajos, ed. *Rabok, követek, kalmárok az Oszmán birodalomról.* [Captives, Emissaries, Merchants about the Ottoman Empire]. Budapest: Gondolat, 1977.
Tarnai, Andor. *A magyar nyelvet írni kezdik. Irodalmi gondolkodás a középkori Magyarországon*. [The commencement of Hungarian literature. Literary thoughts in medieval Hungary.] Budapest, 1984
Tarnóc, Márton. *Erdély művelődése Bethlen Gábor és a két Rákóczi György korában*. [Cultural life in Transylvania under Gábor Bethlen and the two György Rákóczis]. Budapest, 1978.
Téglásy, Imre: Foreword to *Sztárai Mihály: História Perényi Ferenc kiszabadulásáról*. [Mihály Sztárai: History of the rescue of Ferenc Perényi.] Edited by Imre Téglásy, Budapest: Szépirodalmi Kiadó, 1985. 7-26.
Teply, Karl. "Kizil Elma. Die große türkische Geschichtssage im Licht der Geschichte und Volkskunde." In: *Südost-Forschungen*. 36 (1977): 78–108.
Terbe, Lajos. „Egy európai szállóige életrajza. (Magyarország a kereszténység védőbástyája.)" [The Biography of a European Maxim. (Hungary as the Bastion of Christianity.)] *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* (1936): 309–311.
Teszelszky, Kees. *Az ismeretlen korona. Jelentések, szimbólumok és nemzeti identitás* [The unknown crown. Meanings, symbols and national identity]. Pannonhalma: Bencés Kiadó, 2000.
Thumser, Matthias. „Türkenfrage und öffentliche Meinung. Zeitgenössische Zeugnisse nach dem Fall von Konstantinopel 1453." In: *Europa und die Osmanische Expansion im ausgehenden Mittelalter.* Edited by Franz-Reiner Erkens. Berlin, 1997.
Toifl, Leopold-Leitgeb Hildegard. *Die Türkeneinfalle in Steirmark und Karnten vom 15 bis zum 17. Jahrhundert*, Vienna, 1991.
Töpfer, Bernhard. *Das kommende Reich des Friedens*. Berlin: 1964,
Tóth, István György. "Misszionáriusok a kora újkori Magyarországon." [Missionaries in early modern Hungary] *Ismertetés BUKSZ* 20(2009), spring. 73–76.
Tringli, István. *Az újkor hajnala. Magyarország története 1440–1541*. [The dusk of modern age. History of Hungary, 1440-1541] Budapest, Vince Kiadó, 2003.
Tubach, Jürgen. "Die syrische Danielrezeption." In *Europa, Tausendjähriges Reich und Neue Welt. Zwei Jahrtausende Geschichte und Utopie in der Rezeption des*

Danielbuches. Edited by Delgado, Mariano–Koch, Klaus–Edgar, Marsch. 105–139. Suttgart: 2003, (Studien zur christlichen Religions- und Kulturgeschichte, 1. Hrsg. Delgado, Mariano–Leppin, Volker)

Tüskés, Gábor. *Búcsújárás a barokk kori Magyarországon a mirákulumirodalom tükrében*. [Pilgrimages in baroque Hungary in light of the literature of miracles] Budapest: Akadémiai, 1993.

Vajda, László. "Paul Witteks Konzeption vom Grenzkriegertum." *Der Pfahl*, 7(1993)_ 268–270.

Vankó, Zsuzsa and János Reisinger. "Bevezetés a Biblia tanulmányozásába." [Introduction into biblical studies] Budapest, 1993.

Varga, András, ed. *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak. I. (1533–1657)*. [Hungarian private libraries, I. (1533-1657).] Budapest-Szeged: MTA, 1986.

Varga, Domonkos. "A szent Domonkos-rend és a magyar kódexirodalom." [The Order of Saint Dominic and the Hungarian Codex Literature]. In *A szent Domonkos-rend múltjából és jelenéből*. Edited by Sándor Horváth, 222–256. Budapest, 1916,

Varga, J. János. "Europa und die „Vormauer des Christentums": die Entwicklungsgeschichte eines geflügelten Wortes." In *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance.* Frühe Neuzeit 54. Edited by Bodo Guthmüller et al., 55-63. Tübingen, 2000.

Varga, Kapisztrán. "A pálosok és az obszerváns ferencesek kapcsolata a 15. században." [The relations of monks of the Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit and the Franciscans in the 15th century] In *Decus solitudinis: pálos évszázadok*. Edited by Gábor Sarbak, in cooperation with Sándor Őze, 135-136. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2007. (Művelődéstörténeti Műhely – Rendtörténeti konferenciák 4/1).

Varjas, Béla. *A magyar reneszánsz irodalom társadalmi gyökerei.* [The Roots of Hungarian Renaissance Literature]. Budapest: Akadémiai, 1982.

Varsányi, Orsolya. "Pázmány Péter: A Mohamet vallása hamisságárúl című művének forrásai és citátum használata." [Usage and sources of Péter Pázmány's pamphlet titled 'On the falsity of the religion of Muhammad'.] in *Textológia és forráskritika. Pázmány-kutatások 2006-ban.* Edited by Emil Hargittay, 47-55. Piliscsaba: Pázmány Irodalmi Műhely, 2006.

Veress, Endre. *Izabella királyné. 1519–1559*. [Queen Isabella. 1519-1559.] Budapest, 1901. (Történeti Életrajzok)

Vorgrimler, Herbert: *Új teológiai szótár*. [New teological dictionary.] Budapest, 2006.

Wenzel, Gusztáv. Foreword to *Szerémi György II. Lajos és János királyok házi káplánja emlékirata Magyarország romlásáról 1484–1543 között*. Deited by Gusztáv Wenzel. Pest, 1857. (Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Scriptores I.) V–XXXIV. p.

Waczulik, Margit. *A török korszak kezdetének nyugati történetirodalma a 16. században*. (Sixteenth-century Western historiography of the early Turkish Age.) Budapest, 1937.

Wagner, Oskar. "Luther – Osteuropa und die Griechisch-Orthodoxe Kirche." In *Kyrios. Vierteljahresschrift für Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte Osteuropas* 4 (1964): 69-90.

Wallmann, Johannes. "Zwischen Reformation und Pietismus Reich Gottes und Chiliasmus in der lutherischen Orthodoxie." In *Verificationen. FS Gerhard Ebeling. Ed. Jüngel, zum 70. Geburtstag. Hrsg. Jüngel, Eberhard.* Edited by Johannes Wallmann, 187-205. Tübingen, 1982.

Warburg, Aby M.. "Heidnisch-antike Weissagung in Wort und Bild zu Luthers Zeiten." In *Aby M. Warburg. Ausgewählte Schriften und Würdigungen.* Edited by Eadem and Dieter Wuttke. Baden-Baden, 1979.

Wittek, Paul. *Das Fürstentum Mentesche*. Istanbul: 1934.

Wohlfeil, Rainer. "Entfremdung und Annehrung. Krise und Kriesenbewältigung im Zeitalter von Reformation und Bauerkrieg, gespiegelt in Stationen deutsch-deutscher diskussion zur deutung Geschichte des 16. Jahrhundert." In K*risenbewußtsein und Kriesenbewältigung in Frühen Neuzeit-Crisis in Early Modern Europe*. Festschrift für Hans-Christoph Rublack: Hagenmaier, Monika. Hotz, Sabina. 317-331. Frankfurt am Main-Berlin-New York-Paris-Wien, 1992.

Wysokinski, Iréneusz OP: "A magyar domonkos rendtartomány felbomlása." [The Dissolution of the Dominican Province in Hungary] In *A domonkos rend Magyarországon*. Edited by Pál Attila Illés and Balázs Zágorhidi Czigány. (Művelődéstörténeti műhely - Rendtörténeti konferenciák 4. Series ed. Sándor Őze) 77-88. Budapest,: 2007.

Zambelli, Paola. *"Astrologi hallucinati" Stars and the End of the World in Luther's Time*. Berlin–New York, 1986.

Zeede, Ernst Walter. "Deutschland von der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts bis zum Westfälischen Frieden (1648)." In *Die Entstehung des neuzeitlichen Europa.* Edited by Josef Engel,, Stuttgart: 1971, (Handbuch der europäischen Geschichte, 3)

Zeeden, Ernst Walter. *Konfessionsbildung*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1985.

Zoványi Jenő. *A reformáczió Magyarországon 1565-ig* [Reformation in Hungary up to 1565.] Budapest, 1922.

Zoványi, Jenő. *Tanulmányok a magyar protestáns egyház és irodalom történetéből.* [Studies on the history of the Hungarian Protestant church and literature]. Sárospatak: Steinfeld Nyomda, 1887..

Zsilinszky, Mihály. A magyarhoni protestáns egyház története. [History of the Hungarian Protestant Church] Budapest, 1907.
Zsindely, Endre: "Wolfgang Musculus magyar kapcsolatai." [The Hungarian connections of Wolfgang Musculus.] In *Studia et acta Ecclesiastica III*. Edited by Tibor Bartha. Budapest, 1973.

TIMETABLE

1521 – Suleiman I occupies Belgrade on the frontier of the Hungarian Kingdom.

1526 – Suleiman I defeats the Hungarian army at the battle of Mohács. Following the battle Hungarian king Lajos II dies and the Hungarian aristocracy elects two separate kings: Ferdinand I of Habsburg and János Szapolyai.

1529 – Suleiman I unsuccessfully sieges Vienna.

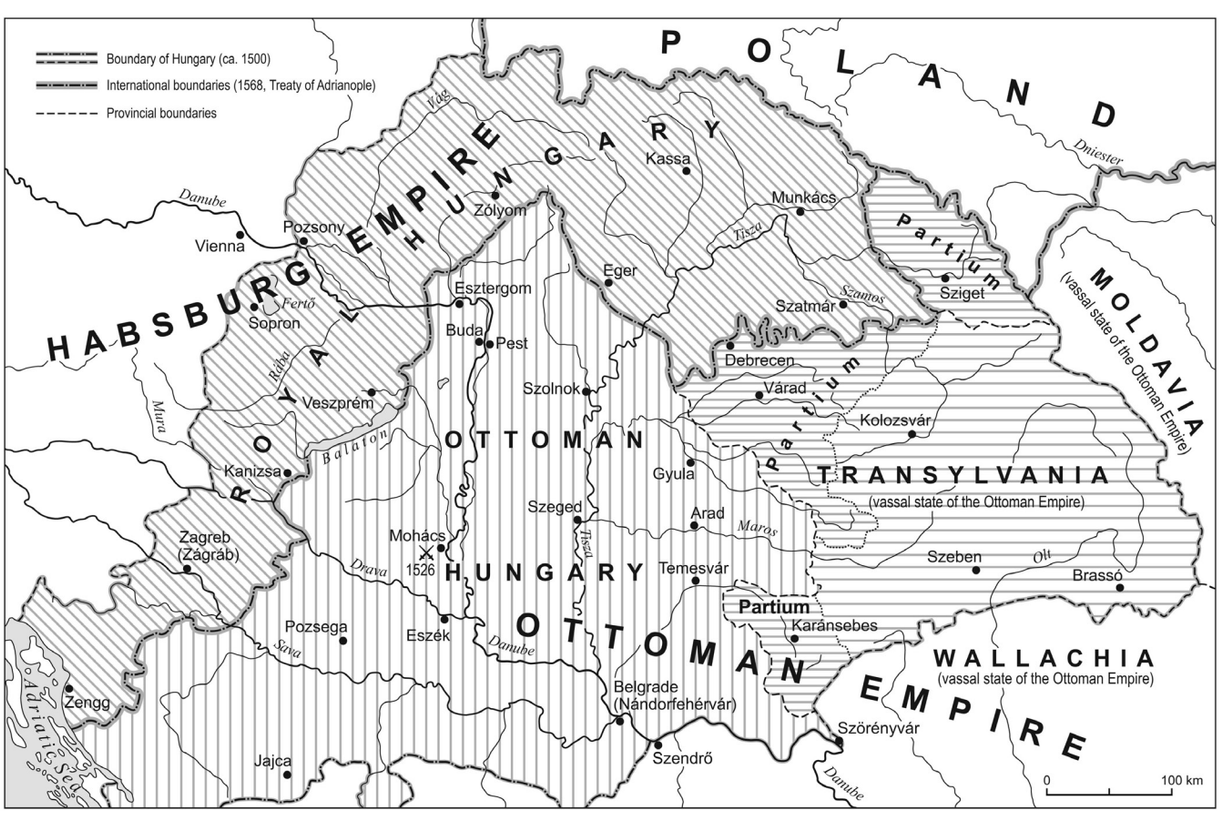
1532 – Sultan Suleiman and Emperor Charles V avoiding battle, meet near Vienna.

1541 – By trickery, the Ottomans occupy Buda, the Hungarian capital.

1542 – Troops of the Holy Roman Empire unsuccessfully siege Buda, after which the Ottoman administration fortifies the castles on the frontier of the Buda Vilayet.

1552 – A punitive war is being led against Eastern Hungary by the Ottomans. After the occupation of Temesvár (today Timisoara, RO), a second Vilayet is established on the territory of Hungary.

1566 – Sultan Suleiman dies during the battle of Szigetvár. The division of the Hungarian Kingdom becomes permanent.



1. Hungary divided into three parts

2. Expansion of the Ottoman Empire in Europe

3. Europe in the 15th century

4. European Reformation in the 16th century

Published by Magyar Napló Publishing House Ltd.
18 Bajza utca, Budapest, 1062, Hungary
www.magyarnaplo.hu
Responsible publisher János Oláh
Responsible editor Kristóf Zsiga
Under the editorship of Péter Pál Kránitz
Make-up editor Nóra Kovács
Cover designed by Eszter Zách
Printed at Pannon Press Ltd., Budapest