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A LIFE IN SERVICE OF HIS HOMETLAND – THE DIPLOMATIC ROLE AND ACTIVITY OF JÁNOS RIMAY*

Abstract

The goal of this paper is to summarise the diplomatic and political role of poet and intellectual, János Rimay of Alsósztrégova and Rima. Rimay is well-known as the pupil and friend of the great Hungarian poet, Bálint Balassi, and also as a great poet and a representative of stoicism, as well as as a diplomat and statesman who became important in the regional diplomacy in the last decades of the 16th century and the first decades of the 17th century.

Keywords: János Rimay, Habsburg–Ottoman diplomatic relations, István Bocskai, Gábor Bethlen, Peace Treaties of Vienna (1606), Zsitvatorok (1606), and Szőny (1627)

Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest podsumowanie dyplomatycznej i politycznej roli poety i intelektualisty Jánoša Rimayego z Alsósztrégovy (obecnie słowacka Dolná Strehová) i Rimy (Rimabánya, obecnie słowacka Rimavská Baňa). Rimay jest znany jako uczeń i przyjaciel wielkiego węgierskiego poety

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Bálinta Balassiego, oraz jako znakomity poeta i przedstawiciel stoicyzmu, a także jako dyplomata i mąż stanu, który odegrał znaczną rolę w historii regionalnej dyplomacji w ostatnich dziesięcioleciach XVI wieku i pierwszych dziesięcioleciach XVII wieku.

Słowa kluczowe: János Rimay, relacje dyplomatyczne habsbursko-ottomańskie, István Bocskai, Gábor Bethlen, traktaty pokojowe w Wiedniu (1606), Zsitvatorok (1606) i Szőny (1627)

Introduction

The last notable chapter of János Rimay's diplomatic career was the Habsburg–Ottoman peace talks at Szőny in 1627 and its subsequent territorial negotiations at Szécsény in 1628. I have focused on Rimay's diplomatic activity, because of his role during these events thus far. However, his career and role were not only confined to these episodes. As will be presented below, Rimay participated in the so-called Long Turkish War (or the Fifteen Years' War, 1591/93–1606). He could be found on the theatres of war as well as in István Bocskai's court. After that, he played a role in the peace processes in the case of the Peace Treaties of Vienna and Zsitvatorok in 1606. Later, he participated actively in Habsburg–Ottoman diplomatic affairs. Besides, János Rimay is one of the most well-known figures of 16th–17th-century Hungarian literary history.

The aim of this article is to examine Rimay's diplomatic and political role. László Nagy summarised this topic in 1983,¹ but the research results of the past decades necessitate a new overview. This article in several cases investigates the events concerning Rimay's life from different viewpoints, building upon the results of Nagy's article, moreover, it adds new perspectives to the discourse. Besides the article defines the historical framework of Rimay's life, provides a historiographical overview concerning his activity and works, including the most important and relevant literature on this topic. The article discusses the chapters of Rimay's life in a chronological order. This paper is intended to be the first part of a new synthesis of Rimay's life and activity. The study is designed to elucidate that so many questions can be found concerning Rimay which need (new) answers.

Before summarising his life and activity, here it should be noted that his biography, his works as well as most of his correspondence have already been published. The first collection of his works, regarding his correspondence, were published by Arnold Ipolyi in 1887.² Almost two decades later, Baron

¹ L. Nagy, 'Háború és politika Rimay János életében' [War and Politics in the Life of János Rimay], *ItK*, 87/IV (1983), pp. 318–339.

² Arnold Ipolyi was a descendent of János Rimay. He collected and edited the volume, but unfortunately, he had died before he could write Rimay's biography as an introduction of this volume, as it was noted by Sándor Szilágyi (p. III). A. Ipolyi, *Alsó sztregovai és Rimai Rimay János államiratai és levelezése* [State Documents and Correspondence of János Rimay of Alsósztreгова and Rima], Budapest, 1887.

Béla Radvánszky published Rimay's collected lyric and prose works. Besides, this volume contains 5 letters written by János Rimay.³ After these volumes, the next one is his biography, written by Zoltán Ferenczi.⁴ In the middle of the 20th century, Sándor Eckhardt published a critical edition of Rimay's works. In view of the present research, the second part of the volume and the appendix are worth mentioning.⁵ The second part contains 166 letters, while the appendix 5 further documents.⁶ Bálint Keserű published an article in 1958 which discussed Rimay's relations with the Báthorys.⁷ Later, in 1971, Ferenc Jenei published a short draft concerning Rimay's youth, until he left Báthory's court.⁸ Then, in 1986 Tibor Komlowszki wrote about Rimay's poetry and István Báthory of Ecsed.⁹ In the second volume of *A magyar irodalom története*, a long chapter discusses his life as well as his works.¹⁰ László Nagy's long article presents Rimay's diplomatic and military role.¹¹ This contains some debatable points. During the past decades, Pál Ács conducted research concerning Rimay's literary and philosophical works. Thus, the newest edition of János Rimay's literary works (*Rimay János írásai*), was published in 1992.¹² At first glance, one may think that it is not necessary to mention this work, because this is not closely related to the topic of this article. However, when discussing the edition, Ács claims that he intends to publish "only" Rimay's literary works in the light of the newer philological research results but leave his state documents unpublished.

³ Baron B. Radvánszky, *Rimay János munkái. A Radvánszky- és a Sajókazai Codexek szövege szerint* [Works of János Rimay. After the Texts of the Radvánszky and Sajókazai Codices], Budapest, 1904.

⁴ Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János. 1573–1631*, Magyar Történelmi Életrajzok [Hungarian Historical Biographies] (Ed. of the series: L. Dézsi), Budapest, 1911.

⁵ S. Eckhardt (ed.), *Rimay János összes művei* [The Complete Works of János Rimay], Budapest, 1955; For the appendix, see: pp. 219–444.

⁶ For further pieces of Rimay's correspondence, see: K. Benda, 'Adalékok Rimay János életéhez és levelezéséhez' [Contributions to the Life and Correspondence of János Rimay], *ItK*, 75/V (1971), pp. 617–621; I. Varga, 'Rimay János életéhez' [To the Life of János Rimay], *ItK*, 78/II (1974), pp. 228–230; I. Lukinich, 'Rimay János életéhez' [To the Life of János Rimay], *EPhK*, 28 (1904), pp. 518–519.

⁷ B. Keserű: 'Adalékok Rimay és a Báthoriak kapcsolatához' [Contributions to the Relationship between Rimay and the Báthoris], *AUSz SL*, I (1958), pp. 45–49. Concerning this question, here, it is worth mentioning Dóra Kovács's new article. D. Kovács, 'Az ecsedi udvar. Szervitóri hivatás és kapcsolatrendszer Báthory István familiájában' [The Court of Ecsed. Clients and Relations in the Family of István Báthory], *Századok*, 150/IV (2016), pp. 911–944.

⁸ F. Jenei, 'Vázlat Rimay János ifjú éveiről' [Drafts Concerning János Rimay's Youth], *ItK*, 75/III (1971), pp. 310–314.

⁹ T. Komlowszki, *Rimay költészete és Ecsedi Báthory István* [Poetry of János Rimay and István Báthory of Ecsed], in: A. Kovács (ed.), *Hagyomány és ismeretközlés* [Tradition and Knowledge Transfer], Salgótarján, 1986, pp. 26–35.

¹⁰ T. Klaniczay (ed.), *A magyar irodalom története* [The History of Hungarian Literature], vol. II. (From 1600 to 1772), Budapest, 1964, pp. 15–29.

¹¹ L. Nagy, 'Háború és politika [...]'].

¹² P. Ács (ed., epilogue, and notes), *Rimay János írásai* [The Writings of János Rimay], Budapest, 1992.

Notwithstanding this, the volume contains useful notes concerning the topic of this article.¹³

To draw the picture of his military and diplomatic role as well as his career, it is worth summarising the most important historical events concerning his life, and at the same time, the milestones of his age. First of all, it has to be defined when János Rimay was born and died. There is not any exact information about the date of his birth. In a letter in 1592, Rimay wrote that he was born in 1569.¹⁴ Later, in 1616, in his testimony during Zsigmond Balassa's high treason lawsuit, Rimay said of himself that he was 43 years old, which means that he was born in 1573.¹⁵ Another opinion about Rimay's age is stated by Baron Béla Radvánszky in 1904. In an article concerning the friendship of Bálint Balassi and János Rimay, he agreed with Rimay that he was born in 1573, but in a footnote, Radvánszky wrote that the "43" must be a slip of the pen; it is rather "53".¹⁶ All in all, it can be presumed that, if Pál Ács's opinion is to be accepted, Rimay was born between 1569 and 1573. It is easier to ascertain when he died. He died in the fortress of Divény, and his death can be dated to between 9 and 11 December 1631.¹⁷

Thus, the birth of Rimay can be dated to 1569–1573 and he died at the end of 1631. If one can accept what Rimay said about his age, then one can also agree that he was born in 1573, shortly after the Treaty of Speyer (1570). He was 13 years old when István Báthory (in Polish Stefan Batory) died. Here, it is worth mentioning the crucial events of the next decades: the Long Turkish War, István Bocskai's uprising (1604–1606), and later the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). It

¹³ Here, it is worth mentioning some other works of Pál Ács. A series of pasquinades in Hungarian were published in 1959 under the name of János Bolygó (written in 1608 at the time of the Hungarian Diet). T. Klaniczay – B. Stoll (eds.), *RMKT, XVII. század, I. A tizenöt éves háború, Bocskay és Báthori Gábor korának költészete* [The Fifteen Years' War, The Poetry of the Age of István Bocskay and Gábor Báthory], Budapest, 1959, pp. 392–396. Pál Ács was who revealed in 1978 that János Bolygó was Rimay's pen-name, see: P. Ács, 'Rimay – mint Bolygó János' [Rimay – as János Bolygó], *ItK*, 82/I (1978), pp. 1–15. He wrote the entry concerning Rimay in the MAMŰL as well. The entry contains a bibliography of literature regarding Rimay. P. Kőszeghy (ed. in ch.), *Magyar Művelődéstörténeti Lexikon* [Encyclopaedia of Hungarian Cultural History], vol. X, Budapest, 2010, pp. 103–112.

¹⁴ Rimay's letter to Justus Lipsius, on 20 August 1592. S. Eckhardt (ed.), *Rimay János* [...], pp. 223–230 (in Latin with Eckhardt's translation to Hungarian); P. Ács, *Rimay János írásai*, pp. 205–210 (Hungarian translation).

¹⁵ Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János* [...], p. 9; MIT, vol. II, p. 15; MAMŰL, vol. X, p. 103.

¹⁶ According to this, Radvánszky collected other options. Ferenc Toldy wrote in 1855 that Rimay was born around 1564; Danielik József in 1856 wrote that Rimay was born on 27 January 1547, in Kolozsvár (present day Cluj-Napoca, in Romania). Danielik's option is absolutely impossible. Rimay met with the great poet and his master, Bálint Balassa, during his childhood and Balassa was elder than Rimay. Baron B. Radvánszky, 'Balassa és Rimay barátsága' [The Friendship of Balassa and Rimay], *Budapesti Szemle*, vol. 119, issue 331 (1904), p. 41; F. Toldy, *A magyar nyelv és irodalom kézikönyve* [The Handbook of Hungarian Language and Literature], vol. I, Pest, 1855, p. 185; J. Ferenczy – J. Danielik, *Magyar Írók. Életrajz-gyűjtemény* [Hungarian Writers. Collection of Biographies], Pest, 1856, vol. I., p. 391. (Here, it is worth mentioning that Bálint Balassi was born in 1554.)

¹⁷ MAMŰL, vol. X, p. 103; P. Ács, *Rimay János írásai*, p. 278; Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János* [...], p. 219.

is not necessary to explain either of these events as they are well-known ones.¹⁸ Nevertheless, it should be noted that the Peace Treaty of Zsitvatorok (1606) was a milestone in the history of Habsburg–Ottoman relations. On the one hand, a relatively peaceful period began between them, and the two emperors recognised each other as equal parties. Most of the negotiations on the subsequent treaties took place on the two Empires’ common frontier, close to Esztergom and Komárom. In the period after Zsitvatorok, the Palatine of Hungary and the Pasha of Buda were responsible for the negotiations. To better understand the Habsburg–Ottoman relationship during the first half of the 17th century, it has to be noted that between 1618 and 1648, the Habsburg Empire was engaged in its western theatre of war because of the aforementioned Thirty Years’ War. From 1603 until 1639, the Ottomans had intermittent problems with the Safavids on the eastern frontier of their empire. For these reasons, the two empires’ common interest was to avoid the two-front war, so, as Arno Strohmeyer wrote, “conflict with third powers”.¹⁹ In addition to this, Strohmeyer underlined that “[t]he most important tool of conflict management was diplomacy”. Therefore, unsurprisingly, dozens of peace treaties and ceasefire agreements were signed during the centuries between the Habsburg (formerly the Kingdom of Hungary) and the Ottoman Empire.²⁰

¹⁸ Concerning the Long Turkish War, see: S. L. Tóth, *A mezőkeresztesi csata és a tizenöt éves háború* [The Battle of Mezőkeresztes and the Fifteen Years’ War], Szeged, 2000; Z. P. Bagi, *Stories of the Long Turkish War*, Riga, 2018; Z. P. Bagi, ‘The Organization of the Imperial Army in the Fifteen Years[’] War’, *Chronica*, 15 (2017), pp. 168–180; Z. P. Bagi, ‘The Life of Soldiers during the Long Turkish War (1593–1606)’, *HHR*, 4/II (2015), pp. 384–417; Z. P. Bagi, *A császári-királyi mezei hadsereg a tizenöt éves háborúban. Hadszervezet, érdekérvényesítés, reformkísérletek* [The Imperial and Royal Field Army in the Fifteen Years’ War. Military Establishment, Interest Enforcement, and Attempts at Reform], Budapest, 2011. For the Bocskai uprising, see: S. Papp, *Török szövetség – Habsburg kiegyezés. A Bocskai-felkelés történetéhez* [Turkish Alliance – Habsburg Reconciliation. On the History of the Bocskai Uprising], Budapest 2014 (Hopefully, this volume will be published in English soon.); K. Juhász, *Forrás az 1605. évi korponai gyűlés történetéhez* [Source to the History of the Assembly in Korpona in 1605], in: Z. P. Bagi (ed.), “...*ügy irhassak, mint volt...*”. *Ünnepi tanulmányok a 65 esztendő Tóth Sándor László Tiszteletére* [“...Let Me Write as It Was...” Festive Studies in Honour of the 65-year-old Sándor László Tóth], *Fontes et Libri* (ed. of the series: S. Papp), vol. II, Szeged, 2019, pp. 150–171; K. Juhász, ‘Bocskai István erdélyi országgyűlései’ [The Transylvanian Diets of István Bocskai], *Belvedere Meridionale*, 24/III (2012). Regarding the Thirty Years’ War, see: M. H. Cervioğlu, ‘Ottoman Foreign Policy During the Thirty Years War’, *Turcica*, 49 (2018), pp. 195–235.

¹⁹ A. Strohmeyer, ‘The Theatrical Performance of Peace. Entries of Habsburg Grand Embassies in Constantinople (17th–19th Centuries)’, in Marinos Sariyannis (ed), *New Trends in Ottoman Studies. Papers Presented at the 20th CIEPO Symposium Rethymno, 27 June – 1 July 2012*. (Rethymno: University of Crete, Department of History and Archaeology, 2014). pp. 486–494, especially: p. 486.

²⁰ Concerning this topic, see: G. E. Marton, ‘A Dissertation in Preparation – Structure, Methodology, Approach and Content. The Peace Treaty of Szóony (1627) and Its Subsequent Territorial Negotiations (1628–1629) in Light of Péter Koháry’s Correspondence’, *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai. Historia*, the manuscript’s pp. 3–5 [article in press]. For an exhaustive list of the peace treaties between them, see: Papp, ‘Az Oszmán Birodalom’, pp. 86–99. In addition to this question, see: Strohmeyer, ‘The Theatrical Performance of Peace’, p. 486; Cervioğlu, ‘Ottoman Foreign Policy’.

Rimay on the theatres of war of the Fifteen Years' War

After outlining the context and framework in brief, let us turn to the military and diplomatic events of János Rimay's life. During his career, as Pál Ács pointed out, the "deeply pious evangelical"²¹ Rimay entered the service of the greatest Hungarian statesmen. The young Rimay can be found in the service of István Báthory of Ecsed²² around 1587, as a court scribe and as his secretary.²³ In the circles of the great Protestant literate judge royal, Rimay got to know the members of the Hungarian intellectual and political elite.²⁴ Bálint Keserű emphasised in his study that this acquaintance is important concerning Rimay's life because Ecsed was a centre of late Hungarian humanism.²⁵ Here, as Dóra Kovács pointed out in her article, Rimay met with those higher and lesser noblemen who were key figures of criticising Habsburg politics.²⁶ Also, it should be noted that through his friendship with Bálint Balassi and Justus Lipsius, his network of relationships was not limited only to the circles of Báthory.²⁷ From these years on, if one observes Rimay's service in the court of the judge royal, it can be easily recognised based on his correspondence that he had an ever widening acquaintanceship. Around 1590, his network of relationships already involved almost all the literate noblemen of Hungary, mainly the friends and followers of Bálint Balassi and Justus Lipsius. During this decade, he travelled to Transylvania, where he got acquainted with, among others, Tamás Balásfi, István Illésházy, György Thurzó, Demeter Náprágyi, and Tamás Bosnyák.²⁸ Moreover, he had a good relationship with Mihály Káthay, Miklós Szokoli, and Miklós Istvánffy.²⁹

János Rimay resided in Trencsén in 1592, where he organised a literary society, the so-called "Pallas ivadéakai" (Descendants of Pallas; Plores Palladias). Among the members of this society one can find Imre and Mihály Forgách or Péter Révay. With the participation of these intellectuals, they gave scholarly attention to political affairs. They were zealous for Justus Lipsius's philosophy and studies on the

²¹ P. Ács – H. Louthan, *Bibles and Books: Bohemia and Hungary*, in: H. Louthan – G. Murdock (eds.), *A Companion to the Reformation in Central Europe, Leiden–Boston*, 2015, p. 404.

²² Judge Royal in Hungary, was in office: 1586–1605. Z. Fallenbüchl, *Állami (királyi és császári) tisztségviselők a 17. századi Magyarországon. Adattár* [State (Royal and Imperial) Officeholders in 17th-century Hungary. A Reference Book], Budapest, 2002, p. 47.

²³ MAMŰL, vol. X, p. 104; P. Ács, *Rimay János írásai*, p. 278; MIT, vol. II, p. 16; I. Lukinich, 'Rimay János életéhez', p. 518; B. Keserű: 'Adalékok Rimay és [...]', p. 46; D. Kovács, 'Az ecsedi udvar [...]', p. 931.

²⁴ P. Ács, *Rimay János* [entry], in: J. Estók (ed. in ch.), *Nemzeti évfordulóink 2006* [Our National Anniversaries 2006], Budapest, 2005, p. 39; B. Keserű: 'Adalékok Rimay és [...]', p. 49. Concerning István Báthory of Ecsed and his network of relations, see: D. Kovács, 'Az ecsedi udvar [...]', pp. 911–944.

²⁵ B. Keserű: 'Adalékok Rimay és [...]', p. 40.

²⁶ D. Kovács, 'Az ecsedi udvar [...]', p. 940.

²⁷ MIT, vol. II, p. 16.

²⁸ MIT, vol. II, p. 16.; MAMŰL, vol. X, p. 107.

²⁹ MAMŰL, vol. X, p. 107.

topic of the theory of the state, and they focused on the question of how power can be moral and ethical.³⁰

In the 1590s, the Long Turkish War became a turning point in the political and military affairs in Hungary, as well as in Rimay's career. Hereinafter, one can see what János Rimay did until October 1599, when he left Transylvania and returned to his estates at Alsósztrégova (present day Dolná Strehová, in Slovakia). As it has been mentioned above, Rimay was in Trencsén in 1592. Together with Bálint Balassi, he participated in the campaign in Upper Hungary when the fortresses of Fülek and Szécsény (and others as well) were recaptured in 1593.³¹ After these victories, Rimay became enthusiastic, and as Zoltán Ferenczi noticed, wrote a poem about the power of God, concerning the un contemplated victories.³² After describing God's greatness, in the last two stanzas, Rimay prays for God to help them return to their homelands.³³

After these victories, in 1594, Rimay as well as Bálint Balassi joined Miklós Pálffy's troops and marched with them under the walls of Esztergom.³⁴ The siege started in May. Rimay's master, the great poet, Bálint Balassi, was injured during the siege on 19 May and a week later, on 26 May, died in the camp. As Ferenczi noted, Balassi explained that he regarded Rimay as his successor in poetry.³⁵ Later, after Balassi's request, Rimay wrote a series of poems upon his death.³⁶

After the siege of Esztergom, Rimay entered into the service of Karel Žerotín the great Moravian humanist.³⁷ Here, it is worth mentioning that Žerotín visited in

³⁰ MIT, vol. II, p. 16; MAMŰL, vol. X, p. 104.

³¹ L. Nagy, 'Háború és politika [...]', p. 321; Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János* [...], pp. 16–18.

³² Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János* [...], p. 42.

³³ "Minden dolgok között [...]" [*Between all matters* [...]]. Above the poem, the following words can be found: "Mikor Füleket, Szécsént és ezekkel az több végváratok reménség kívül Isten az pogány kézből megszabadította, akkor csinálta ezt az éneket" [*When God delivered Fülek, Szécsén and with these more other border fortresses from the hand of the pagans, he wrote this chant*] (Translated by G. E. Marton); P. Ács, *Rimay János írásai*, pp. 142–143.

³⁴ Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János* [...], p. 18; MIT, vol. II, p. 16.

³⁵ Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János* [...], p. 18.

³⁶ B. Radvánszky, baron, 'Balassa és Rimay [...]', p. 53.

³⁷ Karel Žerotín (senior), Protestant Moravian magnate (1564–1636). Žerotín studied in many places in Western Europe, during his peregrination he could be found, for example, in the English Royal Court. He had a wide acquaintanceship with notable European humanists among his correspondents. Despite being Protestant, he was loyal to the Habsburgs. With his troops he came to Hungary and fought against the Ottomans in 1593. During this time, he built relations with Archduke Matthias. In 1594 he was withdrawn from the battlefields by Emperor Rudolf and became a member of the Moravian Court, which meant the end of his military career. Concerning senior Karel Žerotín, see: T. Knoz, *Karel starší ze Žerotína: Don Quijote v labyrintu světa* [Charles of Žierotin, senior: Don Quixote in the Labyrinth of the World], Praha, 2008; O. Odložilík, 'Karel Žerotín and the English Court (1564 – 1636)', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 15(1937), pp. 413–425; A. Szabó, *Morva–magyar kapcsolatok a XVI. század második felében* [Moravian–Hungarian Relations in the Second Half of the 17th century], in: J. Jankovics (ed.), *Klaniczay-emlékkönyv. Tanulmányok Klaniczay Tibor emlékezetére* [The Klaniczay Memorial Volume. Studies in Memory of Tibor Klaniczay], Budapest, 1994, pp. 168–176; I. Papp, 'Tomáš Knoz, Karel st. ze Žerotína: Don Quijote v labyrintu světa (Id. Karel Žerotín: Don Quijote a világ labirintusában)' [Charles of Žierotin, senior: Don Quixote in the Labyrinth of the World], *Helikon*, 63/III (2017), pp. 442 – 445 [book review].

Hungary during the Long Turkish War on several occasions.³⁸ Two years later, in 1596, one can find Rimay as Žerotín's secretary in his Moravian court. In addition to Rimay's literacy, it should be noted that during his service, he studied the Czech literary language fluently.³⁹ Moreover, Karel Žerotín's diary of 1591 in Latin (in Rimay's handwriting) is known from the family archive of Arnold Ipolyi, from a book which was Rimay's letter book during his stay in Buda, in 1609.⁴⁰

Rimay's literary career and his activity until 1599

Studying János Rimay's literary activity is indispensable for understanding his political career, as his poems are not only treasured literary works, but also insightful sources of contemporary political and military events. Rimay changed the sword to the pen and during this period wrote some remarkable poems which became valuable pieces of Hungarian literature. So, the first which is discussed here, is the poem entitled *Ha az időnek igen viszátkodó, felháborodott állapotja miatt [...]*.⁴¹ László Nagy noticed that this poem is one of the few poems which paint a detailed picture of life in military posts of the Ottoman Age.⁴² Sándor Eckhardt dated this poem to 1605–1606, when Rimay served under István Bocskai,⁴³ but in this case, Eckhardt agrees with Nagy who placed it to 1594–1595, because of the optimistic and hopeful voice and approach of this poem.⁴⁴ The third stanza tells about victories and booty “*Vitézül nyert szépség / S karddal lelt nyereség / Vitézek közt eloszol*”⁴⁵ [“while beauty won by / sword and bravery / is shared among the brave.”⁴⁶] and the fourth one depicts typical spring weather, which refers to a campaign which was in progress in early spring, as Nagy pointed out, it can be the campaign of 1594.⁴⁷ Pál Ács claims that this poem shows the influence of Bálint Balassi's poetry, among others, the close impression of the poem titled *In*

³⁸ MAMŰL, vol. X, p. 106.

³⁹ MAMŰL, vol. X, p. 107.

⁴⁰ A. Ipolyi, *Alsó sztrégovai [...]*, p. XI; see the diary: *ibid*, pp. 1–45.

⁴¹ “*Ha az időnek igen viszátkodó, felháborodott állapotja miatt kedvünk szerint való életet nem viselhetünk is, mindazáltal szívünk keservével ne bágyasszuk az elménket, s ne fojtsuk is bánattal meg az lelkünket, arra taníttatunk és tanácsoltatunk ez énekben.*” P. Ács, *Rimay János írásai*, pp. 105–107. In English: “*Even if, because of the Considerably Disunited and Embattled Condition of Our Time, We cannot Live Our Lives according to Our Wishes, Let Us Nevertheless not Weaken Our Minds with the Grief of Our Hearts, Nor Let Us Run Down Our Souls with Melancholy: So We are Taught and Advised in This Song*” (Translated by Keith Bosley and Peter Sherwood). T. Klaniczay (ed): *Old Hungarian Literary Reader. 11th–18th Centuries*, Budapest, 1985. pp. 188–191.

⁴² L. Nagy, ‘Háború és politika [...], p. 322.

⁴³ S. Eckhardt (ed.), *Rimay János [...]*, pp. 73–74.

⁴⁴ L. Nagy, ‘Háború és politika [...], p. 322.

⁴⁵ P. Ács, *Rimay János írásai*, p. 105.

⁴⁶ T. Klaniczay (ed): *Old Hungarian [...]*, p. 189. (Translated by Keith Bosley and Peter Sherwood).

⁴⁷ L. Nagy, ‘Háború és politika [...], p. 322.

laudem confiniorum: Egy Katonaének [In Praise of the Marches: Soldier's Song].⁴⁸ For instance, its fifth stanza: “Katonaszerszámban, / Jó lovak hátán / Vitéz iffjak forgódnak, / Az jó hírért, névért / És az tisztességért / Jó kedvvel vagdalkoznak, / Arra, ami nehéz, / S az szép böcsület néz, / Szívek szakadva futnak.”⁴⁹ [“In war-gear, mounted / each on a good steed / brave young men turn and twist: / to win a good name / for honour and fame / with good heart cut and thrust: / towards what is hard / brings its own reward / they run till their hearts burst.”]⁵⁰ See the fifth stanza of Balassi's poem as well: “Jó szerecsen lovak alattok ugrálnak, / hogyha trombita riadt, / Köztök ki strázsát áll, ki lováról leszáll, / nyugszik reggel, hol virradt, midőn éjten éjjel csataviseléssel / mindenik lankadt s fáradt. Az jó hírért névért s az szép tisztességért / ők mindent hátra hadnak, / Emberségről példát, vitézségről format / mindeneknek ők adnak, / Midőn mint jó sólymok mezőn széllel járnak, / vagdalkoznak, futtatnak.”⁵¹ [“To win a good name / and excellent fame / they leave all things behind: / their humanity / and their bravery / all men should bear in mind / when hawk-like they fly / hunting, racing, high / over fields as the wind!”⁵²]

The next one is a series of poems which was composed by Rimay after the death of the great renaissance poet, Bálint Balassi. Rimay wrote the *Emlékversek a két Balassi halálára* [Memorial Poems to the Death of the Two Balassis]⁵³ upon the request of Balassi, as mentioned above. These poems were written in 1594 and were extended and (maybe) recomposed after the death of Ferenc (Bálint's brother), who was killed in a battle against the Tatars in 1596.⁵⁴ One can read the following in the initial letters of the stanzas (acrostic): “BALASSIOS FRATRES RIMAY DECORAT” [Rimay glorifies the Balassi brothers]⁵⁵ Moreover, this series of poems is a memory of the Balassi brothers, and it can be read as a diary-like summary of the events at Esztergom in 1594.

As it can be seen, not only the sword of Rimay was ready for action, but his mind, soul, and pen too. In mid-1595, Rimay wrote and sent a poem, “Jöjj mellém, szent Isten [...]” [Come next to me, God]⁵⁶ which was addressed to Zsigmond

⁴⁸ In Hungarian, see: B. Stoll – S. Eckhardt (eds), *Balassi Bálint összes versei, Szép magyar comédiája és levelezése* [All Poems by Bálint Balassi, His Pleasing Hungarian Comedy and His Correspondence], Budapest, 1974, pp. 119–120. In English, see: T. Klaniczay (ed): *Old Hungarian* [...], p. 172–174. (Translated by Keith Bosley and Peter Sherwood).

⁴⁹ P. Ács, *Rimay János írásai*, p. 106.

⁵⁰ T. Klaniczay (ed): *Old Hungarian* [...], p. 189. (Translated by Keith Bosley and Peter Sherwood)

⁵¹ B. Stoll – S. Eckhardt (eds), *Balassi Bálint* [...], pp. 119–120.

⁵² T. Klaniczay (ed): *Old Hungarian* [...], p. 173.

⁵³ In Hungarian, see: P. Ács, *Rimay János írásai*, pp. 19–44. (The title was translated by G. E. Marton). Unfortunately, the author of this article is not acquainted with any translation of these poems in English or in Polish.

⁵⁴ B. Radvánszky, baron, ‘Balassa és Rimay [...]’, p. 44.

⁵⁵ P. Ács, *Rimay János írásai*, p. 286. (Translated by G. E. Marton)

⁵⁶ P. Ács, *Rimay János írásai*, pp. 139–139. (Translated by G. E. Marton)

(Sigismund) Báthory, the Prince of Transylvania. He received it shortly before the victory in the Battle of Giurgiu.⁵⁷ The voice of this poem is like a psalm, in this he asks God to join them in the battle.⁵⁸

Pál Ács noticed that two further poems were written by Rimay during the Long Turkish War. Both were addressed to István Homonnai Drugeth, upon his request. Homonnai Drugeth died in 1599, thus these poems had been written before the end of the 16th century, maybe around 1595, during the successful period of the war, because of their positive voice.⁵⁹ The poems start with the following word “*Igaz általút [...]*” [*True passage*] and “*Katonák hadnagya [...]*” [*Lieutenant of soldiers*]⁶⁰

As a closing chord of Rimay’s 16th-century poetry and activity, it should be noted that Rimay was in Kolozsvár (present day Cluj-Napoca, in Romania) between 29 March and 25 October 1599, in the service of Prince András Báthory.⁶¹ Perhaps, the members of András Báthory’s circle appealed to Rimay to go to Transylvania, but the fact that it was András Báthory who had fostered Bálint Balassi earlier during his stay in Poland is worth mentioning.⁶² In addition to this not too long period, during his stay in Kolozsvár, Rimay met with the young Tamás Bosnyák. This meeting was not only an episode, but their relationship continued in the 17th century as well. (For instance, before Rimay travelled to Constantinople, Bosnyák had written a letter to him, but Rimay could respond just after he returned to Buda in 1609.)⁶³ A few days before the Battle of Sellenberk⁶⁴ (present day Şelimbăr, in Romania) where András Báthory and his troops were defeated by the troops of the Voivode of Wallachia, Mihai Viteazul (reigned 1593–1601), Rimay left Transylvania and returned to his estates at Alsósztrégova and, as Zoltán Ferenczi noted, “ditched military life”.⁶⁵

Rimay in the first years of the 17th century – “the initiator of the politically charged lyric”⁶⁶

In the following part I set out to tell a few words about his activity between the end of 1599 and mid-1605 when Rimay joined István Bocskai’s movement. Concerning this period, László Nagy wrote in his article, on the basis of a letter from

⁵⁷ The Battle of Giurgiu: 25–27 October 1595.

⁵⁸ P. Ács, *Rimay János írásai*, p. 303.

⁵⁹ P. Ács, *Rimay János írásai*, pp. 303–304; MIT, vol. II, p. 22.

⁶⁰ P. Ács, *Rimay János írásai*, pp. 139–141 and pp. 141–142.

⁶¹ Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János [...]*, p. 44.

⁶² L. Nagy, ‘Háború és politika [...]', p. 323.

⁶³ Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János [...]*, pp. 44–46.

⁶⁴ The Battle of Sellenberk: 28 October 1599.

⁶⁵ Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János [...]*, p. 46; Nagy (1983), p. 323.

⁶⁶ “*a [...] politikai töltésű lírának ő lett a kezdeményezője*” MIT, vol. II, p. 23. (Translated by G. E. Marton)

1602, that he “was satiated with soldier’s life”.⁶⁷ To back up his argument, Nagy quoted a few words from a letter which was sent by Rimay to György Thurzó on 1 October 1602, almost three years after he had returned to Alsósztrégova: “*nem kívánhatok sem hadnagyságot, sem Capitányságot, ha kínálnának vele is.*”⁶⁸ Without doubt, for some reason, Rimay left Báthory’s court and did not join any of the Hungarian troops, but this letter cannot be the evidence of what Nagy stated. As a matter of fact, Rimay wrote that “*nem illenék és erőm sem volna hozzá*”.⁶⁹ Baron Béla Radvánszky included this letter in his work in 1904 as well.⁷⁰ Zoltán Ferenczi, Rimay’s biographer quoted a few words of this letter as well. Ferenczi highlighted that Rimay was aware that military service was the best way to excel from the commoners or the lesser nobility, but Rimay did not feel any vocation to that.⁷¹

Moreover, Sándor Eckhardt’s note under the letter would strengthen the argument of this paper. Eckhardt summarised in a sentence how the literate Rimay thought about this question: “*Rimay helyesebbnek látta, ha érdemes[,] egyszerű származású emberek kezébe kerül az ország védelme, mint törtető vagy lebzselő urakéba.*”⁷² Thus, I think in this letter Rimay made a stand for Egyed Nagy, the captain of the fortress of Fülel rather than expressing his satiation. To support this argument concerning the tenure of office, see the following by Rimay: “*Mert efféle dologban nem minemő nemzet, de mint viseli magát és hivatalát, azt kell tekinteni és megnézni. Nec est anxie quaerenda boni viri et boni vini origo.*”⁷³ Over and above, the fact that Rimay left the theatres of war and returned to his estate is beyond dispute, but the quoted passages, which were taken out of context, cannot serve as evidence for Rimay’s satiation with warmongering.

The turn of the 16th–17th centuries, meant a milestone in János Rimay’s life because he definitively left the military service in 1599. As Antal Pirnát wrote in the *Magyar irodalom története*, “*While Rimay, on the one hand, closes the history of 16th-century heroic poetry, he became the initiator of the politically charged lyric. In the first years of the 17th century, the patriotic message no longer appears in a military, but in a political aspect; however, as that one was imbued with general*

⁶⁷ “[M]egcsömörlött a hadiéletől”.

⁶⁸ *I can wish neither lieutenantancy nor captaincy even if they offered it to me.* (Translated by G. E. Marton); Nagy quoted it as “*nem kívánhatok [...] kapitányságot [...] ha kínálnak vele is*”. L. Nagy, ‘Háború és politika [...]’, p. 323. This letter was issued by Sándor Eckhardt. S. Eckhardt (ed.), *Rimay János [...]*, pp. 231–233, especially see: p. 232.

⁶⁹ *It would not be appropriate, and I would not have the strength for it.* (Translated by G. E. Marton); S. Eckhardt (ed.), *Rimay János [...]*, p. 232.

⁷⁰ B. Radvánszky, baron, *Rimay János munkái [...]*, p. 370.

⁷¹ Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János [...]*, pp. 46–48.

⁷² *Rimay thought it more appropriate if the defence of the country falls into hands of talented people of humble origins rather than into the claws of pushers and laggards.* (Translated by G. E. Marton); S. Eckhardt (ed.), *Rimay János [...]*, p. 233.

⁷³ *In matters like this, not one’s nationality, but how one behaves, has to be seen and considered. Do not anxiously look for the origin of a good man and good vine.* (Translated by G. E. Marton); S. Eckhardt (ed.), *Rimay János [...]*, p. 232.

*Christian sentiment, here religion has a dominant role too in the shape of gloomy Protestant defiance.*⁷⁴

The turn of the 16th and 17th centuries means a watershed in Rimay's poetry when he left behind the tradition of psalm paraphrases, and with this new poetic voice, he became the initiator of the "openly secular, clearly political poetry".⁷⁵ Pirnát pointed out that in the beginning Rimay used the framework of psalm paraphrases to express his opinion against the Habsburgs (e.g. in a poem which begins with the following lines: "Kegyess Jehova, tekintsz reánk mennyből..."⁷⁶ ["Merciful Jehovah, look down upon us from heaven..."], "Tarts meg, Uram, engem..."⁷⁷ ["Keep me, My Lord..."]).⁷⁸ The poem which is entitled "Kiben kesereg a Magyar nemzetnek romlásán s fogyásán" ["In Which He Laments the Ruin and Ravage of the Hungarian Nation"],⁷⁹ through its new voice and framework, became one of the greatest patriotic poems of the 17th-century Hungary.⁸⁰ Thus, this masterpiece means a milestone in Hungarian literary history as well. Sándor Eckhardt listed the "Kiben kesereg [...]" among the poems written during Rimay's service under István Bocskai.⁸¹ Moreover, László Nagy noticed that it is conjectured wrongly.⁸² Contemplating upon Rimay's poetry, his participation in the events of this period as well as the historical circumstances, I agree with Nagy that this poem must have been written before Rimay joined Bocskai. This poem depicts a worse picture than it was in the years of 1604–1606 concerning the situation in Hungary. Thus, this poem fits into the political and military context of the turn of the century rather than into that of the period between 1604 and 1606. However, it should be noted here that in his notes, Eckhardt stated that he placed this poem to the beginning of the 1600s.⁸³ Furthermore, Nagy also pointed out that in this poem one cannot identify concrete enemies, like the pagan Ottomans or the Habsburg troops which pursued the counterreformation.⁸⁴ It does not seem needless to quote here a few lines of this poem in Hungarian as well as in English. "Ó, szegény megromlott s elfogyott Magyar nép, / Vitézséggel nevelt hírrel

⁷⁴ "Míg Rimay egyrészt lezárja a 16. századi vitézi poézis történetét, a 17. századra jellemző politikai töltésű lírának ő lett a kezdeményezője. A hazafias mondanivaló a 17. század első éveiben már nem katonai, hanem politikai vetületben jelentkezik; de miként amaz áthatotta az általános keresztény érzület, a vallásnak itt is uralkodó szerepe van a komor protestáns dac formájában." MIT, vol. II, p. 23. (Translated by G. E. Marton)

⁷⁵ „[N]yíltan világi, tisztán politikai költészet”, MIT, vol. II, p. 23. (Translated by G. E. Marton)

⁷⁶ P. Ács, *Rimay János írásai*, pp. 134–136. (Translated by G. E. Marton)

⁷⁷ P. Ács, *Rimay János írásai*, pp. 130–131. (Translated by G. E. Marton)

⁷⁸ MIT, vol. II, p. 23.

⁷⁹ P. Ács, *Rimay János írásai*, p. 173; (Translated by Keith Bosley and Peter Sherwood). T. Klaniczay (ed): *Old Hungarian* [...], p. 193.

⁸⁰ MIT, vol. II, p. 23.

⁸¹ S. Eckhardt (ed.), *Rimay János* [...], pp. 83–84.

⁸² Because of its content and cross-references, it must have been written before the beginning of Bocskai's movement. L. Nagy, 'Háború és politika [...]', p. 324.

⁸³ S. Eckhardt (ed.), *Rimay János* [...], p. 200.

⁸⁴ L. Nagy, 'Háború és politika [...]', p. 324.

vagy igen szép, / Kár, hogy tartatol úgy, mint senyvedendő kép, / Elémenetedre nincs egy utad is ép. [...] Föld reménségére nevelt úrfiak / Szemétre vettetnek úgy, mint köz tyúkfiak, / Zsírokkal hizódnak az idegen fiak, / Hozzád nem különbek, mint az ördögfiak. // Hazádnak szép vége mindenütt csonkán áll, / Sereged szép száma fogy, romol s szállton száll, / Ínséged nő s árad, veled egy ágyban hál, / Bév étkeid helyett rakódik apró tál. [...] Sem pénz, jószág mostan, s méltó áru posztó / Nem indít, hogy szolgálj, megszükkült az osztó, / Csudáld, hogy minden rend nem kóborló s fosztó, / Az nagy orv mert kicsint szörnyebb felakasztó. // Ó, kedves nemzetem, hazám, édes felem, / Kivel szerelmetes mind tavaszom s telem, / Keseregj, sírj, kiálts Istenedhez velem; / Nálad, hogy szeretlek, legyen ez vers jelem.”⁸⁵

“O wretched, ruined, ravaged Hungary / most fair with fame begot of bravery: / the picture of your woe moves me to pity / for you have no straight road to recovery. [...] Hope of the earth, the sons of gentlemen / upon the heap like common hens are thrown: / young foreigners their swelling bellies line – / beside you they are as the devil’s spawn. // Your land’s fair Marches everywhere they crush / your host they daily scatter and diminish / your straits invade your very beds and flourish / instead of feasts they give you a mean dish. [...] Nor cash nor cattle nor fine felt will find a / servant in you – the funds are low: a wonder / it is that all ranks are not out for plunder – / great the rouge whom a lesser rouge works under. // O my dear nation, land, sweet other half / in the sweet spring and winter of my life: / with me lament, weep, cry to God your grief / and let this poem be my sign of love.”⁸⁶

Antal Pirnát summarised and emphasised the importance of this poem: “With [the poem’s] shocking invocation, with the powerful depiction of the real fact of humiliation, he was able to strike the keynote of noble-patriotic poetry in such a way that his influence can be traced from the kuruc poets, through Kölcsey’s Hymnus, right up to Petőfi.”⁸⁷

Participation in the Bocskai Uprising

The next part discusses János Rimay’s role and participation in Bocskai’s uprising. Rimay wrote a letter to György Thurzó on 12 June 1605,⁸⁸ which contains the following: “Két hónapja még nincs, hogy én ő felsége mellé jöttem.” [It has not been two months since I came to His Majesty.]⁸⁹ Therefore, he was in the service of Bocskai since April 1605. Concerning this fact, László Nagy asked why the disappointed Rimay joined Bocskai only a half year after the outbreak of the

⁸⁵ P. Ács, *Rimay János írásai*, p. 173.

⁸⁶ T. Klaniczay (ed): *Old Hungarian* [...], p. 193. (Translated by Keith Bosley and Peter Sherwood)

⁸⁷ “Megrázó invokációjával, a megalázottság reális tényeinek nagy erejű ábrázolásával a nemesi-hazaifias költészet alaphangját úgy tudta megütni, hogy hatása a kuruc költőkön, Kölcsey Hymnusán át[,] egészen Petőfiig nyomozható.” MIT, vol. II, p. 23. (Translated by G. E. Marton)

⁸⁸ A. Ipolyi, *Alsó sztrégovai* [...], pp. 136–138.

⁸⁹ A. Ipolyi, *Alsó sztrégovai* [...], p. 137. (Translated by G. E. Marton)

Bocskai uprising. According to Nagy, on the one hand, Rimay as a lesser nobleman did not enter the service of any Hungarian magnates who were persecuted by the Habsburgs, but he had to secede from György Thurzó who was aligned with the Habsburgs. On the other hand, the delayed time of joining can be explained by the location of Rimay's estates: Bocskai's troops reached Nógrád County only in spring, 1605.⁹⁰ With regard to Thurzó, it should be noted that at the assembly of the Hungarian nobility which was summoned at Szerencs on 17 April, Rimay could be found among the noblemen, but György Thurzó was not.⁹¹

Contrary to the well-based opinion of László Nagy, Rimay was one of the participants of the fractional assembly in Kassa (present day Košice, in Slovakia) at the end of 1604. At the time of this assembly, János Rimay, János Bocatius, and János Melczer were asked to write a proclamation apart from each other in which the causes of the Bocskai uprising are revealed.⁹² Then, at the time of the general assembly in Korpona (present day Krupina, in Slovakia),⁹³ as János Bocatius reported it in his diary, István Illésházy, János Bocatius, György Hoffman, and János Rimay were asked again to write the aforementioned proclamation. Finally, the estates accepted Illésházy's version.⁹⁴

Rimay's biographer stated that Rimay was taken into Bocskai's service upon the Protestant Moravian magnate, Karel Žerotín's recommendation.⁹⁵ László Nagy mentioned another option, which seems possible as well, namely about Mihály Káthay's support, who was in the closest circle of Bocskai. To evidence this, Nagy pointed out that, on the one hand, Rimay sent his aforementioned poem to Zsigmond Báthory via Mihály Káthay's brother, György. On the other hand, Rimay addressed a poem to Magdolna, the daughter of Mihály Káthay.⁹⁶ Moreover, Mihály Káthay and Rimay had known each other from the court of István Báthory in Ecsed.⁹⁷

Rimay was István Bocskai's confidant.⁹⁸ In August 1605, Rimay went to Kolozsvár with Bocskai, then to Medgyes (present day Mediaș, in Romania) (the Diet had been summoned at first to Kolozsvár, but it was moved to Medgyes).⁹⁹ During the negotiations at Kassa, if Bocskai wanted to talk with György Thurzó,

⁹⁰ L. Nagy, 'Háború és politika [...]', pp. 325–326.

⁹¹ L. Nagy, 'Háború és politika [...]', p. 326.

⁹² S. Papp, *Török szövetség [...]*, p. 142.

⁹³ Concerning the assembly in Korpona, see: K. Juhász: *Forrás az 1605 [...]*; K. Juhász, 'Bocskai István [...]'; Á. Károlyi (ed.), *Magyar országgyűlési emlékek. Monumenta Comitialia Regni Hungariae* [Collection of the Documents of the Hungarian Diets (Parliament Sessions)], vol. XI, Budapest, 1899, pp. 195–511.

⁹⁴ S. Papp, *Török szövetség [...]*, p. 167. Concerning this question, see: S. Papp, *Török szövetség [...]*, pp. 135–136, 167–173, 229–230.

⁹⁵ Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János [...]*, pp. 52–54.

⁹⁶ L. Nagy, 'Háború és politika [...]', p. 326.

⁹⁷ MAMÚL, vol. X, p. 107.

⁹⁸ I. Lukinich, 'Rimay János életéhez', p. 518.

⁹⁹ Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János [...]*, p. 53. Concerning the assemblies and Diets summoned by Bocskai, see: K. Juhász, 'Bocskai István [...]'.

Rimay was sent to him to invite him to negotiate.¹⁰⁰ Afterwards, it is mentioned that Rimay's title was first counsellor, then private secretary (in Latin: *secretarius intimus*). It should be noted here that Rimay became the scribe of Bocskai's confidential messages, for instance, of those which were sent to Illésházy.¹⁰¹

During his time alongside Bocskai, Rimay made efforts to help conduct the peace between Bocskai and the Habsburgs. In addition to this, Rimay for the entire time in Bocskai's court belonged to Illésházy's circle (they had known each other since the 1590s¹⁰²) who supported the peace.¹⁰³ János Rimay, who supported peacemaking, participated in the negotiations concerning the Peace Treaty of Vienna. (For instance, Rimay would have taken Bocskai's instruction addressed to Illésházy on 14 June 1606, but for his sickness.¹⁰⁴) However, it has to be pointed out that he was not among the commissioners of the Peace Treaty of Zsitvatorok,¹⁰⁵ but this does not mean that he was not there for a shorter or longer period as a member of the delegation.¹⁰⁶ In relation to this, it should be noted that following Illésházy's instructions, Rimay worked on orienting Bocskai towards double peace.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰ Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János* [...], p. 52.

¹⁰¹ Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János* [...], p. 53.

¹⁰² MIT, vol. II, p. 16.

¹⁰³ Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János* [...], pp. 55–56; MAMŰL, vol. X, p. 107.

¹⁰⁴ S. Papp, *Török szövetség* [...], p. 254.

¹⁰⁵ Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János* [...], p. 62.

¹⁰⁶ Zoltán Ferenczi wrote about that Illésházy's letter was sent to Rimay on 8 October 1606 (Érsekújvár) and Rimay's response on 31 December (Kassa) seem to support his opinion in this case. Illésházy's letter testifies that Rimay went back to Bocskai at that moment. Rimay's response already contains pieces of information concerning the death of Prince Bocskai and in his letter Rimay asked for Illésházy's support. Thus, in my opinion, on the basis of these documents it cannot be decided whether Rimay was there or not. (Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János* [...], p. 60; A. Ipolyi, *Alsó sztrégovai* [...], pp. 150–151 and 152–154.) Sándor Szilágyi in 1878, published a document from Arnold Ipolyi's family archive. The document is a report to Bocskai, written by Illésházy and the Hungarian commissioners on 30 October 1606 at Zsitvatorok. This contains the note that can be found in Ipolyi's archive. (S. Szilágyi, 'Bocskay István és Illésházy István levelezése 1605 és 1606-ban (III. közlés)' [Correspondence of István Bocskay and István Illésházy in 1605 and 1606 (3rd issue)], *MTT*, 1878, pp. 613–616.) Ipolyi's aforementioned work was published in 1887. It contains that the report was published by Szilágyi and a note added: Rimay's writing. (A. Ipolyi, *Alsó sztrégovai* [...], p. 152.) Gustav Bayerle published a long report concerning the negotiations at Zsitvatorok which was written on 10 November 1606 at Zsitvatorok. (G. Bayerle, 'The Compromise at Zsitvatorok', *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 6 (1980), pp. 5–53, see the document in Hungarian: pp. 28–37, in English translation: pp. 12–17.) The two documents show many similar sentences, but those are not the same. Bayerle stated (p. 11.) that Rimay was at Zsitvatorok at the time of the negotiations, but it does not seem evidenced. To decide who the scribe of these reports was, further philological research is necessary with the help of the original documents. These investigations would mean a new critical edition of them. Karl Nehring wrote about this question as well in 1986 and agreed with Bayerle concerning this question. He stated that Rimay was not a member of the delegation. (K. Nehring, 'Magyarország és a zsitvatoroki szerződés (1605–1609)' [Hungary and the Treaty of Zsitvatorok], *Századok*, 120/I (1986), p. 10 and 27.)

(My thanks go to Krisztina Juhász who drew my attention to this complex question)

¹⁰⁷ Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János* [...], pp. 55–57, p. 62; L. Nagy, 'Háború és politika [...]', p. 327.

Rimay stayed by Bocskai's side until the death of the Prince in 1606. In a letter dated to 31 December 1606, Rimay wrote about the death of Prince Bocskai.¹⁰⁸ In this letter, he described the symptoms of hydrops (in Latin: *Hydrops foetalis*), but he also pointed out that Bocskai had been doubtless poisoned.¹⁰⁹ This question was strengthened by others, thus, this opinion persisted until the 21st century. However, in 2014 Sándor Papp concluded a long-run debate concerning Bocskai's death after he proved that Bocskai died of hydrops.¹¹⁰ Papp argues that it is very difficult to recognise the voice of compassion in Rimay's letter for Bocskai's death. Rimay focused on preserving his position concerning the new circumstances, namely to find a new position in the service of Illésházy.¹¹¹ Because Illésházy needed Rimay's service, thus, he promised his full patronage to him in January 1607. Thus, Illésházy made efforts so that Rimay could keep his estate which he had got from Bocskai.¹¹²

Prince István Bocskai's committal service was in Kassa on 2 February 1607. At this ceremony, Rimay was among those who were present during the funeral orations.¹¹³ After that, Rimay took part in the funeral procession which brought Bocskai's coffin to Kolozsvár. Moreover, Rimay wrote Bocskai's epitaph in Latin.¹¹⁴ From Transylvania, János Rimay returned to Alsósztrégova, but from that moment he worked alongside Illésházy, as the henchman of Archduke Matthias.¹¹⁵

If Rimay's activity is examined in view of Bocskai's, then the following factors have to be considered. On the one hand, as a result of his service, his financial position consolidated;¹¹⁶ on the other hand, as Sándor Eckhardt noted, Rimay's principles coincided with Bocskai's, therefore, he was willing to serve Bocskai's movement with his knowledge and skills.¹¹⁷

After the death of Bocskai, until the Thirty Years war – politics, diplomacy, retirement from public life

The next step in Rimay's career is the Diets of 1607 and 1608 in Pozsony (present day Bratislava, in Slovakia). Archduke Matthias summoned the Diet to July 1607. The estates hoped for the ratification of the Peace Treaty of Vienna (1606). Finally, King Rudolph refused the mandate of Archduke Matthias to lead the Diet. Afterwards, Matthias did not care about his brother's opinion and summoned the

¹⁰⁸ Addressed to István Illésházy. S. Eckhardt (ed.), *Rimay János* [...], pp. 248–250. (Nr. 16).

¹⁰⁹ S. Eckhardt (ed.), *Rimay János* [...], *ibid*; S. Papp, *Török szövetség* [...], p. 270.

¹¹⁰ Concerning this question, see: S. Papp, *Török szövetség* [...], pp. 267–322.

¹¹¹ S. Papp, *Török szövetség* [...], p. 270.

¹¹² Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János* [...], p. 64; L. Nagy, 'Háború és politika [...]', p. 331.

¹¹³ Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János* [...], p. 64

¹¹⁴ S. Eckhardt (ed.), *Rimay János* [...], p. 88.

¹¹⁵ Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János* [...], p. 65.

¹¹⁶ MAMŰL, vol. X, p. 107.

¹¹⁷ Eckhardt: Bocskai és Rimay, p. 480. Concerning this, see Rimay's poem ("Kiben kesereg a Magyar nemzetnek romlásán s fogyásán") above.

Diet again to 10 January 1608. The stake of the Diet was to preserve the unity of the estates of the Kingdom of Hungary.¹¹⁸

Rimay participated in the political matters of Nógrád County after 1607; moreover, he tried to be present at the Diets.¹¹⁹ After Illésházy's invitation, as his secretary, he went to Pozsony in 1607.¹²⁰ Rimay could be found in Pozsony at the beginning of 1608. At the time of this Diet, Rimay wrote pasquinades about the most eminent Hungarian noblemen who were there – some of them were praised, others were pillorized. These 4-line poems were published under the pen-name János Bolygó. Until the late-20th century it had been thought that Bolygó was the name of the author. For instance, it was published in 1959, in the *Régi magyar költők tára* [*Collection of Old Hungarian Poets*].¹²¹ Pál Ács proved in a long article in 1978 that these pasquinades were written by someone who was in Illésházy's circle because these poems supported his politics. Furthermore, based on the characteristics of these texts, the author also confirmed that this person was János Rimay.¹²²

After Illésházy's proposal, Rimay, who was well-versed in Hungarian affairs,¹²³ became the member of the delegation which brought the text of the Peace Treaty of Zsitvatorok (1606) for ratification to the Sublime Porte in 1608,¹²⁴ as the representative of the Hungarian estates. After Rimay got this mandate, he was enlisted among the commissioners who agreed on which version of the treaty would be brought to Constantinople. The basis of the debate was the differences between the Latin and the Turkish versions.¹²⁵ Concerning this mandate, László Nagy asked why Rimay accepted it. Zoltán Ferenczi argued that Illésházy persuaded him to participate in this diplomatic negotiation, supported by promises of donations in the name of Archduke Matthias. Besides, Nagy gave credit for Rimay who truly believed that the Ottomans earnestly wanted the peace.¹²⁶

János Rimay, who acted as an adjunct in this matter, met with the head of the delegation, Adam Herberstein in Komárom, in May 1608. They had to wait for a 150,000 florins gift, which they had to bring to the Porte. On 21 June, they travelled to Buda to negotiate with Ali Pasha. Finally, the delegation left Buda on 29 June and arrived in Constantinople on 2 September 1608. In the Sultan's Divan

¹¹⁸ Zs. P. Pach (ed. in ch.), *Magyarország története tíz kötetben* [History of Hungary in Ten Volumes], III/1, Budapest, 1985, pp. 765–769; Ács (1978), p. 3.

¹¹⁹ P. Ács, *Rimay János írásai*, p. 278.

¹²⁰ P. Ács, *Rimay János írásai*, p. 278; Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János* [...], p. 65.

¹²¹ RMKT XVII. 1. pp. 392–396. (Unfortunately, I do not know about any translation of these poems in English or in Polish.)

¹²² Ács (1978), pp. 1–15. See the pasquinades in Hungarian: P. Ács, *Rimay János írásai*, pp. 196–199.

¹²³ Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János* [...], p. 69.

¹²⁴ See more: G. Bayerle, 'The Compromise at Zsitvatorok'; K. Nehring, 'Magyarország és a zsitvatoroki szerződés'.

¹²⁵ Ács (1978), p. 3; Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János* [...], p. 65.

¹²⁶ Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János* [...], p. 70; L. Nagy, 'Háború és politika [...]', p. 331.

Rimay made a long speech on 28 October,¹²⁷ on behalf of the estates of Hungary. After they handed over the ratified versions of the Peace Treaty of Zsitvatorok, the delegation left Constantinople on 16 November, and returned to Buda on 3 January 1609.¹²⁸ During their diplomatic mission, István Illésházy became the Palatine of Hungary,¹²⁹ and Archduke Matthias of Habsburg was crowned as the King of Hungary.¹³⁰ After they left the Sublime Porte, Tomas Glover who was the ambassador of James I, the King of England there, on 17 November, in his report depicted Rimay as sobersided and a man of brains.¹³¹

József Kovács, who in his 2005 work summarised Rimay's role during their ambassadorship in Constantinople, states that János Rimay was the "soul" of the delegation. Rimay managed and took the merits of this matter, and he proposed the points of the Peace Treaty of Zsitvatorok. It is worth mentioning that Rimay focused on the diplomatic procedure and process in his report about their common mandate with Herberstein.¹³²

For some reason, Rimay had to stay in Buda till September 1609, until Ali Pasha got the remaining 50,000 florins (over the aforementioned 150,000 florins) of the Sultan from the Habsburg Emperor.¹³³ During this time Rimay compiled the aforementioned letter book, besides his report concerning their diplomatic mission, and continued his correspondence. In spring 1609, he made arrangements for the negotiations at Szógyén in regard to the question of the villages on the common borderland.¹³⁴ A few months later, Rimay summarised the differences between the versions of the Peace Treaties of Zsitvatorok written in Latin, in Hungarian as well as in Turkish.¹³⁵

After the death of Palatine Illésházy in May 1609, Rimay retired from public life and politics.¹³⁶ (His former patron, György Thurzó, became the new Palatine.)¹³⁷ He lived on his estates until 1615 when he travelled to Transylvania to offer his services to Gábor Bethlen. It should be noted that they had known each other from Bocskai's

¹²⁷ A. Ipolyi, *Alsó sztrégovai* [...], pp. 170–174; T. Kruppa, 'Megjegyzések a Bocskai-féle kiáltvány és Rimay János portai orációjának háttéréhez' [Notes Concerning the Background of Bocskai's Proclamation and János Rimay's Proclamation at the Porte], *Lymbus*, 12 (2014), pp. 31–34.

¹²⁸ Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János* [...], pp. 68–91.

¹²⁹ Illésházy became the first Protestant Palatine of Hungary who was elected as palatine on 18 November 1608.

¹³⁰ On 19 November 1608.

¹³¹ D. Angyal, 'Pótlékok a londoni okmánytárhoz' [Additions to the Cartulary from London], *MTT*, 1901, p. 418.

¹³² J. Kovács, "'...Molesta mea peregrination'" (Rimay János diplomáciai levele 1608-as követjárásáról) [János Rimay's Diplomatic Letter from His Ambassadorship in 1608], *ItK*, 109/IV–VI (2005), pp. 543–551.

¹³³ Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János* [...], p. 91; J. Kovács, "'...Molesta mea [...]', p. 543.

¹³⁴ Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János* [...], p. 97.

¹³⁵ Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János* [...], p. 97; A. Ipolyi, *Alsó sztrégovai* [...], p. 430.

¹³⁶ L. Nagy, 'Háború és politika [...]', p. 333.

¹³⁷ Z. Fallenbüchl, *Állami (királyi és császári)* [...], pp. 327–328.

court. This attempt ended fruitlessly, thus Rimay returned to Alsósztrégo. In the next year Rimay got married, his wife was Orsik Ággy, and one year later their daughter, Mária was born. János Rimay refused to participate in Zsigmond Balassa's attempt which aimed at acquiring the throne of the Principality of Transylvania. Then, in 1616, he had to testify during Zsigmond Balassa's high treason lawsuit. When György Thurzó died in spring 1617, Rimay stepped into the service of Thurzó's widow, Erzséber Czobor and her son, Imre Thurzó as court captain general. Rimay described the remarkable regulation of Imre Thurzó's court concerning the good and moral court life.¹³⁸ Together with them, Rimay participated in the Diet of 1618 where Archduke Ferdinand was elected and crowned as Ferdinand II, King of Hungary and Zsigmond Forgách was elected as the Palatine of Hungary.¹³⁹

Rimay's diplomatic service at the time of the Thirty Years' War

The last chapter of Rimay's life dates to the period of the Thirty Years War, after the young Imre Thurzó had persuaded him in October 1619, to join Gábor Bethlen.¹⁴⁰ It should be noted that during the winter of 1619 and the spring of 1620, Rimay was sick, thus, he did not participate in events concerning Prince Gábor Bethlen. Rimay became a member (as representative of the Hungarian estates) of the delegation which was sent to Constantinople after the Diet in Besztercebánya (present day Banská Bystrica, in Slovakia) in August 1620.¹⁴¹

The common Hungarian–Czech delegation arrived in the Porte on 14 November 1620. It is worth noting that the Grand Vizier received the delegation on the next day. Gábor Bethlen's instruction stated that Rimay must emphasise that it was Ferdinand II who had not observed the peace conditions thus far. A few months later, on 11 April 1621, Bethlen sent Rimay a new instruction concerning his plan for a new campaign. This document contained that Rimay had to convince the Ottomans to drop their focus from the campaign against Poland and fix their attention on a campaign against the Hereditary Lands of the House of Habsburg (*Erblände*) instead, and then attack the Northern Italian lands.¹⁴²

¹³⁸ A. Koltai (ed., redacted, foreword, and notes), *Magyar udvari rendtartás: utasítások és rendeletek (1617–1708)* [Hungarian Regulation of Court: Instructions and Decrees], *Milleniumi magyar történelem – Források* [Millennial Hungarian History – Sources] (eds. of the series: I. Bertényi – Gy. Benda – J. Pótó), Budapest, 2001, p. 42; See the text of the regulation: pp. 62–68.

¹³⁹ L. Nagy, 'Háború és politika [...]', p. 333; Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János [...]*, pp. 108–130.; P. Ács, *Rimay János írásai*, p. 278.

¹⁴⁰ For Gábor Bethlen's diplomatic activity during these years, see: S. Papp, 'Bethlen Gábor, a Magyar Királyság és a Porta (1619 – 1621)' [Gábor Bethlen, the Kingdom of Hungary, and the Porte (1619–1621)], *Századok*, 145/1 (2011), pp. 915–973.

¹⁴¹ L. Nagy, 'Háború és politika [...]', pp. 334–336; Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János [...]*, pp. 131–162.

¹⁴² S. Papp, *Bethlen Gábor ismeretlen hadjárati terve II. Ferdinánd és a katolikus Európa ellen* [Gábor Bethlen's Unknown Plan For a Campaign Against Ferdinand II and Catholic Europe], in: G. Kármán – K. Teszelszky (eds.), *Bethlen Gábor és Európa* [Gábor Bethlen and Europe], Budapest, 2013, pp. 103–128. For the transcription of the instruction on 4 April 1621, see: pp. 119–127.

Furthermore, Rimay was among those who supported the peace. This diplomatic mission, which aimed at gaining support for Bethlen, ended fruitlessly. Upon his return from the Sublime Porte, Rimay met with Gábor Bethlen, and accompanied him to Nagyszombat (present day Trnava, in Slovakia) and to Nikolsburg (present day Mikulov, in the Czech Republic) where he met with Imre Thurzó at the time of the peace talks of Nikolsburg. After the death of Imre Thurzó on 19 October 1621, Rimay returned to Alsósztrégova and was no longer seen around Bethlen.¹⁴³

Until the peace talks in Szőny in 1627, Rimay kept himself away from diplomatic affairs. During this time, in 1624, raids devastated his house and most of his great and valuable library was destroyed by the raiders. It can be found in his biography that only 131 volumes survived out of altogether 609 books which were treasured in his library.¹⁴⁴ However, it should be noted that there is not any evidence concerning this incident.¹⁴⁵ In the same year, his son was born but later the infant János died.¹⁴⁶

Rimay participated in the peace talks of Szőny and other subsequent negotiations as the representative of Nógrád County's mandate, predominantly interested in the repatriation of lost goods.¹⁴⁷ The nr. XXIX article of 1625 which was issued by the Hungarian Diet declared that the counties, which were territorially involved in terms of the negotiations and the new peace treaty, had the right to send their emissaries to inform the negotiators about the losses. The participation of the counties' representatives is noteworthy because this was the first time when the Hungarian counties had had a possibility to send their emissaries with a list of the goods stolen and destroyed by the Ottomans. Rimay wrote a diary concerning the negotiations which started on 25 May and ended on 1 August when he left the place of the negotiations.¹⁴⁸ János Rimay was also present at the

¹⁴³ L. Nagy, 'Háború és politika [...]', pp. 334–336; Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János* [...], pp. 131–162.

¹⁴⁴ Z. Ferenczi, *Rimay János* [...], p. 165.

¹⁴⁵ P. Ötvös, *Rimay János költészete és a késő reneszánsz*, in: I. Horváth (ed. in chief), *Magyar irodalomtörténet* [Hungarian Literary History], M. Balázs (ed.), *Kora újkor* [Early Modern Age] (M. Balázs, ed.), chapter 11.7, Budapest, 2020–2021, <https://f-book.com/mi/index.php?book=09KOL-TOIEL> (accessed: 29 May 2021).

¹⁴⁶ L. Nagy, 'Háború és politika [...]', p. 337; P. Ács, *Rimay János írásai*, p. 278.

¹⁴⁷ Concerning this peace treaty, see: G. Brandl – Cs. Göncöl – K. Juhász – G. E. Marton – J. Szabados, 'Kommunikáció és híráramlás. A Habsburg-oldal tárgyalási stratégiája az 1627. évi szőnyi békekötés során' [Communication and Information Flow. The Negotiation Strategy of the Habsburg Party during the 1627 Peace Treaty of Szőny], *Aetas*, 33/IV (2018), pp. 108–124; G. Brandl – Cs. Göncöl – K. Juhász – G. E. Marton – J. Szabados, 'Válogatott források az 1627. évi szőnyi békeszerződés történetéhez' [Selected Sources to the History of the 1627 Peace Treaty of Szőny], *Lymbus*, 15 (2017), pp. 151–203; G. Brandl – Cs. Göncöl – K. Juhász – G. E. Marton – J. Szabados, 'Kommunikation und Nachrichtenaustausch – Verhandlungsstrategie der habsburgischen Seite bei der Friedensverhandlung von Szőny 1627', *Chronica*, 19 (2020), pp. 113–140; M. H. Cervioğlu, 'The Peace Treaties of Gyarmat (1625) and Szőny (1627)', *Ege ve Balkan Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 3/II (2016), pp. 67–86.

¹⁴⁸ S. Eckhardt (ed.), *Rimay János* [...], pp. 417–423. For this question and the diary, see: G. E. Marton, 'Three Hungarian Diplomats' Emissary Diaries – A Comparative Analysis of Emissary Diaries of János Rimay, Gáspár Tassy and Mihály Tholdalagi in the Context of the 1627 Peace Treaty of Szőny', *Prace Historyczne*, 148/IV (2021). [article in press].

subsequent territorial negotiations in Szécsény in 1628, but this time as Gömör County's emissary. In a letter written by the Palatine on 31 December 1627, the names of the counties' representatives were recorded.¹⁴⁹ Finally, Rimay built a good relationship with György Rákóczi who invited him to Transylvania, but he never went there because of his precarious state of health. Eventually, at the end of 1631, Rimay died.

Conclusion

In sum, if one surveys János Rimay's career, role and diplomatic activity, it can be easily recognised that the late-Renaissance intellectual, poet and diplomat had a great impact on his epoch, not only as a literary organiser and philosopher, but also as a statesman and diplomat. I examined the lesser nobleman, János Rimay's importance and sway in contemporary political and diplomatic decisions, particularly his contribution to the peace treaties of his age. Before he appeared in the theatre of diplomacy and politics, Rimay had given scholarly attention to political affairs as well as to the topic of the theory of the state, furthermore, had focused on how power can be moral and ethical. This wide range of knowledge (including an exquisite knowledge of Latin) and this special field of literacy qualified Rimay for performing as a very able and erudite diplomat. In relation to this, it is also worth pointing out that his acquaintanceship with the next Palatine of Hungary, namely with István Illésházy, was a crucial milestone on the path of establishing his diplomatic and political career. These antecedents resulted in Rimay's first diplomatic mission, namely his participation in the peace process of Vienna during his service in Bocskai's court. Then, Rimay, who was well-versed in Hungarian affairs, upon Illésházy's proposal became the member of an important delegation as the representative of the Hungarian estates. This delegation brought the text of the Peace Treaty of Zsitvatorok (1606) for ratification to Constantinople in 1608. László Nagy gave credit for Rimay who truly believed that the Ottomans earnestly wanted peace. These episodes established his reputation concerning internal affairs as well as Habsburg–Ottoman diplomatic relations. So, these events initiated his subsequent mandates. Later, he became a member (as representative of the Hungarian estates again) of the delegation which was sent to Constantinople after the Diet in Besztercebánya in 1620. The last chapter in his diplomatic career concerned the peace process of Szőny. During the years after the Peace of Zsitvatorok, Rimay actively participated in the political matters of Nógrád County; moreover, he tried to be present at the Diets. This fact that he took part in the matters of the county where he resided,

¹⁴⁹ The names of the emissaries who were delegated to the territorial negotiations can be found in a letter written by Miklós Esterházy on 31 December 1627. Bars County: Imre Liptay, Hont County: Horváti György, Gömör County: Rimay János, Nógrád County: Fanch[i/y] Ferencz, Pest–Pilis, Solt and Heves Counties: Bakó Ferencz. A. Ipolyi, *Alsó sztregovai* [...], p. 304 (doc. nr. CLI).

yielded his last diplomatic mission. This last mission means that he participated in the peace process of Szőny (1627) as the emissary of Nógrád County. Then he could be found as an emissary of Gömör County in Szécsény on the occasion of the territorial negotiations. Because of the size and weight of his network of relationship, it is unsurprising if he was described as a “telephone switchboard”. (Ferenc Kazinczy, the great 19th-century intellectual was portrayed by László Nagy in the same way.) Rimay was a key figure among the intellectuals of his age; moreover, he was in the centre of this wide acquaintanceship. Pál Ács published Rimay’s entire literary oeuvre,¹⁵⁰ while Sándor Eckhardt published Rimay’s non-literary correspondence in a critical edition in 1955.¹⁵¹ Since then, as it has been shown above, several documents have been published and a few debates have begun in some cases, concerning Rimay’s authorship. Thus, it seems necessary to collect, re-edit, and publish his whole non-literary correspondence and documents of his diplomatic and public activity, together with a network-based analysis.¹⁵² Besides, as part of the new edition, it does not seem unnecessary to compile Rimay’s itinerary. Together with my colleague, Krisztina Juhász, we have taken the first steps on this path. Thus, this article would be the first step of this research. Over and above, János Rimay was not just a remarkable poet and intellectual at the end of the 16th century and in the first third of the 17th century, but he had a great effect on his age through his literary works and experience concerning political and diplomatic affairs. With the help of inquiry in his life, activity and works, one can gain a well-detailed picture of a crucial period of early modern Hungarian history too.

¹⁵⁰ P. Ács, *Rimay János írásai*.

¹⁵¹ S. Eckhardt (ed.), *Rimay János* [...].

¹⁵² Concerning the network-based analysis, as an example, see: K. Juhász, ‘Ego-network of István Bocskai in the light of his Correspondence (1576-1598)’, *Prace Historyczne*, 148/IV (2021) [article in press].

Bibliography

Abbreviations

- AUSz SL = Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Sectio Litteraria [Literary Section of the Journal of the University of Szeged]
 EPhK = Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny [Universal Journal of Philology]
 HHR = Hungarian Historical Review
 ItK = Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények [Literary History Publications]
 MAMŰL = Magyar Művelődéstörténeti Lexikon [Encyclopaedia of Hungarian Cultural History]
 MIT = A magyar irodalom története [The History of Hungarian Literature]
 MTT = Magyar Történelmi Tár [Collection of Hungarian History]
 RMKT = Régi magyar költők tára [Collection of Old Hungarian Poets]

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