The Harder Reading:
The Hungarian Reception of Allestree's *The Whole Duty of Man* (1658) During the Long Eighteenth Century

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The concept of the "long Reformation" (1500–1800) and its application is still in its infancy in the field of Hungarian intellectual history research.[1] This concept offers a new chronology (1500–1800) which seems better suited to revealing the so-called *glocal* features of the Hungarian Reformation. Furthermore, it allows macro- and micro-level analyses that frequently lead to a re-evaluation of the characteristics of the Reformation in early modern Hungary and Transylvania. This approach, at least in my research practice, is unified by the historical reality of religious persecution, and the theological and historical assessments of this phenomenon, which were occasionally conceptualized and propagated by early modern Hungarian theologians in eschatological terms. Indeed, an early modern Reformed historical-theological awareness and politics of memory has emerged, which appears to validate the conviction of the Hungarian Reformed elite that the history of the Reformation must have been a representation of religious persecution endured by the chosen ones. Unavoidably, the Hungarian case has followed the same trajectory as that of the rest of Western Europe, thus reiterating the same narrative of ecclesiastical history. The Reformation can be defined as an attempt to return to the principles of the primitive church

1. For the concept of long Reformation (1500–1800) and its application to research on Royal Hungary and Transylvania from a methodological point of view see Zsombor Tóth, "Understanding Long Reformation in Eastern Europe: The Case of Hungarian Puritanism Revisited," *Journal of Early Modern Christianity* 7, no. 2 (2020): 319–41; Zsombor Tóth, *A hosszú reformáció jegyében. Vallási perzekúció és tanúságtétel a református irodalmi hagyományban a gyászévtizedtől 1800-ig* ["Under the Banner of Long Reformation: Religious Persecution and the Hungarian Reformed Tradition from the Decade of Sorrow to 1800"], Humanizmus és reformáció 41 (BTK Irodalomtudományi Intézet, 2023), 59–79.

and to share her destiny of enduring persecution and bearing witness to the truth.

My research focuses on the complexity of Reformed Orthodoxy within the context of the long Hungarian Reformation, paying particular attention to the long eighteenth century (1680–1800). This further periodization and distinct emphasis on the timespan of 1680–1800 is justified, as it highlights the previously overlooked reception of Huguenot devotion. It seems that a significant number of influential Huguenot authors who expressed a Reformed orthodox standpoint, such as Pierre Du Moulin, Sr. and Pierre Du Moulin, Jr., Charles Drelincourt, Pierre Jurieu, Jacques Lenfant, and Daniel de Superville, had been translated into Hungarian, but rarely published during the aforementioned period.[2] Nevertheless, the reception, as confirmed by an impressive corpus of manuscripts and a few prints, is undeniable, and the timeframe of 1680–1800 proves to be pertinent.

The aim of this paper is to introduce new facts and considerations regarding the European reception of Richard Allestree's bestseller, *The Whole Duty of Man* (1658). The hitherto unknown Hungarian reception is surely exceptional, as Allestree's book, in fact, its French version, was translated three times during the long eighteenth century. Of the three Hungarian translators, only one has been identified thus far: the Reformed theologian György Aranka Zágoni (1705–1767), as confirmed by the surviving manuscript of his translation. Therefore, the focus of my investigations will be his person, life course, and the Hungarian translation he produced. The identity of the other translators remains unknown, despite the fact that the third translation was published in 1769 without naming the Hungarian translator(s). Given that all of them relied on the same French version of Allestree's book, it is unsurprising that the English author's text was regarded and read by the Hungarian readership as a piece of francophone devotional literature.

Therefore, I am proposing a case study that examines the Hungarian corpus with György Aranka's contribution in focus, in order to reveal the intricacies of the reception as a process of entangled transfers from Anglican devotion to Hungarian Reformed Orthodoxy via francophone piety. Textual criticism and a close reading of György Aranka's translation will allow

2. For a survey of the Huguenot authors read and translated by Hungarians see Zsombor Tóth, "Looking Beyond the Paradigm: The Hungarian Reception of Huguenot Authors in the Context of the Long Reformation in Central and Eastern Europe," in *Looking Beyond the Paradigm*, ed. Angela Ilić and Zsombor Tóth and Ulrich A. Wien, *Studies of Early Modern Christianity in Central Eastern Europe* 2 (De Gruyter, 2026), 13–31.

a reconstruction and assessment of this cultural and confessional encounter, revealing how and why Allestree's text could have been so popular. My conclusion will establish that the development of the long Hungarian Reformation, in particular the evolution of Reformed Orthodox spirituality, benefited extensively from the impact of English pietistic religiosity and Huguenot devotional literature.

The First Hungarian Translator of *The Whole Duty of the Christian Man*: György Aranka Zágoni (1705–1767)

György Aranka Zágoni's (ca. 1705–1767) life course embodied the pattern that granted success and social promotion to a select group of privileged Hungarian Reformed theologians. In addition to his talent, linguistic skills, and religious commitment, György Aranka rose to the top of the Transylvanian Reformed Church hierarchy due to his willingness to make sacrifices and overcome challenges. After completing his studies at home and abroad, he served as a pastor in two parishes: first in Marosvásárhely/Tirgu Mures (1731 and 1747) and then in Szék/Sic (1732 and 1755). He subsequently became dean in 1755 and superintendent in 1765. Few of his published works have survived, most of them being funeral sermons, but among them stands out the Hungarian translation of the Huguenot Charles Drelincourt's (1595–1669) manual of consolation[3] titled, *Les Consolations de L'Ame Fidele contre Les Frayeurs De La Mort*.[4] Although it had been translated by the aging György Aranka, it would be edited and published only by his son, Aranka Jr., in 1768. It was determinant in György Aranka's life and carrier that he found the means and financial support to

3. Charles Drelincourt, *Les Consolations de L'Ame Fidele contre Les Frayeurs De La Mort* (Paris, 1651). This book has been published countless times, as Drelincourt himself continuously revised and expanded it throughout his life, so it is not surprising that by the end of the seventeenth century, forty-two editions had been registered, followed by another fifteen editions during the eighteenth century. For the seventeenth century Huguenot devotional literature and the publication history of the text, see Marianne Carbonnier–Burkard, "Les pasteurs français auteurs d'une littérature d'édification, au XVII^{e} siècle," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 156, no. 1 (2011): 37–48. For an assessment of the Huguenot characteristics of the consolatory-devotional literature cultivated by Drelincourt, see Marianne Carbonnier–Burkard, "Un manuel de consolation au XVII e siècle: les Visites charitables du pasteur Charles," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 157, no. 3 (2011): 331–56.

4. György Aranka Zágoni, *A keresztyén léleknek halál' félelmei ellen való orvosságai*. S. l. 1768 *A keresztyén léleknek halál' félelmei ellen való orvosságai* ["Remedies for the Christian Soul Against the Fears of Death"] (S. l: S. n. 1768). A 1775 edition of this translation is also known to exist in Pozsony/Bratislava.

continue his studies abroad. The language skills and education he acquired, especially his theological training, proved to be a defining experience, as reported in his diary.[5]

After an eventful journey that began in 1728, the twenty-three-year-old György Aranka first arrived in Bern. On September 1, 1728, he enrolled at the local university and remained there until April 30, 1729. His next destination was Geneva, but before arriving there, he stopped in Lausanne, where he spent four days visiting a "clergyman renowned for his piety and learning."[6] This seems to be an important fact in his life course in terms of his acquaintance with French-speaking Huguenot culture and the so-called *littérature d'édification*, or edifying literature. It was precisely in this year that a theological seminary was established in Lausanne to provide clergy for the Huguenots in France. György Aranka enrolled at the University of Geneva on May 31, 1729, and stayed there throughout 1730. The benefits of his sojourn in this distinctive cultural and confessional milieu are best exemplified by a rather fictitious episode, in which his command of French was said to be so proficient that he was permitted on three occasions to deliver a sermon in French to a local congregation.[7] While it is reasonable to reserve some doubt regarding the veracity of this episode, it remains an indisputable fact that, while in Geneva, György Aranka had the opportunity to meet exiled or established Huguenots, attend their religious services, and read their books.

Once the linguistic barrier had been overcome, the young Hungarian Reformed theologian may well have felt at home in the company of the Huguenots. The twenty-six-year-old György Aranka set off for home in the spring of 1731 via Basel, where he enrolled at the university on May 4, 1731, but did not sign the university register. However, György Aranka's stay was significantly shorter than his periods in Geneva and Bern, as he returned to Transylvania at the beginning of October 1731. Much to his satisfaction, the books he had purchased—probably including the French

5. Elemér Jancsó introduced and edited György Aranka's Latin travelogue that recorded his travels and exploits between 1728 and 1731. See Elemér Jancsó, "Kétszáz éves külföldi útleírás. Zágoni Aranka György erdélyi ref. püspök külföldi utazása 1728–1731-ben" ["The Foreign Travels of György Aranka Zágoni, Transylvanian Reformed Superintendent, 1728–1731"] *Pásztortűz* 26, no. 1 (1940): 46–52.

6. Jancsó, "Kétszáz éves külföldi," 51.

7. Jancsó, "Kétszáz éves külföldi," 46

translation of Allestree's bestseller — survived the long journey without any notable loss, as he recalled it in his diary.[8]

The significance of this impressive stay abroad is indisputable. György Aranka's mental world, intellectual profile, and piety were undoubtedly influenced by everything he saw, heard, read, and learned. Let us not forget that Bern, Geneva, and Basel were not only centres of Reformed Orthodoxy and Enlightenment, but also welcoming spiritual havens for the French Huguenot elite forced into exile.[9] The Huguenot refugees, who arrived in large numbers and in several waves, received significant support, although their presence in the settlements of neighbouring countries was not without problems; yet they were able to practice their Reformed faith, publish books, and organize their communities, thus establishing schools, congregations, and trade corporations, many of which still existed in the nineteenth century. The presence of the Huguenots in Switzerland brought such intellectual and devotional excitement to eighteenth-century Swiss life that even Hungarian pilgrims studying there could benefit, as illustrated by György Aranka.

A Hungarian Manuscript and an Extraordinary Copy of It

Two manuscript variants of György Aranka's French translation have survived: one that appears to be an autograph[10] written around 1752, preserved at the Library of the Romanian Academy in Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca, and another[11] held at the Documentary Library in Nagyenyed/Aiud, Romania.

8. Jancsó, "Kétszáz éves külföldi," 52.

9. Marie-Jeanne Ducommun, Dominique Quadroni, *Le Refuge protestant dans le Pays de Vaud (late 16th–early 18th centuries). Aspects of emigration* (Droz 1991); Yves Krumenacker, "La circulation des huguenots sur les routes du Refuge," *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 98, no. 2 (2012): 311–27; Michelle Magdelaine, "Le refuge huguenot, exil et accueil," *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest* 121, no. 3 (2014): 131–43; Daniela Solfaroli Camillocci, "Refuge et migrations à Genève au miroir de polémistes, missionnaires et voyageurs (XVIe-XVIIe siècles)," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 232, no. 1 (2015): 53–81.

10. Aranka György: *Jo keresztyén: A' Keresztyén embernek minden tisztit XVII. szakaszokba foglaló idvességes trakta* ["The Good Christian, That Is, an Edifying Treatise Introducing All the Duties of a Christian in Seventeen Sections"] 9+382 pages, manuscript, reference number: MS R. 1252, Special Collections of the Library of the Romanian Academy, Cluj. Hereinafter: Aranka, *Jó Keresztyén 1752*.

11. Aranka György: *Jo keresztyén: A' Keresztyén embernek minden tisztit XVII. szakaszokba foglaló idvességes trakta* ["The Good Christian, That Is, an Edifying Treatise Introducing all the Duties of a Christian in Seventeen Sections"] 4+475 pages, manuscript copy, reference number: MS 29, Special Collection of the Documentary Library of Nagyenyed. Hereinafter: Aranka, *Jó Keresztyén 1755*.

The latter appears to be a copy from 1755 of the former, executed by the learned Reformed pastor of Nagyenyed/Aiud, József Hermányi Dienes (1699–1763). In this version held at Nagyenyed, the ageing Dienes Hermányi after completing the manuscript with an introduction of his own,[12] he himself stated that, despite his poor condition, he started copying the manuscript in December 1754 and finished it on January 19, 1755.[13] This appears to be a piece of valuable information, as it helps dating both manuscripts. While the copy produced by Dienes Hermányi was finished in 1755, György Aranka's autograph appears to have come into being before 1754.

At a closer look, this manuscript looks like a rather artificial construction bearing the intervention of several hands, as several manuscript pages of different sizes and in different handwritings were retrospectively bound together with the truncated autograph. The main text[14] is undoubtedly the work of György Aranka, although it is not signed by him. The front page, the superintendent's letter of recommendation[15] dated 16 March 1762, and the table of contents[16] were presumably added later to the original. As this manuscript was never published, despite the recommendation offered by Reformed superintendent György Verestói (1698–1765) in 1762, it seems plausible that it was widely read and disseminated among Reformed theologians and perhaps even laypeople. This would explain the manuscript's precarious condition and the necessity to supplement the damaged original with the aforementioned parts.

Indeed, György Aranka's autograph, perhaps completed sometime before 1754, appears to have undergone many alterations due to intensive use, as evidenced by the final modification: the superintendent Verestói's recommendation added in 1762. Fortunately, the dating of this autograph can be further clarified by examining the preface added by Hermányi Dienes to his own copy from 1755. Hermányi Dienes reports that he obtained the autograph manuscript from György Aranka after borrowing it to copy it, and he provides some details about the making of the original.

12. Dienes Hermányi decided to complete the manuscript with a short introduction providing a biographical context of György Aranka's life and carrier, while also emphasizing the significance of the book. According to Dienes Hermányi, the book would never be published due to discriminatory policies against Protestant denominations. Aranka, *Jó Keresztyén 1755*, I–II.

13. Aranka, *Jó Keresztyén 1755*, II.

14. Aranka, *Jó Keresztyén 1752*, 6–382.

15. Aranka, *Jó Keresztyén 1752*, I.

16. Aranka, *Jó Keresztyén 1752*, III–XVIII.

> As the salary began to decline there, [György Aranka] thought that he would translate this book [French translation of Allestree's book] and have it printed at the expense of some generous individuals, following the example of Reverend István Tatai, who translated and published Stehelinus's Catechism with the financial support of the Transylvanian nobility.[17]

Hermányi Dienes's reference to István Tatai's translation of Stehelin, published in 1752,[18] is of paramount significance, as it enables us to date the creation of the autograph text variant to between 1752 and 1754. However, as we shall see in the following section, the Hungarian translation was most likely based on the fourth French edition of Allestree's book, which was published in 1737. This suggests that György Aranka might have commenced the translation after 1737 and concluded the autograph manuscript between 1752 and 1754. Dienes Hermányi, as we have already seen it, obtained the manuscript from György Aranka in 1754. At this time, some of the later handwritten and foreign hand completions had not yet been added to it. Based on my research findings, to maintain clear differentiation between the two surviving manuscripts, I will date György Aranka's autograph manuscript to 1752 and Dienes Hermányi's copy to 1755. My references to these variants will reflect this dating, as mentioned in my previous footnotes, which provide full descriptions of both manuscripts.[19]

The English Original and Its French Translations

Following the disentangling of the complex relationships between György Aranka's autograph from 1752 and the copy produced by Dienes Hermányi in 1755, this section will analyse the French text that served as the source for the Hungarian translation. To solve this task, it is necessary to examine the English original and its various French translations, published several times during the first half of the eighteenth century. Accordingly, the title page of György Aranka's autograph manuscript contains some references that shed light on the sources of his translation: "First written in England by a certain pious man; but because it was so useful, it was translated into French and

17. Aranka, *Jó Keresztyén 1755*, IVr.

18. Dienes Hermányi's recollection is partially inaccurate, as the author is not István, but Ferenc Csirke Tatai.

[Tatai Csirke Ferenc], *Catechismusi Házi-Kints, avagy A' keresztyéni hit' fö-ágazatinak kérdések és feleletek általvaló magyarázatja* ["Catechism Domestic Fortune, or the Summary of Christian Religion Exposed in Question-and-Answer Format"] (Kolozsvárott, 1752).

19. See footnotes number 10 and 11.

has already been published four times, and now it has been translated into Hungarian for the benefit of Hungarian Christians."[20]

These findings demonstrate that the French translation from English underwent several editions and that György Aranka may have worked from a fourth edition of a French variant. The English text that served as the source for the French translation was published anonymously,[21] because its authorship is disputed, and only the current professional consensus suggests that it may have been the work of Richard Allestree (1619–1681).[22] His life coincided with the Puritan Revolution or English Civil War, marked by the rise of Oliver Cromwell, in which Allestree participated as a royalist in the armed conflicts of 1642–43. He was highly educated and well-trained, teaching at Oxford from 1663 and becoming chaplain to Charles II. He later served as dean of Eton College (1665). His famous library of approximately three thousand volumes, which he bequeathed to the university in 1681, is preserved at Oxford.[23] Allestree's biography was written shortly after his death in 1685 by Bishop John Fell (1625–1686).[24] We also know of one of Allestree's Hungarian connections, as he added a handwritten entry in the *album amicorum* of János Mezőlaki, who spent some time in England between 1667 and 1669.[25] Allestree authored numerous devotional works;[26] his sermons were also published, and in 1684, three years

20. Aranka, *Jó Keresztyén 1752*, XVII.

21. [Richard Allestree], *The Practice of Christian Graces, or, The whole duty of man laid down in a plain and familiar way for the use of all, but especially the meanest reader: divided into XVII chapters, one whereof being read every Lords Day, the whole may be read over thrice in the year: with Private devotions for several occasions* (London, 1658).

22. Paul Elmen, "Richard Allestree and The Whole Duty of Man," *Library* 5, no. 1 (1951): 19–27.

23. Christina Neagu, "Time Capsule Under Restoration. The Allestree Library," *Christ Church Library Newsletter* 7, no. 2 (2011): 15–17.

24. I found only a rather late edition of this biography: John Fell, *The Life of Richard Allestree D. D., Sometime Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, and Provost of Eton* (London, 1848).

25. For János Mezőlaki and his stay in England, see István Gál, "Tótfalusi Kis Miklós angliai összeköttetéseinek nyomában. Mezőlaki János angol ismeretségei" ["In the Footsteps of Miklós Kis Tótfalusi's Connections in England. János Mezőlaki's English Acquaintances"] *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 75, no. 3 (1971): 339–41; Berta Trócsányi, "Református theológusok Angliában a XVI és XVII. Században" ["Hungarian Reformed Theologians in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries"] *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok*, nos. 5–6 (1944): 115–46.

26. To give just a few examples of the most important ones: *Gentleman's Calling* (1660); *Causes of the Decay of Christian Piety* (1667); *Ladies Calling* (1673); *Government of the Tongue* (1674); *Art of Contentment* (1675); *Lively Oracles* (1678).

after his death, a collection of his works came out.[27] His most popular work, *The Whole Duty of Man*, first published in 1658, appeared anonymously, yet it became an international bestseller. In addition to the French translation mentioned above, Latin,[28] German,[29] and Dutch[30] translations are also known to exist. Not to mention that Dutch translations and adaptations resulted in numerous further editions. This process clearly suggests that the original confessional characteristics of the English text were overwritten in the process of transmission and reception to such an extent that the devotional work of the Anglican-royalist author became one of the popular devotional works of Dutch Calvinist orthodoxy.[31] It appears that following the first Dutch edition in 1684, the work became a favourite piece of devotional culture and literature in the *Nadere Reformatie*, mainly due to the newer editions from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The French reception also deserves special attention, as something similar occurred: the book, conceived in a royalist political and Anglican theological environment, was integrated into the literary tradition and corpus of Francophone Reformed piety (*piété réformée francophone*).[32] Two French translations appeared, which went through numerous editions during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is worth bearing in mind

27. [John Fell?], *The Works of the Learned and Pious Author of the Whole Duty of Man* (London, 1684).

28. The earliest edition that has been identified is from 1680. [Richard Allestree], *Officium hominis, cúm stylo, tum methodo luculentissimaâ expositum; opus cujusvis, at præcipuè indoctissimi lectoris captui accommodatum* (London, 1680).

29. Friedrich Eberhard Rambach (1708–1775) translated it into German, and it seems to have been a popular read in that language as well, as it was published several times: in 1761, 1774, and 1776. [Richard Allestree], *Abbildung der ganzen Pflicht des Menschen: wegen ihres lehrreichen und erbaulichen Inhalts aus der engländische Sprache übersetzet* […] *von Friedrich Eberhard Rambach* (Copenhagen, 1761). The German translation also reached the Hungarian-speaking world, with copies of various German editions preserved in collections in Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca and Budapest.

30. [Richard Allestree], *De Gantsche Pligt van een Christen* (Utrecht, 1684).

31. For a detailed assessment of the Dutch-reception see Jacques B. H. Alblas, "Richard Allestree's *The Whole Duty of Man* (1658) in Holland: The Denominational and Generic Transformation of an Anglican Classic," *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis* 71, no. 1 (1991): 92–104.

32. In many respects, Allestree's text enjoyed almost the same reception as Bayly's *The Practice of Piety* (1612), which was extremely popular in French translations and went through twenty-four editions between 1622 and 1671. Carbonnier-Burkard, "Les pasteurs français," 42. It appears that almost the same phenomenon is repeated here, as a text written by an Anglican author serves Huguenot piety, thereby reinforcing the similarities between Puritan and Huguenot devotion.

that the English text, which was published anonymously in 1658, was conceived and written in a specific historical and personal context. This context not only determined the book's content but also implicitly influenced how it was received. As a royalist, Allestree was at the mercy of the radical Puritan group after the king's execution in 1649. He was reportedly forced to endure a brief period of imprisonment, among other hardships, yet this ordeal did not waver his loyalty. With the Restoration, Allestree's fortunes improved, and he enjoyed an impressive career as a reward for his unaltered loyalty and, of course, his genuine talent. However, it was not possible to predict in 1658 that Allestree, influenced by his experiences of persecution, would develop a discourse of piety that evoked the martyrologic tradition of the early modern period. As Allestree's text explicitly states, the act of martyrdom is to be embraced, particularly in the context of facing violence and the dominance of one's persecutors. The model of conduct to be followed is one of accepting God's will with humility and steadfastness. Furthermore, it presents the possibility of martyrdom, as this is the sole means of bearing witness in the face of religious persecution.[33]

The anti-Huguenot sentiment and religious persecution that commenced in France during the 1660s and 1670s and culminated in the revocation of the *Edict of Nantes* (1685) provided an almost identical, or at least a suitable, analogy to the historical context of Allestree's text. Huguenot translators and readers certainly felt the relevance of the English text and may even have drawn strength and enthusiasm from it for their persecution-related testimony, which undoubtedly influenced the production of the eighteenth-century French translations and editions. This topicality and applicability were reinforced by the fact that Allestree's English text also recommended a collection of prayers in the appendix to the original text, which could be said primarily in times of various afflictions (illness, exile, persecution, etc.).

The initial French translation of the English text was published in 1669,[34] shortly followed by the second edition in 1671. It is evident that these French editions received a positive reception, as the Huguenot philosopher Pierre Bayle also praised[35] the abilities of their female translator,

33. Allestree, *The Practice of Christian Graces*, 398–99.

34. [Richard Allestree], *La Pratique des vertus chrétiennes, ou Tous les devoirs de l'homme* […] *Traduit de l'anglais (par Mlle Durel)* (Rouen, 1669).

35. In his letter of 1678, Bayle states that Mademoiselle Durel's translation enjoyed greater popularity than the French version of Lewis Bayly's bestseller *The Practice of Piety*: "C'est elle qui nous a traduit de l'anglois, La Prattique des vertus chretiennes, livre

Mademoiselle Durel.[36] Nonetheless, the third edition, published in 1723,[37] was already based on a new translation. Although the translator is unknown, this translation promised a greatly altered, more accurate French version than the previous ones. It appears that, commencing with the third French edition, a more complete and superior version of the text was in fact created. This French variant was replicated in subsequent editions, including the fourth edition,[38] which appears to be the source of György Aranka's Hungarian translation as well. This claim is confirmed by discrepancies at the macro and micro levels observed in a comparison of the various French editions. In the third (1723) and subsequent editions, the section between pages 447 and 452 in *Part 17* is separated by the anonymous French translator under the title *'Conclusion'*, whereas in the first (1669) and second (1671) editions, this five-page section is incorporated into *Part 17* with no distinctive markings or reference to a distinct structural unit bearing the explicit title *'Conclusion'*. György Aranka's Hungarian translation, however, seems to follow the structure of the third (1723) or the consecutive editions more closely, reproducing the separate *'Conclusion'* under the subheading *'Bé-rekesztés,'*[39] which is the Hungarian equivalent for the French *'Conclusion.'* Furthermore, the distinction between the French variants of the first two editions and the subsequent ones (1723, 1737, etc.) is corroborated by a discrepancy at the micro level. For, the third (1723) and subsequent French editions discuss the homiletics of prayer in section 5[40] devoted to prayer, and are thus faithful to the English original. Furthermore, strictly following the English model, they distinguish between public and private prayer and occasions for prayer (*priéres public et particuliere*). The discussion of *priéres particuliere* is omitted from the two French versions preceding

beaucoup plus estimé que La Prattique de pieté." Pierre Bayle's (1647–1706) correspondence is available online at: http://bayle-correspondance.univ-st-etienne.fr/?Lettre-161-Pierre-Bayle-a- Jacob&lang=fr#nb19.

36. Mademoiselle Durel, née Marie de Baux, was the wife of Jean Durel or John Durell (1625–1683); they married in 1664. Marie de Baux's father was the famous Huguenot priest Jean-Maximilien de Baux, sieur de Langle (1590–1674).

37. [Richard Allestree], *La pratique des vertus chretiennes, ou, Tous les devoirs des hommes: avec les devotions particulieres, pour diverses occasions ordinaires & extraordinaires. Traduit de l'Anglois* (Delft, 1723).

38. [Richard Allestree], *La pratique des vertus chretiennes, ou, Tous les devoirs des hommes: avec les devotions particulieres, pour diverses occasions ordinaires & extraordinaires. Traduit de l'Anglois* (Lausanne, 1737).

39. Aranka, *Jó Keresztyén 1752*, 376–82.

40. *Section V. De l'adoration ou du service que nous devons á Dieu.*

the third (1723) edition, but it appears in György Aranka's translation, who defines private/solitary prayer as follows: "Private prayer is that which must be performed alone, or isolated from any human company, in which one can better disclose one's own particular needs than in common prayers. Attending regularly divine service cannot be a reason for neglecting this special prayer; God commands both, and thus the performance of one cannot replace the other."[41]

This passage shows that György Aranka worked from a French variant, which was published only in the third (1723) edition and subsequent ones. It is worth recalling György Aranka's remark about the source of his translation at this point, as he stated that the French text had already been published four times.[42] It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that György Aranka relied on the fourth edition of the French text, published in 1737, for his Hungarian translation.

Allestree in Print and in Manuscript (Again?): Further Aspects of the Hungarian Reception

In 1769, a remarkable book[43] was published by István Margitai's printing shop. Margitai, a Reformed printer of some renown based in Debrecen, achieved prominence through his promotion of Reformed publications, thereby securing a dominant position in the Hungarian book market during the eighteenth century. It is plausible that this publication is part of a substantial series of devotional works that were initially published by Margitai's printing establishment. The primary objective of this series was to cater to the spiritual needs of a Reformed readership that embraced Reformed Orthodoxy and pietistic devotion. The title of the book fully concurs this initiative: *A Christian man's entire duty clearly and comprehensibly outlined for everyone, but especially for the benefit of simpler readers, divided into 17 parts* […] *First written in English, it has now been translated into Hungarian*. The content of the printed text confirms what is fairly apparent at a first glance, this is, indeed, a Hungarian translation of Richard Allestree's bestseller *The Whole Duty of Man* (1658).

41. Aranka, *Jó Keresztyén 1752*, 156–57.

42. Aranka, *Jó Keresztyén 1752*, XVII.

43. [Richard Allestree], *A'keresztyén embernek egész tiszte világosan és érthetöképen lerajzoltatva mindeneknek, de kivált az együgyübb olvasóknak kedvekért és XVII. részekre fel-osztva* ["A Christian Man's Entire Duty Clearly and Comprehensibly Outlined for Everyone, but Especially for the Benefit of Simpler Readers, Divided into 17 Parts"] (Debrecen, 1769).

However, it is important to note that the Debrecen print did not publish György Aranka's translation; this publication is a *new* Hungarian translation of Allestree's work. The printed edition does not name the Hungarian translator(s) and suggests that it was translated from English. However, the extant scholarship does not provide a definitive consensus regarding the authorship of this translation. It has been posited that two individuals, the Reformed superintendent Ferenc Tatai Csirke (1707–1764)[44] and the senator of the city of Debrecen, Sámuel Szeremley (1695–1771),[45] may have been responsible for rendering Allestree's English text into Hungarian. It is noteworthy that this Hungarian variant is purportedly the result of a translation from the English original. However, this assertion is fairly bold, as there is no evidence to corroborate the proficiency in English of Tatai Csirke and Szeremley. Moreover, recent scholarship asserts[46] that the translation may have been completed from French, probably from a similar edition that constituted the source of György Aranka's version as well. The debate surrounding authorship has been further complicated by the claim that the 1769 publication is in fact the second edition of Tatai Csirke's translation, which first appeared in 1749.[47] It is, regrettably, impossible to verify this claim, as no copies of the presumed 1749 *editio princeps* have survived. Notwithstanding the unresolved issues surrounding authorship and the number of print editions, it is an established fact that a *second Hungarian translation* of Allestree's book from the French was published in 1769.

Finally, the unexpectedly vivid reception in Debrecen is further augmented by a mysterious manuscript variant[48] which recently surfaced among the holdings of the National Széchényi Library in Budapest. I was fortunate to discover and identify this manuscript as the *third translation* of Allestree's book. However, this variant remains shrouded in secrecy, as it is impossible to disclose the identity of its author, or even its copyist, at

44. See János M. Hermán, "Tatai (Csirke) Ferenc, V. D. M., vir est optimus," *Református Szemle* 107, no. 2 (2014): 194–236, 203.

45. Csaba Fekete, *Első konfirmációs ágendánk (1751)* ["Our First Confirmation Agenda" (1751)] (Debrecen, 2007), 22.

46. Tóth, *A hosszú reformáció*, 390–95.

47. Hermán, "Tatai Csirke Ferenc," 203.

48. [S. n.], *A' kereszténi virtusoknak gyakorlása vagy Az embernek Istenhez magához és felebaratihoz valo kötelességei és Tisztei. Francziából fordíttatatott 1752. Esztendőben* ["The Practice of the Christian Virtues or, The Duties and Obligations of the Man Towards God and His Brethren, Translated from French in 1752"], 24+681+7 pages, manuscript, reference number: Quart. Hung. 316, Special Collections of the National Széchényi Library, Budapest.

this stage of the research. It appears to be a single-handed copy, completed on 9 October 1752.[49] Fortunately, the manuscript had two relatively well-known Reformed superintendent owners, whose lives sheds some light on its destiny. The second owner, Ferenc Tóth (1768–1844), added a short Latin entry[50] to the blank page before the first page of the manuscript. This states that he bought the manuscript at the auction of Ferenc Hunyadi Szabó's (1743–1795) library, held in Debrecen on 5 October 1795. This information enables us to establish a chronology: after its completion in 1752, the manuscript came into the possession of Ferenc Hunyadi Szabó, and following his death on 7 July 1795, it was purchased by Ferenc Tóth on 5 October of the same year. After his death in 1844, it seems plausible that the manuscript was donated to the National Széchényi Library.

With regard to the content of the present manuscript, it is worth noting that it differs both from György Aranka's manuscript translation and the print variant published at Debrecen in 1769. A thorough examination of the manuscript and a confrontation with the French editions, has clearly demonstrated that, in a manner analogous to the previously mentioned Hungarian translations, it is consistent with either the third edition (1723) or a subsequent edition of the French versions. Therefore, it can be concluded that the Hungarian translation completed in 1752 and connected to the Protestant Rome of the era, the city of Debrecen constitutes a third Hungarian version of Allestree's book. Furthermore, it seems to suggest the presence of *a third Hungarian translator* who was not privy to György Aranka's endeavors or, at the very least, his intention to produce a Hungarian version of Allestree's exceptionally popular devotional work.

György Aranka's Translation Under Scrutiny: What Made Richard Allestree's Text so Popular?

The preceding sections appear to corroborate the assertion that a substantial corpus of both print and manuscript material, involving at least three different translators, attests to the formidable Hungarian reception of Allestree's *The Whole Duty of Man*. Yet, it is important to acknowledge that the eighteenth-century Hungarian readership was not aware of Allestree's authorship, as they received a Hungarian text from a French translation. However, it is evident that all three Hungarian variants resonated with the

49. [S. n.], *A' kereszténynyi virtusoknak*, 687.

50. "Fr(anciscus). TÓTH ex auctione Cl(arissimi). D(omini). Fr(anciscus). Hunyadi d(ie). 5. Oct(o)bris. 1795. Debrecini."

devotional needs of the Hungarian Reformed readers. The inevitable question is how Allstree's text attracted such distinguished attention, and how this remarkable interest in it can be explained. The question of whether the imposition of stringent censorship, resulting in the substantial curtailment of the dissemination of devotional works, constituted a sufficient justification for the engagement with and translation of these texts, is a matter that merits further reflection. For it is evident that censorship could not have exerted its influence on the dissemination potential of the manuscript publicity; consequently, it can be deduced that the transmission of these texts in translated manuscript copies could have easily reached a Reformed readership. Therefore, the most significant component of the unusually vivid Hungarian reception remains unanswered: namely, what question of decisive importance to the eighteenth-century Hungarian Reformed readers could this text answer?

Hermányi Dienes described György Aranka's translation as an "invaluable book on morality,"[51] which indeed falls within the framework of early modern moral theology. The Hungarian precursors of this theology were undoubtedly influenced by English Puritanism. The spiritual impact of Puritanism and Pietism was so intense in the seventeenth century that even the Anglican Allestree could not escape its influence. This kind of "experimental Calvinism,"[52] evident in seventeenth-century English Reformed piety, appears to have had a significant impact on Allestree's text as well. This explains the misunderstanding of the Hungarian Reformed readership, who probably judged the text to be a piece of Puritan devotional literature — most likely a conduct book originally written in English, then translated into French, and finally transposed into Hungarian. Remarkably, during the translation process, the Royalist and Anglican Allestree's text, along with his authorial intention, was incorporated into the Puritan theological and devotional context. As the Hungarian readership had already assimilated some Puritan classics, this proved decisive in the absorption and integration of this text into Hungarian Reformed pietistic devotion.

Furthermore, the influence of Huguenot piety on the reception of Allestree's text is also worth noting, given that the Hungarian translators would have encountered the text primarily within a French historical and

51. Aranka, *Jó Keresztyén 1755*, I.

52. See Andrew Cambers, "Reading, the Godly, and Self-Writing in England, circa 1580–1720," *Journal of British Studies* 46, no. 4 (2007): 796–825; Andrew Cambers, *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580–1720* (Cambridge University Press, 2011).

denominational-linguistic context. As previously mentioned, there were two variants of the French translation of Allestree's text. The third edition offered a new translation, the historical context of which was influenced by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, the Camisard resistance organized in the Cévennes region of southern France from 1702 to 1704, and the establishment of the Church of the Desert (*l'Église du Désert*). Significant texts of martyrological literature reflecting on the religious persecution of the Huguenots were written by Pierre Jurieu[53] and Élie Benoist[54] and reached a wide readership at the end of the seventeenth century. Apart from informing international Protestant communities and gaining their support, it was important to persuade those who had been forced to convert to Catholicism (nouveaux convertis) to resist, bear witness, and take on the roles of martyrs and confessors.[55] Hungarian interest in Allestree's French text could not ignore these particular Huguenot-related historical, literary and theological contexts.

It seems probable that the central element connecting these layers of tradition, namely Anglican/Puritan, Huguenot, and Hungarian Reformed piety, through translation as a linguistic and cultural transfer, is *religious persecution* and the contemporary moral-theological, in fact *martyrologic* response given to it. The flight and exile from Cromwell's followers, but

53. Pierre Jurieu (1637–1713) was a committed intellectual champion of the Huguenot cause. Of his oeuvre I would like to mention his extremely popular publication, which most fully expresses his experience of persecution and his martyrological response to it: Pierre Jurieu, *Lettres pastorales adressées aux fidèles de France qui gémissent sous la captivité de* Babylon (S.l., 1686). For a scholarly appraisal see Élisabeth Labrousse, "Note sur Pierre Jurieu", *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 58, no. 3 (1978): 277–97; David van der Linden, *Experiencing Exile: Huguenot Refugees in the Dutch Republic 1680–1700* (Routledge, 2015), 179–94; Martin I. Klauber, "Pierre Jurieu (1637–1713): The French Reformed Theology of Refuge," *Studies in Puritanism & Piety* 6, no. 1 (2025): 3–15.

54. Élie Benoist (1640–1728) wrote the most comprehensive historical work from a Huguenot perspective, which dealt with the history of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, also applying legal considerations, while reflecting on the entire history of the Reformation in France as a context in his ambitious work: Elie Benoist: *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes* (Delft, 1693–1695). For relevant literature see: Charles Johnston, "Elie Benoist, Historian of the Edict of Nantes," *Church History* 55, no. 4 (1986): 468–88; Van der Linden, *Experiencing Exile*, 194–207.

55. For a general assessment of Huguenot theology of this tormented period, see Martin I. Klauber, ed., *The Theology of the French Reformed Churches: From Henry IV to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes* (Reformation Heritage Books, 2014); Martin I. Klauber, ed., *The Theology of the Huguenot Refuge: From the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes to the Edict of Toleration* (Reformation Heritage Books, 2020).

above all the perception of the execution of Charles I of England as martyrdom by the royalist camp,[56] resulted in Allestree's text being useful not only as a conduct book, but rather a consistent reinforcement of the martyrologic tradition of the period. For Reformed discourses on martyrdom reiterated the conviction that in the face of persecution (*persecutio*) and the accompanying afflictions (*afflictiones*) a Christian must bear witness to the truth, that is embrace suffering or even death with patience (*patientia*) and steadfastness (*constantia*).The testimony of the early modern confessor is the humble and patient endurance of all afflictions, such as imprisonment, exile, illness, or even death, without complaint, as embodied by the figure of Job and especially his behaviour in the Bible.

Nevertheless, a distinct development within the European tradition of early modern Protestant martyrologies saw the confessor become more prominent, with their role in the face of religious persecution was centred more on witnessing than on dying. While the significance of dying a martyr's death remained unchallenged, witnessing without dying also gained immense respect. Confessors who returned from distant exile or survived long, exhausting imprisonments provided an accessible form of witnessing for ordinary people. Early modern confessors undoubtedly became extremely popular, as they provided a valid role for the average person suffering religious persecution. This was also the case in Hungarian tradition, where patiently enduring affliction without dying as a martyr was one of the most widespread forms of witnessing.

The theology of martyrdom, which was based on the *afflictiones-patientia-constantia* pattern inherited from the Church Fathers, was incorporated into early modern Hungarian Reformed martyrologic discourses, producing a significant impact. The first major persecution (1671–1681) of the Hungarian Protestant denominations, which culminated in the ordeal of Protestant ministers being sent to the galleys, brought about the emergence of a genuine Hungarian Protestant martyrological tradition. The author of the first Hungarian martyrology,[57] István Nagy Szőnyi (1632–1709), developed a concept of martyrdom that provided a theological paradigm for persecuted Calvinist and Lutheran priests and lay people who resisted

56. For the martyrdom of Charles I of England (1600–1649), see Andrew Lacey, *The Cult of King Charles the Martyr* (Boydell Press, 2003).

57. István Nagy Szőnyi, *Mártírok Coronája* ["The Crown of Martyrs"] (Kolozsvár, 1675).

religious persecution organized with Habsburg military assistance.[58] According to Nagy Szőnyi's definition of martyrdom, which contained ten distinct categories, he stated that: "Fourth-order martyrs are those who peacefully endure the cross."[59]

Furthermore, Nagy Szőnyi considers anyone who endured persecution or any kind of affliction (exile, imprisonment, etc.) for religion to be a martyr. This view remained prevalent in the Hungarian Reformed tradition throughout the eighteenth century, during the long Reformation as well. Nagy Szőnyi's work was reissued in 1752 and disseminated in manuscript copies. The fear of religious persecution and the idea of persecution had become so ingrained in Hungarian Protestant denominations that it would become the defining feature of their identity. Moreover, it is reasonable to suggest that the overarching narrative of the Hungarian long Reformation (1500–1800) was derived from the widely accepted notion that the history of the Reformation has always been an account of the religious persecution endured by the chosen few.

In light of these findings, I am convinced that the Allestree text, which arrived via French Huguenot mediation, became part of the long Reformation in Hungary because it addressed the specific interests generated by experiences of, and fears surrounding, persecution in the eighteenth century, and sought to propose solutions for enduring them. Apparently, Allestree's book provided instruction and a model of behaviour, and thus possible guidance and consolation for the Hungarian Reformed readership dealing with everyday persecutory experiences. Allestree's teaching and instructions were useful to contemporary readers not primarily because of their novelty, but rather because of their validity and their reaffirmation of existing and accepted moral and theological statements. It can be posited that reading Allestree may have facilitated the acceptance of afflictions or even martyrdom.

In this specific context of reception history, György Aranka's interpretation indicates a profound preoccupation with martyrdom, asserting that humility and obedience are indispensable prerequisites for a Christian to submit to the divine will and embrace patience. According to György Aranka, the concept of humility is introduced as an awareness of human

58. Zsombor Tóth, "Calvinian Anthropology and the Early Modern Hungarian Devotion: The Case of István Nagy Szőnyi, the First Hungarian Martyrologist," in *Anthropological Reformations: Anthropology in the Era of Reformation*, ed. Anne Eusterschulte and Hannah Wälzholz, REFO500 Academic Studies 28 (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 415–28.

59. Nagy Szőnyi, *Mártírok Coronája*, 5.

frailty in contrast to divine excellence.[60] This, the Hungarian translator contends, should inspire obedience to the heavenly Father. In a subsequent step, the concept of patience is introduced:

> The second type of submission to God's will is patience, which consists in suffering with joy and complete obedience all the punishments that God has deemed good to send upon us. This is made easy for us by humility, of which we have already spoken. For if our hearts are filled with the fear and great reverence we owe to God, it is impossible for us to rebel against him, whatever he does to us.[61]

Patience requires a stoic attitude, grounded steadfastness, and the humble acceptance of suffering. As György Aranka asserts,[62] the character of Job in the Bible serves as a valid exemplar, for Job's narrative instructs us to persevere in the face of adversity and to refrain from expressing discontent towards God. The employment of both the biblical paradigm and the moral-theological argument, founded upon the principles of patience and steadfastness, evokes resonances with a theological legacy that reaches back to the tenets of the Church Fathers, particularly Tertullian.[63] This facilitates György Aranka's exposition of the notion of bearing witness to the truth, and by extension, martyrdom.

> But perhaps someone will say that there is a part of piety that exposes us to persecution and suffering in this world, which are not pleasant to the flesh and blood, but are very difficult and sad. To this I reply that even in these circumstances, the good Spirit finds sufficient cause for joy. This was the experience of the apostles, who rejoiced that they were deemed worthy to suffer for the name of Christ (Acts 5:41). St. Peter also says that if anyone suffers as a Christian, he should glorify God for it (1 Peter 4). The testimony of a good conscience has such great power that it can transform even the most cruel sufferings into victorious joy, which we can never feel more strongly than when we

60. Aranka, *Jó Keresztyén 1752*, 50. All English translations are mine, unless otherwise noted.

61. Aranka, *Jó Keresztyén 1752*, 52.

62. Aranka, *Jó Keresztyén 1752*, 55.

63. For the impact of Tertullian upon the early modern Hungarian martyrology see Zsombor Tóth, "Ad Martyras. .Persecution, Exile and Martyrdom: Early Modern Martyrological Discourses as Invented Traditions," in *A qui appartient la tradition? Who owns the tradition?*, ed. Vilmos Keszeg (Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 2014), 22–41.

> suffer for righteousness' sake. This proves that the Christian religion is worthy of love, even in what seems to be sorrowful.[64]

The joy of suffering for Christ, György Aranka teaches us, is complete in that it also makes it possible to win the crown of (eternal) life.[65] The crown of life (Rev. 2:10) is evidently a reference to the crown of the martyrs who have won eternal life. It is worth pausing on that Nagy Szőnyi, profoundly influenced by Tertullian's tenets on martyrdom, selected the very same biblical passage for inclusion on the front page of his martyrology, published in 1675 with the poignant title of *The Crown of Martyrs*. It is reasonable to suggest that this Hungarian literary and theological antecedent had influenced György Aranka when he formulated his encouragement to follow Christ and embrace martyrdom:

> Let us follow Jesus in the greatest afflictions, and, if He so desires, even through a sea of blood, for He went there first. For even if our faithfulness to him leads us to death, we are certain that we will lose nothing there, since he has promised the crown of life to all who suffer for his name's sake, and this crown is such that even among the instruments of torture, the expectation of it can give a Christian greater joy than a worldly man could taste in his greatest fortune.[66]

It can be concluded that György Aranka's discourse on martyrdom, based on Allestree's text, becomes even more significant when considered in the relevant historical context. After all, the general condition of Hungarian Protestant denominations gradually deteriorated during the long eighteenth century, despite 150 years of free religious practice. The Edict of Toleration (1781), offered by Emperor Joseph II, only allowed limited freedom of worship for non-Roman Catholics, and it would take another decade for this to be reinforced by the Diet of 1791, which secured religious freedom. Therefore, from the 1750s onwards, the Reformed Hungarian readership of Allestree's text had every reason to seek comfort and hope in the face of the religious persecution they must have experienced daily. The Hungarian reception history of Allestree's text seems to confirm this, too. After the first Hungarian translation surfaced in Transylvania in the 1750s and entered manuscript circulation, a different region — the so-called Partium, centred on the city of Debrecen — took over and sustained

64. Aranka, *Jó Keresztyén 1752*, 50.
65. Aranka, *Jó Keresztyén 1752*, 378–79.
66. Aranka, *Jó Keresztyén 1752*, 379.

the dissemination of the text in print and manuscript form for two decades or so. Finally, the 1769 edition enabled the text to be disseminated on a significantly larger scale, reaching well beyond the geographical confines of Transylvania and its Reformed readers.

Similarly, it is notable that this chronology bears some resemblance to the literary history of the Hungarian Reformed martyrology, which began with the work of the Reformed minister István Nagy Szőnyi, *The Crown of Martyrs* (1675). Despite Jesuit censorship and the dangers associated with reading or using the book, the extremely popular work was reissued and published in Sopron with a false imprint in 1752.[67] Despite the ensuing scandal and repression following the publication of the second edition, *The Crown of Martyrs* remained a favourite of the era, as evidenced by surviving manuscript copies, some of which date from the 1780s. A second Hungarian martyrology, written by a Reformed theologian and published in 1789 with the suggestive title *The Column of Martyrs*,[68] further highlighted the focus on the experience of religious persecution and the reality of martyrdom. Although Allestree's book is undoubtedly more than just a treatise on martyrology, it seems that the Hungarian Reformed readership of the long eighteenth century, including translators, may have held a different view.

Conclusion

The aim of my study was to construe the complex devotional heritage of eighteenth-century Reformed Orthodoxy, using the example of the intricate Hungarian reception of Richard Allestree's *The Whole Duty of Man*. My focus was on the Reformed theologian György Aranka, the only known Hungarian translator of the three and the most successful, who produced a translation of Allestree's bestseller from a French version. György Aranka's peregrination experience reflects Swiss and Geneva-centered Calvinism, fertilized by Huguenot influences, and simultaneously embodies the spirit of the Enlightenment—referred to in literature as "reasonable Calvinism."[69] An intriguing question is what György Aranka did (or could

67. István Nagy Szőnyi, *Mártyrok Coronája* ["The Crown of Martyrs"] (Nürnberg, 1727).

68. György Szikszai, *Mártírok oszlopa* ["The Column of the Martyrs"] (Pozsony, 1789).

69. For a discussion of the concept see Jennifer Powell McNutt, *Calvin Meets Voltaire. The Clergy of Geneva in the Age of Enlightenment, 1685–1798* (Routledge, 2013); "Reformed Preaching in the Age of the Enlightenment: A Comparison of Johnathan Erskine's Enlightened Evangelicalism with Geneva's Reasonable Calvinism," *Intellectual History Review* 26 (2016): 371-89.

have done) with this, given that, by the end of his life, he had reached the institutional peak of Transylvanian Reformed Orthodoxy and had to adopt a rather conservative position. In contrast, his surviving translations reveal linguistic, cultural, and even denominational hybridity, evoking an interdenominational or supra-denominational stance rather than rigid orthodoxy. György Aranka seems to have maintained a reassuring balance between the institutionally accepted orthodox position and openness to denominational crossovers, linguistic borrowings, and cultural influences. I do not see this solely as a manifestation of the influence of the Enlightenment, but rather as evidence of the intellectual diversity and complexity of European Reformed Orthodoxy, which is probably best reflected in the concept of "religious Enlightenment" and its potential applications to Central and Eastern Europe.[70]

The case of superintendent György Aranka reminds us that officially adopting a Reformed Orthodox position does not eliminate the coexistence or influence of hybrid traditions that have been assimilated at an individual level. Furthermore, the complex reception of Allestree's text by early modern readers from various cultural and denominational backgrounds sometimes contradicts the working hypotheses of experts in the field. While the Hungarian reception places great importance on the roles of translators, copyists, and publishers as they unfold in both manuscript and print publicity, it also reveals something unexpected. Although the French translation of the royalist Allestree initially activates a theological tradition and reading experiences associated with English Puritanism, it ultimately contributes to the reception of Huguenot devotional culture. Indeed, György Aranka's translations rightly raise the possibility of a Huguenot reception that has yet to be examined in detail. This is especially pertinent when we consider that numerous other French Huguenot authors' works were only ever published in manuscript form, yet still had an impact.

70. For the concept and use of "religious Enlightenment," see David Sorkin, *The Religious Enlightenment: Protestants, Jews, and Catholics from London to Vienna* (Princeton University Press, 2008), 5-11. A significant application of the concept to Scandinavian Reformation(s): Johannes Ljungberg, Erik Sidenvall, "Reason and Orthodoxy in the Nordic Countries: An Introduction," in *Religious Enlightenment in the Eighteenth-Century Nordic Countries: Reason and Orthodoxy*, ed Johannes Ljungberg and Erik Sidenvall (Lund University Press, 2023), 1–29.