

György Csatóry

The Rákóczi Princes and their memory
in Transcarpathia

Monograph



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IN TRANSCARPATHIA

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Our publication presents the members of the princely Rákóczi family, their struggles for the freedom of the Hungarian state, and the memorial sites of the Rákóczi era in Transcarpathia. The historical events of the period in our region are presented in a popular, yet scholarly way. Furthermore, we describe the memorial sites that the population of our region dedicated to the Rákóczi era. We recommend the publication to lovers of the history of our homeland, historians and tourists who are interested in the history of our region.

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FOREWORD

The region of North-eastern Hungary, especially Uzh, Bereh, Uhoča and Maramures Counties,¹ were constantly the scene of national resistance during the time of the Rákóczi princes. In the areas close to Transylvania or sometimes attached to the principality, the power of both the imperial court and the Turks gradually weakened. The love of freedom of the people living in the area, the aristocratic power relations formed by politics and, of course, the mountain range then being covered with dense forests, which was difficult to control, also provided an opportunity for resistance to the two great powers. Beyond this environment, the freedom-fighting traditions starting from Bocskai were used by the politicians of the Rákóczi dynasty in order to achieve the great goal of the country's independence. Therefore, the Rákóczi tradition and the Rákóczi cult are still alive in the territories of the counties mentioned above.

Our publication has been also prepared because, in our opinion, the local events of the Rákóczi war of independence and the cult associated with it should be further strengthened in the public consciousness of the people of Transcarpathia. Rákóczi memorial books and tourist routes are being prepared all over Hungary, in which the Kuruc-era memorial sites of today's Transcarpathia are almost not or only tangentially described. This time, in a popular, illustrated form, but with scientific sophistication, we recall the relationship between our region and the Transylvanian princes, the Rákóczi family, emphasizing the role of the counties and the Rákóczi estates in our region during the Kuruc freedom movements.

The events that took place in the above-mentioned counties show clear characteristics compared to other regions of Hungary, which have been preserved in the folk memory of today's Transcarpathia for centuries, and are still part of the living memory among both Hungarians and Ruthenians. What local historical events is the century-long cult based on? In what lasting forms have our ancestors and the present man preserved the memory of this glorious age? We will attempt to answer these questions in this volume. The importance of the birth of our publication is confirmed by historical facts, which are summarized in ten points below without claiming to be exhaustive:

¹ All the geographical names appearing in the volume are the official translations used in present-day English.

1. The Rákóczis had the largest and most significant estate in the historical Bereh County, the so-called Mukachevo–Chynadiyevé dominion, which they obtained on the basis of family heritage. Therefore, with the support of the Bereh people, the Rákóczis could start an armed movement in 1703 as well.
2. In the territory of Bereh County, in Tarpa, Vary and Berehove, the flags “Cum Deo pro Patria et Libertate” made on order of the prince were first unfolded. Mukachevo Castle and the Rákóczi mansion in Mukachevo played a decisive role in the life of the Rákóczi family.
3. The first lost battle of the war of independence (Dovhe, June 7, 1703) and the first won battle (Tiszabecs–Vylok, July 14–16, 1703) are connected to this region, after which the issue of Hungarian independence became national.
4. The chief lord of Uzh County, Miklós Bercsényi, had a great influence on the prince, he was the commander-in-chief of Rákóczi’s army, the second man of the war of independence. On July 24, 1707, he received Russian Tsarist and Polish ambassadors in Uzhhorod Castle. The cult of his person still lives in our region today.
5. We can observe the stand of Uhocha County in favour of the ideals of freedom from the struggles for the freedom of the hajduk at the end of the 17th century. The statement of the historian Tamás Esze is typical: “Uhocha has been a Kuruc county from the very beginning, the most Kuruc among all...”
6. The state of Rákóczi operated the longest in Uzh, Bereh, Uhocha and Maramures Counties. From the unfolding of the flag to the laying down of arms – on the border of Hungary and Transylvania – our region was the economic base of the war of independence, the army and the military supplier of the nearby castles. The construction of the Rákóczi state, the establishment of its institutional system, and the creation of its material and personal base began in these counties.
7. During the war of independence, our region became the scene of two parliaments (Khoust 1706, Shalanky 1711), which had a significant impact on the events in both Transylvania and Hungary.
8. Regarding Maramures, the role of Khoust Castle is exemplary, as it was the first significant fortress to serve Rákóczi. The salt mines in Maramures provided major revenue for Rákóczi’s army.

9. The longest war of independence in Hungarian history began with the unfolding of the flag (May 21–22, 1703) and the capitulation of Mukachevo Castle (June 22, 1711) in our region.
10. The Ruthenians, Rákóczi's most loyal people ("Gens fidelissima"), live in this region, and their loyalty and attachment to the prince, unlike those of other neighbouring nations, have proved exemplary.

In our opinion, the aspects raised here clearly prove the specific nature of the Rákóczi war of independence related to this region. Of course, many similar events took place in contemporary Hungary, but the characteristics of the war of independence in North-eastern Hungary are indisputable.

The present 'Rákóczi volume' in Transcarpathia fills a special gap in the literature of our region. In addition to illustrating the memorial sites of the Kuruc age, it points to the conditions of times that convey to the modern man the possibility of coexistence between peoples.

The author

REMEMBRANCE OF THE RÁKÓCZIS

Zsigmond Rákóczi, the wealth creator

The representatives of the Rákóczi family were broad-minded, highly educated people for centuries. During their religious life, they did not only support the sciences, arts, literature, but also did martial arts. The first distinguished figure of the Rákóczis was the ‘old’ Zsigmond Rákóczi (1544–1608), who is considered to be the founder of the dynasty. Thanks to his talent and knowledge of economics, he also received the attribute of estate seizer, but there is relatively little mention of it in our academic literature. Blessed with political sense, Zsigmond made the Rákóczi family great, he raised the members of his family from middle nobility into baronage, thanks to him the family members we know well, for example, György Rákóczi I and György Rákóczi II, as well as Ferenc Rákóczi I and Ferenc Rákóczi II, could become landowners and politicians at European level. The landlord Rákóczi obtained his wealth mainly from the wine trade in Poland and crediting the soldiers’ mercenary, for which he received pledges from the Vienna court. At the same time, his good marriages also helped him accumulate his wealth.¹

Zsigmond Rákóczi was a soldier in his youth beside Péter Perényi in Sárospatak, but later he appeared in the national history as the captain of the castles of Szendrő and Eger. In the autumn of 1588, he confronted the thousands of Turkish troops with bey Kara Ali at head that were surrounding Szikszó. He mobilized the soldiers of the fortresses of Eger, Košice, Tokaj, Ónod and Szendrő. Demonstrating



1. Zsigmond Rákóczi, Transylvanian prince

¹ Kármán Gábor, Rákóczi Zsigmond két esküvője. In: Mindennapi választások. (Tanulmányok Péter Katalin 70. születésnapjára. Ed. Erdélyi Gabriella és Tusor Péter. Budapest, 2007. pp. 291–312.

heroic resistance and using deceptive tricks with his soldiers, he put the Turkish army to flight, capturing prisoners and guns. Through the successful campaign he received the title of Baron. He took part in the fifteen-year war, where he was again distinguished, and his name is associated with the victory at Romhány (1593), the recapturing of the castle of Fülek, and the battle of Hatvan (1594). In 1597, in an ornate diploma Emperor Rudolph I added a new element to Rákóczi's coat of arms, including a stylized crowned eagle with a curved sword looking to the right, replacing the triple rock and the former raven. Constantly increasing his wealth in Sáros County, he bought the estate of Zborov in 1601.²

In addition to his military career, he was also interested in the sciences, being a major supporter of publishing the Vizsoly Bible, being a song and psalm writer, and he is also honoured as the protagonist of a rhymed epic. Gáspár Károlyi's Bible printing plan would not have been possible without Zsigmond Rákóczi. The new religion was also supported by the Chief Justice István Báthory, the Drugeths of Homonna, Gáspár Mágócsi and other noblemen of Hegyalja. They ordered to bring typefaces and printing paper from the Netherlands. In Vizsoly, Zsigmond Rákóczi received the printing presses and other equipment. He hired the printing master, Bálint Mantskovit, whom he defended from the emperor's punishment, thus patronizing the Hungarian Bible printing. Rákóczi was a regular Bible reader; he could define the exact place (book, part and verse) of 5,000 quotes from the Bible.³

As a literary figure, he is mentioned as the protagonist of a rhymed epic of the time. His victory at Szikszó over the Turkish troops was written in verse by György Tardi in his historical song, *The Szikszó Victory*. We can also honour Zsigmond Rákóczi as a poet, though only one of his literary works written in Mukachevo in 1587 survived. The following is an excerpt from this work:

“After our Lord's Ascension,
Turning to fifteen eighty-seven,
I write this on Holy Thursday in Mukachevo,
Blessed be God, in heaven.”⁴

² Oborni Teréz, Erdély fejedelmei. Budapest, 2002. pp. 77–85.; Sebestyén Mihály, Erdélyi fejedelmek. Marosvásárhely, 1993. pp. 25–26.

³ Keresztyén Balázs, Kárpátaljai Művelődéstörténeti lexikon. Budapest–Beregszász, 2001. p. 229.

⁴ Fejér József, Rákóczi Zsigmond, a kulturapártoló és zsoltárszerző fejedelem. Available online at: <https://ujkor.hu/content/rakoczzi-zsigmond-a-kulturapartolo-es-zsoltarszerzo-fejedelem>; Falussy József: A „szerencsi” Rákóczi. A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve XXVII. 1988. Miskolc, 1989. pp. 341–357.



2. The Rákóczi castle in Felsővadász

The song was recorded at Mukachevo Castle on Holy Thursday, i.e. the 25th of May, which was republished several times. He married Judit Alaghy Bekény, the widow of András Mágóchy, the landowner, and he became the guardian of her children. Through this marriage, the Rákóczi family obtained Mukachevo as property. In addition to Mukachevo, the Mágóchy estate complex also included the estate of Turňa nad Bodvou, thus he became the largest landowner of Berehand Turňa Counties.⁵

At this time, the castle estate of Mukachevo was about 300,000 acres large with an income estimated at nearly 98,000 forints. The estate was predominantly covered with woods, but its lowland area was cultivated with profit. The 260 taxpayer crofts operating here provided the ‘old’ Rákóczi with ample income. He deployed a large number of manpower in the ownerless areas. In 1592, from the acquired mortgage income he commenced reconstruction and fortification of Mukachevo Castle, following the plans

⁵ Trócsányi Zsolt, Rákóczi Zsigmond. (Egy dinasztia születése). A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve 1978. Debrecen, 1979. p. 60, 67.; Balogh János, Munkács-vár története. Munkács, 1890. pp. 99–100.

of the architect Cristoforo Stella of Eger. His plans were also supported by Emperor Rudolph on a pledge of 5,000 thalers. The mortgage amount of the huge estate was doubled in four years. He had thirty-two villages built here, but when his guardianship expired he was forced to transfer the estate to Ferenc Mágochy.⁶

Prior to the Bocskai war of independence, just like other Hungarian land owners he was accused of treason because they wanted to acquire his vast estates. At that time he obviously joined the war of independence of István Bocskai, after whose death he was elected Prince of Transylvania on the 8th of February, 1607. He did not act against Gábor Báthory, the peer claiming the principality, he wanted to avoid the internal fraternity war at all costs, and instead resigned. He explained his act in this way: "... because I did not want to get greater wealth and power by shedding Christian blood." His political situation both in Vienna and at the Ottoman Porta was volatile. His one-year-long principality testified his constructive politics and organizing skills. He was exemplary in keeping the principality in order and disciplining the military, which proved to be very important at the time. After his resignation he left Transylvania in March 1608, and then retired from politics. He was no longer able to attend the 1608 Parliament, because he was increasingly afflicted by his illness, the gout. He left his possessions to his sons in his will. He spent most of his time in Szerencs, but died on December 5, 1608, in his native village of Felsővadász. His tomb was made of red and black marble by his sons. He is the only Transylvanian prince whose grave is in Felsővadász (today Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County), in the territory of today's Hungary.⁷

György Rákóczi I, the Bible reader

György Rákóczi I of Felsővadász, second prince in the family, was born on 8 June, 1593 in Szerencs. His father was Zsigmond Rákóczi, the first wealth creator of the Rákóczi family, and his mother was Anna Gerendi. Together with numerous other youngsters, he was also brought up in the court of István Bocskai in Košice. Here he got acquainted with Gábor Báthory and Gábor Bethlen. He became sheriff of Borsod County in 1615, then captain of Ónod Castle. He married Zsuzsanna Lorántffy on

⁶ Lehoczky Tivadar, Beregvármegye monographiája. Vol. III. Ungvárott, 1881. p. 558.

⁷ Szabó András, Rákóczi Zsigmond erdélyi fejedelem (1544–1608) Kiegészítések egy életrajzhoz. Available online at: https://www.academia.edu/8641791/RC3A1kC3B3czi_Zsigmond_erdC3A9lyi_fejedelem_1544_1608_KiegC3A9szC3ADtC3A9sek_egy_C3A9letrajzhoz?email_work_card=thumbnail; Sebestyén Mihály, Erdélyi fejedelmek. Marosvásárhely, 1993. pp. 25–26.



3. György Rákóczi I, Transylvanian prince

18 April, 1616. He received the estate of Sárospatak with his wife, which later became the most profitable estate besides Mukachevo.⁸

He joined Gábor Bethlen in 1619, with whom he started attack against the Habsburg king, Ferdinand II. This year he was elected Captain of Upper Hungary, his task was to secure the hinterland in the campaigns of Gábor Bethlen. He fought against György Homonnai Drugeth unsuccessfully. Bethlen returned from Vienna to Hungary on 23 November, 1619, and made Rákóczi his princely counsellor. Nevertheless, Rákóczi remained faithful to Gábor Bethlen, who died in 1629. Due to the inadequacy of the heiress, Katalin Brandenburg, a power crisis ensued, and Rákóczi became a potent ruling candidate against Gábor Bethlen's younger brother, István.⁹

Being supported by the hajduk military and the Pasha of Szolnok, he set off towards Transylvania. In the end, there was no armed clash between the two rivals, as the Porta, who had no interest in the case, sent two Ahdnames and the new prince could be chosen by Katalin Brandenburg. Guided by the hatred towards István Bethlen, the widow read the document issued for Rákóczi on 26 November, 1630 in Sighișoara, and on December 24, the lucky winner swore his princely oath.¹⁰

As a result of Rákóczi's actions, he took back the private treasury estates and broke the power of the owners of large estates. He sometimes

⁸ Віднянський С.В. Ракоці Дєрдь І. Енциклопедія історії України. Available online at: <http://www.history.org.ua/>?; Csorba Csaba „Számos dicsőségű első Rákóczi György” A nagy fejedelem. Szerencs 1993. pp. 4–7.

⁹ Szilágyi Sándor, Magyar történeti életrajzok. I. Rákóczi György 1593–1648. Budapest, 1893. Available online at: https://mandadb.hu/dokumentum/672896/I_raakooczi_gyoergy_1839.pdf

¹⁰ Tabódy József, Munkács multja és jelene Magyarország történetében. Pest, 1860. pp. 39–40.



4. Decree of György Rákóczi I for the Chief Judge of Mukachevo on the order of pasturage. Mukachevo, March 31, 1645

confiscated their estates, and with some of these he increased his family wealth, through which he established the power of Transylvania.¹¹

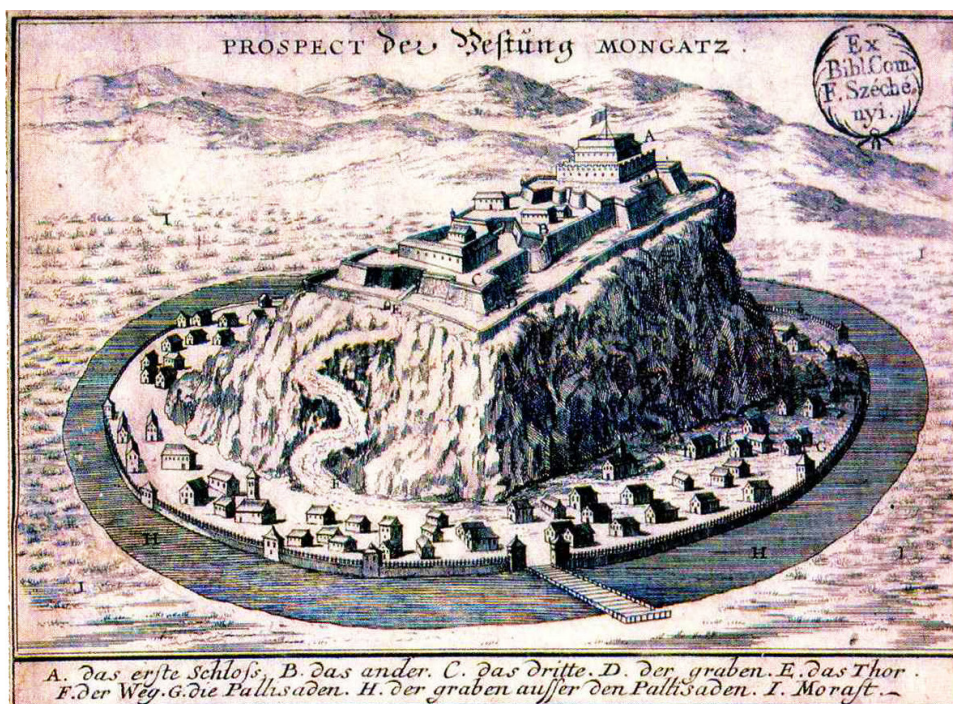
The eighteen years of reign of György Rákóczi I meant peaceful development for Transylvania. The Habsburg ruler was then occupied with the Thirty Years' War, while the other great power, the Turkish Porta, was occupied with the Janissary riots. He could connect military victories to his constructive politics. He strengthened his power by the victory at Salonta against the pasha of Buda. The famous Protestant prince was soon contacted by Swedish and French diplomats who persuaded him to go into war against the Habsburgs. However, the aristocracy that became Catholic since the age of Gábor Bethlen, withdrew its support, and so did the Porta, therefore he ended his campaign without success.¹²

¹¹ Nagy László, A „bibliás órálló” fejedelem: I. Rákóczi György a magyar történelemben. Budapest, 1984. pp. 130–134.

¹² Kármán Gábor, A külpolitika átalakulása a Rákócziak Erdélyében a harmincéves háború után. Budapest, 2008. pp. 61–66; Kizgány István, A harmincéves háború és I. Rákóczi György 1644/1645-ös hadjárata. In: Erdély és Patak fejedelemsége Lorántffy Zsuzsanna I. Ed. Tamás Edit. Sárospatak, 2000. pp. 287–308.; Lehoczky Tivadar, Beregvármegye monographiája, Vol. I. Ungvártól, 1881. p. 152.

Rákóczi signed a favourable separate peace treaty in Linz in 1645 with Ferdinand III, in which he regained seven counties in Upper Hungary for Transylvania, as well as ensured Protestant religion for the serfs of the royal region.¹³ After all, György Rákóczi was not only a patron of the Reformed Church, but also a book collector. His wife, Zsuzsanna Lorántffy, also lived a God-pleasing life according to the Bible. He also left his deep religiosity as a heritage to his descendants, and they were considered to be regular Bible readers.¹⁴

The prince was also represented in the Westphalian negotiations beginning in 1645, and thanks to his diplomats, Transylvania was included in the 1648 peace treaty ending the Thirty Years' War. Thanks to Rákóczi's policy, Transylvania was prepared to expand its territory into the Central European region – thus breaking the Porta's control. He filed several lawsuits



5. Mukachevo Castle at the end of the 17th century

¹³ Péter Katalin, Lorántffy Zsuzsanna. In: Lorántffy Zsuzsanna. Ed. Tamás Edit. Sárospatak, 2015. p. 65.

¹⁴ Dienes Dénes, I. Rákóczi György és Lorántffy Zsuzsanna bibliás kegyessége. In: Monok István, Hapák József, A bibliás Rákócziak. Budapest, 2006. pp. 97–100.

to increase his land tenure. While other princes enriched the country, Rákóczi enlarged his family wealth. In the long run, however, he made the life of his subjects easier with his riches: as his family estates grew, so did he gradually liberate the trade of his subjects. First, he authorized the retail sale of honey and wax, then that of other export articles.¹⁵

When he was elected, he had ten large estate complexes, in whole or in part, at the time of his death he ruled thirty-two. Around 1648 a total of 27,000 serf households in Hungary and in Transylvania worked on the estates of Rákóczi: well over one hundred thousand souls lived in his villages and 56 market towns. Further 64 farms, and also 12 wine farms produced for Rákóczi. A large part of this huge property was spread in royal Hungary, but a significant part was also found in Transylvania. Twenty-one market towns, among them the seat of the prince, Alba Iulia itself, and twelve thousands of the serfs' households were located in the 15 Rákóczi estates in Transylvania.¹⁶

Starting from 1639, Rákóczi paid great attention to the fortification of Mukachevo Castle. It was noted that the prince had a direct say in the course of work. In the 1640s he had Italian masters to work for him. In 1649 two bastions with casemates inside were built in the middle part of the castle surrounding the gate. However, after the Rákóczi war of independence, the built sections were also changed.¹⁷

Nineteen original letters of György Rákóczi and six copies of his letters are kept in the State Archives of the Transcarpathian Region. His decrees are kept, among other things, in the archives of the chief judge of the city of Mukachevo. As prince of Transylvania, his life was connected to Mukachevo in many ways.¹⁸ In 1633, the Habsburg monarch Ferdinand II conceded the city together with the villages belonging to it to Rákóczi for 200 thousand forints. Since then he became the landlord of 140 villages around Mukachevo and 33 settlements of the Chynadiyevé manor. He received the French ambassadors there on April 23, 1645, with whom he discussed the campaign against the Habsburgs. He built the lower fortifications of Mukachevo Castle with two French engineers and built defensive walls with firing holes.¹⁹ We keep four decrees of his about the castle and the city of

¹⁵ Balassa Iván, I. Rákóczi György gazdálkodásának néhány vonása. Rákóczi évfordulók. Történelmi tanulmányok, 1993. Ed. Tamás Edit. Sárospatak, 1994. pp. 67–70.; Makkai László, I. Rákóczi György birtokainak gazdasági iratai. 1631–1648. Budapest, 1954.

¹⁶ Erdély története 1606-tól 1830-ig. Vol. II. Ed. Makkai László, Szász Zoltán. Budapest, 1988. p. 700.

¹⁷ Tabódy István, Munkács multja és jelene Magyarország történetében. Pest, 1860. p. 40.

¹⁸ Csatóry György, I. Rákóczi György levelei a beregszászi levéltárban. In. Rákóczi évfordulók 1993. Történelmi tanulmányok. Sárospatak, 1994. pp. 47–53.

¹⁹ Makkai László, I. Rákóczi György birtokainak gazdasági iratai (1631–1648) Budapest, 1954. pp. 326–335.

Mukachevo in Transcarpathia. His writings show the prince's decisive role in personal and litigation matters. In his instructions, he regulated the use of meadows around the castle for people of various ranks.²⁰ He patronized the owners of the newly purchased houses, and then prohibited the nobles from buying farmhouses.²¹ He made decisions in lengthy inheritance lawsuits and about paying penalties.²²

During the campaign against Vienna in 1644 he had intensive correspondence with Uzh County, demanding financial surrender from the county. Uzh County also sent troops, carts, food and forage to Rákóczi despite difficulties. It can be stated that the north-eastern counties contributed to the cost of the campaign, though not in the desired amount. He gave specific instructions to the troops stationed in the counties of Szabolcs, Szatmár, Bereh, Uhocha and Uzh. The prince ordered 100 horsemen under Szendrő, but later correspondence shows that this number could not be provided.²³ He had problems with runaway, unruly soldiers.²⁴ The prince had an army of 15,000, which required great efforts to feed and supply.²⁵ In his letters to Uzh County he resolutely defended the interests of the Reformed, he returned the goods seized from Catholics, and last but not least he defended the rights of his loyal subjects.²⁶

In his contract with Ferdinand II, he secured recognition for his Principality of Transylvania, while committing himself to dismantling the hajduksoldiers. His relationship with the Greek Catholic Church also formed in good faith, and he supported the appointment of Bazil Tarasovits as bishop of the Mukachevo-Maramaros episcopate in 1634, and he expected this from his subordinate officers as well. In 1648 the property acquiring prince granted privileges to the inhabitants of Chynadiyev. In two of his letters kept in the Bereh County Collection, he orders about the property of his loyal subjects, and then protects the potters of Mukachevo, determining who should pay taxes and who should work for money.²⁷

²⁰ SATR(State Archives of the Transcarpathian Region), Fund. 1589 (Chief justice, city of Mukachevo), Archival List. 1, Storage Unit. 53, pp. 1-2.

²¹ Ibid: Storage Unit. 54, pp. 1-2.

²² Ibid: Storage Unit. 55, p. 1.

²³ SATR, Fund. 4 (Lord-sheriff of Uzh County, Uzhhorod), Archival List. 2, Storage Unit. 557, p. 9, 11.

²⁴ Ibid: pp. 1-3.

²⁵ SATR, Fund. 4, Archival List. 2, Storage Unit. 556, p. 14

²⁶ SATR, Fund. 4, Archival List. 2, Storage Unit. 561, pp. 1-2; Fund. 4, Archival List. 15, Storage Unit. 108, pp. 1-2.

²⁷ SATR, Fund. 10 (Lord-sheriff of Bereh County, Berehove), Archival List. 1, Storage Unit. 105, pp. 1-2.

At the end of his life Rákóczi concentrated on acquiring the Polish throne. The Prince also gained Cossack support for his plan, but it failed because of his death in 1648. The assessment of Prince György Rákóczi's domestic politics is still controversial, mainly because of his property confiscation activity. Only later did this have a positive effect, as it led to the centralization of Transylvania and the strengthening of the princely power.²⁸ Peaceful development through stability made it possible to continue the Bethlen Golden Age, which led to the support of Reformed education and the boom in book printing. During his reign he renovated and expanded the printing press workshop in Alba Iulia. In addition to the Hebrew and Greek fonts, he also printed with Cyrillic fonts, keeping in mind the needs of the Romanian population. He created a rich collection of Bibles in his library in Alba Iulia.²⁹

György Rákóczi II, the warrior

Among the Transylvanian princes György Rákóczi II (1621–1660) can be called a warrior because of his fight with the Turks and his unsuccessful campaign in Poland. He was prepared for reign from his childhood. His father educated him to read the Bible and go to church. As captain of Oradea, he married Zsófia Báthory, the last of the Báthory family, in 1643. The Catholic wife became reformed, and only after her husband's death did she return to her original religion. He was elected to be prince in 1642, but he was only inaugurated in 1648. As a prince of Transylvania, he paid the tax exactly to the Turkish, which is why the Moldavian and Wallachian voivodes were subordinated to him.³⁰

The main element of his policy was the acquisition of the Polish throne, which his father had already considered feasible, and, of course, the liberation from the Turks. The prince also followed international events to realize his political stance. At the time of the Swedish invasion of Poland, he was forming an alliance with the Swedes to obtain the Polish royal crown. Furthermore, in 1651 in Transylvania he negotiated with Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the Cossack Hetman who supported him in return for his fighting against the Poles, but they made an alliance only much later, on 7 September 1656. After that, on December 6, Rákóczi also signed the

²⁸ Erdély története 1606-tól 1830-ig. Vol. II. Eds: Makkai László, Szász Zoltán. Budapest, 1988. p. 699.

²⁹ Monok István, A bibliás Rákócziak. In: Monok István, Hapák József, A bibliás Rákócziak. Budapest, 2006. pp. 18-19, 24.

³⁰ Sebestyén Mihály, Erdélyi fejedelmek. Marosvásárhely, 1993. pp. 42–43



6. György Rákóczi II, Transylvanian prince

four articles, mainly laying down the conditions for taxation. Rákóczi appointed his governors, Ferenc Rhédey, Ákos Barcsay and István Serédy. Ferenc Rhédey was the next prince of Transylvania, his family ties were for a long time bound to Maramures, he died on May 13, 1667 in Khust.³³

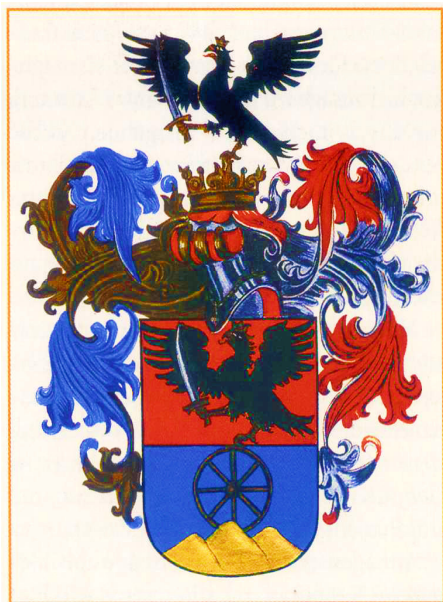
alliance letter of King Charles X of Sweden, which allowed him to form a strong anti-Polish coalition.³¹

Rákóczi considered the international relations favourable for a campaign in Poland, but his mother and some advisers warned against his going abroad. He mobilized his followers and designated the town of Vyshkove in Maramures County as a gathering place, and on January 14, 1657 he ordered his troops there, again negotiating with the delegates of the aforementioned Allied States.³² He set up a luxurious tent in the crown town, where he received, among others, the Russian envoy Alexei Mikhailovich, who brought a valuable gift to Rákóczi, with the aim of diverting him from the Polish campaign. However, despite the offer, the prince trusted the support of the Swedish king. On January 17, he organized a parliament in Vyshkove, where the aristocratic orders adopted

³¹ Erdély története 1606-tól 1830-ig. Vol. II. Ed: Makkai László, Szász Zoltán. Budapest, 1988. pp. 711–712

³² Kármán Gábor, II. Rákóczi György 1657. évi lengyelországi hadjáratának diplomáciai háttere, p. 1053.

³³ Gebei Sándor, II. Rákóczi György erdélyi fejedelem külpolitikája (1648–1657). Eger, 1996. p. 13.; Keresztyén Balázs, Kárpátaljai művelődéstörténeti lexikon. Budapest–Beregszász, 2001. p. 227.; H. Németh István, Országvesztő fejedelem? 400 éve született II. Rákóczi György. Available online at: https://mnl.gov.hu/mnl/ol/hirek/orszagveszto_fejedelem_400_eve_szuletett_ii_rakoczi_gyorgy; Gebei Sándor, II. Rákóczi György erdélyi fejedelem külpolitikája (1648–57). Eger, 1996. p.13



7. The coat of arms of the Rákóczi family

On January 18, 1657, the troops counting about 30000 soldiers who gathered in Vyshkove headed towards Poland through Drahovo. They travelled through Mizhhiria to Studenec, Izky, and Prislop (today Liviu Rebreanu), and then crossed the winter pass with great effort. Moving on the rocky mountains with military equipment proved to be a great challenge and it turned out to be a great military accomplishment. The prince paid a distinguished mercenary to his soldiers, cleaning the snowy roads himself. Part of the army, following Rákóczi's order, headed in a different direction to the Beskids. The army arrived in Skole

on January 30, from where the prince sent János Kemény at the head of a team to his Polish supporters. Then they occupied Krakow and then Warsaw. During his advancement, Rákóczi was joined by 20,000 Cossacks,³⁴ who increased significantly the number of troops, which initially consisted of about 18,000 horsemen, 5,000 Transylvanian infantrymen and 6,000 Vlachs. After the seeming victory, Rákóczi found himself in a changed political-military environment, and as a result, his strengthening in Poland could not succeed. Hearing about the Danish invasion, the Swedish king retreated with his army from Poland, and the Turkish Porta ordered the Tatars to expel the Transylvanian troops from Poland. Rákóczi was particularly sensitive to the fact that his old relatives and friends had turned against him. When the army turned back, the Cossacks made themselves and their enormous prey see home with the Transylvanian troops, and as soon as they were close to their country, they simply left the prince. The Prince eventually fled home with only three hundred of his men, after making a humiliating peace with the Poles.³⁵

³⁴ Gebei Sándor, II. Rákóczi György külpolitikája. (1648–1657) Budapest, 2004. pp. 120–132.

³⁵ Erdély története 1606-tól 1830-ig. Vol. II. Ed: Makkai László, Szász Zoltán. Budapest, 1988. pp. 717–718.; Kármán Gábor, A külpolitika átalakulása a Rákócziak Erdélyben a harmincéves háború után. Budapest, 2008. PhD disszatáció. Available online at: <http://doktori.btk.elte.hu/hist/karman/diss.pdf>

He carried out this campaign as an independent prince, without the approval of the Turks, and did not accept vassalage. He paid heavily for his deed, and after the defeat, Rákóczi's soldiers were captured by the Tatar, many of them died, and the rest could only be released after paying a high ransom. János Kemény, the leader of the army, was also held in Tatar captivity.³⁶

After this, another tragedy started. Despite his promise to the prince, Marshal Lubomirsky of Poland launched a vengeance campaign against the Rákóczi estates. On June 15, 1657, the Marshal's soldiers crossed the Beskids and robbed the entire north-east of Hungary from Szepes County to Maramures. Mukachevo, Berehove, and Vyshkove were burnt. People who fled to the Catholic Church in Berehove were executed and the church was burnt down. As a sign of revenge, they wrote on the temple wall: "Vicem pro vice reddo, amice, tibi!" (Meaning: "I'll give you the loan back, good neighbour.") At that time, the village of Kismuzsaly (formerly part of today's Muzhiyev) was destroyed, and its ruin church is still a memento. Historical academic literature records the damage.³⁷

After Rákóczi's failure, Transylvania was threatened by a Turkish–Tatar robber attack. The Parliament elected Ferenc Rhédey as prince in October 1657, but Rákóczi, with the help of the Szeklers and the hajduks, regained power in early 1658. He negotiated with the Habsburgs, but Emperor Leopold assured the Turks that he would not intervene in their attack. As a result, the Tatars destroyed Transylvania. Then Ákos Barcsay was elected prince, even if he lost a large sum of indemnity and fortifications, but saved the country. Soon, however, with the help of the Szeklers, Rákóczi set off against Barcsay in the north-eastern plain. The prince, who was repeatedly made to resign and then was re-elected, was noted to be an excellent soldier, always fighting in the front rows. He was wounded in the battle of Florești (23 May, 1660) against the Turks and died shortly afterwards.³⁸ With his death, Turkey restricted Transylvania, which had a certain degree of political and economic freedom. Later, the Turks forced Oradea to surrender, and after the fall of the city copies of the Oradea Bible that were being printed were still transported away safely.³⁹

³⁶ Monok István, *A bibliás Rákócziak*. In: Monok István, Hapák József, *A bibliás Rákócziak*. Budapest, 2006. p. 123.; Oborni Teréz, *Erdély fejedelmei*. Budapest, 2002. pp. 148–162.

³⁷ Lehoczky Tivadar, *Beregvármegye monographiája*. Vol. I. Ungvárott, 1881. pp. 154–155.

³⁸ On the campaign against the Turks, see: SATR, *Fund. 10, Archival List. 1, Storage Unit. 141*, pp. 1–6.

³⁹ Monok István, 2006. p. 124; Lukács Zs. Tibor, *A korabeli propaganda és II. Rákóczi György megítélése*. Available online at: http://acta.bibl.u-szeged.hu/40675/1/aetas_1995_001_002_068-094.pdf pp. 68–94.

Ferenc, the son of György Rákóczi II, was elected prince in 1652, but after his death his wife and son had to leave Transylvania.

After György Rákóczi II, few documents remained in the State Archives of the Transcarpathian Region. We only have five regulations issued by him. All the more, Zsófia Báthory’s writings have been preserved, with over 30 self-signed letters in our archives. She gave orders about private, property, and commercial issues, which can be found in the records of the surrounding counties, city chief judges and the Bishopric of Mukachevo. Although György Rákóczi spent a long time in Mukachevo, his wife was in charge of the affairs of the Mukachevo dominion. This time we report on the documents signed by the prince.

On April 6, 1650 in Alba Iulia György Rákóczi II issued a noble letter to Mihály Tóth of Sighetu Marmăției. A copy of this document has been preserved for us, not the original.⁴⁰ The Transylvanian princes had many similar cases. In a letter dated December 9, 1650, that can be found in Baron Perényi’s family file, Rákóczi took sides in a court case: he decided to execute a court decision against István Lencsek in favour of István Körösi.



8. Decree of György Rákóczi II in connection with court cases. Feldioara, June 26, 1653

⁴⁰ SATR, Fund. 674 (Lord-sheriff of Uhocha County, Vynohradiv), Archival List. 8, Storage Unit. 31, pp. 1–4.

This is an original document with a wax seal.⁴¹ Furthermore, in 1653 he wrote from Földvár that the litigation against Anna Géres be postponed. In addition, two letters of his remained in the collection of the five crown towns of Maramures about his decision of December 13, 1655, when he presented his position on the delimitation of borders of the villages of Tyachiv and Săpânțaand Râmeț. The original wax seal is clearly visible on the document and the other copy is also preserved.⁴²

Ferenc Rákóczi I, the conspirator

Ferenc Rákóczi I (1645–1676), a lesser-known male member of the famous dynasty, lived a short life; his name was mainly preserved by posterity in connection to his son, who was the ruling prince of the Kuruc war of independence between 1703 and 1711. Nonetheless, his life and activities are a good illustration of the ongoing tensions around the Rákóczi family, which manifested themselves in both the political and ecclesiastical spheres and therefore defined his life.⁴³

György Rákóczi II and Zsófia Báthory, prominent figures of Hungarian history, were the parents of Ferenc Rákóczi I. The descendant of the princely family was born on February 24, 1645 in Alba Iulia. He was baptized by György Csulai, a Reformed bishop from Transylvania, in memory of his father's deceased brother. Before the age of seven, the parliament of Alba Iulia elected him prince on February 18, 1652, but unfortunately he could never exercise his power due to the circumstances. He experienced the death of his father at the age of sixteen. Religious affiliation was of enormous political and cultural importance to the family, as her mother, Zsófia Báthory, converted to the Reformed faith at the age of 14 for the sake of her future husband. After the death of his father, he converted to the Catholic faith with his mother in August 1661.⁴⁴

After the death of György Rákóczi II, the Transylvanian–Turkish policy changed, Sultan Mehmed IV, despite his prior election, did not allow Ferenc to enter the princely throne. The main reason for this was his father's unsuccessful campaign in Poland in 1657, which the Porta forbade,

⁴¹ SATR, Fund. 60 (Family fund of the Perényi barons, Vynohradiv), Archival List. 4, Storage Unit. 13, p. 1.

⁴² SATR, Fund. 61 (Archives of the five crown towns of Maramuresh, Tyachiv), Archival List. 1, Storage Unit. 44, pp. 1-2.

⁴³ R. Várkonyi Ágnes, *A fejedelem gyermekora. (1676–1688)*. Budapest, 1989. p. 26.

⁴⁴ Keresztyén Balázs, *Kárpátaljai művelődéstörténeti lexikon*. Budapest–Beregszász, 2001. p. 221.



9. Ferenc Rákóczi I, Transylvanian prince

knowing that he would turn the power he had acquired against them. The plans of Ferenc Rákóczi I failed and he was only sheltered by the post of lord-sheriff of Sáros County at the age of 21. Despite his new Catholicism and his mother's zealous manners, he remained in opposition to the Habsburg House. His marriage to Ilona Zrínyi on March 1, 1661, confirmed this. Zsófia Báthory did not attend the wedding just because her son also invited the Protestant nobles.

In vain did the emperor confer the rank of count on the young Rákóczi in 1664, and in 1666 he was given the title of lord-sheriff of Sáros County, because of

the end of the Turkish war of 1663–1664 and the peace of Vasvár, which was unfavorable to the Hungarians, he had already turned away from the Viennese court. The Wesselényi conspiracy was a major turning point in his life. His father-in-law, Péter Zrínyi and Transylvanian Prince Mihály Apafi, were also conspirators, although the latter was held back by the Turkish authorities. Ferenc was a reliable figure on the anti-emperor side and, as a result of his influence, in 1699 he undertook to support the Protestants if he entered the princely throne. In addition to the conspiracy, the name of Ferenc Rákóczi was associated with the uprising in Upper Hungary on April 10, 1670. Rüdiger Starhemberg, Tokaj Castle commander, was arrested by him in Sárospatak.⁴⁵

However, the uprising was not supported by either Transylvania or the Turkish leadership, so they laid down arms at Tállya, nevertheless, like other aristocrats, he could expect a case of treason and a death sentence. Then, hopelessly, he wanted to make a plea of mercy to the emperor in Mukachevo Castle, but his mother knew that was not enough. With the zealous Catholicism of Zsófia Báthory, and the generous gifts donated to the church dignitaries, she managed to reduce the ransom of two million forints originally imposed on

⁴⁵ Köpeczi Béla, R. Várkonyi Ágnes, II. Rákóczi Ferenc. Budapest, 1976. pp. 16–18.

the family for the life of her son to 400,000 forints.⁴⁶ For mercy, she undertook to receive and maintain an imperial guard in the castles of Ecsed, Zborov and Sárospatak. She did everything she could to keep the family estates. Ferenc Rákóczi I gave the right of possession of the castle of Regéc, together with the market towns of Tállya and Szántó, to his wife in exchange for the jewelry worth 40 thousand thalers added to his ransom. Ferenc Rákóczi I was able to get rid of the execution at such a price. With this, the political career of the ‘prince’ also ended, after which he spent his time in Mukachevo and Borša, the ancient residences of the family.⁴⁷

He died suddenly after his journey to Zborov, the cause or circumstances of his death are still unclear, and whether he was the victim of an organ disease or assassination, we do not know. Due to the tensions in Upper Hungary, the deceased was transported from Zborov to Košice, and was buried here according to his dignity and rank. A huge crowd was already waiting in front of the city, the ceremony was performed by the bishop of Eger, and then the body was placed in the tomb of the Jesuit church in the main square of Košice. This two-tower church was built by his mother from stones carved at great expense, and later Zsófia Báthory herself found peace here. The luxurious conditions of the funeral are indicated by the fact that its course consisted of 32 program points. This was the last princely funeral in Hungary. On the north wall of the sanctuary is the prince’s epitaph, made of a piece of lime wood. At the top is the crowned figure of the prince, on the inner field is the silver coat of arms of the Rákóczi family, surrounded by a Latin inscription. It says: “His Majesty Ferenc Rákóczi, the chosen prince of Transylvania by the grace of God, the lord of the Hungarian Partium, the chief of the Szeklers, the inherited chief lord and hereditary count of Sáros County, etc. passed away with pious death in the year 1676 of the Lord on July 8, in the 31st year of his life.”⁴⁸

After the short career of Ferenc Rákóczi I, we have few writings left in the archival collections of our region. In this respect, we can only talk about a copy of the manuscript, which is kept in the archives of Bereh County. The abstract ‘report’ in Latin is about the events of the Kuruc movement in Hegyalja in 1670.

⁴⁶ Lehoczky Tivadar, *Beregvármegye monographiája*. Vol. I. Ungvárott, 1881. p. 161.

⁴⁷ Asztalos Miklós, *II. Rákóczi Ferenc és kora*. Budapest, 2000. pp. 28–29; *Rákóczi-iratok a Sárospataki Református kollégium Levéltárában 1607–1710*. Ed: Balogh Judit, Dienes Dénes. Sárospatak, 1999. pp. 142–162.

⁴⁸ Balassa Zoltán, *340 éve hunyt el I. Rákóczi Ferenc*. Available online at: <https://felvidek.ma/2016/07/340-eve-hunyt-el-i-rakoczi-ferenc/>; Thaly Kálmán, *I. Rákóczi Ferenc halála és temetése*. Századok, 1873. pp. 661–687.

His memory is constantly fading in our area, as there is no memorial or institution to be associated with his name. It is our duty to change this situation in the near future.

Ilona Zrínyi, “the most courageous woman of Europe”

Ilona Zrínyi (1643–1703), the great woman of Hungarian history, the heroic protector of Mukachevo Castle, is considered to be the symbol of Hungarian freedom. Among the female characters in our history, she played a prominent role on her husband’s side in the fight against the Habsburgs. The date of her birth still raises questions, and there are researchers who believe that she was born later. Episodes of the heroic woman’s life and the local cult attached to her are embedded in our identity and she is regarded as the model of a protecting woman and gentle family mother.

Her father was Péter Zrínyi, Ban of Croatia, who, later in his political role, drifted towards the Turkish orientation, for which he was eventually executed by the emperor. Her mother, Katalin Frangepán, was one of the most educated women of her era. She was a supporter of publishing numerous prayer books and poetry calendars. Ilona Zrínyi’s childhood was spent in a loving aristocratic environment. She studied languages and spoke Croatian, Hungarian, Latin and German. In addition to riding, she also learned the art of archery. After growing up, her mother picked a groom for her corresponding to her rank, the great landowner Ferenc Rákóczi I. The wedding ceremony was held in Zborov Castle on the 1st of March, 1666, after which they moved to Sárospatak Castle. Their family life was not undisturbed. Her mother-in-law, Zsófia Báthory, had a dislike for her, mainly because of political reasons, for Ilona Zrínyi and her surroundings involved Zsófia Báthory’s son in an anti-Habsburg movement.⁴⁹ Ilona Zrínyi gave birth to her daughter, Júlia, in 1672, and four years later in Borša Castle, she gave birth to Ferenc Rákóczi II. Soon after Ferenc Rákóczi I died of a serious illness, and Ilona had to cope with the task of managing the Rákóczi estate of about 2 million jugerum in extension. At the same time, she educated her children, raising them to be receptive and responsible for the surrounding world.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Gaal Mózes: I. Rákóczy Ferenczné, Zrínyi Ilona. Történelmi könyvtár. Budapest, 1899. p. 96.; Gaal Mózes: I. Rákóczy Ferenczné, Zrínyi Ilona. Történelmi könyvtár. Budapest, 1899. p. 97.; Horváth Mihály: Zrínyi Ilona életrajza. Pest. 1869.

⁵⁰ Mészáros Kálmán–Seres István: Zrínyi Ilona. Rubicon. 2014, 2, p. 6.; Nagy László: Kard és szerelem. Török kori históriák. Budapest, 1985. p. 375.

In 1678 she became acquainted with Imre Thököly at Chynadiyeve Castle, their sympathy became mutual and then formed into love, the scene of which often remained this castle.⁵¹ On June 15, 1682, Ilona Zrínyi got married to Imre Thököly in the chapel of Mukachevo Castle.⁵² Thököly then took over Mukachevo Castle and got the castle guard to swear, and then the castle was fortified.⁵³



10. Princess Ilona Zrínyi

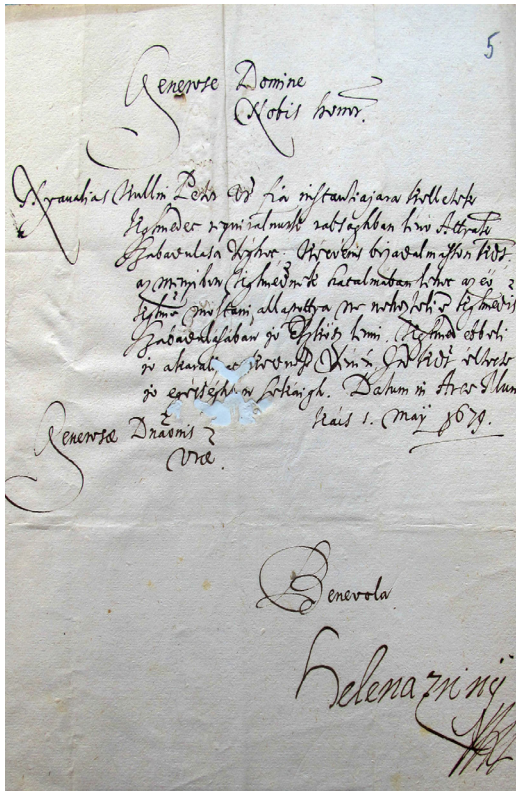
In addition to being a gentle wife, the princess watched her husband's operations with great care. Through her negotiations, she assisted the policy of the 'king of the Kuruc'. Before the wedding, Thököly had made an alliance with the Turks against the Habsburgs, but the attack on Vienna in 1683 failed. Ilona Zrínyi and her children stayed in Mukachevo after the Emperor's army captured the city. A troop of about three thousand soldiers resisted heroically, led by Ilona Zrínyi, appearing to be as brave as a man. The heroism of the castle guards is demonstrated by the fact that they repeatedly broke the capture ring, causing great damage to the enemy military. On March 10, 1686, Caprara called for the mistress of the castle to surrender, who in her reply letter, which she shared with the European public, defended the interests of her children and of Hungarian freedom. The resistance demonstrated by Ilona Zrínyi won the sympathy of the surrounding countries. The King of France, Louis XIV called her the most courageous woman in Europe, that was also how she was described on the front pages of Dutch and French newspapers.⁵⁴ It was in this spirit of siege that little Ferenc Rákóczi's 10th birthday took place on March 27. And on May 22, her children greeted her on Ilona's Day, which left deep impressions in Ilona

⁵¹ Markaly Aranka: *Érdek vagy szerelem? Thököly Imre és Zrínyi Ilona kapcsolata*. Korunk, 2016. XII. № 12. pp. 29–34.

⁵² Lehoczky Tivadar: *Adat Zrínyi Ilona és Thököly Imre házasságához*. Századok, 1876. pp. 750–753.

⁵³ SATR, Fund. 4, Archival List. 2, Storage Unit. 1118, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁴ R. Várkonyi Ágnes, Zrínyi Ilona. „Európa legbátrabb asszonya” Török-Magyar Baráti Társaság. Budapest, 2009. pp. 110–112.



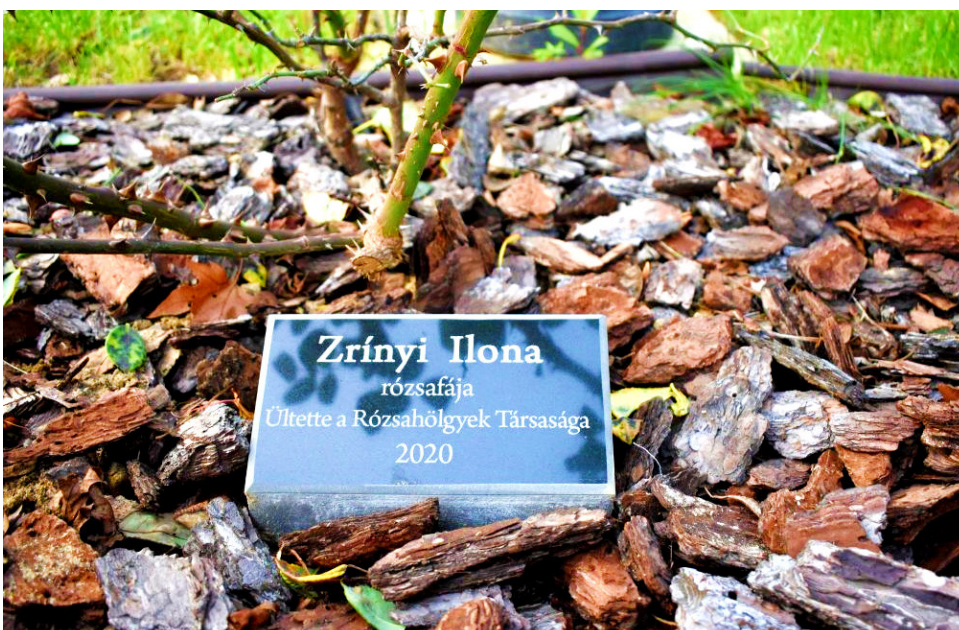
11. Letter from Ilona Zrínyi to Uzh County about the release of Péter Kulin. Mukachevo, May 1, 1679

Zrínyi's soul and in Hungarian historiography. After the death of Zsófia Báthory (1680), Ilona Zrínyi celebrated her name day every year. At that time (May 23), representatives of the surrounding counties, especially Zemplén, Uzh, Bereh located on the Rákóczi estate, paid homage in great luxury to the mistress of Mukachevo Castle. There was a spectacular knight tournament around the castle. Many people from the surrounding villages also visited the princess. The lavish feasts, discussions with the nobility, and the whole party lasted almost a week. The Ilona days were also held during the siege of the city (1685–1688), but the knight's tournament was left out of the program. The knight tournaments were replaced by

heroic outbursts, which resulted in reaching Berehove, Serednie and the Maramures border. In 1687, the Ilona Days were the most humble, however, the castle officers also dressed in festive garment. The princess' children, Júlia and Ferenc, recited poems expressing their love for their mother. In honour of the celebrated, the cannons of Mukachevo Castle fired ceremonial shots and greeted their mistress with a three-fold salute.⁵⁵

The continuous siege was unsuccessful, and the princess' requests for help sent to various countries remained unanswered. Meanwhile, Thököly's liberating army only reached Oradea and gradually lost its strength. Finally,

⁵⁵ R. Várkonyi Ágnes, *A fejedelem gyermekkor (1676–1688)*. Budapest, 1989. pp. 234-235; Bay Gábor: *A híres „Ilona-napok” Munkács ősi várában ludányi Bay Mihály egykori naplójából*. Kárpáti Híradó, 1943. április 29.; Várkonyi Gábor, Várkonyi Réka. *Gyermek a várfalak között*. Available online at: https://www.academia.edu/39884924/Gyermek_a_várfalak_között_Childhood_amongst_the_Walls_of_Strongholds



12. Rose tree of Ilona Zrínyi

the princess decided to abandon the castle, and the causes and circumstances of this deed are still unclear for the experts.⁵⁶ The Rákóczi and Thököly estates went into the administration of the Chamber and Ferenc and Júlia were placed under guardianship. In January 1688, the princess collected her valuables – Bibles, sacred images, jewelry, and books – and left for Vienna. The most terrible verdict, however, was the separation of her children, who were raised in a convent. Only after four years did Ilona Zrínyi succeed in redeeming her freedom by exchanging prisoners. Thököly, when he entered Transylvania and defeated the imperial forces in the Battle of Zárnești, captured a general and a colonel. For these chief officers he managed to free his wife from the captivity in Vienna.⁵⁷

Planted by the Society of Rose Ladies 2020. On 28 October 2020, the Society of Rose Ladies of Transcarpathia planted a rose tree in honour of Ilona Zrínyi in Budapest Park in Berehove and marked the place with a commemorative plaque.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ R. Várkonyi Ágnes, *A fejedelem gyermekora (1676–1688)*. Budapest, 1989. pp. 277–283.

⁵⁷ Nagy László, *A generálisért cserélt hitves*. In: Id., *Kard és szerelem*. Budapest, 1985. pp. 371–412.

⁵⁸ Hegedüs Csilla, *Újabb rózsatöveket és emléktáblákat avattak a rázsahölgyek*. Available online at: <https://kiszo.net/2020/10/28/ujabb-rozsatoveket-es-emlektablakat-avattak-a-rozsaholgyek/>

Even before her trip to Turkey, the princess could not say goodbye to her son, but wrote a letter of goodbye to him.⁵⁹ Blessed with marvelous spiritual power, in exile she was the supreme support and comfort of her husband and the outlaws. In the midst of extremely scarce, sometimes very miserable conditions, she was doing her best to help her fellow countrymen who were in a worse position than her. She spent her last years in Nicodemy in the Valley of Flowers.⁶⁰ She died on February 18, 1703 when she must have been 60, and was buried in St. Benedict's Church in Constantinople. From October 29, 1906, her final resting place became the Cathedral of St. Elizabeth in Košice, in whose crypt Ilona Zrínyi's earthly remains rest in a common sarcophagus together with the remains of her son, Ferenc Rákóczi II.⁶¹

Eleven letters of Ilona Zrínyi can be found in the former archives of Uzh and Bereh Counties, and today in the State Archives of the Transcarpathian Region. Not only are the letters valuable to us because of their content, but they carry a decisive character in the writing of a given age and the style of their author. The fixed expressions and phrases fully reflect the uncertain spelling of the age. In accordance with contemporary customs, the text of the letters was not written by the princess herself. This work was done by the personal secretaries, only the signature is original.⁶²

The documents show the decisive character of the princess, her position on various personal and other matters. Five of the letters date back to the time when her mother-in-law, Zsófia Báthory, was alive. It is typical that during the time spent in Mukachevo Castle she maintained her independence, despite the pressure exerted on her by her mother-in-law. According to her letters, she maintained close contacts with the leaders of Uzh and Bereh Counties.

On 28 October 2020, the Society of Rose Ladies of Transcarpathia planted a rose tree in honour of Ilona Zrínyi in Budapest Park in Berehove and marked the place with a commemorative plaque. The notice says:

ILONA ZRÍNYI'S ROSE TREE
PLANTED BY THE SOCIETY OF ROSE LADIES 2020.

⁵⁹ Kertész Erzsébet, *A fejedelemasszony. (Zrínyi Ilona élete)*. Budapest, 1986. p. 130.; R. Várkonyi Ágnes, *Zrínyi Ilona és a korabeli magyar politika. Thököly emlékünnepe. A fejedelemlalálának 270. évfordulója alkalmából*. Vaja, 1975. p. 89.

⁶⁰ Hóvári János, *Thököly Ikre és Zrínyi Ilona Izmitben*. Magyar Tudomány, 2014. № 9. Available online at: <http://www.matud.iif.hu/2014/09/06.htm>; R. Várkonyi Ágnes, *Zrínyi Ilona és a korabeli magyar politika. Thököly emlékünnepe. A fejedelemlalálának 270. évfordulója alkalmából*. Vaja, 1975. p. 89.

⁶¹ Mészáros-Seres, *Rubicon*. 2014. № 2. p. 12.

⁶² SATR, Fund. 4, Archival List. 2, Storage Unit. 1058; SATR, Fund. 10, Archival List. 1, Storage Unit. 241, 242, 250.

Imre Thököly, the “Kuruc King”

Count Imre Thököly (1657–1705), one of the leading figures of the 17th century Kuruc movement, became a historical figure as the second husband of Ilona Zrínyi, and thus stepfather of Ferenc Rákóczi II. His life and activities were forever intertwined with the liberation struggle against the Habsburgs. At the height of his career, he held the title of prince of Upper Hungary and Transylvania and was also awarded the fief crown by the Turkish sultan, which is why he was called the “Kuruc king”. He was born in Késmárk (now Kežmarok), his great-grandfather made his



13. Imre Thököly, the “Kuruc king”

fortune in the animal trade; he lost his parents when he was still a child. As a result of the treason suit brought against his father by Leopold I, he was forced to flee from his castle in Árva (Orava) via Huszt (Khust) to Transylvania. At the age of eight, Mihály Apafi, Prince of Transylvania, appointed him hereditary lord-sheriff of Maramures county, and then made him chief captain of Huszt (Khust) by right of succession. He studied at the colleges in Eperjes (Prešov) and Nagyenyed (Aiud). Apafi later seized Huszt (Khust) and his estate due to the abuses, but he compensated Thököly and his brothers, which meant 50,000 thalers, but Thököly only managed to get a much smaller amount. From 1670, he was the captain of Huszt (Khust) and Kővár (Chioar), and over time he also acquired estates in Maramures.⁶³ After the events in Tokaj, the centre of the Kuruc struggles shifted to the area around Maramures. The operations that began consisted mainly of the siege of the surrounding castles. Thököly was then in Máramarossziget (Sighetu Marmăției) and Huszt (Khust). In December 1676, while staying in his mansion in Máramarossziget (Sighetu Marmăției), he established close contact with the conspirators György Bige and Mihály Bás, who visited him from Huszt (Khust), where he also organised feasts. In 1678,

⁶³ R. Várkonyi Ágnes, *Az életpályá választutjai*. In: *Imre gróf és felkelése*. Ed: Peter Kónya. Presov, 2009. pp. 11–38.

the “fugitives” chose Thököly as their leader, who then occupied upper Hungary, the mining towns along with Mukachevo and the interfluvium of the river Tysa. After the shift in the balance of power, in 1679 he began negotiations and concluded a peace treaty with Emperor Leopold I. With the great victory near Újfalu in 1679, Thököly finally went his own way, and later on he sought to take Apafi’s place in Hungarian politics.⁶⁴ With such plans, he attempted to increase his influence not only by the sword but also by diplomacy. At the end of that year, he met Ilona Zrínyi at Chynadiyeve castle, where the Count was received for lunch. This was the beginning of his relationship with Ilona Zrínyi, whom he later married.⁶⁵

In December 1676, while staying at his estate in Sighetu Marmăției, Thököly maintained close ties with the rebels György Bige and Mihály Bász, who came to him from Khust.⁶⁶

With his truce with the Emperor, he wanted to gain the Emperor’s support for his marriage to Ilona Zrínyi. Later he did not extend the armistice, he listened to the advice of the French and the Turks. In mid-March 1681 he received Turkish and Transylvanian envoys in Berehove. In December of the same year he stayed in Vary and Muzsiyeve. The wedding with Ilona Zrínyi was held in the castle of Mukachevo, in splendid surroundings, on 15 June 1682. Thököly then set to work fortifying the castle and stocking it with food to fight successfully against the Emperor. He gathered his army at Mukachevo after capturing Košice, Levoča, Prešov and then, with the help of the Turks, the castle of Fil’akovo. At the end of 1682, he stayed in Mukachevo again. In 1682, the Kuruc – with Turkish help – launched a large-scale campaign, occupying almost the entire Highlands (now Slovakia), with which Thököly tore a fourth part from Hungary, and ruled there as an Ottoman vassal prince.⁶⁷ The Kuruc movement undoubtedly reached its peak at this time, as Thököly received the crown, acquired the Rákóczi fortune through his marriage with Ilona Zrínyi, and provided effective assistance to the Turks during the siege of Vienna in 1683. After the defeat of Kara Mustafa in September 1683, Thököly’s luck in the war

⁶⁴ Iványi Emma, Közvetítési kísérletek a bécsi udvar és Thököly között. In: A Thököly-felkelés és kora. Ed: Benczédi László. Budapest, 1983. p. 130.

⁶⁵ R. Várkonyi Ágnes, A fejedelem gyermekora (1676–1688). Budapest, 1989. pp. 164–166.; Makrally Aranka, Érdek vagy szerelem? Thökölyi Imre és Zrínyi Ilona kapcsolata. Korunk, 2016, 27, 12. pp. 29–34.; Чотарі Юрій, Листи Ілони Зріні на Закарпатті. Берегове–Ужгород, 2018. p. 17.

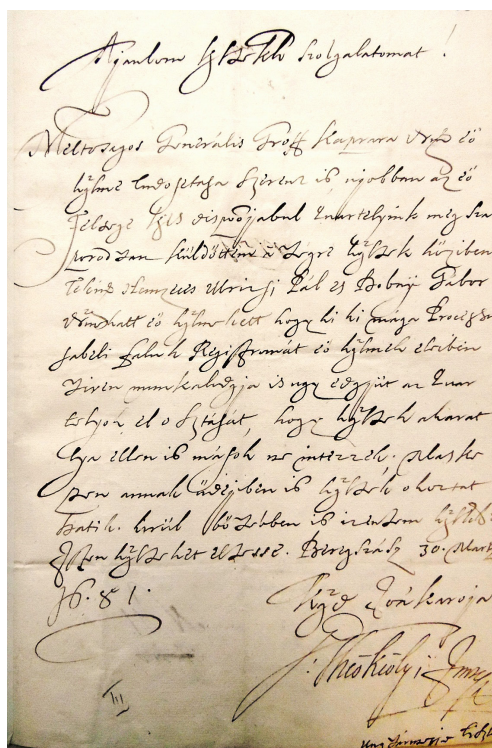
⁶⁶ Keresztyén Balázs, Kárpátaljai művelődéstörténeti kislexikon. Budapest–Beregszász, 2001. p. 266.

⁶⁷ Lehoczky Tivadar, Beregvármegye monographiája. Vol. I. Ungvárott, 1881. pp. 171–175.

also ran out, as he was no longer willing to approach the Turkish side and Emperor Lipót refused to negotiate with him.

Thököly was in intensive correspondence with the leaders of the surrounding counties at this time. The archives of Uzh, Bereh and Uhocha counties (now Archives of the Transcarpathian Region) hold these letters, in which he appealed for support from the population. In his military decrees, he proposed recruitment and economic support. In several cases, he forced the settlements to provide the equipment and materials needed for the war effort and for the fortification of fortresses. The count also informed the counties of foreign policy events and sent the minutes of the county assemblies which he himself chaired, for example in Košice. Our archives contain the decrees issued by the Habsburg emperor and his commanders concerning the movement of Thököly's troops and the measures taken against them, the regulations of military camps, etc.⁶⁸

In 1685 he defended Uzhhorod against the imperial troops, but after the loss of Prešov and Tokaj he had to retreat to Oradea. There he was taken prisoner by the Turks and transported to Edirne. While in captivity he continued to correspond with his wife, Ilona Zrínyi. After his release, he was unable to regain his former power, leading his troops only as far as Oradea. The liberation campaign promised by the Pasha did not take place. His power had waned for good, and he did not have enough soldiers left to rush to the aid of Ilona Zrínyi, who was heroically defending Mukachevo.



14. Order of Imre Thököly about accomodating of Kuruc troops in Uzh County. Berehove, 30 March 1681.

⁶⁸ SATR, Fund. 674, Archival List. 8, Storage Unit. 13, p. 28; Ibid: Storage Unit. 106, pp. 1-2; Storage Unit. 122, pp. 1-2; SATR, Fund. 10, Archival List. 1, Storage Unit. 243, pp. 1-12.

The former prince of Upper Hungary then finally committed himself to the Turks,⁶⁹ and was soon driven out of the country with the rest of his Kuruc. At the beginning of 1688, the imperialists took over the castle of Mukachevo after Ilona Zrínyi's heroic fight. His wife was then taken to Vienna with the Rákóczi children.⁷⁰

The count's luck shone once again in 1690, after the death of Mihály Apafi, when he invaded Transylvania through the mountains on the orders of Sultan Suleiman II, defeated the imperial armies at Zărnești, and was elected prince in Cristian.⁷¹ However, Thököly's reign proved to be a dying one, as the imperial commander Lajos Bádeni later easily ousted the Kuruc. The only positive aspect of the venture was that the hiding leader – in exchange for a general captured at Zărnești – was later able to ransom Ilona Zrínyi from Vienna, with whom they could live their lives together, in true Turkish territory. After his action in Transylvania, Thököly finally sank to the level of the fallen Turkish vassals, and fought with his Kuruc soldiers mostly in the service of the Sultan or the Pasha: he took part in the suppression of a Bulgarian uprising, and fought with Habsburg troops during the wars of liberation in Hungary.⁷²

The count was later entrusted by the Porta with the task of starting an uprising in the Tysa region, but the 1697 Kuruc movement in Hegyalja was defeated before the fallen prince crossed the border.⁷³ Under the terms of the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, Thököly spent his last years in exile on the coast of Anatolia, while his Kuruc continued to organise tirelessly against the Habsburgs. Thököly had lived to see his stepson, Ferenc Rákóczi II, unfurl the flags of the War of Independence in 1703, but he did not live to see the sad end, as he died on 12 September 1705, aged just 48, in the town of Izmit.⁷⁴ Imre Thököly's remains, along with those of the other

⁶⁹ Iványi Emma, Közvetítési kísérletek a bécsi udvar és Thököly között. In: A Thököly-felkelés és kora. Ed.: Benczédi László. Budapest, 1983. pp. 134–149.

⁷⁰ Fakász Mihály, 2006. pp. 122–129; Lehoczky Tivadar, 1881. pp. 171–178.

⁷¹ R. Várkonyi Ágnes, Thököly politikája és Magyarország esélyei a hatalmi átrendeződés idején. *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, 2005, 3, p. 390.

⁷² Lehoczky Tivadar, 1881. p. 92; Див: Trócsányi Zsolt, Erdély és a Thököly-felkelés. In: A Thököly-felkelés és kora. Ed.: Benczédi László. Budapest, 1983. pp. 151–154.

⁷³ R. Várkonyi Ágnes, 1697: szervezkedők kapcsolataik (A hegyaljai felkelés újragondolásához) In: A Thököly-felkelés és kora. Ed.: Benczédi László. Budapest, 1983. pp. 15–16.

⁷⁴ Papp Klára, Thököly Imre politikai pályája és felkelése. Bocskai István Múzeum Évkönyve IV. p. 175. Available online at: http://real.mtak.hu/102683/1/Papp20K1C3A1ra_ThC3B6kC3B6ly_Bocskai20IstvC3A1n20MC3BAzeum20C389vkC3B6nyve20IV.20155-178.pdf

Kuruc heroes, were transported to Hungary in 1906 with great ceremony and reburied in his hometown of Kežmarok.⁷⁵

Thököly was criticised for his efforts to seek the possibility of an independent Hungary, but his actions sometimes aggravated the military situation in the country and his stubbornness divided the Kuruc forces. In many respects, the Kuruc leader has been paired by historians with his late successor, Rákóczi, but it should be noted that he fought against the Christian armies of Europe for a considerable period of his career.

Ferenc Rákóczi II, the ruling prince

Ferenc Rákóczi II was born on 27th March, 1676 in Borša, Zemplén County. The young Rákóczi spent his childhood mainly in Sárospatak, Mukachevo and Chynadiyeve. During the imperial siege of Mukachevo Castle between 1682 and 1685 he was present with his mother, Ilona Zrínyi. His poems written to his mother during the siege are exemplary even today. After giving the castle up, little Rákóczi was taken to the Jesuits of Neuhausen in the Czech Republic, where he was raised in an imperial spirit. Archbishop Leopold Kollonich was appointed his guardian, who intended him to be a monk.⁷⁶ He began his studies at the University of Prague in 1690, and successfully studied works on mathematics, architecture and military science. In 1692 he succeeded in withdrawing himself from guardianship. In 1694 he married Sarolta Amália, the daughter of the monarch of Hessen-Rheinfels.⁷⁷

When he returned to Hungary in May 1694, he was appointed eternal lord-sheriff of Sáros County. During the uprising in the Hegyalja region in 1697, he was asked to lead the uprising, but he avoided it and travelled to Vienna instead. After the repression of the uprising in Hegyalja region, he became friends with Miklós Bercsényi,⁷⁸ the lord-sheriff of Uzh County, with whom he began an anti-Habsburg conspiracy. It is probable that it was in Uzh Castle where the idea of the national war of independence was born.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Thököly Imre. Available online at: <http://mek.oszk.hu/00300/00355/html/ABC15363/15694.htm>

⁷⁶ See: Köpeczi Béla, R. Várkonyi Ágnes, II. Rákóczi Ferenc. Budapest, 1976. pp. 11–45; R. Várkonyi Ágnes, A fejedelem gyermekkora (1676–1688) Budapest, 1989. pp. 215–276.

⁷⁷ Dr. Márki Sándor, II. Rákóczi Ferenc (1676–1735). Vol. I. VII. fejezet. Rákóczi házassága. Budapest, 1907. Available online at: <https://mek.oszk.hu/05800/05832/html/1kotet/03.htm#l1e2784>

⁷⁸ Köpeczi Béla, R. Várkonyi Ágnes, II. Rákóczi Ferenc. Budapest, 1976. pp. 103–105; R. Várkonyi Ágnes, Feleselő képek. (Bercsényi képek a magyar történetírásban). In. Bercsényi Miklós és kora. Történettudományi konferencia Hódmezővásárhelyen. 1993. október 8-9. Ed: Földesi Ferenc, Czeglédi Sándor. Hódmezővásárhely. pp. 8–26.

⁷⁹ Oláh Tamás, Rákóczi pátense az ungvári „németek” elvonulásáról. Available online at: https://mnl.gov.hu/mnl/bazml/hirek/rakoczi_patense_az_ungvari_nemetek_elvonulasarol



15. Ferenc Rákóczi II, Transylvanian prince

As a result of their decision, he established contact with the great enemy of the Habsburgs, Louis XIV, King of France.⁸⁰ In the Rákóczi family, the fight against the Habsburgs had a long tradition.

The French connection unfolded because of a betrayal, Rákóczi was arrested in his palace in Sáros in 1701 and sentenced to death, but with the help of his wife, Duchess Sarolta Amália of Hessen he escaped from prison in Wiener Neustadt. Rákóczi fled to Poland, where, with the help of his relatives, he settled with the Sieniawska family in the castle of Brezán (now Berezhany, Ternopil region, Ukraine) with Bercsényi, who also fled here.⁸¹ Emperor Leopold I set a blood money for Rákóczi: 10

thousand forints alive and 6 thousand dead.⁸² In Poland, Rákóczi and Bercsényi and the Sieniawskas made significant diplomatic efforts abroad, especially in France, to involve the military, weapons and trained officers in the future war of independence, with little success.⁸³

Dissatisfaction with the Habsburg rule in Hungary also evolved among the ‘people of the earth’. In Bereh County, the outlaws being organized under the leadership of Tamás Esze, a serf from Tarpa, acted against the ruler on behalf of the people. This is how the alliance on the aristocratic, serf and international lines that confronted Europe’s strongest army was formed.

Esze and his fellows sent a delegation to Berezhany to discuss with Rákóczi the joint continuation of the uprising. The prince, also made certain by his officer Gál Barvinszky about the willingness of the people of North-

⁸⁰ Benda Kálmán, Rákóczi és az európai hatalmak. In. Európa és a Rákóczi-szabadságharc. Ed: Benda Kálmán. Budapest, 1980. pp. 25–28.

⁸¹ Gebei Sándor, II. Rákóczi Ferenc és a Reczpospolita. Budapest, 2013. pp. 40–61.

⁸² Lehoczky Tivadar, Beregvármegye monographiája. Vol. I. Ungvárott, 1881. p. 197.

⁸³ Kalmár János, A Rákóczi-szabadságharc és Európa. Közjgi helyzet és külpolitikai törekvések. In. Előadások a Rákóczi-szabadságharc történetéből. Budapest, 2004. pp. 10–11.

eastern Hungary to fight for freedom, agreed to lead the uprising and handed over flags marked “Cum Deo pro Patria et Libertate” to the people’s delegates. On May 12, 1703, Rákóczi turned to the noble population and the peasantry of the country with an open letter – the Berezhany manifesto – to pick up the weapon to gain the country’s independence, promising to remove them from the serfdom after the uprising. With this, he recognized the insurgents as Rákóczi’s military people and promised them freedom in case of victory.⁸⁴

With spreading the Berezhany manifesto and the flags given by Rákóczi, the flag of the war of independence was undone on 21 May 1703 in Tarpa and on the 22 May in Vary and Berehove under the leadership of Tamás Esze. From Berehove they went straight to the Veretske Pass to receive Rákóczi. Along the way, they camped at the scene of the first battle of the war of independence at Dovhe. On June 7, 1703, a noble banderium led by Sándor Károlyi and a squadron of the Satu Mare garrison struck on the Kuruc resting here. As a result of the unexpected attack, Esze’s troop was scattered and barely 200 of the more than a thousand insurgents remained, with whom they were able to march further towards Veretske.⁸⁵ Sándor Károlyi, the lord-sheriff of Satu Mare, took the captured Kuruc flags to Vienna as a proof of the crushing of the rebels. However, the lords of Vienna did not believe in his pro-imperial actions and insulted the Hungarian nobleman, who soon joined Rákóczi’s camp and became the commander-in-chief of the army.⁸⁶



16. Kuruc weapons in the exhibition hall of Mukachevo Castle

⁸⁴ Esze Tamás, II. Rákóczi Ferenc, Tiszántúli hadjárata. Századok, 1951, 1-2, pp. 30–119.

⁸⁵ Csátary György, Levéltári kalászatok. Budapest–Ungvár, 1993. pp. 209–214.

⁸⁶ Kovács Ágnes, Károlyi Sándor. Budapest, 1988. pp. 34–45.



17. The meeting of Rákóczi and Tamás Esze at the Veretske Pass

Rákóczi crossed the Hungarian border at Veretske on June 16, 1703, where he met the remaining Kuruc led by Tamás Esze. After organizing the unorganized troops, Rákóczi made his way towards Mukachevo, where about 3,000 people joined him. The princely army was also augmented by the Rusyns, who stuck to the idea of the war of independence till the end. That is why Rákóczi named them *Gens fidelissima*, the most loyal people.⁸⁷ However, after their arrival in Mukachevo, the Montecuccoli Cuirassier Regiment, which left Uzhhorod, pushed him out of the city, so he had to retreat to the mountains near the border, to Zavadka. Later, with the help of relief teams, they left for the Tysa region, where the troops of the county nobility were scattered on the border of Vylok and Tiszabecs. They successfully crossed the Tysa at Tiszabecs and Vásárosnamény, this

⁸⁷ Hodinka Antal, II. Rákóczi Ferenc fejedelem és a „Gens fidelissima”. Pécsent, 1937.

crossing on July 14–16 near the border of Vylok went down in history as the first victorious battle of the war of independence.⁸⁸

With this, the Great Plain region was opened to the Kurucs. Rákóczi started the construction of the new Hungarian state organization at the same time as the flag-breaking. In his Namény manifesto issued on July 18, 1703, the Great Prince called on the nobility to join, and the Vetés manifesto exempted the serfs who took up arms with their families from all public charges and landlord services.⁸⁹



18. Letter of privilege of Ferenc Rákóczi II to the residents of Cămărzana.

The field near Vetés, 26 August 1703

In the summer of 1703, Khust Castle was the first fortification that was acquired by insurgents with machination with the help of the Ilosvai brothers. The salt mines of Maramures were occupied by János Majos in the last days of July 1703, and then the Kuruc together with local Hungarian and Rusyn peasants, blockaded the castles of Mukachevo and Uzhhorod. Uzhhorod Castle was handed over to the Kuruc on March 16, 1704,⁹⁰ and Mukachevo became

⁸⁸ Esze Tamás, II. Rákóczi Ferenc Tiszántúli hadjárata. Századok, 1951. № 1-2, pp. 30–119

⁸⁹ Штернберг Я.І. З історії спільної боротьби угорських і українських селян під час визвольної війни 1703–1711 pp. Наукові записки УжДУ. Vol XXXVIII. 1959. pp. 110–116.

⁹⁰ Váradi-Sternberg János, Az ungvári vár ostroma 1703–1704-ben. Századok öröksége. Tanulmányok az orosz-magyar és ukrán-magyar kapcsolatokról. Budapest-Uzsgorod, 1981. pp. 129–138.

the property of the Kuruc on February 16, 1704. Later, Rákóczi directed the war of independence from here and also received Russian diplomats in the castle. The prince took care of the expansion and modernization of the castle, and prepared Mukachevo Castle for a long siege.⁹¹

The region of North-eastern Hungary was the economic base of the military service and the state of Rákóczi throughout the war of independence. Rákóczi envisioned a confederate independent Hungarian state, the conditions for the establishment and strengthening of which did not exist at that time. As a result of the successful upland campaign and the liberation of a significant part of the country in the Great Plain, the power of the Kuruc extended to an important part of the country. On July 8, 1704, Rákóczi was elected the Transylvanian prince by the parliament of Alba Iulia, but his inauguration took place only on April 5, 1705, and this year he was elected the governing or ruling prince of the Szécsény parliament.⁹² Further on, Rákóczi returned to Mukachevo at the end of 1705, where he supervised the work of strengthening the fortress. On December 20–21, he stayed in Berehove, from where he proclaimed the uprising of the nobles.⁹³ In early 1707 he returned to Mukachevo. After the Parliament of Ónod, we can also find him in Mukachevo, here he lived and worked in his mansion, the so-called Fejér house, later he also visited Uzhhorod and his mansion in Serednie. In 1707, in the castle of Uzhhorod, he received Tsarian Ambassador David Ivanovich Corbe on the matter of the Polish throne. The war of independence culminated in 1707: at that time, the Ónod Parliament declared the dethronement of the Habsburg House. Meanwhile, peace negotiations took place in which the prince insisted on the Transylvanian principality, but this was not recognized by the imperial negotiating parties. After the peace negotiations of December 1708, he did organizing work in Mukachevo. In 1709 Rákóczi spent a long time in Bereh County, where he constantly negotiated with the lords of Hungary and Transylvania. At the end of 1710, with the participation of the imperial chief general János Pálffy, the peace negotiations between the two parties were renewed. In 1711, in Skole, he negotiated with Russian Minister Dolgoruky about the

⁹¹ Lehoczky Tivadar, *Beregvármegye monographiája*. Vol. I. Ungvárott, 1881. p. 212.

⁹² Praznovszky Mihály, *A szécsényi országgyűlés 1705-ben*. Szécsény, 1995. pp. 1–197

⁹³ Csatóry György, *A Rákóczi-kor emlékhelyei Kárpátalján*. Beregszász–Ungvár, 2020. p. 28.

aid promised by the tsar, in vain.⁹⁴ The prince then negotiated with Pálffy on January 31, 1711 in Vaja, where a two-week ceasefire was agreed upon. These negotiations did not lead to any results though, even if this time two Hungarians – János Pálffy and Rákóczi – discussed the future of the country.⁹⁵



19. The graves of Ferenc Rákóczi II and Ilona Zrínyi in the Košice Cathedral

At the end of the war of independence, the Transylvanian and other refugees of the Rákóczi state, who were forced into our region, gathered for one last parliament in Shalanky between February 14–18, 1711. The decision of the ‘parliament’ of Shalanky provided Rákóczi with a legal basis, if not for the further continuation of the armed struggle, but for the creation of more favourable conditions for the conclusion of peace by exerting foreign policy pressure.⁹⁶ On the advice of Bercsényi, Rákóczi eventually went to Poland to meet with Russian Tsar Peter I, but these efforts

⁹⁴ Köpeczi Béla, Bercsényi Miklós és az orosz orientáció. In: Bercsényi Miklós és kora. Ed. Földesi Ferenc, Czeglédi Sándor. Hódmezővásárhely, 1993. pp. 38–42.; Köpeczi Béla, Rákóczi orosz kapcsolatai 1711 után. In: A Rákóczi-szabadságharc és közép-európa. Ed: Tamás Edit. Sárospatak, 2003, Vol. II. pp. 181–188.

⁹⁵ II. Rákóczi Ferenc fejedelem emlékiratai. A magyarországi háborúról, 1703-tól annak végéig. Ed: Thaly Klálmán. Pest, 1872. pp. 236–238.

⁹⁶ Csatóry György, A salánki „országgyűlés”. Salánk, 2011. pp. 2–9.

failed. The prince set off from Lower Veretske for Poland on 21 February. On March 26, he was visited by Sándor Károlyi in Stryi and they discussed the peace negotiations. It was then that Károlyi assured the prince of his loyalty, despite the fact that he had sworn an oath to the emperor before. That is why Károlyi is considered a traitor in Hungarian history. Although the prince then set up the parliament of the allied orders in Khust, Károlyi transferred it to Satu Mare and signed the Peace of Satu Mare with Pálffy on April 30. Rákóczi never accepted the peace signed without his consent, preferring eternal exile instead.

He moved from Poland to France in 1713, where he wrote his memoirs entitled *Confessions*.⁹⁷ In 1717, at the invitation of the Turkish Porta, he settled in Turkey with his comrades-in-arms, and Tekirdağ was appointed to the hideouts. Together with his fellows who shared the exile with him, including Miklós Bercsényi, Kelemen Mikes, János Eszterházy, Ádám Vay and others, he ended his life here on April 8, 1735.⁹⁸ In 1906, the ashes of the prince and his companions were ceremoniously brought back to Košice, which still belonged to Hungary at that time, where an ornate tomb was erected for the heroes in St. Elizabeth's Cathedral. Their earthly remains rest in the Catholic church, now in Slovakia, still radiating courage and patriotism to posterity.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Rákóczi Ferenc. Vallomások, emlékiratok. Ed: Hopp Lajos. Budapest, 1979; II. Rákóczi Ferenc fejedelem emlékiratai A magyarországi háborúról, 1703-tól annak végéig. Ed: Thaly Kálmán. Pest, 1872.

⁹⁸ Köpeczi Béla, R. Várkonyi Ágnes, II. Rákóczi Ferenc. Budapest, 1976. pp. 416–421.

⁹⁹ R. Várkonyi Ágnes, Visszatérés Európába. II. Rákóczi Ferenc és bujdosótársai hamvainak temetéséről. Magyar Tudomány, 2006. 10, p. 1211. Available online at: <http://www.matud.iif.hu/06okt/09.html>

BEREHOVE AND ITS SURROUNDINGS IN RÁKÓCZI'S WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

The war of independence, led by Ferenc Rákóczi II, is perhaps the most popular and researched topic in Hungarian historiography. A series of volumes appeared with the aim of clarifying the events between 1703 and 1711. Romantic historiography and the Rákóczi cult, which has strengthened over the centuries, have also left their mark on the scientific processing of the Rákóczi era and its evaluation. It is true that the cult and the tradition are also very important in the life of a people, but the historian can only draw from these sources in the absence of sufficient data.

Our historiography has a modest record of the initial phase of the war of independence. In addition to correspondence, however, we can rely on the chroniclers of the era. Here we think of the diary of Sándor Károlyi,¹⁰⁰ lord-sheriff of Szatmár County, and the diary of Pál Tarpay and the memoirs of the Great Prince himself.¹⁰¹ With the help of these sources, the role of Berehove and the nearby villages in the liberation struggle of the nation can be traced.

The first major milestone in the history of the war of independence is the unfolding of the flag, which we have been following since the events of 21 May 1703, in Tarpa and Vary. With Tamás Esze, György Bige, Mihály Pap, János Majos, the so-called people's leaders at the forefront, the people, enthusiastic about the Rákóczi flags, first began their recruitment campaign in Tarpa.¹⁰² As Tamás Esze was from Tarpa, he had a great influence on the inhabitants of the settlement. Here 300 infantry and 40 cavalry were recruited for the war of independence. On May 21, 1703, they were able to appear in this way in Vary, where 62 people joined them. In Vary, one of Rákóczi's flags was hoisted at the gate of the village judge, András Keresztes, and the Berezhany manifesto was also displayed. Besides Tarpa, Vary was the most significant Kuruc centre in the Tiszahát (area along the river Tysa). This fact was proved as early as 1697, during the uprising in Hegyalja. The flag unfolding in Vary fell on a lucky date because Count Sándor Károlyi agreed with István Csáky, the lord-sheriff of Bereh-Uhoča

¹⁰⁰ Rákóczi Tükör. Naplók, jelentések, emlékiratok a szabadságharcról. Ed: Köpeczi Béla és R. Várkonyi Ágnes. Budapest, 1973. pp. 77–82.

¹⁰¹ II. Rákóczi Ferenc fejedelem emlékiratai. A magyarországi háborúról, 1703-tól annak végéig. Pest, 1979.

¹⁰² Mészáros Kálmán, A tiszaháti bujdosómozgalom és vezéralakjai. Hadtörténelmi Közlemények, 2003. szeptember–december № 3-4. pp. 759–775.

County, that the nobility of Szatmár, Bereh and Uhocha Counties, with the support of the Satu Mare garrison, would cross the Tysa on May 21 and start against the Kurucs. But it was not possible to cross the river at the planned time, there were already insurgents on the other bank. Frederick Löwenburg, the commander of Satu Mare Castle, ordered his soldiers back, and the noble banderium also dispersed.¹⁰³

The people of Vary gathered at the call of the prince. It is characteristic of the Kuruc leaders and recruiters that the contents of the Berezhany manifesto issued by the prince were distorted here as well. The wording of the manifesto differed essentially from that distributed in Vary. The dignified text and the moderate promises of the manifesto formulated by Rákóczi were changed by the advocate into great encouragements and threats. The judge András Keresztes himself reported the Vary flag unfolding in writing to the Commandant of Satu Mare, Colonel Löwenburg. According to the Kuruc military rosters, the population of Vary was also represented in significant numbers on the fronts of the war of independence. Fifty-five Kuruc soldiers from Vary are mentioned in the infantry regiment of Tamás Esze in the military roster of 1706.¹⁰⁴

About 500 cavalry and infantry gathered in Vary and spent the night on the outskirts of the village. They knew that the next day, Saturday, May 22, there would be a national fair in Berehove so that they could persuade people who wanted to join the army to stand by their side. The next morning this team arrived at the fairgrounds in Berehove. The result of the recruitment in Vary became visible in Berehove, because the insurgents from the surrounding villages, together with the traders and buyers, also came here early in the morning. Although there were many onlookers at the square, Esze and his comrades achieved their goal. They tried to get people on their side with both eloquence and threats. The troops moving in the square could not be measured by military standards in terms of order and discipline. But that, too, was enough for county officials to notice and take action. Couriers were sent to the castles of Mukachevo and Satu Mare to the commanders of the garrisons about the situation in the town.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Csátáry György, Beregszász a Rákóczi-szabadságharc idején. In: *Pro Patria tanulmányok*. Ed: Kujbusné Mecsei Éva. Nyíregyháza, 2004. pp. 29–40.

¹⁰⁴ Hegedüs István, Esze Tamás ezredében, a Felső-Tisza-Vidéki vármegyék (Bereg, Szabolcs, Ugocsa és Ung) hadfogó nemesének 1706. évben készült lajstroma. *Helytörténeti tanulmányok*. Ed: Gyarmathy Zsigmond. IX. Nyíregyháza, 1993. pp. 275–340.

¹⁰⁵ Esze Tamás, *A tiszaháti felkelés*. Budapest, 1952. pp. 6–9.

The war of independence was greatly helped by the fact that Sámuel Kemsey, the chief judge of Berehove, was already among the Kurucs at the time of the flag-unfolding. At that time, a garrison of 50 Austrian and Hungarian troops was stationed in Berehove, who did not show any resistance. The county nobility and senior officials, led by lord-sheriff count István Csáky, crossed the Tysa long before to join the Satu Mare Castle Guard, which provided security for them. Meanwhile, mostly unarmed insurgents arrived and headed for the flag-unfolding scene. One of the armies from Vary surprised István Kajdy, the county judge of nobles, who left Bene early



20. Tamás Esze, Kuruc brigadier

in the morning starting from István Maróthy, chief notary, to Berehove. A struggle broke out between the 40 armed hajduk who provided protection and the insurgents with only rods. As a result, Kajdy was captured together with seventeen of his men and forced to take an oath of allegiance. Kajdy was reluctant at first, but eventually gave in to the violence. He was sworn that after Rákóczi's arrival he would become his follower himself, but until that time he would stay at his house in Borzhava. He then joined Rákóczi under oath, and then served as a military judge in the army with Senyei and Buday at the head besieging Satu Mare. In the summer of 1704, the prince appointed him captain instead of the executed Albert Kis. He was on many battlefields. Rákóczi characterized István Kajdy this way: "It is true that he has the mind and heart of common people expressed in his language."¹⁰⁶

In the market square of Berehove it was rumoured that Rákóczi was coming to Berehove, he had already started. Esze and Albert Kis also proclaimed the Berezhany manifesto in Berehove, unfolding the remaining

¹⁰⁶ Esze Tamás, II. Rákóczi Ferenc breznai kiáltványa. Századok, 1954. pp. 306–311.

flags. The flags were red in colour, announcing Rákóczi's name and rank, as well as the slogan "With God for the homeland and freedom" (*Cum Deo pro Patria et Libertate*). In the market square of Berehove, the insurgents became involved in an organization of military character. The so-called people's leaders took an oath, after which they also approved military ranks among themselves. Tamás Esze, Albert Kis, and István Móricz were elected infantry captains; Mihály Pap, János Majos and Márton Nagy (who was later killed in the Dovhe battle) were elected cavalry captains. Sworn troops toured the entire area. The manifesto was proclaimed, troops were recruited for the war of independence.¹⁰⁷

Tivadar Lehoczky mentions that after the unfolding of the Rákóczi flag, noble courtyards were looted, which was not welcomed by the calmer elements of the town.¹⁰⁸ However, Sándor Károlyi himself wrote more leniently to István Koháry in a letter dated May 25, 1703, that the town had hosted the Kurucs, who had not committed any forceful violations in the town, but that food, drink, and weapons were taken away, and the horses, too. From there, they marched on to meet Rákóczi in the mountains that day. According to the entries of Károlyi's diary, Bereh and Uhocha were completely covered by the insurgents, but the people of the land were also waiting for them in Satu Mare. Károlyi was informed about the unfolding of the flag in Berehove by the local Reformed priest, who reported to his superiors on this basis. According to historian Tamás Esze, the Catholic priest of Berehove fled when the Kurucs wanted to take him to their camp.¹⁰⁹

Sámuel Kemsey, the judge from Berehove was the first man to hold a public office in Bereh County, who joined Kis and Esze. The letters of György Orosz, vice-ispán of Bereh County, and those of count Löwenburg, imperial colonel, testified about it. They considered the judge, along with Esze and Kis, to be the third leader of the uprising and ordered their arrest and interrogation under harsh proceedings. According to the *Protocollum Rákócziánum* of the National Archives: "Rákóczi, in gracious and dignified respect, proved to us many times his faithful service to our well-remembered ancestors and this generous cause at first, redeemed and strengthened his

¹⁰⁷ Móricz Béla, Móricz István – II. Rákóczi Ferenc ezredese (1703–1711). *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, 1973. № 2, pp. 79–102.

¹⁰⁸ Lehoczky Tivadar, *Beregvármegye monographiája*. Vol. I. Ungvárott, 1881 pp. 201–202.; Id., *A Rákóczy-korszak Bereg megyében 1660–1711*. Bereg, 1903, 19–21.

¹⁰⁹ Thaly Kálmán, *A székesi gróf Bercsényi család*. (1689–1703). Vol. II. Budapest, 1887. p. 482

vineyards on December 31, 1705, his house in Berehove on August 26 and his two barren lands in the village of Búcsu.”¹¹⁰

Folk tradition also perpetuated the unfolding of the Rákóczi flag in Berehove. The shortened story below has little basis in reality, but it is rather the fruit of folk imagination. We must also remember these sources when discussing the events of the flag-unfolding.

“Unusually feeling one, waiting for one, the troops came quietly from Vary, ten, a hundred, a thousand. They felt the spring, the desire for freedom woven into flags and the Austrian yoke. No matter how famous the markets in

Berehove were, so many people never gathered. And what a strange people it was, as if they did not want to sell and buy. The Austrian spitz sniffed in horror and the clerks at the county hall frowned. There was news of what had happened in Vary. County officers have already been sent to Satu Mare Castle for help. On May 22, the notable day count István Csáky, lord-sheriff convened the lords of the county to meet. He summoned Judge Kemsey to report on the incidents. Kemsey appeared as late as possible in front of the lord-sheriff, who asked him:

“What’s out there, Judge?”

“Fair,” Kemsey replied. “I apologise, please, it’s a bad fair, because you can’t even collect taxes.”

“So why don’t they buy and sell?”

“There is nothing left to sell, nothing to buy,” was the answer.

As long as the town judge held back the gentlemen, a great cheer was heard from the outside. The Kuruc leaders proclaimed the manifesto and the



21. Kuruc flag in the Beregvidék Museum (Berehove)

¹¹⁰ Thaly Kálmán, II. Rákóczi Ferenc kora. A gr. Csákyak Szepesvármegye és a br. Palocsay-család levéltáiraiban. Századok, 1873. pp. 9–39.

troops greeted it loudly. Kemsey, who was explaining things at the county hall, fell silent, and the lord-sheriff slapped the table.

“So that is what the fair is like here?”

“It seems so,” the judge replied with relief.”¹¹¹

Let us return now to the real events. After the unfolding of the Rákóczi flag, Kemsey kept with the Kurucs till the time, Rákóczi later appointed him captain. After the fall of the war of independence, he could no longer hold office, living on his humble Búlcsu estate until he was appointed manager of the former Rákóczi and Krucsay vineyards in Berehove by officers of the former Rákóczi estate that now belonged to Count Schönborn. He received a salary of HUF 150 per year. Due to his poor condition, in 1732 he was forced to sell his house to the manor, which was opposite the Catholic church. He finally died in poverty in 1736.¹¹²

We must also remember the Kurucs from Berehove, who joined here as soldiers, several during the flag-unfolding process: cavalry Mihály Virág and István Csók, János Csoma, Ferenc Darmay, János Egri, Pál Kopasz, Pál Szabó (passed away) hajduk, András Verbőczy, András Rác, György Szabó Zsámbokréti, János Batta (passed away) hajduk, András Kántor rider, István Mokcsai hajduk, Péter Philip rider in Transylvania, Pál Seres, András Szabó (passed away), György Csörke hajduk, János István, István Nagy, Samu Talicska, István Vőző, Ferenc Pócsay and János Magyar served as hajduk. Rákóczi had a butler of Berehove origin, who was called Mózes Ötvös. According to our documents, in 1704 two Berehove hajduk, András Szabó and János Balla, fell during the siege of Satu Mare Castle. People from Berehove were also mentioned in the contemporary list of soldiers. Among them was Sándor Erdődi's sergeant, who fought in 1706 in the corps of Sándor Károlyi, at the age of 30. Ferenc Dasaki and János Bujdosó also served with Károlyi, like Erdődi, with a sword and a rifle. György Gönczi and a hajduk named Lóczy also came from the town.¹¹³

During the war of independence, Rákóczi took care of the Kurucs injured in the battle, as well as their widows. On September 25, 1706, Márton Nagy approached the prince. He joined the insurgents on the day of the flag-unfolding in Berehove.¹¹⁴ By this time he had lost his eyesight in the

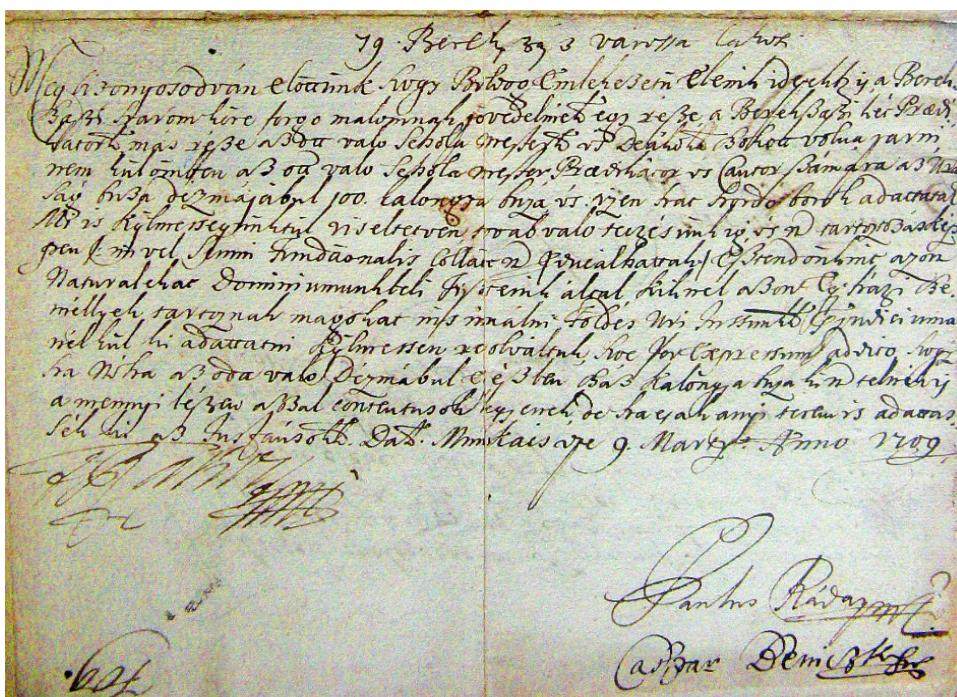
¹¹¹ Esze Tamás csodálatos vására Beregszászon. Kárpáti Magyar Gazda, 1940. november 28

¹¹² Lehoczky Tivadar, A Rákóczy-korszak Bereg megyében 1660–1711. Bereg, 1903. № 19–21.

¹¹³ Lehoczky Tivadar, Beregvármegye monographiája. Vol. I. Ungvárott, 1881. pp. 215–216

¹¹⁴ Kuruc vitézek folyamodványai 1703–1710. Ed: Esze Tamás. Budapest, 1955. pp. 346–347.

fighting, so he asked for his dismissal from the prince. Rákóczi personally instructed him to get himself examined by the competent chief officer, as this was the only way to dismiss him. On December 22, 1705, the widow of István Tibor Kismarjai, a cavalry soldier from Berehove, asked Rákóczi for help. He lived in Ardó Street, according to the petition, he joined the insurgents in the camp in Klymets. From there he was sent to Sládkovičovoby the Prince. The task entrusted to him was to deliver a message to the Sládkovičovo by people ready to rise. Rákóczi ordered eight Rhenish guilders for his widow.¹¹⁵



22. Letter from Ferenc Rákóczi II confirming the allowance of the preachers of Berehove, the schoolmaster and the cantor. Mukachevo, March 9, 1709

Rákóczi maintained a respectful relationship with the people of Berehove, which is eloquently attested by the letters that survived till our days. According to one document in the State Archives of the Transcarpathian Region, the ‘Humble Believers and Servants of the Town of Berehove and its Residents’ first approached the prince in May 1705 to settle the town’s

¹¹⁵ Ibid. pp. 263-264.

debts. The document was about repaying and possibly releasing loans taken from individuals. The prince linked his answer to the conditions outlined in the capitulation document of Mukachevo Castle.¹¹⁶

In 1706, Rákóczi instructed the town leadership on the use of the income of a mill rotating on three stones. He also took care of preachers here, the Schola Master, students and millers.¹¹⁷ We can also learn that in 1704 the Reformed priest and school enjoyed part of the income of the three-stone mill called Csiga in Berehove. However, after the fall in 1711, the Spiš Chamber took this annuity and gave it to the Catholic pastor. In 1709, in addition to the mill income, the prince decreed about the right of the lordship for wine tax, the manner of its use, and the provision of the Reformed persons of the Church. In the same year, according to the petition, 'The poor inhabitants of the town of Berehove' under the heavy burden of indebtedness approached the prince. While taking on the tax burden of the struggle for freedom, representatives of the population pointed to the situation in the town, saying that "many of us would be scattered and go elsewhere every day, only a few will remain in our poor place."¹¹⁸ From these documents one can also feel the difficult economic situation of both the town and the whole country. The burdens of warfare became unbearable, far exceeding the country's ability to perform, which was also evident on the battle fields and led to the consequences we are well aware of.

During the war of independence, Rákóczi stayed in Berehove several times. On December 21, 1705, he ordered all the armed nobles to appear in Rakamaz by January 15, 1706 to serve the motherland. The memory of the issued decree is preserved today by a plaque. On January 29, 1709, in Berehuifalu, where he hunted, he made his way towards the quarries. On April 16, he had lunch between Kvasove and Bereh in the forests of Bereh, and then spent the night in Berehove. On April 17, the prince dealt with the affairs of the war of independence, and in the afternoon he visited his vineyards in Berehove. On the morning of April 18, he went hunting in the woods and had lunch in Berehuifalu.¹¹⁹

As an aftermath of the Kuruc war of independence, we can mention that during Rákóczi's exile in Rhodes, the news of his return was rumoured about

¹¹⁶ SATR, Fund. 10, Archival List. 1, Storage Unit. 366, p. 1.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. Storage Unit. 372, p. 1.

¹¹⁸ SATR, Fund. 10, Archival List. 1, Storage Unit. 375, p. 1.

¹¹⁹ Lehoczky Tivadar, Beregvármegye monographiája. Vol. III. Ungvárott, 1882. p. 106.

several times in the country, especially in Bereh County. In 1730, Antal Behner, the castle commander of Mukachevo, sent a voluminous report to Vienna about an alleged Kuruc conspiracy between Mukachevo and Berehove. The Vienna Military Council ordered an investigation into the matter. More interrogations and confrontations lasting several days followed, during which István Borbély, a landowner from Berehove, was also questioned. However, the investigation did not have any significant results.¹²⁰

Today there are only a few famous places in the area of Berehove which preserve the memory of the Rákóczi era. These include an oak tree from Burgundy in the hospital garden, in the shades of which, according to folk tradition, the prince baked bacon. The age of the tree does seem to support this claim, as official hospital records suggest it is 600 years old. The cellars on Vynohradna Street have also survived, in which the prince kept the wine grown in the Bocskor and Kalmár vineyards. There is also the oldest secular building in the town, the so-called Bethlen–Rákóczi mansion, in which the great Prince was accommodated during his stay in Berehove. Today, on the wall of the manor, the memory of the prince and his faithful page, Kelemen Mikes, is preserved by embossed marble slabs.¹²¹

¹²⁰ Bellyei László, *A visszatért Felvidék adattára*. Budapest, 1939. p. 377.

¹²¹ Deschman Alajos, *Kárpátalja műemlékei*. Budapest, 1990. p. 109.

MEMORIAL SITES IN AND AROUND BEREHOVE

Memorial plaque of Tamás Esze in Berehove

On July 11, 1992, an inspirational ceremony took place in Berehove in the Rákóczi square. At that time, a memorial plaque was erected for the unfolding of the Kuruc flag, as well as for Tamás Esze, the hero of the Rákóczi war of independence and the organizer of Bereh County. In front of the Berehove post office building, in the Ferenc Rákóczi II square the ceremony was opened by Béla Imre playing the Turkish pipe. The speakers recalled the moments of the beginning of the Kuruc war of independence. On the right side of the memorial plaque is a relief of Tamás Esze, which is the work of sculptor Zsuzsa Ortutay, below the relief are the life dates of Tamás Esze: 1666–1708.¹²²

The text in the plaque is bilingual: Hungarian and Ukrainian. It says: THE RÁKÓCZI FLAG WAS UNFOLDED IN THIS SQUARE BY TAMÁS ESZE ON 22 MAY, 1703. ERECTED BY THE KMKSZ IN 1992.¹²³



23. Memorial plaque of Tamás Esze at the scene of the flag unfolding in Berehove

The bust of Tamás Esze

The bust of Tamás Esze was inaugurated on May 21, 2011 in the Rákóczi Square in Berehove. The work was made for the 300th anniversary of the end of the Rákóczi war of independence. The monument was donated to their hometown by the Hungarians who emigrated from here. It is the

¹²² Esze Tamás emléktáblája, Beregszász. Available online at: <https://karpatinfo.net.ua/emlekhelyek-emleklek/300367-esze-tamas-emlektablaja-beregszasz>.

¹²³ The texts of the inscriptions of plaques, sculptures, and other notices are presented in English translation throughout this volume.



24. Tamás Esze's bust

work of the sculptor László Zagyva from Nyíregyháza (Hungary). Representatives of the Foundation for Berehove, the local organizations of the Rákóczi Association, Nyíregyháza and Kisvárda and the Ruthenian Association of Podkarpatska Rus were present at the ceremony. The audience could listen to the Kuruc songs of the Turkish pipe artist István Martinovszky from Nyíregyháza.¹²⁴

The text of the bust:
ESZE TAMÁS 1666–1708.

The following text is written on the back of the statue's pedestal.

‘With the support of the Foundation for Berehove, the Municipality of the town of Berehove, the Berehove Municipal Organization of the Rákóczi Association, and the Ukrainian Hungarian Democratic Association. May 21, 2011.’

Erected by: Dr. Katalin Báthory, István Benda, Dr. László Bokros, Árpád Dalmay, Dr. Klára Dalmay, Anna Dobayné Ignáczy, Dr. Miklós Duzsej,

Dr. Pál Forgon, Katalin Harsányiné Dr. Kerényi, Gizella Ignáczy, Imre János Kiss, Dr. Lajos Koncz, Dr. Györgyné Lődár, Dr. Erzsébet Meisels, Ottó Schober, László Sebi, Attila Szepesi, Dr. György Antal Szepesi, Dr. Mátyás Szűrös, Antal József Tóth.

Relief and plaque of Ferenc Rákóczi II

On May 19, 1996, in Berehove, on the wall of the Bethlen–Rákóczi mansion, the Beregvidék Hungarian Cultural Association, with the help of

¹²⁴ Esze Tamás-mellszobor. Available online at: <https://www.kozterkep.hu/19631/eszetamas-mellszobor>

organizations from Hungary, immortalized the memory of the prince in the form of a plaque with a relief. The relief is the work of the sculptor János Pál, which was donated to the town by the principal of Gyömrő Primary School, Mária Szende. Ferenc Kún, a member of the board of the Rákóczi Association in Hungary, Jenő Hajdú, the chairman of the Rákóczi Memorial Committee in Slovakia, and representatives of local organizations gave greeting speeches.¹²⁵

Rákóczi's relief is made of non-ferrous metal. In addition to the inscription below it, the coat of arms of the Rákóczis was inscribed on the plaque.

The text in the plaque is bilingual (Hungarian–Ukrainian): “In memory of Prince FERENC RÁKÓCZI II 1676–1735, who visited this place several times, and on December 21, 1705, he ordered a personal uprising from Berehove. KMKSZ, 1996.”



25. Relief and memorial plaque of Ferenc Rákóczi II

¹²⁵ II. Rákóczi Ferenc emléktáblája, Beregszász. Available online at: <https://karpatinfo.net.ua/300410-ii-rakoczi-ferenc-emlektablaja-beregszasz>

Memorial plaque of Kelemen Mikes

The plaque is made of black marble and is located on the wall of the Bethlen–Rákóczi mansion in Berehove. The work of Zsuzsa Ortutay is made of black marble, inaugurated in 1991 by KMKSZ. On the left side of the plaque is a relief of Mikes Kelemen, under it one can see the years of his birth and death: 1690–1761.

In October 1995, the copper relief on the marble plaque was probably stolen by non-ferrous metal thieves. The relief was later replaced.¹²⁶

The plaque is bilingual (Hungarian–Ukrainian): “The well-known Hungarian writer and loyal companion of Prince Ferenc Rákóczi II KELEMEN MIKES stayed in this building in April 1709. 1690–1761” KMKSZ, 1991.



26. Memorial plaque of Kelemen Mikes on the wall of the Bethlen–Rákóczi mansion

The Bethlen–Rákóczi mansion in Berehove

The mansion of Rákóczi is considered to be the oldest secular building in Berehove. It was built by the Transylvanian prince Gábor Bethlen around 1629. Ferenc Rákóczi II stayed here several times during the years of the war of independence.

In 1997, a memorial plaque was inaugurated in the presence of Hungarian and local public figures, organized by the Beregvidék Hungarian

¹²⁶ Mikes Kelemen emléktáblája. Available online at: <https://www.kozterkep.hu/12528/mikes-kelemen-emlektablaja>

Cultural Association, in the upper part of which the historical coat of arms of the town of Berehove can be seen.¹²⁷

The text of the plaque: “BETHLEN–RÁKÓCZI MANSION (Count’s court) MONUMENT Built in 1629 by the Transylvanian prince Gábor Bethlen. Restored by Ferenc Rákóczi II. It was remodeled in a classicist style by Count Schönborn in 1857. BMKSZ 1997.”



27. The Bethlen-Rákóczi mansion as a monument

Rákóczi’s tree in the garden of the Berehove District Hospital

The Rákóczi tree in the Berehove District Hospital garden was inaugurated on October 24, 2019, organized by the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education in connection with the Rákóczi Memorial Year announced by the Hungarian government. The Burgundy oak is about 600 years old, according to hospital garden records. The attendees were greeted by dr. György Csatóry, director of the Tivadar Lehoczky Institute of the College, who said that according to tradition, the Great Prince rested several times in the shade of this tree. He stressed, “In this garden we want to create a memorial place where we can pay tribute to the Great Prince.”

¹²⁷ A beregszászi Bethlen-Rákóczi kastély. Available online at: <https://karpataljalap.net/2021/03/16/beregszaszi-bethlen-rakoczi-kastely>



28. The Rákóczi tree in Berehove

The memorial plaque tied to the tree was erected together with Iosyp Bubriak, a representative of the Berehove District Hospital.¹²⁸

The inscription on the plaque in three languages (Hungarian, Ukrainian and English): “Rákóczi tree. This plaque was erected by the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education.”

Equestrian statue of Ferenc Rákóczi II

The history of the Berehove Rákóczi statue started about 128 years ago. At the time of the 190th anniversary of the beginning of the Rákóczi war of independence (1893), there was a generally desired will for Bereh County to erect an equestrian statue in memory of the Great Prince.

Our ancestors wanted to erect an eternal memory of the unfolding of the Kuruc flag in Berehove on May 21–22, 1703, during which the infantry and equestrian regiments could be formed in this town. Our ancestors knew well that the town was the scene of the still rudimentary but fruitful organizing work that eventually laid the foundations for Rákóczi’s army. The people of Berehove could also find out about the historical facts from the historian Kálmán Thaly (1839–1909), an outstanding researcher of Rákóczi and his era. It is known that in these years no representative memory was erected in other counties of Hungary to Ferenc Rákóczi II. It is noteworthy that the prince’s equestrian statue was first

¹²⁸ Cs. A. Tudományos konferencia a Rákóczi-emlékév keretében Beregszászban. Kárpátalja. 25 October, 2019.

dreamed to be erected not in Budapest or Sárospatak, or in one of the scenes of the decisive battles, but in the square next to the Roman Catholic Church in Berehove, the scene of the third flag-unfolding. For this reason, the historical reparation is justified today, not far from the place of unfolding the flag, in today's Budapest Square. In our writing, we use archival data to revive the main stages of erecting the monument in Berehove, reminding today's people of how long the journey to truth, the realisation of a dream, can be.

In Berehove, with the establishment of the Rákóczi Sculpture Fund in 1893, the fundraising began, which initially meant the receipt of income from scientific and historical lectures. On May 22, 1893, on the day of the flag-unfolding in Berehove, the first historical lectures were given at the county hall, which were dedicated not only to the Rákóczi war of independence, but also to the history of the whole of Hungary. First Count Jenő Zichy (1837–1906), a Hungarian writer, politician, researcher of Asia and honorary member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, gave a lecture entitled “On the Origin of the Hungarian Race”. Then the researcher of the Rákóczi era and politician of the age, Kálmán Thaly, a poet, writer, honorary member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and a Member of Parliament, gave a successful lecture entitled “Historical role of Bereh County in the Rákóczi war of independence”. The historically significant lecture used credible sources that the audience could hear from a professional researcher. The attention of the intellectuals of Bereh County – together with the whole country – was then focused on several historical events, one of which was the erection of the Rákóczi sculpture in Berehove, the second was the worthy celebration of the millennium of the conquest in 1896 and the repatriation of Rákóczi. According to the petition submitted to the government of Bereh County and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the ashes were to be placed in Mukachevo Castle. According to the preliminary plans, Bereh County wanted to erect the statue of the Prince at the thousandth anniversary of Hungary's existence, in 1896.

The net income of the mentioned performance of Kálmán Thaly was 218 forints, which amount went to the Rákóczi Sculpture Fund. Among the audience was Ilona Bay (1837–1913), a landowner from Csaroda in Bereh County, who became a generous donator of the sculpture foundation. She was the first private person to donate HUF 100¹²⁹ to the equestrian statue in Berehove. The lecturers also visited Mukachevo, where they gave lectures in the gym of the grammar school, and then organized a trip to the Beskids.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Az első adomány. Bereg, 21 May, 1893. No. 21.

¹³⁰ Szép napok. Bereg, 28 May, 1893. No. 22.

During the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy, several cities in Hungary wanted to commemorate Rákóczi in the spirit of the living Rákóczi cult. In 1894, the city of Košice decided not to collect for the Kossuth statue planned until then, but to call on the country to erect a Rákóczi statue. Regarding this, the weekly newspaper *Bereg* published in Berehove stated that efforts should be made to erect the Rákóczi statue in Berehove, because the people of Košice can implement their plan first. At the same time, it was also described that Berehove was a flag-unfolding place, so it had the primary right to erect the statue.¹³¹ Back in this year, a series of donations began that lasted for many years. Officials, towns, villages made their donations. Gyula Sallay, the publisher of the weekly paper *Bereg*, donated four forints. It is typical that the general assembly of the cities of Győr and Hódmezővásárhely transferred 100 forints each to the Rákóczi Sculpture Fund in Berehove.¹³² Meanwhile, our town organized a summer dance party for this noble purpose. In a letter, the town called on the legislature to sacrifice for the statue whenever possible.¹³³ This became a success, as the basic assets of the Rákóczi statue at the end of 1898, according to the official statement of the county treasury, were 4864 forints 56 kreutzers. Among other things, the attention of the Ruthenian villages, the representatives of Gens fidelissima, Rákóczi's most loyal people was called to the symbolic value of the future statue, and to the importance it played in the patriotic Hungarian-Ruthenian friendship.¹³⁴

The settlements of Bereh County also donated on the occasion of our national holidays, for example on 15th March. On such an occasion, a patriotic letter was sent from Koson to the *Bereg* editorial office. Regarding Rákóczi, it was emphasized: “He was the one who unfolded the bloody banner of freedom, who sacrificed wealth, honours, rank, who, as the unbreakable champion of freedom, voluntarily went into bitter exile. The place where he stood at the head of the sacred cause of freedom, and from where he said goodbye to his beloved homeland forever, was Bereh County.”

The intelligentsia of Koson, at the call of state teacher Lajos Kerekes, donated the following funds: György Csatóry, Lajos Fésüs – 2 forints each; Zoltán Kóródy, Dániel Lukács, Mihály Horváth, János Tóth, Kálmán Pap, Dr. Sándor Veltman – 1 forint each; Zoltán Zámberi, Lajos Kerekes, László

¹³¹ Kossuth szobor helyett Rákóczi szobor. *Bereg*, 6 May, 1894. No. 19.

¹³² A beregszászi Rákóczi-szoborra. *Bereg*, 27 May, 1894. No. 22.

¹³³ Juliális a Rákóczi-szobor javára. *Bereg*, 15 July, 1894. No. 29.

¹³⁴ Rákóczi szobor. *Bereg*, 12 March, 1899. No. 11.

Bakcsy, Gyula Fuló – 50 cruisers each; János Guti – 25 cruisers, Kálmán Bíró – 50 cruisers, Károly Szabó – 1 forint ...Total 14 forints 50 cruisers¹³⁵.

The sculpture base also grew with sums sent here from remote parts of the country. For example, after the donation of the Mureş-Torda County and the officials of Hungarian State Railways from Budapest, the fund grew to more than 12,000 crowns.¹³⁶

The 200th anniversary of the beginning of the Rákóczi war of independence (1903) gave another impetus to the collection of donations. If we take into account the national conditions, it was planned to create four Rákóczi statues in the Highlands. Thus it may have happened that Berehove was in the sculpture competition with Košice, which at the end of 1902 established a sculpture base of 20,000 crowns, while in Berehove's memory base there was little more than 12,000 crowns.¹³⁷ Six years later, 300 thousand crowns were collected for the equestrian statue of the city of Košice. Sátoraljaújhely also entered the competition with its statue project in front of its new county hall. Until then, 30,000 crowns had been collected for the costs of the Bereh County statue. They wanted to erect the fourth statue in Szécsény on the main square of the town, for which 19,000 crowns were collected. During this time, donations for Rákóczi's statue were collected in the towns of Nové Zámky, Kecskemét, Szeged and Sombor, but significant sums could not be collected. There was such a great demand for the Rákóczi statues at that time, because in 1908 Rákóczi's memory was proclaimed in Zvolen only by a bust.¹³⁸

The cult of Rákóczi in Berehove was made memorable by the commemoration of the already mentioned flag-unfolding. Deputy-lieutenant Gyula Jobszty and Chief Notary István Gulácsy supported the ceremonies, continuously discussed the strengthening of the sculpture base and the county passed the following solemn resolution:

“From here, the country was resounded by the ‘Recrudescunt’. The sons of this county, whose families are still alive today, provided the first, best and most faithful Kuruc heroes – and after the decline of the day of glory, when the cause of freedom and the Hungarians failed, the county's forests, mountains, villages and homesteads provided the last refuge to persecuted heroes, to hiding patriots. They withdrew from the country through the faithful

¹³⁵ Adakozás a „Rákóczy-szobor”-ra. Bereg, 19 March, 1899. No. 12.

¹³⁶ Gyűjtés a Rákóczy-szoborra. Bereg, 25 February, 1900. 25. No. 8.; Adomány a Rákóczi-szoborra. Bereg, 23 November, 1902. No. 47; 2) Adakozás a Beregszászban felállítandó Rákóczi-szoboralap javára. Bereg. 10 May, 1903. No. 19.

¹³⁷ Kassa város a Rákóczi-szoborra. Bereg, 2 November, 1902. No. 44

¹³⁸ II. Rákóczi Ferenc szobrai a Felvidéken. Bereg, 16 August, 1908. No. 33.

County of Bereh, the Great Prince, to exile to death. The legislature of Bereh County unanimously states with enthusiasm they want to celebrate the 200th anniversary of Ferenc Rákóczi II's war of independence."¹³⁹

The county ceremonies were organized by a sculpture committee headed by the lord-sheriff, which took a loan of 1,000 crowns to cover expenses. It was evident that the Ruthenian population, the 'Gens fidelissima,' was involved in the celebrations. The most loyal people, the Ruthenians, also considered the memory of the Great Prince their own, their participation in the ceremonies organized in his honour was obvious.¹⁴⁰

Gyűjtés a Rákóczy-szoborra

A Bereg vármegye területén II. Rákóczy Ferenc szobrára elrendelt gyűjtés eredményeként az alispáni hivatalhoz követhető összegek érkeztek be:

1. *Nagy Dobrony* községben begyűlt 4 frt. 70 kr. Összeadták: Nagy Dobrony község 2 frt., Dr. Grünwald Sándor 50 kr., Hidi Ferenc 20 kr., Orosz Ignác 50 kr., Molnár János 25 kr., Badó Pál József 10 kr., Bányi Sámuel 10 kr., Zombori Antal 10 kr., Sulyok János 10 kr., Nagy József 10 kr., Rozenstein Dávid 20 kr., Badó Ferenc 25 kr., N.N. 20 kr., Csigy 10 kr.

2. *Kis Dobrony* községben begyűlt: 3 frt. 49 kr. Összeadták: Komonyi Miklós 20 kr., Nagy Menyhért, Szatmári János, Gál P. István, Nagy Jánosné 5-5 kr., Fábrián József 10 kr., Nagy Zsigmond 6 kr., Nagy Ferenc 4 kr. Berta Ferenc, Úr Lajos, Bartus Miklós, ifj. Bartus Miklós, Komonyi Lászlóné, Nagy Ignác, Fábrián János, Solymos Ferenc, Gál János 5-5 kr., ifj. Nagy Lajos 10 kr., ifj. Komonyi István 5 kr., özv. Komonyi Istvánné, Veisz Farkasné 10-10 kr., Úr Boldizsár, Lebovits Hermann 5-5 kr., Veisz Móríc 10 kr., Sándor József, Ungvári Lajos 10-10 kr., Rosenbaum Dávid 5 kr., Böszörményi János 10 kr., Sós Ferenc 5 kr., Lebovics Jakab s Adolf 10-10 kr., Nagy Jánosné, Nagy Sándor, Veisz Herman, Veisz Menyhért 10-10 kr., Nagy Miklós Grószfeld Farkas, Meiselsz Márton, Grünfeld farkas, Komonyi Kálmán, Nagy László, Úr Albertné, Úr Vincze 5-5 kr., Nagy Kálmán 10 kr., Nagy Bertalan 5 kr.

¹³⁹ A vármegye Rákóczi-ünnepe. Bereg, 19 July, 1903. No. 29.

¹⁴⁰ Rákóczi emléke. Bereg, 23 August, 1903. No. 34.

3. Barabás községben befolyt: 3 frt. 10 kr. Összeadták: Kun László, id. Orosz Ferenc 10-10 kr. N.N. 30 kr. N.N. 10 kr., N.N. 50 kr., ifj. Orosz Mihály 5 kr., Beregszászi Mihály 10 kr., Kun Árpád 10 kr., Kun 40 kr., N.N. 50 kr., Egy valaki 20 kr., N.N. 5-5 kr.

4. Csonkapapi községben befolyt: 2 frt. 52 kr. Hozzájárultak: Juhász Kálmán 20 frt., Polonkai Imre, Kukri Péter, Póhi Gábor Kormány Gyula, Sütő Ignác 10-10 kr., Sütő József, Veres Károly, Veres Zsigmond, Veres Lajos, Tóth András, Kődöböcz Ferenc, Kődöböcz Pál, 5-5 kr., Kődöböcz András 10 kr., Veres Dániel, Veres János, Tar Ferenc, Gerő Imréné, Halász Dániel, Veres Béni, Barta Erzsébet, Veres Miklós, Szatmári Ferenc, Adler Ábrahám, Turóczy Sámuelné 5-5 kr., Veisz Dávid 30 kr., Kelemen József, Halász Menyhért, Halász Gerzon, Szatmári Pál 10-10 kr., Boksa Sámuel és Lengyel Eszter 6-6 kr.

5. Vámosatya községben befolyt: 8 frt. 82 kr. Összeadták: Baksa András 40 kr., Nagy Károly 10 kr., Baksa Imre 20 kr., Gazdag Lajos 7 kr., Erdőhegyi Pál 50 kr., Solymos Bert, Klein Mayer 10-10 kr., Balog Sándor 50 kr. Kósa József 10 kr., Szabó Albert, Gottdiener Mózes, Veisz József 10-10 kr., Vidder Mór 1 frt., Varga Pál 50 kr., Goldlanc Bernát 5 kr. Miskolci Károly, Bazanyi Ferenc. Gottdiener Mózes, Gazdag Károly, Baksa Imre, 10-10 kr., Csüllög Kati 20, kr., Fried Mátyás, Engel Lipót, Pécsi Imréné 10-10 kr., Nagy Gábor, Nagy Imre, Putczy Miklósné, Kődöböcz Imre, Nagy Imréné, Szabó Gábor, Laczkó Gábor, Lemoczkyne, Laczkó András, Csiszár Sándorné, Pécsi Albert, Gazdag Lajos, Laczkó Ferenc 10-10 kr., Solymos Ignác 20 kr., Frenkel Béla 1 frt., Mezei Istvánné, Solymos Lajos, Gábor és Imre, Bíró András, Sárközi József, Szatmári András, Laczkó Imre, Szabó József, Pécsi Menyhért, Balog József 10-10 kr., Bíró Péter 20 kr.

6. Gelénes községben befolyt: 1 frt. 86 kr. Ezen összeg mint egy 60 ember 1-4 krajcáros adományából folyt be.

BÉREG, 1900. február 25. /8 sz.

Extract from an article published in a local paper, *Bereg*:

Collection for the Rákóczy statue

As a result of the collection ordered for the statue of Ferenc Rákóczy II in Bereh County, the Deputy-lieutenant's Office received the following amounts:

1. In the village of Nagy Dobrony ('Velyka Dobron'), 4 forints and 70 kreutzers were collected by: Village of Nagy Dobrony ('Velyka Dobron') 2 frt., Dr. Sándor Grünwald 50 kr., Ferenc Hidi 20 kr., Ignác Orosz 50 kr., János Molnár 25 kr., Pál József Badó 10 kr., Sámuel Bátyi 10 kr., Antal Zombori 10 kr., János Sulyok 10 kr., József Nagy 10 kr., Dávid Rozenstein 20 kr., Ferenc Badó 25 kr., No Name 20 kr., Csigy 10 kr.¹⁴¹...

Bereh, 25 February, 1900, Issue 8.

Lottery proved to be a successful form of donation. Thus, a lottery committee was formed under the leadership of Gyula Andrassy and Kálmán Thaly, which sought to supplement the previous fund. The main prize was 40,000 crowns and the total prize pool was 90,000 crowns. A lottery ticket cost one crown. The sculpture committee asked ladies to support the patriotic cause. The public lottery ticket was drawn on March 15, 1908 at the Hungarian Royal Lottery Directorate (Vámpalota, District IX) in Budapest.¹⁴²

The donation process was interrupted by the First World War, given the situation, the sculpture fund donated the money collected to charities, the Red Cross, to care for the wounded and to help those in need. After losing World War I, our region became part of the Czechoslovak Republic, where political conditions did not allow a large statue of the excellence of the Hungarian war of independence to be erected in our town. The Hungarian-minded representatives of Berehove were then busy preventing the erection of a statue of Tomáš Masaryk, the first president of Czechoslovakia, in the centre of Bereh County. After the reconnection of Transcarpathia in 1938 (first Vienna Award), World War II broke out, the conditions for sculpture building did not exist any longer, and a significant part of the money allocated to culture was consumed by war expenditures.

¹⁴¹ Bay Ilona úrnó legújabb nagylelkű adományja. Bereg, 25 February, 1900. No. 8.; Gyűjtés a Rákóczi szoborra. Bereg, 11 March, 1900. No. 10.

¹⁴² Bereg vármegye II. Rákóczi Ferencért! Bereg, 2 February, 1908. No. 5.



29. Equestrian statue of Ferenc Rákóczi II

After the Second World War, under the conditions of the Soviet system, it was not realistic – for well-known reasons – to commemorate the leader of the Hungarian war of independence. However, at the end of the Soviet era, the situation changed, so in the early 1990s the Transcarpathian Hungarian Cultural Association started collecting again in Berehove in order to erect the Rákóczi statue, but the efforts did not lead to success because of a lack of adequate financial resources. In the years after the change of regime, the Rákóczi cult brought some results, as two models of the prince sitting on an imaginary horse could be made. One was designed by sculptor Mikhailo Beleny and the other by sculptor Péter Matl from Transcarpathia. The great plans, even if they could not come true, clearly demonstrated the intention of the Bereh people.¹⁴³

¹⁴³ Csatóry György, *Rákóczi-emlékek és emlékhelyek Kárpátalján*. Ungvár, 2002. p. 54.



30. The caption of the equestrian statue

statue was cast in bronze. The creator of the sculpture is sculptor Lajos Györfi living in Püspökladány, Hungary. The work is five-quarters, i.e. a quarter larger than the life size, so the height of the horse's withers is 186 cm, and Rákóczi himself is 220 cm on it, which was calculated on the basis of contemporary dimensions. The bronze equestrian statue weighs 1.2 tons. The pedestal is a 20-ton rock with the inscription "Cum Deo pro Patria et Libertate" (Latin: With God for the homeland and freedom) with the signature of the Great Prince.¹⁴⁴

On a separate stone surface there is a bilingual inscription: Ferenc Rákóczi II. Sculptors: Lajos Györfi and Ádám Györfi. Erected by the Transcarpathian Hungarian Cultural Association with the support of the Gábor Bethlen Foundation – 2019.

Within the framework of the Rákóczi Year 2019, the monument was inaugurated on December 17, 2019, in Budapest Square in Berehove, with the support of the Hungarian state. Gergely Gulyás, head of Prime Ministry of Hungary, Zoltán Babják, Mayor of Berehove,

¹⁴⁴ Badó Zsolt, Ferenc-napon érkezett meg Beregszászba Rákóczi. (December 17-én lesz a szobor ünnepélyes avatása) Kárpátalja, 3 December, 2019.

László Brenzovics, President of the Transcarpathian Hungarian Cultural Association, and others gave greeting speeches at the inauguration of the statue.

The creation of the statue is due to the joint efforts of Hungary and the Hungarians of Transcarpathia, as there was a great need for perseverance in overcoming the sometimes artificially created administrative difficulties between the two countries. Eventually, the coveted statue was born; the 126-year-old dream has come true. In our opinion, the Great Prince, who arrived in Berehove as a symbol of Hungarian freedom and independence, will proclaim the ideals of freedom of the surrounding peoples in our region for many centuries.¹⁴⁵

Rákóczi's bust at the college in Berehove

In 2008, the bust of Ferenc Rákóczi II was inaugurated at the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education in Berehove in honour of the prince's birthday (March 27). The event took place within the framework of the annual Rákóczi Days held at the educational institution. The creator of the sculpture is János Tamáska, a sculptor from Budapest. The work of art was created with the help of funds and various individuals. At the inauguration ceremony, the President of the College dr. Ildikó Orosz greeted the guests: Ferenc Nick, President of the Foundation for the Culture of Villages, painter Imre Kasza, János Darabán, Knight of Culture and others. The President emphasized that she wished besides the institution bearing the name of the prince, to establish his spirituality within its walls. Following the ceremonial speeches, Ferenc Nick and Rector Kálmán Soós unveiled the bronze bust in the corridor on the third floor of the College. The event ended with a performance by the choir of the Berehove College led by conductor Katalin Ladányi.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ A beregszászi Rákóczi-szobor története. Available online at: <https://kmsz.com.ua/2019/12/17/a-beregszaszi-rakoczi-szobor-tortenete/>

¹⁴⁶ II. Rákóczi Ferenc szobra Beregszászban. Available online at: <https://karpatalja.ma/sorozatok/karpatalja-ma/karpatalja-ma-ii-rakoczi-ferenc-szobra-beregszaszban//>



31. Bust of Ferenc Rákóczi II at the Rákóczi College

Ilona Zrínyi's bust at the college in Berehove

On March 27, 2007, the bust of Ilona Zrínyi was inaugurated at the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education in Berehove as part of the Rákóczi Days. The 32 kg work was donated to the institution by the János Bolyai Honvéd Foundation. Ákos Poroszlai, chairman of the foundation's board of trustees, took part in the inauguration ceremony. The statue was cast in bronze by master Imre Varga from Karcag, Hungary, the original of which can be found at the Miklós Zrínyi National Defense University in Budapest. At the inauguration dr. Ildikó Orosz President and dr. Kálmán Soós Rector gave a speech praising the lady. The work was unveiled by Ákos Poroszlai and dr. Kálmán Soós in the corridor on the third floor of the College.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ Sz.Cs. „Hazatért egy nagyasszony” Rákóczi-napok a beregszászi főiskolán. Kárpátalja, 30 March, 2007.



32. Bust of Ilona Zrínyi at the Rákóczi College

Reliefs of Ilona Zrínyi and Kelemen Mikes in Berehove secondary schools

On October 14, 1994, the reliefs of two personalities connected to the Rákóczi era were inaugurated in Berehove. One was to commemorate the memory of Kelemen Mikes and the other Zrínyi Ilona. The reliefs were given as gifts to two schools in Berehove, secondary school No. 3 (Ilona Zrínyi) and secondary school No. 8 (Kelemen Mikes). On the occasion of the inauguration ceremony, these two Hungarian-language secondary schools took the names of these two outstanding Hungarian historical figures.

The mentioned reliefs are the works of the Hungarian Munkácsy Prize-winning sculptor Erzsébet Takács, who offered her works to the Hungarian Ministry of Defense. The army, through the Rákóczi Association, offered the works of art to the Beregvidék Hungarian Cultural Association. In this way, the two reliefs could now be put in

their final place. The inauguration ceremony was attended by Lieutenant Colonel Ferenc Daróczy, a senior staff member of the Social Relations Department of the Ministry of Defense, András Simén, a member of the Rákóczi Association, a representative of the Berehove District Administrative Office and many other public figures.¹⁴⁸



33. Reliefs of Ilona Zrínyi and Kelemen Mikes on the walls of Berehove lyceums

Ferenc Rákóczi II's statue in Yanoshi

The statue of Ferenc Rákóczi II in Yanoshi was made of oak donated by the Hungarian village of Pácin. Like Yanoshi, Pácin was once a Rákóczi estate, today they are sister settlements. The sculpture is the work of Tibor Sárosi from Sárospatak, which was unveiled by Márta Barta, Mayor of Yanoshi in September 2010. At the ceremony, the audience could admire the performance of singer Kamilla Dévay Nagy.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ Csatóry György, II. Rákóczi Ferenc és a Rákóczi-kor emlékhelyei Beregszászban. Közoktatás, 2019.No. 2. pp. 33–35.

¹⁴⁹ У закарпатському селі Яноші відкрили пам'ятник князю Ф.Ракці II. Available online at: <https://zakarpattya.net.ua/News/73929-U-zakarpatskomu-seli-IAnoshi-vidkryly-pamE28099iatnyk-kniaziu-F.-Rakotsi-II>



34. Ferenc Rákóczi II's statue in Yanoshi

Memorial plaque of the flag unfolding in Vary

On May 21, 1989, a marble plaque was inaugurated on the wall of the Reformed Church in Vary. The ceremony was opened by Ferenc Fehér, chairman of the village council. Speeches were given on the local events of the Rákóczi war of independence by historian dr. János Váradi-Sternberg, poet László Fábián and others. Students from Debrecen and Csaroda visiting the village presented a colourful program.¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ Esze Tamás-emléktábla avatása Váriban. Vörös Zászló, 30 May, 1989.

Inscription on the marble plaque:

ON MAY 21, 1703, FOLLOWING THE EXAMPLE OF THE TARPA PEOPLE, THE FLAG OF THE GREAT PRINCE WAS ALSO UNFOLDED IN THE MARKET SQUARE OF VARI BY THE KURUCS OF TAMÁS ESZE. THEREFORE THIS EARTH IS THE ROCKING CRADLE TO THE RÁKÓCZI WAR OF INDEPENDENCE OF 1703–1711. It was erected by the people of Vary in 1989.



35. Memorial plaque of the flag unfolding in Vary

Memorial plaque of Albert Kis in Barkasove

On December 5, 2006, a memorial plaque was inaugurated in memory of the Kuruc regiment captain Albert Kis in the village of Barkasove in the Mukachevo district. The regiment captain of the Rákóczi war of independence was born on Gerzsényő, a former farm near Barkasove. Our historiography considers him a hero of the Kuruc movements in Hegyalja and Tiszahát. It is true that he was a lieutenant of Imre Thököly, the ‘Kuruc King’ and later he was appointed regiment captain by Ferenc Rákóczi II, but due to his indiscipline he was executed in 1704. The plaque was erected by MÉKK (Transcarpathian Community of Hungarian Intellectuals) and UMDSZ (Hungarian Democratic Union of Ukraine).¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ Kis Albert emléktáblája Barkasón. Available online at: final-csatary_gyorgy-rakocziemlekh-03-09-2020.pdf

Inscription on the plaque:

IN MEMORY OF ALBERT KIS (1664–15 MARCH 1704), BORN IN BARKASOVE, LIEUTENANT OF THÖKÖLY'S ARMY, REGIMENT CAPTAIN OF THE RÁKÓCZI WAR OF INDEPENDENCE, MAIN ORGANIZER OF THE KURUC MOVEMENT. ERECTED BY MÉKK AND UMDSZ, 2006.



36. Memorial plaque of Albert Kis in Barkasove

Albert Kis was born in 1664 in Gerzsényő, Bereh County (homestead near Barkasove). He was a great help at the beginning of the Kuruc movement to Tamás Esze. He lived as a perpetual serf on the estate of László Gersenyi. His desire for freedom took him to the Kurucs, and he became a soldier of Prince Imre Thököly, in whose army he received the rank of lieutenant. When Thököly's star declined, Albert Kis was also among his followers. His person can be described by several attributes: escaped serf, Kuruc soldier, unbridled disruptive person, and patriot. He also accompanied Thököly to Turkey after his fall, but in 1692 he returned home and joined the troops of Sándor Károlyi, who was in imperial service at the time. From 1693, Albert Kis was tasked with locating and capturing his own former Kuruc companions hiding in the woods. In 1694 he gave up his support for the emperor. He joined the Kuruc movement as early as this year. He hid, fled from the imperial soldiers, and tried to win as many people as possible to the Kurucs throughout North-east Hungary. He dealt with a number of issues including salt and cattle smuggling. In 1697 he was captured and extradited

to his former lord, Károlyi, who imprisoned him but he escaped. His first trip led home, where he killed the man who betrayed him. He was captured again while fleeing, but managed to escape again. After his second escape, he came into closer contact with Tamás Esze, and since then he was one of the organizers of the Kurucs. After the clash at Dovhe on June 7, 1703, he and Esze gathered the scattered insurgents. They received Rákóczi together at Veretske. For their successful organizing work and their achievements that far, they were both given the rank of regiment captain.¹⁵²

Because of his indiscipline, he often clashed with his superiors. His fate came to fruition in 1704, during the siege of Satu Mare Castle. He was executed by Rákóczi for his violent actions and excesses.¹⁵³

¹⁵² Seres István, Kiss Albert, a kurucok ezereskapitánya. Osváth Alapítvány, 2017. p. 575.

¹⁵³ Heckenast Gusztáv, Ki kicsoda a Rákóczi-szabadságharcban. Életrajzi adattár. Budapest, 2005. pp. 231-232.

THE RÁKÓCZI ERA IN MUKACHEVO

When Zsigmond Rákóczi, the first Transylvanian prince of the dynasty, married Judit Alaghy Bekény, the widow of the landowner András Mágóchy in 1587, with this marriage he first owned Mukachevo and the castle belonging to it. However, when the son of his deceased wife reached the age of majority (1602), he also regained the castle estate. Next time, the ownership of Mukachevo and its surroundings changed in favour of the Rákóczi family only at the beginning of the reign of György Rákóczi I. After the resignation of Katalin Brandenburg (wife of Gábor Bethlen), at the end of 1630 György Rákóczi I was elected prince, who made great efforts to acquire the litigated princely estates. As a result, he took ownership of Mukachevo Castle and militarily fortified it. As a result of the huge construction, the castle in Mukachevo entered the forefront of the fortifications of the age. After that, the castle and its estates remained in the hands of the Rákóczi people or their families during the time of György Rákóczi II, Ilona Zrínyi and Ferenc Rákóczi II until the end of the Rákóczi war of independence (1703–1711).¹⁵⁴

The most significant strategic role was played by the castle and its manor in the war of independence led by Ferenc Rákóczi II, defending the flag of Hungary's freedom for a long time. A part of the initial military plan for the war of independence was to win over the population of the Rákóczi estates in the north-eastern part of the country and put them to war, which was successful. Rákóczi started the fight on his own property, which he extended to the whole country, and then he ended the struggle with the superiority here, leaving the country, then still hoping for foreign help.¹⁵⁵

The person of Ferenc Rákóczi II is closely connected with the continuously fortified Mukachevo Castle. Already on June 14, 1703, the prince met the rebels in Tiszahát at Klymets (beyond the border of Hungary). After the loss of the Battle of Dovhe (June 7, 1703), Tamás Esze managed to reunite the remaining team and accompany the long-awaited Rákóczi. In his memoirs, Rákóczi expressed his feelings about the nature of this encounter. "After I moderated the first outburst of joy of the small

¹⁵⁴ See: Tabódy József, *Munkács multja és jelene Magyarország történetében*. Pest, 1860. pp. 3778.; Lehoczky Tivadar, *Beregvármegye monographiája*. Vol. I. Ungvárott, 1881. pp. 152–209.; Fakász Mihály, *Sasfészek a Latorca völgyében*. Ungvár, 2006. pp. 81–185.

¹⁵⁵ Teleky Mihály naplója. MTA Könyvtár kéziratára. MS.10.210. Második Teleky Mihálynak életéről való maga írásai "ab anno 1703 usque ad annum 1720", pp. 287-288.

peasantry gathered in this way, I stopped the shootings and spoke to them. ... Then they swore allegiance to me with zealous joy.” The prince directed his troops, as the task was great, he had to face the strongest army in Europe. At the passes there were barely 500 people on foot and he was able to put approx. 50 horsemen in battle order. In his primary war plan, he wanted to call the people of his own Upper Hungarian estates into battle.¹⁵⁶ Therefore, the first attack of the Rákóczi war of independence was one against the prince’s estatesheadquartered in Mukachevo. When they got close to the city, Rákóczi’s Kurucs could already be estimated at three thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry. About the positions of the local nobility and the Austrian army, the castle commander of Satu Mare, Count General Frederick Löwenburg wrote a notice to Count István Csáky, Lord-sheriff of Bereh-Uhoča to Čaka. The letter showed that traffic in the area had been completely paralyzed and that the leaders of the rebellion needed to be caught and interrogated about troop movements. Meanwhile, the regiment of the imperial army stationed in Košice also heard about Rákóczi’s arrival in Mukachevo. Montecuccoli’s scavalry regiment left Košice and approached Uzhhorod to reach Mukachevo in a short time if necessary.¹⁵⁷

The commander of the castle of Mukachevo was Wolf G. Auersperg, who did not risk sending soldiers against the Kurucs. Rákóczi arrived in Mukachevo on June 26. He was not afraid of the guard of the castle counting 500 soldiers, several of whom were married to women from the city, maintaining kinship with the inhabitants of Mukachevo. He sent the cavalry under the castle to practise, while the infantry was accommodated in the city. However, the night that promised to be quiet did not bring peace; he had to regulate his undisciplined soldiers in the middle of the night.

Upon hearing of the approach of the Montecuccoli regiment from Uzhhorod, the prince directed an unarmed part of his army to the mountains, to Chynadiyev, and set six hundred to defend the city. The next morning it was reported to Rákóczi that a hundred Germans had arrived in Sereďnie with gunpowder wagons and retreated to the castle. Rákóczi knew that it was dangerous to wait for Montecucoli’s well-equipped cuirassier regiment of 1,200 soldiers in a city open to all sides and full of straw-roofed wooden houses with a little more than three thousand poorly armed insurgents.

¹⁵⁶ II. Rákóczi Ferenc fejedelem emlékiratai. Budapest, 1979. p. 19.

¹⁵⁷ Köpeczi Béla, R. Várkonyi Ágnes, II. Rákóczi Ferenc. Budapest, 1976. pp. 122-123.



37. The Mukachevo mansion in the time of Ferenc Rákóczi II

It would have been a mistake to underestimate the support of the castle guard in case of danger. At dawn on June 28, a German squadron attacked the Kurucs guarding the city borders, who retreated due to the predominance of firearms. Around eight o'clock Rákóczi was preparing in the Fejér house on the site of the today's mansion, after he set up an infantry in the square in front of the building and sent the cavalry to protect the outpost. However, the German cavalry pushed back Rákóczi's horsemen, meanwhile seriously injuring Kost Churta from Zahattia, Rusyn Hrits, a Verbiash insurgent, and then killing four armed farmers. The squadrons of the imperial regiment surrounded the city, arson began. Rákóczi launched an attack in front of his manor house with his escort and some riders. János Majos, a Kuruc from Uhoča, took up the fight with the enemy captain, Count Quirini, whom he managed to defeat. The day before, the count had boasted that he would put Rákóczi's heart on his sword. The result of the skirmish was that 30 of the Germans fell, but having retreated, began to line up at the cemetery. Rákóczi organized his troops into columns, retreated in the direction of Chynadiyev through the burning city, and quickly crossed the Latorytsa. He could see the enemy's manoeuvres in the city from the mountains, avenging the death of their captain, Count Quirini, by arson. During the retreat, Rákóczi lost his luggage with his personal belongings. It was then



38. Rákóczi-era cannon
in Mukachevo Castle

that the news of his death was first raised, but he arrived at Zavadka with an infantry sent to Chynadiyev. The Hungarians of the peasantry and the imperial army from the Upper Tysa region joined the prince in the largest number at that time, the surrounding roads were already controlled by the Kurucs.¹⁵⁸ “This unarmed, half-naked people followed their flags. They left their houses and their children when they flocked to me from all sides and enlisted among the soldiers,” Rákóczi later confessed.¹⁵⁹

It was then that the 200 hussars of Pál Deák joined Rákóczi, who hid from the regiment of László Ocskay and also set out for Chynadiyev. The peasantry of Mukachevo and Chynadiyev was under the banner of the prince in large numbers, as evidenced by the urbarium lists of 1703–1704.¹⁶⁰ Indeed, a significant portion of the emperor’s

supporters and the nobility were trapped in sheltered mansions and castles.

They united with the insurgents in Chynadiyev, and withdrew to the next historical camp site, Zavadka. Rákóczi was able to arrange his soldiers, here he met Miklós Bercsényi, who brought ammunition and soldiers from Poland to serve the war of independence.¹⁶¹

The next, now better organized attack on Mukachevo took place after crossing the Tysa, when at Vylok and at Vásárosnamény, the Kuruc regiments crossed the river in the midst of great resistance. The prince himself made his way to Tokaj, where on November 6 he issued a decree to Bereh County to

¹⁵⁸ Lehoczky Tivadar, *Beregvármegye monographiája*, Vol. I. Ungvárott, 1881. pp. 206–209.

¹⁵⁹ II. Rákóczi Ferenc fejedelem emlékiratai. Budapest, 1979. p. 26.

¹⁶⁰ Heckenast Gusztáv, *A Rákóczi szabadságharc*. Budapest, 1953. pp. 26-27.; Hodinka Antal, “Gens fidelissima”. II. Rákóczi F. Beregmegeyi rutén jobbágyai az 1704–1711-i szabadságharczban. Ungvár 1915. pp. 1–29.

¹⁶¹ Tabódy József, *Munkács múltja és jelene Magyarország történetében*. Pest, 1860. p. 70.

set up an army under the leadership of regiment captain János Majos, whom he commissioned to occupy Mukachevo Castle. With this, the blockade of Mukachevo Castle began, which lasted until February 1704. The Montecuccoli regiment left after the organization of the Kurucs from Bereh and Uhocha under the castle. Thanks to the strong siege of the castle after brief bargaining, the emperor's soldiers gave up, the German army could leave for other castles. From then on, Mukachevo Castle became the base of the liberation struggle, and later it was thoroughly fortified, as it was the key to the route to Poland, from where the prince expected Polish-French help.¹⁶² As early as 1705, Rákóczi decided to turn the castle into a modern fortress. He contracted renowned military engineers in the person of De la Mothe and De la Faux. Major alterations began, the bastions were covered, the fortifications were reinforced. In November 1705, Rákóczi visited Mukachevo again, when he inspected the constructions going on here.¹⁶³ During these years, his letters to Bereh County spoke of urging fortification and involving the peasantry in it.¹⁶⁴

In 1705, when the mint of Baia Mare was threatened by the enemy, Rákóczi relocated it to Mukachevo Castle. Accompanied by Inspector Mihály Ajtai, the mint was moved from Baia Mare to Mukachevo by Kuruc soldiers assigned from Berehove. The workshop was located in the lower castle of the fortress, it started operating in a stone house near the Latorytsia. By February 1706, the Mint was already in operation, but the coins were stamped with the year 1705. The necessary dies were made by Dániel Ocsovai. Rákóczi's order of May 20, 1706 was known for HUF 200 to pay to the armies. Also on the instructions of the prince, the French engraver Daniel Warou made a commemorative medal in honour of the Ónod Parliament in Mukachevo, for which the appropriate machine and competent people were brought from Kremnica. In Mukachevo, the prince had silver, gold and copper coins minted, which were later devalued. On the coins minted here, C.M. (Castrum Munkach), M.M (Moneta Munkachiensis) and P.H. (Patrona Hungariae) were cast. For example, three-cm-diameter X (ten) and 2.5 cm-diameter XX (twenty) poltura copper coins were produced here, on the one side of which the national coat of arms covered with the princely crown could be seen, on the other, the Holy Virgin with little Jesus on her lap, the inscription was Pro Libertate. The silver thaler was similar. The making of the libertas and the polturas (the Rákóczi

¹⁶² Balogh János, *Munkács-vár története*. Munkács, 1890. pp. 374–376

¹⁶³ Lehoczky Tivadar, *Beregvármegye monographiája*, Vol. I. Ungvárott, 1881. pp. 206–209.

¹⁶⁴ SATR, Fund. 674, Archival List. 8, Storage Unit. 459, p 1.



39. Coin minted in Mukachevo

coins) continued until the end of the war of independence. In the meantime, Ajtai was replaced by Pál Lányi, then Dániel Ocsovai was replaced by Dániel Enyedi in 1710, who also minted gold coins.¹⁶⁵

At the beginning of 1707, Rákóczi came to Mukachevo again because of the fortification works, this was the time when the Polish princess Sieniawska visited him, who came from Skole, bordering the Mukachevo–Chynadiyeve estate. During his stay in Poland, the princess helped Rákóczi with money and with the establishment of French diplomatic relations. After the war of independence, the prince stayed in the castle or mansion in Mukachevo several times, which was reported in detail since 1707 by the princely secretary Gáspár Beniczky. After the peace conclusion of Sárospatak on December 3, 1708, the prince stayed in Bereh County and Mukachevo. In February 1709 he received the ambassador of the Turkish Sultan in Mukachevo, Sultan Ahmet, whom he presented a gift after the negotiations. On 5 May this year, he received Swedish ambassadors in the castle, met with Russian delegates on 12-13 May, and on 16 May the Transylvanian Council had a meeting in Mukachevo. On December 1, he received Swedish and Polish soldiers. To strengthen the fortification, Count Stampa was sent to Mukachevo, who completed the fortification of the castle in May 1709. Influenced by the news from the battlefields, Rákóczi wrote: “Day by day we were pushed deeper into the corner formed by the

¹⁶⁵ Lehoczky Tivadar, *Munkács város új monográfiája*. (Facsimile edition) Ungvár, 1998. pp. 151–156.

Tysa and the Beskid mountains, whose base is Mukachevo”. He moved his court from Sárospatak to the safer Mukachevo, and on November 16 he dismissed Simon Forgács, who was in honourable captivity until then.¹⁶⁶ After a meeting with János Pálffy, the commander-in-chief of the Hungarian imperial armies, which only resulted in a ceasefire,¹⁶⁷ Rákóczi wanted to discuss the issue of the homeland with the council of the orders. In a hurry to Shalanky, on February 14 he held a meeting at the so-called ‘last parliament’, then left the country in hopes of help.¹⁶⁸ In his decree dated 20 February 1711 in Nyzhni Vorota, he left the command to Sándor Károlyi, except for Mukachevo Castle, which he entrusted to its commander, Ádám Vay, and then to István Sennyei. The castle was filled with an adequate number of cannons and food and was prepared for the final battle. The siege soon followed, first General Löffelholz and then Commander-in-Chief János Pálffy came to occupy the castle. According to the report of May 25, 1711, János Pálffy estimated the castle guard at 1,800 hajduk and 500 cavalry. This well-fortified castle was successfully defended by Sennyei, but the castle was abandoned on 22 June for lack of help.¹⁶⁹ As this castle was the last bastion of freedom, this was the end of the Rákóczi era in Hungary.

¹⁶⁶ Lehoczky Tivadar, Beregvármegye monographiája. Vol. I. Ungvárott, 1881. pp. 228–232.

¹⁶⁷ R. Várkonyi Ágnes, II. Rákóczi Ferenc 1676–1735. Vaja, 2003. pp. 84–86.

¹⁶⁸ Csatáry György, A salánki „országgyűlés” Salánk, 2011. pp. 1–28.

¹⁶⁹ Munkács, a Rákóczi-szabadságharc utolsó bástyája. Sennyei István és a munkácsi vár védőinek levelei (1711). Eds.: Mitropulos Anna Diána-Sánta Ákos-Vörös Péter. Available online at: <http://sennyeikastely.com/letoltesek/20160316221202-munkacs-a-rakoczi-szabadsagharcutolso-bastyaja--2-.pdf>

MEMORIAL SITES IN AND AROUND MUKACHEVO

Ilona Zrínyi memorial sites in Mukachevo

The cult of Ilona Zrínyi developed in our region more than a hundred years ago. In 1903, the princess was also commemorated in Bereh County on the 200th anniversary of her death. Three years later, when it became possible to bring home the ashes of Ferenc Rákóczi II, Ilona Zrínyi and others in exile from Turkey, in addition to Košice, Mukachevo also applied for the disposal of the earthly remains in Mukachevo Castle. On April 18, 1904, Emperor Franz Joseph authorized the repatriation of the ashes. Mukachevo's attempt at the ashes failed, but the whole country acknowledged the legitimacy of Mukachevo's adherence. Finally, in accordance with Rákóczi's will, the precious remains were permanently deposited in Košice.¹⁷⁰

In honour of the 300th anniversary of the birth of Ilona Zrínyi, Szabolcs Péchy, lord-sheriff of Bereh County, declared 1943 the year of Ilona Zrínyi. At the general assembly held in Berehove on May 11, 1943, painter László Pataky offered his work entitled "Handover of Mukachevo Castle" to the county.¹⁷¹ The country celebrations dedicated to the memory of Ilona Zrínyi naturally took place in Mukachevo and its castle. Big delegations arrived from the villages intertwined with the lives and historical role of Ilona Zrínyi and Ferenc Rákóczi II: Dovhe, Tarpa, Chynadiyev, Zavadka. A plaque commemorating the memorials was unveiled, which reads as follows:

"ILONA ZRÍNYI'S 300TH ANNIVERSARY OF
BIRTH WAS CELEBRATED HERE ON THE SCENE OF HER
GLORY ON THE 23RD MAY 1943 BY THE PEOPLE OF
HUNGARY UNDER THE REGENCY OF
MIKLÓS HORTHY DE NAGYBÁNYA.
THE INHABITANTS OF THE CITY
OF MUKACHEVO IMMORTALIZE
THE CARING MEMORY BY THIS PLAQUE."

The plaque was erected on the wall of Ilona Zrínyi's former apartment in the castle. Contemporary press records testify that Ilona Zrínyi was not only remembered in Bereh County. In Uzhhorod, the women's associations of the city showed their grace towards the great guard of the castle. A

¹⁷⁰ SATR, Fund. 1552 (Office of the mayor of Mukachevo), Archival List. 1, Storage Unit. 2466, pp. 1–6.

¹⁷¹ A nagy Zrínyi Ilona ünnepség rendje. Az Óslakó (Politikai és társadalmi hetilap), 16 May, 1943.

memorial evening for Ilona Zrínyi was organized in the city theatre. There were lectures, recitations and songs. Scenes from the life of Ilona Zrínyi were presented with the help of contemporary costumes from her era. During the jubilee year, on August 25, Sighetu Marmăției also recorded the memory of Ilona Zrínyi. In the neighbourhood of the city, a lookout tower named after the Princess and a retreat house for tourists were inaugurated. By this time, the Rákóczi Castle in Borša was restored in the neighbouring county of Zemplén, which had been damaged during the twenty years of the Czechoslovak era.¹⁷² The castle was furnished with equipment similar to the original. A museum was established here that displayed a valuable collection of Rákóczi-era money. Nowadays, in the framework of the Rákóczi Year 2019, the Hungarian Government has rebuilt Borša Castle, which is a clear message for both the present and the future.

By the 350th anniversary of the birth of the princess, the Transcarpathian Hungarians, albeit more modestly than in 1943, revived these traditions and also made the 1993 Ilona Day a solemn celebration.¹⁷³

Ilona Zrínyi's memorial plaque in Mukachevo Castle

On May 17, 1993, a memorial plaque in honour of Ilona Zrínyi was installed in Mukachevo Castle. On a metal plaque with a relief, authorship of Lajos-Imre Nagy, donated by the “Zichi” gallery, we can see inscriptions in Hungarian and Ruthenian.¹⁷⁴

ILONA ZRÍNYI

1643–1703

THE WEAK FEMALE ARM PROTECTED HER
HOUSE AND HOME WITH A STRONG SOUL.

SAY A SHORT PRAYER ON THESE RUINS,
RUSYN, CROAT, HUNGARIAN...

The present of the Zichy Gallery (Budapest) to the
Rákóczi Association of Mukachevo on

17 May, 1993

¹⁷² Zrínyi Ilona ünnepség Ungváron. Kárpáti Magyar Hírlap (independent political daily paper), 29 May, 1943.; Örvös Lajos, Borsiban befejeződtek a Rákóczi-kastély építési munkálatai. Kárpáti Híradó, 6 June, 1943.

¹⁷³ Felavatták a máramarosszigeti Zrínyi Ilona kilátótornyot és menedékházat. Kárpáti Híradó, 25 August, 1943.

¹⁷⁴ Csátáry György, Zrínyi Ilona – „Európa legbátrabb asszonya”. Available online at: <https://kmf.uz.ua/hu/zrinyi-ilona-europa-legbatrabb-asszonya/>; Zrínyi Ilona emléktáblája a munkácsi várban. Available online at: <https://www.karpatinfo.net.ua/latnivalo/300849-zrinyi-ilona-emlektablaja-munkacsi-varban>.



40. Memorial plaque of Ilona Zrínyi in Mukachevo Castle

The statue of Ilona Zrínyi and the little Ferenc Rákóczi in Mukachevo Castle

On February 27, 2006, the statue of Ilona Zrínyi and the little Ferenc Rákóczi was inaugurated on the Lorántffy bastion in Mukachevo Castle. The statue is the work of the sculptor Péter Matl of Mukachevo. The speaker of the inauguration was Viktor Orbán, president of the Fidesz–MPSZ. Speeches were given by: Miklós Kovács, President of the Transcarpathian Hungarian Cultural Association (THCA), László Brenzovics, Vice-President of the THCA, Oleh Havashi, Head of the Regional Public Administration Office and others. Péter Matl's work of art was unveiled by Viktor Orbán and Miklós Kovács.



41. Statue of Ilona Zrínyi and little Ferenc Rákóczi

The inaugurated statue was cast by Imre Varga, a renowned bronze casting master in Karcag. The cost of the sculpture was supported by the Illyés Public Foundation, the Ministry of National Cultural Heritage (Hungary), the National Cultural Fund and the Fine Arts and Applied Arts Department. Lajos Gulácsy, a retired Reformed bishop, and Antal Majnek, bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Mukachevo, blessed the monument.¹⁷⁵

The Ukrainian–Hungarian bilingual notice on the monument: Ilona Zrínyi and Ferenc Rákóczi II. The work of Péter Matl. Erected by the THCA in 2006 with the support of the Ministry of National Cultural Heritage, National Cultural Fund, the Lectorate of Fine and Applied Arts, and the Illyés Public Foundation.



42. The text of the plaque next to the statue

¹⁷⁵ Popovics Zsuzsanna: Zrínyi Ilona és II. Rákóczi Ferenc hazatért. A lelkek egysége a célok beteljesedésének záloga. Kárpátalja, 3 March, 2006.; Памятник Ілона Зріні та Ференц ІІ Ракоці у замку Паланок. Available online at: <https://tourinform.org.ua/pamyatnyk-iloni-zrinita-ferentsu-ii-rakotsi/>

Rákóczi Hall with the bust of Ferenc Rákóczi II and Ilona Zrínyi
In December 1999, a memorial room for Sándor Petőfi, 19th century Hungarian poet, and Ilona Zrínyi was established in Mukachevo Castle with the help of the Rákóczi Museum of the Hungarian National Museum (Sárospatak). Later, a Rákóczi Hall was inaugurated.¹⁷⁶



43. Rákóczi Hall with the busts of Ferenc Rákóczi II and Ilona Zrínyi

¹⁷⁶ Rákóczi- emlékek Kárpátalján. Kárpátalja, 30 May, 2003. Available online at: <https://karpataljalap.net/2003/05/30/rakoczi-emlekek-karpataljan>



44. The signboard of the Rákóczi cellar in Mukachevo Castle



45. A painting depicting Rákóczi in the princely hall of Mukachevo Castle



46. The damaged Rákóczi coat of arms on the wall of Mukachevo Castle

Miniature statue of Ilona Zrínyi and Imre Thököly in Mukachevo Castle

On May 18, 2016, the mini-statue of Ilona Zrínyi and Imre Thököly was inaugurated in the lower courtyard of Mukachevo Castle. Representatives of the city of Mukachevo and the Consulate General of Hungary in Uzhhorod took part in the ceremony. The mini sculptures were made by sculptor Mykhailo Kolodko and iron smith Vasyl Kryvanych.

In the vicinity of the Rákóczi mansion one can see some reliefs about the history of the city. One of the works depicts Ferenc Rákóczi II in front of the house of Fejér, and the other depicts Ilona Zrínyi. The reliefs were made by Ivan Brodi, an artist from Mukachevo.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁷ Віктор Шатров, Міні-скульптура Ілони Зріні та Імре Текелі. Available online at: <https://go-to-rest/blog/mini-skulptura-iloni-zrini-ta-imre-tekeli/>



47. Ilona Zrínyi and Imre Thököly
in small size



48. A relief depicting Ilona Zrínyi
in the centre of Mukachevo

The Rákóczi mansion and memorial plaque in Mukachevo

It is hidden by the north-west wing of the current U-shaped single-storey building, the famous princely residence, which was built in the 17th century. According to the descriptions of the 19th century, it was called “Fejér ház”. The once one-storey porched mansion was built in 1667. The modest building stood in the middle of a courtyard surrounded by spacious outbuildings, joined by an extensive garden. Ferenc Rákóczi II was here many times during the war of independence.



49. The Rákóczi mansion in Mukachevo

After the defeat of the war of independence, in 1726 the castle was taken over by the Count Schönborn family together with the Mukachevo estate. In 1747, it was remodelled and significantly expanded by János Genovai, an architect from Debrecen. Emperor Joseph II in 1770, Emperor and King Franz Joseph I in 1852 stayed in the building.

The façade of the castle has two original and five reconstructed Renaissance windows. In the axis of the main façade, there is a 19th century representative, columned, tympanumed, stone-carved gate with a decorative vase in the middle. To the left of the gate, between the two windows of the first floor, there is an ornately framed Rákóczi memorial plaque.¹⁷⁸

The notice on the plaque:



50. The Rákóczi memorial plaque in Mukachevo

TO THE GLORIOUS MEMORY OF PRINCE FERENC RÁKÓCZI II!
ON THE TWO-HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF
HIS GOING INTO EXILE, IT WAS ERECTED BY THE
PEOPLE OF THE CITY OF MUKACHEVO.
1711–1911.

YOU, RÁKÓCZI, REMAIN AN IDEAL OF LOVE, YOUR SPIRIT
LIVES AMONG US AND PROTECTS THIS PRECIOUS HOMELAND.
THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE HAVE MERCY
ON YOUR HOMELAND. BLESSED IS YOUR GREAT NAME
IN THE LAP OF THE PEOPLE OF MUKACHEVO.

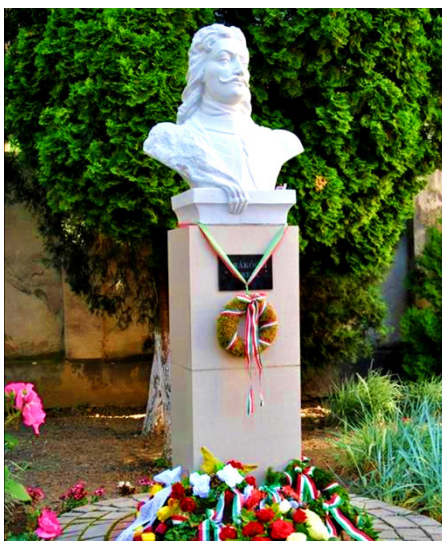
This plaque was erected in 1911 by the Gyöngyös Literary Society. The relief memorial plaque was damaged around 1944 during the Soviet rule. The Rákóczi ceramic relief placed above the memorial plaque was demolished, the text of which was first plastered, but since the polished marble did not retain the mortar, this surface was also carved and finally smoothed. Later,

¹⁷⁸ Deschman Alajos, Kárpátalja műemlékei. Budapest, 1990. pp. 88-89.

a large poster covered the plaque. As the change of regime approached, sculptor Péter Matl from Mukachevo remolded the Rákóczi relief. On May 27, 1989, the members of the Ferenc Rákóczi II Literary and Cultural Circle in Mukachevo reopened the plaque. From then on, the people of the area pay their respects to the prince and the heroes of the war of independence here.¹⁷⁹

Ferenc Rákóczi II's bust in Mukachevo

The bust stands in the courtyard of the Mukachevo Ferenc Rákóczi II Secondary School which was named after the great prince. It was inaugurated on May 13, 2006. The creator of the sculpture is Péter Matl, a sculptor from Mukachevo. The solemn inauguration was attended by: Vasyl Kobaly, Head of the Public Education Department of the Executive Committee of the Mukachevo City Council, József Halzl, President of the Rákóczi Association, Gáspár Ugron, Secretary of the Association, sculptor Péter Matl, István Schink, director of the secondary school in question, Lajos Gulácsy, retired bishop of the Transcarpathian Reformed Diocese, András Babály, parish priest of Mukachevo.¹⁸⁰



51. Bust of Ferenc Rákóczi II
in Mukachevo



52. Relief of Ferenc Rákóczi II
next to the Mukachevo mansion

¹⁷⁹ Vaszócsik Matild, „Eszményképe maradsz Rákóczi a honszeretetnek...” Kárpáti Igaz Szó, 19 October, 1990.; A Rákóczi emléktábla. Határszéli Újság, 1911.No. 45.; Rákóczi emléktáblája Munkács. Ungvári Közlöny, 27 May, 1911.

¹⁸⁰ Fisher Zsolt, „Hiszünk a magyar nemzet felemelkedésében” Kárpátalja, 19 May, 2006.



53. Stone statue of Ferenc Rákóczi II in Mukachevo

Ferenc Rákóczi II's mini statue in Mukachevo

In October 2015, the work of the Uzhhorod sculptor Mykhailo Kolodko was placed in Pushkin Street, as until 1945, this street was named after Ferenc Rákóczi II.¹⁸²

Inscription on the monument:

CUM DEO PRO PATRIA
ET LIBERTATE

(With God for Homeland and Freedom)

Ferenc Rákóczi II's stone statue in Mukachevo

The full-length stone statue of Ferenc Rákóczi II was made in 2005, on the order of the owner of the bank building in Pushkin Street in Mukachevo by Ivan Tsubina and Alexander Yelizarov, teachers of the Transcarpathian Academy of Arts. The statue is located on the top of the building, with a Cyrillic inscription on the pedestal.¹⁸¹

The inscription on the statue: FERENC RÁKÓCZI II (in Ukrainian).



54. Mini statue of Ferenc Rákóczi II in Mukachevo

¹⁸¹ Скульптура Ференца II Ракоці в г.Мукачево. <https://www.shukach.com/ru/node/60152>

¹⁸² У Мукачеві встановили міні-скульптурку Ференцу Ракоці II. Available online at: <https://varosh.com.ua/noviny/u-mukachevi-vstanovili-miniskulpturku-ferencu-rakoci-ii/>

Chynadiyeve Castle as a Rákóczi estate

Zsigmond Lónyai received the castle of Chynadiyeve from Ferdinand III in 1649. Later, László Rákóczi married his widow, so the castle became the property of the Rákóczi family. According to Tamás Emódi, an Oradea monument researcher, the possession of the Rákóczi family was indicated by two worn murals on the corner of the north wall and on the inner wall of the south wing, presumably from the third quarter of the 17th century.¹⁸³



55. The castle of Chynadiyeve at the beginning of the 21st century

In 1657, the castle was destroyed by the Poles, who avenged the unsuccessful campaign of György Rákóczi II. Ferenc Rákóczi I retreated here after the fall of the Wesselényi conspiracy. At the time of the possession of the Rákóczi family, the castle underwent a major transformation in 1679–1680. The building was then enriched with new vaults, chimneys, stoves and stone frames. After the death of Zsófia Báthory, the castle became the property of Ilona Zrínyi. Ilona Zrínyi and Imre Thököly often

¹⁸³ Emódi Tamás, *Kárpát-medencei várak, kastélyok. A beregszentmiklósi Telegdi-Rákóczi-kastély*. Debrecen, 2005. Available online at: <https://epa.oszk.hu/00400/00458/00108/2005honap12cikk1184.htm>; Novák Ádám, *Egy várkastély építésének rejtélye-Beregszentmiklós*. Available online at: <https://ujkor.hu/content/egy-varkastely-epitesenek-rejtelye-beregszentmiklos>

met in the castle before their marriage. After the fall of the Thököly War of Independence, the manor was ruled by the Viennese court until the adulthood of Ferenc Rákóczi I's children.¹⁸⁴

Ferenc Rákóczi II took over the Chynadiyeve estate in 1699. The prince stayed several times there. In June 1703, after an unsuccessful attack in Mukachevo, part of the Kuruc infantry rested in the castle. In August 1707 Rákóczi patronized refugees escaping from the Russian tsar here and received the wife of crown hetman Sieniawski, Ilona Lubomirski, on February 7, 1709, who gave refuge to Rákóczi in Berezhany during his hiding in Poland.¹⁸⁵



**56. Ferenc Rákóczi II's bust
in Chynadiyeve Castle**



**57. The relief of Ferenc Rákóczi II
in the park of Chynadiyeve Castle**

¹⁸⁴ Mihók Richárd, A beregszentmiklósi várkastély. Történeti tanulmányok XXIII. (2015) pp.130–139. Available online at: http://epa.oszk.hu/03200/03254/00011/pdf/EPA03254_torteneti_tanulmányok_2015_23_130-139.pdf

¹⁸⁵ Lehoczky Tivadar, Beregvármegye monographiája. Vol. III. Ungvárott, 1882. pp. 726-727.

Kata Szidónia Petrőczy, the wife of the Kuruc general Lőrinc Pekry, the first outstanding Hungarian poetess, spent her last days in the castle of Chynadiyeve. In 1708 she moved there with her daughters from Khust. Tortured by illness, longing for peace and rest in the castle, she died here on October 21, 1708. She was laid to final rest in the Reformed Church in Khust.¹⁸⁶

The castle is currently being renovated by József Barthos and his wife, and art camps and exhibitions are being organized here; they also promote Kuruc-era traditions.¹⁸⁷



58. The mini statue of Ilona Zrínyi and Imre Thököly at the walls of Chynadiyeve Castle

¹⁸⁶ Badó Zsolt, Az első magyar költőnő és a kuruc generális. Kárpátalja, 23 June, 2006.

¹⁸⁷ Сент-Міклош – забута перлина Закарпаття. Available online at: [http:// romanphotographer.blogspot.com/2015/10/sent-miklosh-perlyna-zakarpattia.html](http://romanphotographer.blogspot.com/2015/10/sent-miklosh-perlyna-zakarpattia.html)

UZZHOROD AND UZZHOROD CASTLE IN THE KURUC ERA

Rákóczi's newly organized army lacked the artillery equipment needed to besiege fortified castles, forts, and military officers and military engineers capable of conducting siege operations. In such cases, there was nothing left but to encircle, to starve, which, however, if prolonged for a long time, brought great tribulations to the population around the fortifications, which had to feed the besiegers.

The largest fortified castle in Uzh County was the pentagonal Uzhhorod Castle with its gate guard and new Italian system bastions and a massively built inner castle, but it was no longer one of the most modern fortresses by the beginning of the 18th century. The fortress was one of the main estate centres of the Drugeth family of Homonna for centuries, and it came into the possession of Count Miklós Bercsényi, a Knight of the Golden Spur, at the end of the 17th century. The count, as imperial colonel and chief captain of Mezőszeged, married Countess Krisztina Homonnai Drugeth, the daughter of Count György Homonnai Drugeth and Countess Mária Eszterházy at the carnival in 1688. The marriage, followed by a mortgage contract dated February 10, 1692, confirmed by the ruler, transferred Bercsényi to the castle of Uzhhorod. From 1691/1692, the count was also the inherited lord-sheriff of Uzh County.¹⁸⁸

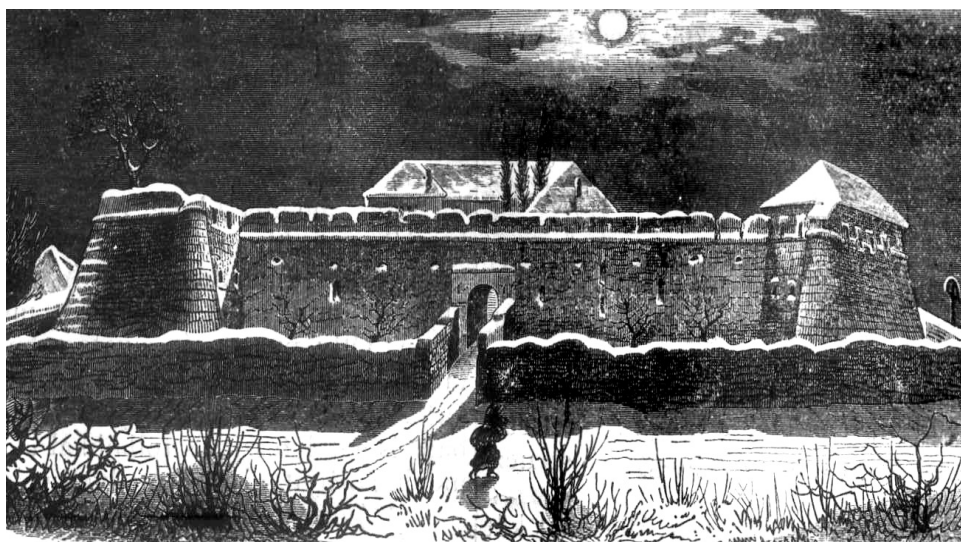
Bercsényi became good friends with Ferenc Rákóczi II around 1697, and then they started an anti-Habsburg aristocratic organization together. After the organization was unveiled in the spring of 1701, he fled from Bercsényi's Brunovce Castle to Poland, and his large estates were seized and were placed under the supervision of the chamber. Since the recapture war and the fall of the Thököly uprising in 1685, an imperial garrison was stationed in Uzhhorod Castle. The castle was not affected by the 'castle destruction decrees' issued at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries, as the imperial military leadership declared it a strategically important place, which was still intended to play a role in curbing the rebellious population of Upper Hungary, but a smaller imperial infantry of about a hundred soldiers on the eve of the Rákóczi war of independence was considered sufficient to protect it.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ Heckenast Gusztáv, *Ki kicsoda a Rákóczi-szabadságharcban? Életrajzi adattár*. Budapest, 2005. pp. 57-58.; Csatáry György, *Gróf Bercsényi Miklós levelei és emléke Ung vármegyében*. Ungvár, 2004. pp. 6-7.

¹⁸⁹ Bánkúti Imre, *Gróf Bercsényi Miklós*. Budapest, 1991. pp. 15-17

Rákóczi joined Bercsényi who fled to Poland after escaping from captivity in Wiener Neustadt on November 24, 1701, so they continued the organization of the war of independence together.¹⁹⁰

In Uzhhorod Castle, the garrison was under the command of Franciscus Godefridus, Commandant Captain of Schwiedlich et Gsessau (Hauptmann). At the beginning of the Rákóczi war of independence, the castle was the base of military operations against the Kurucs. Involving Uzhhorod, the Montecuccoli cuirassier regiment marched on the attack of Mukachevo at the end of June 1703, which temporarily pushed Rákóczi back into the Carpathians. After the extent of the uprising in July 1703, first the Uzh nobility, who did not want to join the Kurucs, entered the city and then in August, retreated to the castle. They had sworn to the emperor and to defend the castle to the end, and then they elected a captain and a deputy captain from their ranks, thus strengthening the garrison. In October–November 1703, the chief captain of the nobility trapped in the castle was deputy-lieutenant Ádám Orosz from Čičarovce, and his deputy captain was Baron Ádám Horváth from Muranicz. After their resignation on November 2, 1703, the chief captain became Zsigmond Orosz from Čičarovce and the deputy captain became János Szentiványi.¹⁹¹



59. Uzhhorod Castle in the 18th century

¹⁹⁰ Köpeczi Béla, *Pro Libertate. II. Rákóczi Ferenc, az államférfi és az író*. Budapest, 1976. pp. 12–14.

¹⁹¹ Csatóry György, *Ung megyei közgyűlések anno 1700–1706*. Ungvár, 2008. pp. 58–62

The castle was less equipped than the castles of Satu Mare, Košice or Prešov, which received significant reinforcements for their garrison at the beginning of the war of independence in the summer and early autumn of 1703. Uzhhorod was able to withstand the siege of the Kuruc for only a few months. In August 1703, Ruthenian insurgents organized by Ivan Betsa, who had taken part in the Tiszahát uprising, were already attacking the city of Uzhhorod. In the process, one of the prestigious members of the county nobility, Uzh County Treasurer Zsigmond Ráthy died. Three days later, the city was again under siege, from where the Kurucs drove away all the cattle, including the cattle of the nobility and the castle guard.¹⁹² The attacks of the Kuruc insurgents around Uzhhorod were made more organized by the fact that Rákóczi took over Khust. He then sent Bálint Ilosvay to Mukachevo and Uzhhorod to organize the siege of the two castles. Ilosvay first dealt with the organization of the blockade in Mukachevo, and he left the equestrian captain Mihály Pap, one of the organizers of the uprising in Tiszahát, as the commander of the siege lock, who held this position until the castle was given up. Ilosvay marched from Mukachevo to Uzhhorod in mid-September, together with Ruthenians organized by Betsa he occupied the city of Uzhhorod on September 17, from where the counterattack of the castle residents pushed them out that day, but the next day they finally conquered the city from the imperial garrison and the retreated nobility, and they encircled the castle.¹⁹³ By the autumn of 1703, some of the nobility trapped in the castle were shaken by their allegiance to the ruler. It was not overlooked by the castle commander either, and he arrested several suspects. During this time, a part of the Uzh gentry, led by Imre Haraszti, converted to Rákóczi's allegiance and joined the siege army. In order to consolidate the discipline of the Kuruc army, Captain Bálint Ilosvay, who led the siege, issued an order in Uzhhorod on September 26, 1703, imposing severe penalties on those who violated the military discipline, an important source of Kuruc military justice. At the end of September, Baron Farkas Perényi took over the leadership of the siege for a few days as the director of the prince's armies under Uzhhorod, who called on the defenders to surrender on September 30, but to no avail. One month later, on October 29, 1704, from the camp under Uzhhorod, a representative of

¹⁹² Штернберг Я.І. З історії спільної боротьби угорських і українських селян під час визвольної війни 1703-1711 рр. Наукові Записки УжГУ. Vol. XXXVIII 1959. pp. 110–112.

¹⁹³ Петрь Сова, Прошлое Ужгорода. Ужгород, 1937. (Facsimile edition 1992) pp. 181–183.



60. Miklós Bercsényi,
lord-sheriff of Uzh County

Uzh County gentry, Tamás Orosz from Čičarovce addressed the castle commander and his relatives, Ádám Orosz and Zsigmond Orosz from Čičarovce in a letter. He wanted to persuade them to start negotiations to give up the castle and stop resisting. He threatened them that if they continued to harden, they would become prey to the ‘foreign armies’ fighting on Rákóczi’s side. Subsequently, on November 1, Rákóczi entrusted the regiment captain István Buday and the hajduk town chief captain as the ‘plenipotentiary’ to lead the negotiations on the abandonment

of the castle.¹⁹⁴ Buday was unable to persuade Uzhhorod to surrender immediately, but he achieved so much that on November 2, representatives of Uzh County decided to make a ceasefire with the besiegers. At the end of November 1703, Baron Sennyey Pongrác became the commander of the blockade.¹⁹⁵

In the siege of Uzhhorod, the beginning of 1704 took a turn. The imperial castles surrendered in a row, so in January 1704 Tokaj, Chioarand Murán capitulated. They were followed by Mukachevo and Uzhhorod.¹⁹⁶ The officers’ delegation of the castle in Mukachevo, which was surrounded from the early autumn of 1703, signed the capitulation document on February 16, 1704, and on March 1, the castle was handed over to the court captain Ádám Vay, Rákóczi’s trustee. The Imperial garrison, with the commander of the castle, Colonel Wolfgang Georg Auersperg, then withdrew from the castle and were allowed to leave freely as agreed.

¹⁹⁴ SATR, Fund. 4, Archival List. 2, Storage Unit. 1478. pp. 1-4 (Call for surrender)

¹⁹⁵ Váradi Sternberg János, *Az ungvári vár ostroma 1703–1704-ben*. In: *Századok öröksége*. Budapest–Uzsgorod, 1981. pp. 129–138.

¹⁹⁶ Sipos Ferenc, *Vizsgálat az Ungváron keménykedő nemesség ellen, 1704*. *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, 2006.No. 4. pp. 1073–1087.

The obligation of the population to deliver food did not cease even after the closure of the sieges, since if the Defense Forces were able to leave the fortifications in exchange for free retreat, then the population of the areas had a duty to supply them.¹⁹⁷

Uzhhorod Castle endured since September 1703, but was completely isolated, and struggled with severe supply problems. The situation of the castle was also aggravated by the fact that the castle commander was distrustful of the nobility, as there were some among them whom he accused of infidelity. His distrust was also increased by the fact that Bercsényi addressed a letter to the nobility of Uzh County, but this letter was blocked by the imperial castle captain Gottfrid Schwetlich and was not handed over to the representatives of the county. By early February, Schwetlich had agreed to dismiss the women after the Easter holidays, but this soon became irrelevant after it became clear that the defenders' situation was unsustainable. The commander of the castle in Uzhhorod, being informed about Mukachevo's¹⁹⁸ resignation, and taking into account the defenders' escape, also decided to capitulate, and negotiations between the opposing parties on the terms of the surrender began on 17 February. The draft of the capitulation, completed on February 26, was taken to Rákóczi in Miskolc by a joint Hungarian and German delegation of the garrison and nobility trapped in the castle, which was reported by Baron Pongrác Sennyey, one of the commanders of the blockade in Uzhhorod. The delegation finalized the text with the prince's trustees, Ádám Vay and Zsigmond Jánoky, in Miskolc on March 2, which was also approved by Rákóczi. On 9 March, Jakab Vajda informed János Munkácsi, deputy lieutenant of Zemplén County, about the capitulation of Uzhhorod and the withdrawal of the Germans on 16 March. He also notified that Rákóczi had allowed the armies participating in the siege to take a temporary rest after the withdrawal of the German guard. Under the agreement, the castle's imperial garrison, consisting of Schwetlich's infantry squadron and some Montecuccoli cuirassier and artillery, was free to retreat to Poland through the counties of Uzh, Zemplén and Sáros, touching Zborov.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ SATR, Fund. 4, Archival List. 2, Storage Unit. 1497. p. 1, 4.

¹⁹⁸ Mészáros Kálmán, Akik legtovább kitartottak – Munkács védői 1711-ben. In: Rákóczinak dicső kora. Tanulmánykötet. Ungvár, 2012. pp. 75–102.

¹⁹⁹ Oláh Tamás, Rákóczi pátense az ungvári „németek” elvonulásáról. Available online at: https://mnl.gov.hu/mnl/bazml/hirek/rakoczi_patense_az_ungvari_nemetek_elvonulasarol

Under these circumstances, Uzhorod Castle was taken over by Rákóczi's Kurucs in 1704. In essence, this was the first and last military appearance of the castle during the Rákóczi War of Independence.

MEMORIAL PLACES IN UZHGOROD

The Bercsényi plaque in Uzhhorod

In June 1998, a memorial plaque was unveiled in Uzhhorod in honour of Count Miklós Bercsényi (1665–1725) by the Budapest-based Transcarpathian Association, together with the MÉKK (Transcarpathian Community of Hungarian Intellectuals) and the local government of the city of Uzhhorod. Bercsényi held the position of lord-sheriff of the county of Uzh for almost twenty years, doing much for the economic development of his estate and the whole area. In the years of the Rákóczi war of independence (1703–1711), he gained inalienable merits as a chief general and diplomat. He later died in Turkey with Rákóczi.²⁰⁰

The prehistory of the inauguration of the plaque is unusual. Originally, the organizers envisioned a marble plaque on the wall of Uzhhorod Castle, as the count's personality was tied to these walls. However, the plan could not be implemented, as the management of the Transcarpathian Museum of Local History, based in Uzhhorod Castle, refused to give consent. It was an unfair procedure, as historians and scientists refrained from respecting the historical personality of our region. Finally, thanks to the Uzhhorod City Council, the plaque was placed on the wall of a house in Bercsényi Street (which also bore this name before 1945). Participants in the inauguration ceremony witnessed the birth of the first memorial site of the Rákóczi war of independence in Uzhhorod, a humble but marbled message for posterity.²⁰¹



61. The Bercsényi plaque in Uzhhorod

²⁰⁰ Heckenast Gusztáv, *Ki kicsoda a Rákóczi-szabadságharcban*. Budapest, 2005. pp. 57-58.; Thaly Kálmán *a székesi gróf Bercsényi család*. Vol. I-III. Budapest, 1885–1892.

²⁰¹ Kovács Sándor, *Kárpátalja – a Rákóczi-szabadságharc bölcsője*. Available online at: http://web.axelero.hu/kesz/jel/03_06/karpatalja.html; Homoki Diana, *Adalékok a Rákóczi-szabadságharc kultuszának forrásaihoz*. *Acta Beregsasiensis*. 2010. Vol. I. p. 185.

In connection with the Bercsényi memorial plaque, we note that Uzhhorod wanted to erect a statue of the second man of the Rákóczi war of independence at the beginning of the last century. However, donations collected before and after World War I did not prove to be enough. The sculpture plan seemed to be realized again during World War II, with state support, but its implementation was no longer possible due to the war conditions.²⁰²

The bilingual inscription on the black marble plaque:

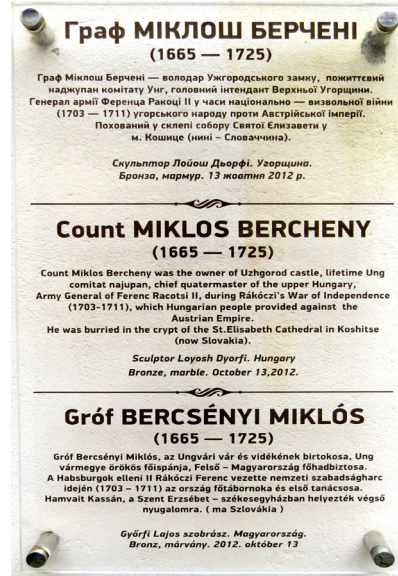
COUNT
MIKLÓS BERCSÉNYI
1665–1725
in memory of the former lord
of Uzhhorod Castle
Erected on 27/06/1998
by the Transcarpathian Association
and the Hungarians of Uzhhorod

Bust of Miklós Bercsényi in Uzhhorod Castle

In October 2012, the bust of Count Miklós Bercsényi, a former Uzh County hereditary lord-sheriff, was inaugurated in Uzhhorod Castle. Zsolt Németh, Parliamentary State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Hungary, delivered a speech. Vasyl Sheba, director of the Transcarpathian Museum of Local History in Uzhhorod Castle, thanked the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs for its financial support for the construction of the sculpture, sculptor Lajos Gyórfi from Püspökladány (Hungary) for modelling the figure of Bercsényi, and the Hungarian Consulate General in Uzhhorod for the participation in the erection of the sculpture.²⁰³

²⁰² Csatóry György, *Gróf Bercsényi Miklós levelei és emléke Ung vármegyében*. Ungvár, 2004. pp. 78–88.

²⁰³ Ungváron Bercsényi –szobrot avattak. Available online at: <https://karpataljalap.net/2012/10/19/ungvaron-bercsenyi-szobrot-avattak>



62. Bust of Miklós Bercsényi in Uzhhorod Castle

Bust of Krisztina Csáky in Uzhhorod Castle

On November 8, 2013, the bust of Krisztina Csáky, the wife of Uzh County lord-sheriff Count Miklós Bercsényi, was inaugurated in the courtyard of Uzhhorod Castle. The sculpture was created by sculptor Lajos Gyórfi with the support of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Zsolt Németh, Parliamentary State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Hungary, Ivan Baloha, president of the Transcarpathian Regional Council, László Brenzovics, president of the Foundation for the Hungarian College of Transcarpathia, members of the official delegation of Hungary, as well as representatives of the region and the city took part in the inauguration ceremony.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁴ Ungváron Bercsényi –szobrot avattak. Available online at: <https://karpataljalap.net/2012/10/19/ungvaron-bercsenyi-szobrot-avattak>



63. Bust of Krisztina Csáky in Uzhhorod Castle

The mini statue of Miklós Bercsényi and Krisztina Csáky in Uzhhorod

In November 2015, sculptor Mykhailo Kolodko created the chief general of the Rákóczi war of independence, Miklós Bercsényi and his second wife, Krisztina Csáky, in the form of a mini-statue. The mini-statue of the Bercsényi couple can be seen on the promenade of the Orthodox Embankment in Uzhhorod.²⁰⁵



64. Mini statue of Miklós Bercsényi and Krisztina Csáky in Uzhhorod

Bust of Ferenc Rákóczi II at Uzhhorod National University

The bust of Prince Ferenc Rákóczi II was inaugurated on November 20, 2018 at the Ukrainian–Hungarian Institute of Education and Science of Uzhhorod University. The sculpture was unearthed in July of the same year next to one of the oldest trees of the Uzhhorod Botanical Garden. The work of art was

²⁰⁵ Bercsényi Miklós és Csáky Krisztina miniszobra Ungváron. Available online at: <https://karpatalja.ma/sorozatok/karpatalja-ma/karpatalja-ma-bercsenyi-miklos-es-csaky-krisztinaminiszobra-ungvaron/>

then taken to a warehouse and the leaders of the botanical garden offered to hand over the monument to the university's scientific institute. The statue was made in 2007 by Ivan Tsubina and Alexander Yelizarov. The statue was modelled by the authors from a full-length statue of Rákóczi standing in Pushkin (formerly Rákóczi) street in Mukachevo. The sculpture was originally exhibited by the creators in Olbracht Street, but disappeared in 2010. The statue has been restored by its creator and has been the ornament of the university ever since.²⁰⁶



65. Bust of Ferenc Rákóczi II at Uzhhorod National University

Mini statue of Ferenc Rákóczi II and the Kuruc plaque in the museum restaurant “Detsa u notaria” in Uzhhorod

On June 5, 2014, a memorial to the Rákóczi Age was created in the Uzhhorod restaurant “Detsa u notaria”. First, a memorial plaque dedicated to the Kuruc era and a list of freedom fighters transcribed in Ukrainian were inaugurated. Secondly, a pub was set up in memory of Ferenc Rákóczi II's brewery in Mukachevo in 1701. Furthermore, a bronze mini-statue of Ferenc Rákóczi II was unveiled together with the prince's painted portrait that is different from historical reality. The event was organized by the owner of the museum restaurant, Pavlo Chuchka. The event was attended by Endre Szalipszki, Consul of Hungary, and representatives of Mukachevo, Uzhhorod and other cities.²⁰⁷

The inscription on the Kuruc plaque:

LIST
of Transcarpathian soldiers
of the liberation war
1703–1711
under the leadership of
Ferenc Rakoczi II
(according to the census of 1704)

²⁰⁶ Régi- új Rákóczi-mellszobrot avattak Ungváron. Available online at: <https://karpataljalap.net/2018/11/23/regi-uj-rakoczi-mellszobrot-avattak-ungvaron>

²⁰⁷ «Деца в Нотаря» открыла 6 новых объектов. Available online at: <http://www.mukachevo.net/ru/news/view/94645>



66. The Kuruc plaque in the museum restaurant “Detsa u notaria” in Uzhhorod



67. Mini statue of Ferenc Rákóczi II and the list of Kuruc soldiers from 1704

The Turul of the Tysa crossing in Uzhhorod

The Turul of the Vylok monument, erected in 1903, was transferred to the Transcarpathian Museum of Local History after 1945. It can still be seen in the courtyard of the museum today.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁸ Йосип Кобаль, Ужгород відомий і невідомий. Львів, 2003. р. 17.



68. The Turul of Vylok in Uzhhorod Castle



69. Rákóczi relics in the exhibition hall of Uzhhorod Castle

UHOCHA IN THE KURUC ERA

Uhocha as a county at the foot of the North-eastern Carpathians became one of the hubs of social movements at the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century. The aftermath of the 1697 uprising in Hegyalja can be traced here, which was described by the county officials as an attack on the nobility. In this region, near the foot of the mountains, there was a movement of people of various ranks on the periphery of society, who attracted the attention of imperial officials. The pressure on the Reformed Church increased, leading to endangering the existence of the young priesthood. It was in this county that Tamás Esze, a salt merchant, clashed with the salt officers in Vylók, as a result of which Esze also became one of those in exile, and later organized their movements, which can be assessed as the eve of the Rákóczi war of independence. Among the insurgents led by Tamás Esze at the beginning of the war of independence, there were also ones from Uhocha who had already made sacrifices in the battle of Dovhe in order for the future war of independence to unfold.²⁰⁹

The insurgents attacked the Perényi mansion in Vynohradiv, capturing Farkas Perényi, Rákóczi's later regiment captain. The resistance of the people of Uhocha was increased by the aggressive manifestation of the Perényis against the violence against the nobility. Miklós Perényi repeatedly made hostile statements about his serfs, who later did not like him as a brigadier of Rákóczi's, either.²¹⁰

Regarding Uhocha County – discussing the antecedents of the Rákóczi war of independence – we have to devote space to the struggle of each settlement for the freedom of the hajduk. On the eve of the war of independence in Uhocha, the livelihood of many families was facing increasing difficulties. This can be explained by the unfair increase of taxes, the imperial provisions that were disrupting the freedom of the hajduk, especially the economic lawlessness that became common on the Rákóczi estates.²¹¹

The serfs, following the example of the soldiers in border forts, wanted their freedom for armed service. The sample was provided by the hajduk

²⁰⁹ Esze Tamás, *A szegénylegények éneke. Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények.* 1953, 1–4, pp. 8-9.

²¹⁰ Csatáry György, *Ugoesa vármegye II Rákóczi Ferenc államában 1703–1711. Ungvár–Beregszász,* 2008. pp. 68–78.

²¹¹ R. Várkonyi Ágnes, *A Habsburg-abszolútizmus és a magyarországi jobbágyság a XVII–XVIII. század fordulóján. Századok* 1969, pp. 679–719.

of Bocskai, who lived a free life under the leadership of their lieutenants, did not pay taxes, and did not serve a landlord. Their only duty was to serve their homeland with a weapon, so they expected personal or collective rights for freedom.²¹²

Vienna wanted to get rid of the ‘wanderers’ and ‘roamers’ primarily through its regulations for the counties. Imperial and county decrees applied such markers to those forced to the margins of contemporary society. Several Viennese decrees planned to exterminate them, citing old laws. Significantly in the last decades of the century there was an increase in the number of people lurking in the mountains and deep in the forests who lived as they could. Various decisions were made not only at the central but also at the county level to curb those hiding in the forests.²¹³

Tamás Esze and Albert Kis were also successful in the Uhoča area, and they were enlisted in the Pál Bagossy hajduk regiment in Bereh. As a result, a significant number of insurgents escaped from the regiments preparing for the Spanish War of Succession. These fugitives later formed the core of the insurgents. When the regiments withdrew, Esze and his troops came out of the woods. The military withdrawn from the country to European battlefields left a significant military-power gap.²¹⁴

The regiments of the newly appointed regiment captains János Majos and Bálint Ilosvay fought Uhoča and Maramures and were preparing to enclose Mukachevo Castle. János Majos was already heroic in the clash in Mukachevo where he fought, and even saved the prince’s life. Rákóczi entrusted János Majos with the occupation of the Uhoča area. In the Kálló camp he handed over three cavalry and an infantry regiments: in addition to his own soldiers, the cavalry of Bálint Ilosvay and Mihály Pap, and the infantry of Albert Kis. These troops invaded Vynohradiv on August 6th. After the occupation of the city, nobles from all over the county went over to the insurgents. Another group of nobility was still waiting in the castles of Khust and Satu Mare.²¹⁵

It can also be clearly seen from the list of names made in the summer of 1704 that the population of Uhoča and the whole area took up arms.²¹⁶ The most significant fighting event in the county was the crossing of the Tysa,

²¹² Rác István, A hajduszabadság kérdése a szabadságharcban. In. Európa és a Rákóczi-szabadságharc. Budapest, 1980. pp. 163–166.

²¹³ SATR, Fund. 10, Archival List. 1, Storage Unit. 340, p. 1

²¹⁴ Esze Tamás: Népi kurucság, kepecsek és szegénylegények, Kortárs, 1976, No. 3. p. 433–447.

²¹⁵ Kovács Ágnes, Károlyi Sándor. Budapest, 1980. pp. 28–36.

²¹⁶ SATR, Fund. 674, Archival List. 1, Storage Unit. 409, pp. 1–9.

which changed the course of the fight and its nature. With this, the war of independence emerged from isolation, and passed over to the plain.²¹⁷

On July 14, 1703, Rákóczi reached Bene. He crossed the Borzhava bridge and camped with his cavalry on the border of Chetovo and Vylok in the afternoon, because the infantry were left behind due to the rugged road conditions and the mud. Enemy troops were not stationed nearby, and enemy patrols might have been moving on the right bank of the Tysa. Mihály Kende was the leader of one such team, with 20 Hungarian and 30 German cavalry. On the 13th of July they crossed the Tysa, marched through Bene and Muzhiyevo to Berehove. Unaware of Rákóczi's offensive progress,

they wanted to return to Tiszabecs via Vary. The prince, detecting the patrol, successfully surrounded them. Kende had no choice but to fight desperately. The prince's cavalry were already there and they occupied the bridgehead of the ferry, which was guarded by fifteen ramparted German infantry. Rákóczi's soldiers pushed the people of Kende to the river, who resisted hard, pulling into a bend. From the other side of the Tysa – from a safe shelter – they supported the people of Kende with a fierce rifle fire. The fight lasted for four hours, in which Kende's soldiers attacked three times. Seeing the fierce clash, Rákóczi wanted to spare his cavalry, and he wanted to break the enemy with the lagging infantry. However, this did not happen, as the



70. List of Uhocha Kuruc soldiers from 1704 (detail)

²¹⁷ Váradí-Sternberg János, A tiszai átkelésel kezdődött. Kolhoz a Tiszaháton (the weekly newspaper of the Collective Farm Borderguard in Petrovo) 16 July, 1989.

closed-line attack of the cavalry decided the outcome of the clash. Eight of the enemy's soldiers were killed. Rákóczi's loss was slightly greater due to their unfavourable situation. Among the victims was Mihály Kende, who drowned in the Tysa with his horse.²¹⁸

Some of the nobles of Uhoča were captured by the followers of Rákóczi. Among them was Ferenc Komlósi, who later became a lieutenant of Rákóczi's courtiers. The Hungarian soldiers of Kende from Bihar County also joined the prince. No significant military forces took part in the clash on the banks of the Tysa, but its moral impact on Rákóczi's supporters proved to be enormous. It also aroused fear among the nobles defending the Tiszabecs side, who could only explain the courage of the insurgents with the future support of foreign troops known from false news. Frederick Löwenburg, the commander of the castle in Satu Mare, also expressed his astonishment in a letter to István Csáky about the self-sacrificing struggle of the Kurucs.²¹⁹

In Uhoča, both Shalanky and Vynohradiv wanted hajduk freedom and they elected a lieutenant of the settlements on the model of the hajduk towns of Bocskai. Soldiers fighting for their freedom wanted to assert their needs for freedom that had matured even before the war of independence with the help of Rákóczi. This is a broad social stratum of prospective beneficiaries who were pushed to the periphery at the turn of the century and wanted to return to their profession with the establishment of an independent state, wanting to trade for the benefit of their country and themselves. These insurgents may have interpreted freedom differently. The mass fulfillment of the promise made would have been possible after the successful end of the war of independence. Rákóczi did not stop his intention to deliver on his promises to those who stood by him throughout the war of independence. Our data allow us to conclude that Albert Kis played a decisive role in the unfolding of the struggle of the people of Vynohradiv for freedom. Taking advantage of the opportunity provided by the war of independence, the men were called to arms; whoever refused to join was forcibly made to do so. Their goal was to declare Vynohradiv a hajduk town. Vynohradiv testified that it was ready to sacrifice for its future privileges. It sent a full battalion of hajduks to the siege of Satu Mare Castle. For a time, Vynohradiv became

²¹⁸ Esze Tamás: A tiszaháti felkelés. MTA TI, Budapest, 1952. pp. 1–11.; Tarján M. Tamás, Rákóczi kurucainak első győzelme a tiszaujlaki révnél. Rubikon online. 12 August, 2021. Available online at: http://www.rubicon.hu/magyar/oldalak/1703_julius_14_rakoczi_kurucainak_első_gyozelme_a_tiszaujlaki_revnel/

²¹⁹ Thaly Kálmán, II. Rákóczi Ferenc kora, A gr. Csákyak, Szepesvármegye és a b. Palocsay-család levéltáiraiban. Századok, 1873. pp. 9–39.

a real hajduk town. The population abolished the judiciary, and a lieutenant was appointed to head the town in the person of Gergely Kósa. Rákóczi issued an order to investigate the events in Vynohradiv. The army of Colonel Mihály Pap appeared in the town that evening to carry out the investigation. We believe that so far lasted the town's hajduk freedom. It could not have been otherwise in the given circumstances, as Rákóczi, when he proclaimed the country's struggle for independence, could not oppose the landed nobility. On the contrary, in order for his plan to succeed, he had to win it, as well as the clergy and the orders of the country. Rákóczi did not want to liberate the places under the landlord's power, but wanted to create free military places and independent hajduk settlements after gaining independence.²²⁰

The prince could not allow the villages to declare themselves to be hajduk towns arbitrarily, without prior consultation, especially at the beginning of the war of independence. The aspirations of the people of Vynohradiv were supported by Albert Kis, the unbridled soldier, who, unlike Esze, had no good reputation with the prince. Due to his irresponsible behaviour, Rákóczi had him executed in the spring of 1704. Therefore, the attempts of the residents of Vynohradiv and those of Shalanky could not be fulfilled, either.²²¹

Rákóczi was constantly informed about the events in Uhocha, as the female members of the Perényi family narrated the behaviour of his followers in the area in their letters. From this the prince was informed of the organizers and social background of the whole movement, the support of which he did not consider timely, even though he had to expect a decline in fighting spirit after that. The siege of Satu Mare Castle significantly determined the position of Uhocha County and the scope of its army in the first years of the war of independence. Rákóczi arrived in Ghenci near Carei on August 15, 1703. We



71. Coat of arms of the Perényi family at the mansion in Vynohradiv

²²⁰ Esze Tamás, A Felső-Tisza-vidéki népi kurucság harca a hajdúszabadságért. In: Rákóczi-kori tudományos ülészek, 20-21 September, 1973., Ed: Molnár Mátyás. Vaja, 1975. pp. 5–17.

²²¹ Szendrey István, Hajdúk a Rákóczi-szabadságharcban. Rákóczikori tudományos ülészek, 20-21 September, 1973., Ed. Molnár Mátyás. Vaja, 1975. pp. 24–31.

can consider this date the beginning of the siege. He stayed here continuously until October 8th and mainly organized the encirclement of the castle. He mobilized a significant part of his troops, as the castle's defence system gave the Austrian army stationed in the castle considerable superiority. The garrison of the fort was under the command of experienced chief officers, Frederick Löwenburg and then General Dietrich Glöckelsperg. The military supply of Rákóczi's army was built continuously during the siege.²²²

The state of Rákóczi had to deal with the initial difficulties, and the county leadership had to be organized in accordance with the interests of the war of independence. The prince saw the key to success in fruitful cooperation, the loyalty of the county officers, and the effectiveness of the county's implementation of the orders. How and how effectively did the new state work? It largely depended on the counties and the local governments.

Ferenc Rákóczi II did not have the equipment for the contemporary castle siege, he lacked artillery and trained military. Nevertheless, a state of siege was maintained around the castles of the area, the results of which only became apparent much later. The military supply of Rákóczi's army was built continuously during the siege of Satu Mare. In the absence of an adequate system of state institutions, the prince controlled the affairs of both the army and the military supply with his own decrees. However, the looting of the military could not be stopped completely due to the circumstances.²²³

On June 21, 1704, the Satu Mare Castle Guard managed to break the siege provided by General István Buday. The course of the battles, despite the significant number of troops deployed by the insurgents, did not bring the expected success.²²⁴ Finally, Simon Forgách succeeded in forcing the castle to surrender on January 1, 1705.²²⁵

The supply of food in the first year of the war of independence, albeit with deficiencies, took place continuously, especially from the counties close to the besieged castle of Satu Mare. This is supported by evidence that Albert Kis and Tivadar Béltéki's regiments were provided food from the neighbouring county. The regiment of Albert Kis arrived in Satu Mare via Uhoča County, and the regiment of Béltéki marched to the besieged

²²² Csatóry György, Dokumentumok a szatmári várostromhoz 1703–1704. In. „Rákóczi urunk hadaival itten vagyunk”. Emlékkülés Szatmárnémeti, 1999. Ed. Takács Péter. Debrecen–Nyíregyháza, 2000. pp. 111–119.

²²³ SATR, Fund. 674, Archival List. 8, Storage Unit. 408, p. 7.

²²⁴ SATR, Fund. 674, Archival List. 13, Storage Unit. 110, p. 1.

²²⁵ Bánkúti Imre, Adatok Szatmár várának ostromához 1703–1705. Szabolcs–Szatmári Szemle, 3 August, 1973. pp. 95–97.

fortress in early December by order of General Pál Orosz.Sennyei also notified the counties in advance of the need for the supply. At the end of 1705, the supply of the regiment of Bélteki, according to deputy-lieutenant István Ujlaky, contained significant food supplies.²²⁶



72. The Perényi mansion in Vynohradiv

Rákóczi had to provide an economically well-functioning hinterland in order to continue the war of independence that had become nationwide. As his soldiers progressed, he gradually took possession of the so-called fiscal goods and abandoned noble estates. This process went smoothly where the prefects of the estates remained in place and helped to handle matters. The estates of the Perényi family in Uhocha County remained homeless until the transfer of the baronial family.²²⁷ The administration of these estates, the smooth use of the goods here for the purposes of the army, required the appointment of clerks who could also manage areas of the size of a county. In addition to

²²⁶ SATR, Fund. 674, Archival List. 8, Storage Unit. 411, pp. 1–5.; Storage Unit. 439, p. 5; Storage Unit. 421, pp. 1-2.

²²⁷ Csatóry György, Az ugochasi Perényiek a Rákóczi-szabadságharcban. In: A Rákóczi-szabadságharc és Közép-Európa. Vol. II. Ed: Tamás Edit. Sárospatak, 2003. pp. 79–96.

the supplies provided for the siege of the castle of Satu Mare, recruits were ordered from Uhoča to the blockade in Mukachevo, as they had to be ready for a longer siege here as well. In a decree, Rákóczi instructed Uhoča to place the determined number of soldiers under the command of Colonel János Majos, whom he entrusted with the siege of Mukachevo Castle.²²⁸

During the years of the war of independence, Uhoča operated as a military and food-supplying county. At the end of 1705, Rákóczi ordered Uhoča to send fifty infantry and fifty horsemen to him as soon as possible and to send ambassadors of the county to report on the local conditions, on church matters, etc.²²⁹ The consignments from Uhoča had already arrived at the food warehouse in Satu Mare. As far as possible – on the instructions of Rákóczi, György Orosz, Sándor Károlyi and Ferenc Galambos – the county provided workers, carts and tools for the demolition of the castle of Satu Mare, and at the same time for the restoration of the castle of Ecsed. The demolition of Satu Mare Castle was decided by the prince so that it could not fall into the hands of the enemy in case of a military defeat.²³⁰

The Perényi family from Uhoča joined Rákóczi, which became a decisive moment in the switch of the nobility of the county. All members of the dynasty insisted on the cause of the war of independence to the end, they did not allow themselves to be influenced by Károlyi, either, who finally played a double game between Rákóczi and Pálffy in the winter of 1711. The activities of Miklós Perényi or Farkas Perényi are clearly exemplary on the part of the nobility. The activities of the members of the famous family were determined by those of Farkas Perényi and Miklós Perényi, who were the first to serve the prince. Farkas Perényi proved to be a talented soldier, and Miklós did not show outstanding performance on the battlefields, but in the hinterland in the field of military supply. Even at the end of the war of independence, the prince did not doubt their allegiance.²³¹

Miklós, born of the marriage of Baron Ferenc Perényi and Krisztina Kornis, joined the army of Ferenc Rákóczi II as a colonel. His switch took place after the occupation of Khust Castle on August 17, 1703. Rákóczi appointed him infantry captain and then brigadier. He served in the army of

²²⁸ SATR, Fund. 674, Archival List. 8, Storage Unit. 408, p. 3; Storage Unit. 421, pp. 1-2; Storage Unit. 439, p. 1

²²⁹ SATR, Fund. 674, Archival List. 8, Storage Unit. 436, p. 24.

²³⁰ SATR, Fund. 674, Archival List. 8, Storage Unit. 442, p. 11, 15, 17, 18; Storage Unit. 436, p. 16; Storage Unit. 459, p. 7.

²³¹ Csátáry György, 2008. pp. 68–78.

chief general Miklós Bercsényi. His regiment consisted of soldiers from all over the country. Bercsényi liked him less, repeatedly condemning him in his letters to the prince, but he usually took patronage over him when other military leaders complained about him. Miklós Perényi had no military ambitions when he left his mansion and his children in Vynohradiv and took up the fight under the banner of Rákóczi.²³²

As Perényi left home, the income of his estate also declined. Many of his serfs joined Rákóczi's army, who then did not pay taxes. Therefore, the prince ordered that everyone in the county of Uhocha should pay customs duties on the salt transported on land or water to the Perényi family. The customs income from Tekove was also returned to the Perényi family. The family then appealed to Rákóczi to recover the lost privileges at the 1707 Ónod Parliament. They also wanted to regain their position of lord-sheriff in Abaúj County, from which the emperor deprived Perényi. Rákóczi emphasized the merits of Miklós Perényi's work in strengthening the castle at a military inspection held in early 1710. The regiment was found in good and intact condition. At the same time, Perényi also received criticism from the prince, who demanded a strict recruitment, which had already brought tensions to the county and city authorities. After the war of independence, Sándor Károlyi intervened with the emperor regarding the amnesty of the baron and the restitution of his estates. He returned home after the amnesty was granted, but his property was returned much later.²³³

Together with the members of the Perényi dynasty, Farkas Perényi joined Rákóczi on August 17, 1703, after the capitulation of the castle of Khust. After his oath of allegiance to the prince, he was already given an important assignment. Rákóczi sent him to Uzhhorod in September 1703 to help the besiegers of Uzhhorod Castle and to procure the capitulation of the castle. He led the siege as the 'Director of Armies under Uzhhorod,' but only for a few weeks. Farkas Perényi supported Rákóczi's serf policy. Apparently he also had a part in it that the Perényis from Vynohradiv finally accepted the Vetés order, which was also about the military service of the serfs and the rights of those who stayed at home. In February 1704 he led his regiment in Szigetköz. In his letter from Šamorín, Bercsényi warned him of the war tactics of the Germans. In 1705 he signed the Confederate Charter. According

²³² Komáromy András, Perényi Miklós egri várparancsnok. *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, 1915. Vol. I. pp. 119–157.

²³³ *Ibid.*: Vol. II. pp. 496–516.

to a document dated July 14, 1706, he was a colonel in the cavalry regiment of István Goda. According to the 1711 register of Rákóczi's court starting from Poland, Farkas Perényi is mentioned as a master of ceremonies.²³⁴

In the field of army recruitment, Uhoča met the needs of the Satu Mare city siege in the first two years of the war of independence. Most of them served in the regiment of István Kajdy, János Majos and Tamás Esze during the war of independence. The deployment of mercenaries was mostly delayed due to a lack of equipment, but the military situation required the deployment of such a large army that the county leadership was unable to do so. The people of Uhoča, together with the neighbouring counties – Bereh, Szatmár and Szabolcs –formed mercenary squadrons.²³⁵ Miklós Bercsényi appointed Ferenc Jármí as the commander of the county cavalry groups. Due to the conditions in the county, Bercsényi later allowed the exhibition of a sufficient number of mercenaries. The recruitments required by the decrees were typically carried out in the second half of the war of independence, the main reason for which was the emigration of the population from their place of residence. Soldiers from the county were also directed to the siege of Oradea.²³⁶

In the second half of the war of independence, the organization and execution of public works were gradual, although the implementation of difficult tasks took years. The commissioners also ordered enforcement in order to put forward the workers assigned to Satu Mare and Ecsed, which did not live up to expectations. Finally, we can state that the castles fortified by Uhoča with public works for years did not play a significant military role.²³⁷

Uhoča provided for the supply of the Transylvanian refugees and grazing of their cattle from 1706 onwards. An increasing number of refugees appeared in the county, leading to serious supply problems. In order to remedy these conditions, the county leadership wrote to Rákóczi. They complained that they had to support a disproportionate number of Transylvanian hideouts due to the invasion of imperial troops in Transylvania. They reported that the lords of Transylvania brought in too many staff, which the inhabitants of the depopulated villages could no longer support. After one person admitted, 10 to 12 people came over for a living. The refugees who moved to the

²³⁴ Heckenast Gusztáv, *Ki kicsoda a Rákóczi-szabadságharcban? Életrajzi adattár*. Budapest, 2005. c. 334.

²³⁵ SATR, Fund. 674, Archival List. 8, Storage Unit. 461, p. 60

²³⁶ *Ibid*: Storage Unit. 461, p. 15; Storage Unit. 482, pp. 9-10.

²³⁷ *Ibid*: Storage Unit. 480, p. 26; Storage Unit. 479, p. 5; Storage Unit. 480, p. 26; MNL OL(Archives of the Rákóczi War of Independence) G.19.II.2.c. pp. 207-208.

first twelve villages completely plundered them. The cavalry and infantry regiment of Belényesi could not be properly supplied for these reasons. It happened that the lords of Transylvania wasted the fodder of the poor. According to the documents reviewed, the inhabitants helped the refugees who had left their homeland to the best of their ability. Abandoned residential buildings were restored. In the last years of the war of independence, due to the increase in their numbers, the refugees also lived in the woods. It had to be decided what support the refugees should



73. Sándor Károlyi, lord-sheriff of Szatmár County

receive, not just for the winter, but during the summer campaigns as well. The Transylvanians who could be recruited were obliged to enlist in the army during the county recruitments. Károlyi emphasized that the prince was preparing for a campaign in Transylvania, and therefore he needed the military power and support of the locals. The prince did not tolerate the omissions and arbitrariness of the counties towards the refugees. In his regulations, he encouraged the county leadership in organizing the support. The fate of those fleeing Transylvania was alleviated by the peace of Satu Mare. After their certification and taking the oath of allegiance, they were given the opportunity to return home.²³⁸

No forums of national significance were held in Uhocha during the war of independence, but the last meeting, at which Rákóczi was personally present, took place in Shalanky on February 14–16, 1711. The venue of the meeting was the newly built mansion by Sándor Károlyi on the outskirts of the village. The senators and councilors of Hungary and Transylvania in the areas still controlled by Rákóczi were summoned here in advance. The

²³⁸ Kis Domokos Dániel, *Bujdosók Magyarországon a Rákóczi-szabadságharc alatt (1707–1711)* Studia Caroliensia 2004. No. 3-4. pp. 241–252. Available online at: http://www.kre.hu/portal/doc/studia/Cikkek/2004.No.3-4.Kis_Domokos_Daniel.pdf; *Az erdélyből magyarországra menekült bujdosók élete a Rákóczi-szabadságharc idején Szaniszló Zsigmond naplója alapján / 1707–1711* / Available online at: <http://www.szabarchiv.hu/drupal/sites/default/files/376-415.pdf>

prince's submissions were heard. The question was under what conditions they could make peace. Should it be made at all? The response of the orders became clear: Rákóczi was not released from his oath of freedom for the country, and they voted to persevere further, to wait for more favourable conditions. The following presentation was about the possible support of the Tsar, Peter I. Rákóczi also asked the councilors for their opinion about his staying in Mukachevo. It was considered better to go to Poland and negotiate on the Russian alliance.²³⁹

In his letters Bercsényi, who was in Poland, encouraged Rákóczi to meet the tsar who was being waited for in Poland at the time. This time his hopes and expectations were great, as he wanted to use this opportunity for the benefit of his country. With the help of the tsar, he wanted to break out of isolation and gain international guarantees for a future peace. Rákóczi left for Poland on February 21, 1711 to meet with Peter I. Before leaving, he wrote a letter to Károlyi instructing him to continue the cause of the war of independence.²⁴⁰

Regarding the significance of the Shalanky Parliament, the opinion of the research community is still unclear. According to one position at the Shalanky conference, the nobles who were present uttered what Rákóczi wanted to hear. The position of the representatives of the orders did not correspond to the real balance of power, since the nobility did not entirely support Pálffy's conditions. This was not the first time that the prince overestimated the value of the resolutions of the nobles; it was also confirmed at the Shalanky meeting in its assessment of the unrealistic situation.²⁴¹ The following position stated the point without the old schemas. Károlyi was the host in Shalanky, but he was out with the army during the negotiations. Negotiations were taking place in the mansion of her mother-in-law, Judit Barkóczy. Rákóczi also visited Károlyi's new mansion built in 1710. The senators of Transylvania and the senators of the kingdom were negotiating separately. It was not about making peace or continuing the war. However, after the consultations of Rákóczi in Vaja, it was decided which way to reconcile they would choose: the amnesty offered by Pálffy or adhering to the guarantee agreement ensuring the sovereignty of the country. And after the

²³⁹ Csatóry György, A salánki „országgyűlés”, Salánk, 2011. pp. 2–9.

²⁴⁰ Köpeczi Béla, Rákóczi és Károlyi. „...kedves hazája boldogulása munkáját kezébe adom...” Nyíregyháza, 2003. c. 7–26.; R. Várkonyi Ágnes, Esélyek és alternatívák a szatmári béketárgyaláson 1710–1711. Hadtörténelmi Közlemények. 2011. No. 4. pp. 985–1012.; Köpeczi Béla, Tanulmányok a kuruc szabadságharcok történetéből. Budapest, 2004. pp. 287–292.

²⁴¹ Bákúti Imre, A szatmári béke. Budapest, 1981. p. 73.

majority decided, though not unanimously, on the latter, they discussed the military tasks and the fact that Rákóczi would not retire to Mukachevo, but would go to Poland.²⁴² The “parliament” of Shalanky therefore made a clear decision: Rákóczi had to continue to work diplomatically for a favourable peace. Despite the military situation, they still believed in a positive change in international politics. Among the Hungarians present was Count Antal Eszterházy, Lieutenant General, Count István Csáky, head of the military supply organization, Baron István Sennyey, chancellor of the senate, Ádám Vay, member of the senate, and later captain of Mukachevo Castle.

The prince stated that he did not want to obstruct the peaceful administration of Transylvania. Therefore, he was ready to release the senators from their oath, but they refused and advised him never to resign. The resolution of the Shalanky Parliament provided a legal basis for Rákóczi, if not for the continuation of the armed struggle, but for the creation of more favourable conditions for the conclusion of a peace by exerting pressure under foreign policy, which, in his opinion, was inevitable.²⁴³

The mass participation of the population of Uhocha County in the national liberation struggle can be demonstrated according to the data of the rosters in the county and in the Károlyi archives. In the second year of the war of independence, when the organization of the Hungarian permanent army became vital, in the spring of 1704, Ferenc Rákóczi II enumerated the military population according to the counties. At that time, local officials in each county drew up a list by village, which gave a thorough account of the ranking of the inhabitants of the settlements. This is how it happened in Uhocha. In the summer of 1704, a list containing the data of 664 people was completed here, which contained the data of the newcomers from the 56 settlements of Uhocha (place of residence, in whose army they served, fell and were wounded). From this period – the spring of 1704 – we still have a consolidated list of the number of noble insurgents, which contains only the number of insurgents from the villages and the names of their regiments.²⁴⁴

²⁴² R. Várkonyi Ágnes, *A nemzetközi garancia és a generális. (A szatmári béke történetéhez)*, ... kedves hazája boldogulása munkáját kezébe adom...” Nyíregyháza, 2003. pp. 7–26.

²⁴³ II. Rákóczi Ferenc fejedelem emlékiratai. Budapest, 1979. pp. 238-239.

²⁴⁴ Czigány István, *A Rákóczi-szabadságharc a mustrák tükrében. Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*. 1986. pp. 143-144.; Mészáros Kálmán, *Adalékok a Károlyi család levéltárában lévő mustrakönyvek keletkezéséhez*. Fons. 1997. No. 1 pp. 99–105.; MNL OL, P-396. Károlyi-levéltár. Mustrakönyv 1706. pp. 646–649.

MEMORIAL SITES IN UHOCHA

The Rákóczi monuments in Vylok and in Tiszabecs

The history of the Rákóczi monuments in Vylok and Tiszabecs is recalled below simultaneously, as the construction of the two monuments dates back to the same time. On the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the beginning of the war of independence led by Ferenc Rákóczi II, the contemporaries paid tribute to the scene of the first victory battle of the war of independence (July 14–16, 1703) with the construction of a monument. The plan of the memorial site came from Sándor Nagy, the chief notary of Satu Mare County. At his suggestion, the county assembly approved a plan to build the monument. Outside the Counties of Satu Mare and Uhocha, the costs were covered by public donations. The work itself was entrusted to Sándor Kepes, a stone factory owner from Seini (today in Romania). The only contentious issue was the choice of the site of the monument. After the on-site inspection, a committee consisting of members from Uhocha and Satu Mare Counties designated the site of the memorial column at the left bank bridgehead in Vylok. However, the independence party members of the committee appealed against this decision, as the plan conceived in Satu Mare County would have been implemented in the Uhocha area. They insisted that the memorial site be located in the border area of Tiszabecs, i.e. in the county of Szatmár. In the end, the authorities decided on the Vylok version. This resolution started a press debate full of excitement and tempers. At the suggestion of Member of Parliament Géza Luby, the General Assembly of Tiszabecs decided to erect its own monument, the inauguration of which was scheduled for September 20, 1903, at the same time as the Vylok monument. Despite disputes between the Independence Party and the two counties, both monuments were erected.²⁴⁵

The monument in Vylok was built on top of a small hill six meters high, shaped like a truncated pyramid. Its seven-meter-high column was made of trachite-tuff stone, which was transported from Seini. At the top was a bronze Turulbird holding a sword in its beak and extending its wings. A long flight of stairs led to the column, at the bottom of which memorial plaques made of black andesite were placed.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁵ Csatóry György, *Levéltári kalászatok*. Ungvár–Budapest, 1993. pp. 198–200.

²⁴⁶ Váradí Sternberg János, *A Rákóczi-szabadságharc első győzelme a Tiszánál*. Kárpáti Igaz Szó, 14 March, 1989.; Csatóry György, *Közüladakozásból született*. Kolhoz a Tiszaháton, 16 July, 1989.

The inscription on the first board:
FOR GOD, HOME, FREEDOM!
COMMITTED BY FERENC II RÁKÓCZI AT THE BEGINNING
OF THE FIGHT OF FREEDOM OF JULY 14, 1703
IN MEMORY OF 200 YEARS OF TISZABEC'S VICTORY

The second table reads the motto of the Rákóczis:
SI DEUS PRO NOBIS, QUIS CONTRA NOS.
(Lat., in English – If God is for us, who is against us?)

The inscription on the third board:
ERECTED BY THE PATRIOTIC COMMUNITY OF SATU MARE
AND UHOCHA COUNTIES AND THE FREE
ROYAL TOWN OF SATU MARE,
September 20, 1903.



74. The Rákóczi monument in Vylok today

About six thousand people took part in the inauguration ceremony in Vylók. Among other things, the banderia of the two counties, representatives of different nationalities in ornate national costumes marched in the procession. The speaker of the ceremony was dr. János Fechtél, a secondary school teacher in Satu Mare, who faithfully recalled the events of the Rákóczi war of independence. Afterwards, Bálint Illyés, Member of Parliament, recited the poem *Rákóczi Returns*, and then those present could listen to Gábor Magos' playing the Turkish pipe. From then on, Sándor Nagy, the organizer of the ceremony, gave a speech while the memorial column was unveiled. Several administrative and cultural associations, including the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, were represented. After the gala dinner, a cheerful revelry began.²⁴⁷

The monument in Tiszabecs, erected in front of the Reformed church in the village, was much smaller in size. Rákóczi's relief proved its peculiarity. The obelisk-shaped monument had a black marble plaque.

The inscription on the marble slab:

LET THIS MEMORIAL COLUMN ANNOUNCE THAT THE
HEROIC KURUCS FOUGHT THE FIRST WINNING BATTLE OF
THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE LED BY FERENC RÁKÓCZI II
AT THE BORDER OF OUR VILLAGE ON JULY 14, 1703.
ERECTED BY THE GRACE OF PATRIOTS.
SEPTEMBER 20, 1903

At the bottom of the column we can read the poem of Károly Szalay, a Reformed grammar school teacher.

The text of the poem:

THE HEAVENLY RADIUS OF FREEDOM FIRST SHINED HERE
WHICH LED YOUR CHAMPION'S WEAPONS TO TRIUMPH.
AND EVEN IF ITS SHINING FELL INTO THE BLIND NIGHT,
IT LIVES IN OUR HEART,
IT ANNOUNCES YOUR GREAT NAMES AND
IT HEATS FOR THE LOVE OF THE MOTHERLAND.

²⁴⁷ Csatóry György, *Rákóczi-emlékek és emlékhelyek Kárpátalján*. Ungvár, 2002. pp. 64–67.



75. Memorial plaques of the Rákóczi monument in Vylok today

There was a more modest celebration in Tiszabecs. Here, the ceremony was opened by Member of Parliament and organizer of the ceremony, Géza Luby, where his speech was listened to with great respect. Here in after Elemér Osváth, Béla Barabás, Ödön Bartha, dr. Samu Kelemen spoke to those gathered. There was revelry here, too, but the evening dance party organized by the youth ended in a fire, fortunately no injuries occurred.²⁴⁸

Thus, two monuments were erected for the victory on the River Tysa. However, the one in Vylok proved to be short-lived, as it became the victim of the Stalinist dictatorship after World War II. The monument was dismantled. The Turul – the symbol of the Hungarians – was removed, today it can be seen in the courtyard of Uzhorod Castle. On the other hand, the column could have been used to build a memorial to honour the incursion of the Soviet army. This part of the original monument can still be seen in the centre of Vylok, with the five-pointed star instead of the Turul on top. The management of the village at that time was able to erect a monument

²⁴⁸ II. Rákóczi Ferenc emlékműve. Available online at: <https://www.kozterkep.hu/32702/ii-rakoczi-ferenc-emlekmuve#vetito=295872>; Rákóczi ezredese... Available online at: <http://www.tiszabecsiskola.hupont.hu/9/a-tiszabecsi-csata>

to the Soviet heroes at a lower cost, and at the same time to clear away a Hungarian memorial remarkable in its size.²⁴⁹

After that, the memory of the victory of the Kurucon the River Tysa was preserved for many decades only by the monument in Tiszabecs. The history of the Vylok monument may have changed after about forty years, when the political changes in the Soviet Union made it possible. A plan to restore it was officially raised in 1987, but no concrete steps could be taken until the spring of 1989. At that time, the financial costs of the works were borne by the Border Guard Agricultural Kolkhoz, one of the most successful production cooperatives in the region. The initiator of the reconstruction was Andor Bíró, president of the agricultural company, who, like all people in Tiszahát, had a long-standing plan for the reconstruction of the monument. This decision was supported by tutors from the Department of History at Uzshorod State University, led by Professor János Váradi-Sternberg, who carried out significant organizational work to restore the monument. The plan of the monument was prepared with the help of old photos and those still remembering the memorial column. In the spring of 1989, the Border Guard Agricultural Company was able to start the construction, as a result of which the Rákóczi monument in Vylok, and the work of goldsmith Gellért Keisz and architect Vladimir Lezu, could be reopened on July 16, 1989, on the 286th anniversary of the Tysa crossing. As a reviving tradition, nationalities were once again able to march in front of the monument in national colours. At the ceremony, talks were given by Andor Bíró, leading officials of the Transcarpathian region, a representative of Fehérgyarmat (Hungary), Balázs Fábrián, president of the basic organization of the THCA in Vylok, etc. Dr. Jenő Randé, Secretary General of the World Association of Hungarians, was also present.²⁵⁰

Since then, the memorial column in Vylok has become a memorial place to the Hungarians of Transcarpathia, and thanks to the Hungarian organizations, a reverent commemoration and an entertaining jubilee take place every year on the Tysa bank and in the neighbouring village of Pyjterfolvo.

The salt house in Vylok

The building at 2 Esze Tamás Square is still mentioned by the locals as a salt house. This is a historical place, as it preserves the memory of the first clash of the Rákóczi war of independence. There are two Kuruc memorial plaques on the wall of the former salt house.²⁵¹

²⁴⁹ Csatóry György, 1993. pp. 198–200.

²⁵⁰ Főhajtás a kuruc hősök emléke előtt. Kárpáti Igaz Szó, 18 July, 1989.

²⁵¹ Csatóry György, Ugocha megye II. Rákóczi Ferenc államában. Ungvár–Beregszász, 2008. pp. 125–129.



76. The salt house in Vylók



77. Memorial plaque of Tamás Esze and the list of Kurucs on the salt house in Vylók

The inscription on the first plaque:
 In this building there was a salt house, that was attacked by TAMÁS ESZE, the Kuruc chief on May 24, 1703 at 7 a.m. with two infantry teams and 40 horsemen. Four of the guard consisting of 14 musketeers and a lieutenant were slaughtered, and the rest were sworn to stand by them.
 Erected by the Vylók basic organization of THCA.

On the left side of the black marble plaque there is a portrait of Tamás Esze.²⁵²

The inscription on the second plaque:

²⁵² K. B. A tiszaujlaki sóház történelmi jelentősége. Available online at: <https://karpataljalap.net/2021/04/17/tiszaujlaki-sohaz-tortenelmi-jelentosege>; Egy szegény legény volt Esze Tamás. Available online at: <https://www.arcanum.com/hu/online-kiadvanyok/SzazMagyarFaluszaz-magyar-falu-1/tarpa-10B0D/egy-szegeny-legeny-volt-esze-tamas-10BAF/>

Vylok heroes of the 1703–1711 war of independence
led by FERENC RÁKÓCZI²⁵³

Tamás Borbély	Mihály Adorján	György Szabó	János Tót
István Mezei	István Ács	János Bonczos	Mihály Töviss
Gábor Mezei	Simon Pataki	András Modis	András Száraz
Ferenc Szenczi	András Kovács	Miklós Modis	István Vékony
András Kis	András Turda	István Gál	Gáspár Bíró
Mihály Varga	János Tót	János Kis	Mihály Bodtoki
András Elek	András Zöld	András Csengeri	János Kertali
István Veress	András Korhanj	Tamás Balás	Ferenc Szabó
István Szoboszlai	István Kasza	Sándor Orosz	István Kozma
Miklós Kozma	János Kis	István Hanis	Ferenc Almási
István Száraz	András Molnár	Pál Paladi	Sándor Orosz
György Varga	Pál Botos	Mihály Kocsis	János Varga
János Moroly	András Turda	István Szabó	Younger brother of András Korhanj

**Ferenc Rákóczi II memorial
plaque in Vylok**

After the re-inauguration of the Turul monument in Vylok in 1989, a regular commemorative conference was held by the researchers of the Rákóczi-era on the occasion of the festive celebrations, which gradually became a tradition. Here the events of the early 18th century were revived. In 1995, after such a meeting, a memorial plaque depicting the portrait of Ferenc Rákóczi II was unveiled. The monument made of black marble was inaugurated by László Brenzovics on behalf of the THCA and the president of the village council in the main square of Vylok.²⁵⁴



78. Ferenc Rákóczi II memorial
plaque in Vylok

²⁵³ Badó Zsolt, A mult kötelez. Emléktábla a Rákóczi-szabadságharc tiszaujlaki hőseinek. Available online at: <https://karpataljalap.net/2012/05/25/mult-kotelez>.

²⁵⁴ Csatóry György, 1993. p. 69.

The inscription on the plaque:

March 27, 1676 – April 8, 1735

FERENC RÁKÓCZI II

led his Kuruc this way
in the first winning battle
on July 14, 1703.

The Shalanky Obelisk and the Mikes Well

Between February 14 and 18, 1711, a parliament of historical significance took place in the village of Shalanky in Uhochá County, at which the senators of the remaining areas of Rákóczi decided that the prince would try to ask Russia for help through diplomacy. Based on this decision, Rákóczi left the territory of Hungary permanently. The hunting lodge on the border of Shalanky, which housed the parliament, became the prey of a Tatar attack in 1717. That is why the intention to erect a memorial at the foot of Mount Helmec was born.²⁵⁵

In 1990, on the initiative of dr. János Váradi-Sternberg, the Shalanky village council began to organize the cleaning of the Mikes well and its supply with oak pavement. Later, at the suggestion of the Zichy Gallery in Budapest, the construction of a stone obelisk with a memorial plaque was planned. On May 26, 1991, with the help of the local basic organization of the THCA, architects from Vyshkove and the population of the village, the monument was completed together with the Mikes well. Preparations for the commemoration were not smooth. The day before the inauguration, the Zichy Gallery managed to take across the Hungarian-Ukrainian border the memorial plaque and the exhibition of pictures related to Rákóczi only with difficulty.²⁵⁶

The pyramid-shaped monument to Ferenc Rákóczi II and his page, Kelemen Mikes is built of grey granite cubes. The relief of Rákóczi and Mikes is on the side of the obelisk. The family coat of arms of the Rákóczis and the Mikes and the symbol of the former market town of Shalanky were shown on the board. The data of the 1711 Shalanky parliament and the makers of the monument were also engraved in marble.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁵ A Mikes kútja Salánkon. Available online at: <https://karpatinfo.net.ua/300492-mikeskutja-salankon>.

²⁵⁶ Kész Barnabás, II. Rákóczi Ferenc és Mikes Kelemen emlékei Salánkon. Available online at: http://www.c3.hu/~hatodik_sip/98%20lapok/Irasok98/Tel98/T-tel-8.htm

²⁵⁷ A kárpátaljai kis falu közössége immár három évszázada hűen őrzi a szabadságharc eszmeiségét és a hősök emlékét. Available online at: <https://www.kisalfold.hu/eletstilus/kuruchagyoman-yokat-oriznek-a-salankiak-6394947/>



79. The Shalanky Obelisk and the Mikes Well



unauthorized hands. The copper memorial plaque with the reliefs on it was stolen, the boom of the draw well disappeared, and the water of the spring was irresponsibly spoiled.

Mikes'well was built as a memorial in the form of an oak-guarded boom well. According to folklore, the page carried water from this source to the prince to the Shalanky mansion of the Barkóczys, the seat of parliament.

The inscription on the first marble plate of the pyramid-shaped monument:

TO THE MEMORY OF
FERENC RÁKÓCZI II
AND KELEMEN MIKES'
STAYING HERE AND THE 1711
SHALANKY PARLIAMENT.

Erected by the population
of the village of Shalanky and
the Zichy Gallery 1991.

After the inauguration of the memorial site, an academic conference followed in the building of the Shalanky Village Hall. The experts of the Rákóczi era gave a lecture here: Ágnes R. Várkonyi (ELTE), academician Kálmán Benda, dr. János Váradi-Sternberg (Uzhhorod State University), Imre Bánkúti (Hungarian National Museum), etc.

The memorial well and the pyramid could remain intact on the outskirts of the village only for a short time. In the winter of 1992, its ornaments were stolen by

However, in May 1993, the second revival of the Mikes well took place. Thanks to the sacrificial work of Dr. Elemér Kovács, the president of the Vynohradiv District Organization of the THCA, and the population of the village, the Mikes well could be rebuilt. The inscription of the new marble plaque was engraved by the artist László Kolozsváry from Vylok. During the inauguration, Dr. János Váradi-Sternberg, whose original idea was to build the memorial, was commemorated. A valuable lecture was given on the role of Shalanky in the Rákóczi war of independence by Barnabás Kész, a history teacher in Shalanky.²⁵⁸

The inscription on the new marble slab:

PRO PATRIA ET LIBERTATE
MIKES'WELL

In memory of 11–18 February 1711,
the stay of FERENC RÁKÓCZI II
and MIKES KELEMEN
1993

Inscription on the gallery of the Reformed church in Shalanky

The 200th anniversary of the death of Ferenc Rákóczi II was celebrated by holding national ceremonies in the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary. In 1935, Transcarpathia belonged to the Czechoslovak Republic, so no commemorations similar to those in Hungary could take place. It must have been for this reason that the village of Shalanky first recorded the memory of the prince's stay in 1711, not in a public square, but in the interior of the Reformed church.²⁵⁹

On the north gallery of the church the following inscription can be read:



80. Inscription on the gallery
of the Reformed church in Shalanky

²⁵⁸ Gál Adél, Új köntösben a salánki Mikes-kút. Available online at: <https://karpatalja.ma/kultura/kulturalis-hirek/uj-kontosben-a-salanki-mikes-kut/>

²⁵⁹ Csátáry György, 1993. p.72

TO THE MEMORY OF PRINCE FERENC RÁKÓCZI II'S SHALANKY
PARLIAMENT AND HIS LAST STAY HERE FEBRUARY 11–18, 1711.

On the 200th anniversary of his death, on 8 April, 1935.



81. The statue of Ferenc Rákóczi II in the Shalanky Memorial Park then and now

**Statues of Ferenc Rákóczi II and Kelemen Mikes in the Shalanky
Memorial Park**

As part of the events of the 2003 Rákóczi Year, another monument was built in Shalanky. This time the capture of the figure of the Great Prince engraved in wood was initiated by a local carver, Elek Pólin. At his request, László Koltay, a sculptor-carver from Püspökhatvan (Hungary) immortalized the shape of the prince in oak wood. The statue, which is impressive in size, is 3.3 m high; its lower diameter is 1.2 m, its upper diameter is 1.1 m, weighing about one and a half tons. The statue is located in the newly established



82. Sculpture of Kelemen Mikes
in Shalanky Memorial Park

Rákóczi Park in Shalanky, which was inaugurated on May 25, 2003 in the presence of many foreign and local guests.²⁶⁰

On October 2, 2005, a wooden statue of Kelemen Mikes, the loyal page of the Great Prince, known for his letters written from Turkey, was unveiled in the Rákóczi Memorial Park in Shalanky. At the ceremony, Frigyes Gál, president of the local basic organization of THCA, welcomed those present. After the speech of Elemér Péntes, mayor of the village, Barnabás Kész, a history teacher at the local Kelemen Mikes Secondary School, presented Mikes' life. Miklós Kovács, president of THCA, also gave a speech on historical topics.²⁶¹

Monument to the last parliament of Ferenc Rákóczi II

On August 17, 2019, the relief dedicated to the last Kuruc Parliament, held between February 14–18, 1711, was inaugurated in the park of the Shalanky House of Culture. Hungarian Ministerial Commissioner István Grezsa spoke at the inauguration ceremony.

The inscription on the monument:

It was erected in memory of the last parliament of the Kurucs in Shalanky in 1711 in the 2019 Ferenc Rákóczi II Memorial Year, with the support of the Hungarian Government by Shalanky Village Council.

²⁶⁰ Popovics Zsuzsanna, Hűség, hit, remény. Kárpátalja, 30 May, 2003.

²⁶¹ Popovics Zsuzsanna, Élete példa hazaszeretetből, hűségből, emberségből. Kárpátalja, 7 October, 2005.



83. Monument to the last parliament of Ferenc Rákóczi II

The Kuruc monument in Pyjterfolvo

On April 27, 2003, a memorial was unveiled to 91 Kuruc heroes in Pyjterfolvo in honour of the 300th anniversary of the Rákóczi war of independence. The MÉKK (Transcarpathian Community of Hungarian Intellectuals), and the Mayor's Office of Pyjterfolvo – with the representatives of the Hungarian organizations of the neighbouring countries – unveiled a memorial plaque made of black marble in the main square of the village.²⁶²

During the ceremony, József Minya, president of the Zsigmond Móricz Cultural Association, said that the two swords on the pedestal symbolized the Hungarian and Ruthenian Kurucs.

The monument was blessed by the Reformed Rev. Attila Hunyadi and the Greek Catholic parish priest István Marosi.

²⁶² Péterfalvai kuruc-emlékmű. Available online at: <https://karpatinfo.net.ua/300434-peterfalvai-kuruc-emlekmu>

The inscription on the plaque:

1703 – 2003

Let us remember our KURUC
heroes, who came from the
five villages and in 1703
fought and fell in the armies
of Prince RÁKÓCZI II.

Erected by MÉKK, MSZKE,
Pyjterfolvo Mayor's office
April 27, 2003.

The statue of Ferenc Rákóczi II in Tysobyken

In the summer of 2005, a wooden
statue of Ferenc Rákóczi II was
inaugurated in Tysobyken, near the
Reformed Church. The monument
was built by the Budapest sculptor
Ottó Frech in honour of the 300th anniversary of Rákóczi's election as prince.²⁶³



84. The Kuruc monument in Pyjterfolvo

Inscriptions on the pedestal of the statue:

Ferenc Rákóczi II

1676 – 1735

Cum Deo pro Patria et Libertate
Erected by: the people of Tiszahát

August 7, 2005

Kuruc heroes of Tysobyken

1703

Angjál Ferenc, Barta Péter, Bikó
János, Bíró István, Birkó Pál,
Bocskor Mihály, Bocskor István,
Csató Ádám, Fenna János, Gál
István, Jósa Ferenc, Kis Mihály,
Kis Szabó János, Kormos János,
Kusniczai János, Major Végi

²⁶³ II. Rákóczi Ferenc szobra, Tiszabökény. Available online at: <https://karpatinfo.net.ua/300418-ii-rakoczi-ferenc-szobra-tiszabokeny>



85. The statue of Ferenc Rákóczi II
in Tysobyken

László Szabó, head of the department of the Office of Hungarians Beyond the Borders, and János Seres, dean of Maramures-Uhocha county. The ceremony was followed by a memorial session at the mayor's office in Pyjterfolvo. László Zubánics, Lajos Józán and Tibor Szöllőssy gave lectures.²⁶⁴

János, Orosz Gábor, Orosz Demeter, Orosz György, Pisaj János, Rakaszi Sándor, Seres Gáspár, Szabó István, Szabó György, Varga András, Varga György, Varga János

Kuruc heroes of Farkasfalva
(today part of Tysobyken)
1703

Barta Pál, Bárány János, Botos Ferenc, Czibere Pál, Fő Gergely, Orosz Gergely, Szabó Ferenc, Szabó István, Szász Bálint, Szász István

“Through killing barriers, they
carried forward the never-fading
flag of PRO LIBERTATE”
György Dupka.

Memorial plaques of Mihály Bay and István Bay

In 2006, the memorial plaques of two Kuruc diplomats, Mihály Bay and his son, István, were inaugurated in Tysobyken as part of a festive commemoration. György Dupka, President of MÉKK, and Tamás Katona, President of the Transcarpathian Association, gave a presentation on the activities of the Bays. The plaque was unveiled by

²⁶⁴ Péterfalva és társközségei. Available online at: <https://peterfalva.eoldal.hu/cikkek/telepulestortenet/telepulestortenet.html>



86. Memorial plaques of Mihály Bay and István Bay

MARAMURES DURING THE RÁKÓCZI WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

The county of Maramures always belonged to the territory of the Principality of Transylvania, even after the expulsion of the Turks, i.e. it had essentially the same status as the Partium (attached parts), but it was not officially part of the principality. The Rákóczi war of independence found the county in such conditions. Rákóczi always considered the county as a separate unit and managed it, and only in 1705 it was formally annexed back to Transylvania. The Transylvanian Kuruc state apparatus actually functioned during the uprising only in 1705, but Maramures did not fall within its competence at that time, so the county remained a special unit that did not belong to either Hungary or Transylvania.²⁶⁵

In the territory of Maramures, after the flag unfolding in Tarpa, Vary and Berehove, the first battle of the war of independence took place at Dovhe on June 7, 1703. The insurgents led by Tamás Esze were on their way to Veretske to receive the long-awaited leader, Rákóczi. The troop, including many hundreds of people, rested at Dovhe. There was still uncertainty among the insurgents, at that time they did not know for sure whether the prince would actually appear at the border. During this time, an armed noble banderium led by Sándor Károlyi, lord-sheriff of Satu Mare County, and a company of 100 soldiers seconded from Satu Mare Castle (about 520 in total) unexpectedly attacked the soldiers of Tamás Esze. The Kurucs, armed with scythes and forks, could not resist effectively, leaving barely two hundred infantry and 50 cavalry insurgents at the end of the battle. The fleeing Kurucs were not persecuted, but nearly two hundred of them fell. A total of 17 Kuruc prisoners were taken to the castle of Satu Mare, where they were handed over to the imperial castle commander Frederick Löwenburg, and were sentenced to 'seven stakes and five broadswords'. They wanted to take them to the place of loss in a chariot, but at the prayer of the citizens of Satu Mare, the castle commander pardoned their lives. The Kurucs who fell at Dovhe were buried in the centre of the village, and some of those who survived fled to Poland. We know from the confession of Pál Tarpay that after the loss of the battle some of the peasants were in doubt, and only

²⁶⁵ Bánkúti Imre, *Iratok Máramaros vármegye történetéhez (1703–1711)*. Budapest, 1992. pp. 7-8.



87. The Battle of Dovhe (June 7, 1703)
according to the drawing of Sándor Károlyi

after the strong action of Tamás Esze and Albert Kis did they decide to wait for Rákóczi in an organized manner.²⁶⁶

Sándor Károlyi sent a report to Vienna about the battle. The document shed light on the details of the battle, providing a valuable resource about the start of the war of independence. Paragraph 18 of this report reads: “On the evening of the same day (June 6, 1703), I sent my own soldiers to investigate the rebels, who had also taken a certain man that night and one of the rebels at dawn; from them I understood that the insurgents would be stationed at Dovhe on

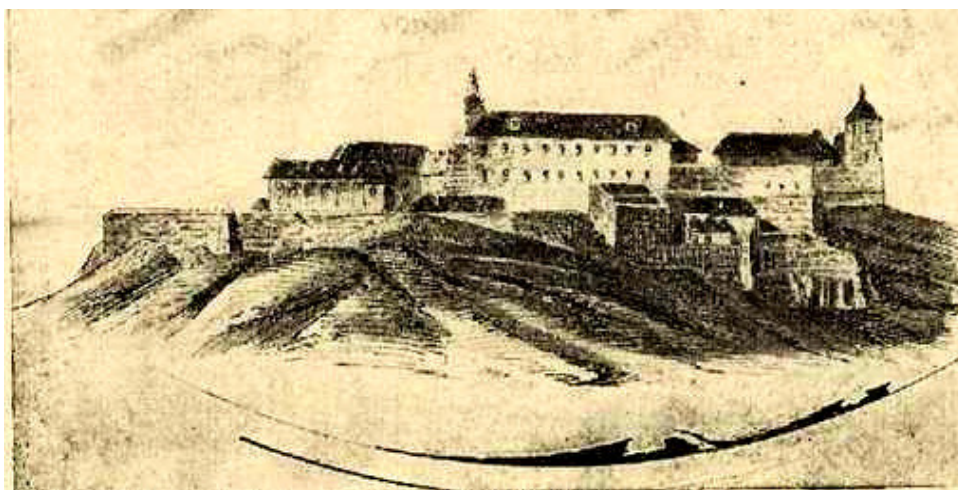
Lord’s Day to depart from here beyond the mountains to Poland the next day. Understanding these things, I set out on Lord’s Day, the 7th day of the month of June at three o’clock in the morning, and continued my journey until one o’clock in the afternoon; after a half-hour rest, the army set off again and we were lucky to reach Dovhe between 4-5 p.m. While I was examining the enemy, I set my armies, and the infantry rested. How did I handle the attack? The Supreme Court can see it from the drawing attached here. After all, God allowed victory – we won three flags decorated with the name of Rákóczi, a spear and an ordinary flag, drums and trumpets; Capt. Márton Nagy, Lieutenant László Szabó, István Tatay, György Boros and other more prominent officers were killed together with several commoners, and according to the following, it is probable that Colonel Tamás Esze remained among the dead, we won 65 horses, captured seventeen Hungarians and

²⁶⁶ Csatóry György, *Levéltári kalászatok*. Ungvár–Budapest, 1993. pp. 209–214.; Dr. Kovássy Zoltán, *A dolhai csata emléke*. Honismeret, 1983. No. 5. pp. 12–14.; *Dolha Rákóczi ünnepe*. Görög Katolikus Szemle, 1903. No. 24, No. 31; *Rákóczi emlék*. Kárpáti Lapok, 1903. No. 19.; *Rákóczi*. Kárpáti Lapok, 1903. No. 23..

three Germans, including János Belényi and Péter Deák otherwise known as Jeney and most of the rest were wounded, and we chased them away.”²⁶⁷

The flags looted in the battle were taken to Vienna by Sándor Károlyi, lord-sheriff of Szatmár County, which he presented as a sign of victory. However, the imperial court, which had not yet sensed the impact of the war of independence, did not appreciate his actions. Károlyi returned home, both offended and humiliated. He took revenge by joining Rákóczi.²⁶⁸

It is decisive that one of the strongest castles in the region, Khust, is the first fortress, which was occupied with deception by Rákóczi’s soldiers in August 1703. The capture of Khust Castle is connected with the name of Imre Ilosvay. Having deceived the enemy army, he entered the castle and, in collusion with a German soldier named Henry, managed to get the other members of the guard by his side. On August 17, 1703, he successfully revolted the garrison against the commander of the castle guard living without supplies and mercenaries. The commander of the castle, Baron Eytner, was killed and the gates were opened to the soldiers of Albert Kis. The intrusion of Kis’ regiment into the castle is proven by a letter written by György Dolhay to István Sennyey.²⁶⁹



88. Khust Castle before the fire of 1766 (reconstruction)

²⁶⁷ Rákóczi tükör. Vol. I. Ed: Köpeczi Béla és R. Várkonyi Ágnes. Budapest, 1973. pp. 94-95.

²⁶⁸ Kovács Ágnes, Károlyi Sándor. Budapest, 1988. pp. 36–38.

²⁶⁹ Pap József, Adalékok Máramaros történetéhez. Máramarossziget, 1909. pp. 281–283. Available online at: <https://archive.org/details/adalkokmramarost00papj/page/14/mode/2up>



89. The Khust Reformed Church and the castle ruins

In addition to these, the county was important to the prince in two respects. It was clear from the border location that important routes led to Poland and Moldova through the mountains, which also meant the possibility of economic, diplomatic and political contacts. The other more important national factor was salt itself, which generated revenue. The significant salt mines, even if they were under the supervision of Rákóczi for a short time, nevertheless, greatly increased the role of the county.

During the Rákóczi war of independence, the salt mines of Maramures were occupied at the end of July 1703 by János Majos, who entrusted the management of the mines to his younger brother, Ferenc Majos. At the same time, however, Rákóczi appointed János Magos, a thirtieth tax collector of Baia Mare, to this responsible position. Finally, Rákóczi left Ferenc Majos in his position. At the beginning of 1704, Rákóczi appointed Zsigmond Buday as chief inspector, with the calculation that he would make the salt mines a lucrative source of money in a short time with the help of competent managers experienced in economic matters. At the beginning of the liberation struggle, the salt mines provided Rákóczi with cash at the earliest. The central warehouse for salt transport in the county was in Vylok, which became the first significant land-based station for rock salt reserves.

Salt was sold here, and the military or economic leaders of the war of independence entrusted with it took over and delivered the precious mineral to the consumers. Statements on salt traffic were made in the first year of the war of independence, which is known from the writings of inspector János Magos in Vylók. These data, which have been left to us with major or minor improvements, indicate the rudimentary nature of the administration and report on Magos' initial activities, about the critical period when even the military leaders of the war of independence stationed locally were involved in the distribution. In the years that followed, a system of salt distribution and transport was developed that was controlled by knowledgeable people. For Rákóczi, not only the mining of salt, but also the smooth transport of this valuable mineral proved to be at least as important. Rákóczi sternly acted against illegal salt duties. A portion of the county's population earned their living from salt mining and salt transportation, which somewhat alleviated their livelihood problems.²⁷⁰

They paid six forints for floating the salt to Tokaj, but they could also do the work by agreement. Salt inspectors were repeatedly forced by military leaders to release salt, although in most cases they were not entitled to do so.

Despite the mines, the area was characterized by a shortage of salt due to negligence on the one hand and attacks by the enemy on the other, as the salt reserves were still in ruined warehouses without locks. Magos honestly uncovered the deficiencies and accounting problems so he could count on the discretion of the relevant managers. The county general assembly of Drotynsi reported to the prince that the poor people could not pay their taxes and were going to work in the salt mines of Maramures, but they could not get their salt here. Therefore they were asking the prince to give the poor a chance to earn a living, as their money would be spent on taxes and maintaining their families. The prince would later comply with the request, thus helping the condition of the people of Maramures, easing tensions between nobility and poverty.²⁷¹

²⁷⁰ Bánkúti Imre, *Iratok Máramaros vármegye történetéhez (1703–1711)*. Budapest, 1992. pp. 17–26, 31–41.

²⁷¹ Csatóry György, *A máramarosi öt koronaváros a Rákóczi-szabadságharc idején. 1703–1711*. Ungvár, 2003. pp. 5–75.

MEMORIAL SITES IN MARAMURES

The Turul monument in Dovhe

Recollections of the lost battle of Dovhe have been preserved for generations in the memory of the folk, and the people of Dovhe have regularly worshiped the site, once considered a mere tombstone. In 1901, a movement was started with Endre Demjanovics titular canon and a dean of Dovhe in the lead to mark the Kuruc cemetery called the “Rákóczi tomb mound” with a monument. A sculpture committee was formed later that year, and the monument was scheduled to be inaugurated for the 200th anniversary of the battle (June 7, 1903). In less than two years, the noble idea came true. On June 28, 1903, approx. 5,000 people showed up in the Dovhe church square where vicar Balogh celebrated a mass on the second day of Pentecost and the anniversary of the coronation. They then marched to the monument, where the priests present sanctified it. “The memorial itself is a white marble column, with a gilded Turul bird at the top and a small cross at its bottom.” Vicar Balogh heartily described the events of the Rákóczi war of independence and the role and self-sacrificing struggle of the Ruthenian people. He pointed out the common past of the Hungarians and Ruthenians. Among other things, he said, “... learn from Rakóczi to love your faith and your homeland, for which you should be ready to live and die, as our fathers did under Rákóczi and Kossuth.” He continued: “If your sons and daughters come to play in this



90. Monument to the Battle of Dovhe



91. Retro fitted marble slabs on the monument to the Battle of Dovhe

square and see this column, with the Turul and the cross of faith on it, and if they ask at home why they erected the beautiful memorial column here, tell them the legends of the Hungarian war of independence, among whose heroes were their ancestors.” After wreathing the monument, the ceremony continued at the decorated table set in the schoolyard. The memorial site was always wreathed on the occasion of the coming anniversaries.²⁷²

Sources also reported on the fate of the earthly remains of the freedom fighters who died here. “In the month of October 1909, when the old Greek Catholic church was demolished and the foundations of the newly built church were dug in the same place, the bones of the Ruthenian Kurucs who fell in the very first battle of Ferenc Rákóczi were also found. On November 8th of the same year, Endre Barankai Dejanovics, the pastor of the Greek Catholic community in Dovhe, put them to rest in their common grave within the walls of the newly built church, with the great participation of the people of the village and the surrounding area.”²⁷³

Regarding the further fate of the monument, there is a case in the State Archives of the Transcarpathian Region, which discusses the ‘renovation’ that took place in 1923. Then Transcarpathia became part of the Czechoslovak Republic and the state did not take a good look at the monuments related to Hungarian history. The barbaric incident took place in March 1923, when the column of the Dovhe Kuruc monument was demolished along with the Turul on it. According to one contemporary data, the perpetrators were drunk. This provoked outrage among the population. It was also protested in the March 16, 1923 issue of the *Rusynsko Magyar*

²⁷² Dolha ünnepe. Kárpáti Lapok, 1903.No. 22.; Dolhai Turul-emlékmű. Available online at: <https://karpatinfo.net.ua/300473-dolhai-turul-emlekmu>.

²⁷³ Dolha Rákóczi ünnepe, Görög Katholikus Szemle, 1903. No. 24.

Gazette, published in Uzhhorod. In connection with the case, the competent authorities decided to renovate the monument at considerable cost (2,626 crowns), which meant that the Hungarian text engraved in marble on it was destroyed and changed to Ruthenian.²⁷⁴

The original inscription on one side of the monument
in Hungarian and in Ruthenian translation:

“WITH GOD FOR THE MOTHERLAND AND FREEDOM!
IN MEMORY OF THE KURUC WARRIORS WHO DIED
IN THE FIRST BATTLE OF FERENC RÁKÓCZI II’S
WAR OF INDEPENDENCE ON JUNE 7, 1703.”

The original inscription on the other side of the monument
in Hungarian and in Ruthenian translation:

“I SHED MY BLOOD FOR FATHER AND MOTHER,
I WILL PUT MYSELF TO DEATH FOR MY
NICE BETROTHED BRIDE-TO-BE.
I WILL DIE TODAY FOR MY HUNGARIAN NATION.”

The works were completed in 1923, the 1.5-meter-high marble column was returned, but without the Turul. Since 2003, a memorial plaque in Hungarian has been announcing the events on the monument, which was remodeled. Thus, the original text, if not in its contemporary place, was republished as a result of the joint work of the Rákóczi Association and the Beregvidék Hungarian Cultural Association.²⁷⁵

On the occasion of the 2003 anniversary year these two organizations restored the monument with the metal Turul. Thus, justice was fully dispensed to the monument, which has been truncated for decades.

Kuruc monument in Vyshkove

On October 12, 2003, on the village day organized in Vyshkove, a memorial to the village’s Kuruc heroes was erected. István Balázs, a wood carver from Vyshkove, immortalized the names of 40 local freedom fighters. After the greeting of Mayor Pál Takács, the monument was inaugurated in the park of the Reformed Church. Local historian Lajos Czébely, and Sándor Milován, vice-president of THCA, made speeches.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁴ Csatóry György, *Levéltári kalászatok*. Ungvár–Budapest, 1993. pp. 212–214.

²⁷⁵ *A Tisza-Becsi ütközet emlékei*. Vasárnapi Újság, 1903. No. 30. p. 643.

²⁷⁶ V.N. *Kuruc-emlékmű a végeken*. 2003. október 17. Available online at: <https://karpataljalap.net/2003/10/17/kuruc-emlekmu-vegeken>



92. Kuruc monument in Vyshkove



93. The headboard of the 1706 Khust parliament

The memorial of the 1706 Khust parliament

In October 2011, a headboard dedicated to the memory of Ferenc Rákóczi II and the 1706 Parliament was inaugurated next to the Khust Reformed Church. The Reformed Pastor Lajos Józán and the Hungarian Consul General in Berehove, István Tóth, gave a speech evoking the famous event of history, praising the Great Prince.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁷ Kovács Elemér, Kopjafaavatás Huszton. Available online at: <http://refua.tirek.hu/hir/mutat/49344/>; Csatáry György, Országgyűlés Huszton, anno 1706. In: Kuruc küzdelmek kora. Ed: Kónya Péter. Presov, 2014. pp. 101–108

The Vilshany Rákóczi memorial plaque

Near Vilshany (Khust district) there is a marble slab built into a stone wall at a spring, which was erected at the end of the 19th century. At that time, the Bovtsar settlement was located here, where dozens of Ruthenian families lived. At the hydroelectric power plant, built in 1956 in Nyzhnii Bystryi, where the Rika and the Talabor rivers flow closest to each other, lies the Bovtsar Mount. Bovtsar is a Rákóczi memorial site, because the word Bovtsar, translated from Ruthenian, means that “the tsar was here”. The Ruthenians called Ferenc Rákóczi II tsar, who quenched his thirst from the spring here. The Maramures Memorial Book (1901) wrote about the spring: “Above the spring there is a pretty-looking memorial wall made of stone cubes, which in a vaulted shape almost covers the abundant spring, with a columnar protrusion at the top. A red marble slab is placed in the middle of the masonry.”²⁷⁸

The inscription on the marble slab:

To commemorate the stay of
PRINCE
FERENCZ RÁKÓCZI II
hereon February 19, 1711
1896.

The memorial site was inaugurated on October 19, 1896 in a ceremonial setting in the area in the presence of its officials. The ceremonial speech was given in two languages, Ruthenian and Hungarian. Today, part of the memorial wall and the marble slab is visible.

The spring was renovated in 2019 with the support of the Transcarpathian Hungarian Cultural Association within the framework of the Rákóczi Memorial Year.

The inscription on the wooden hanging plaque:

“Cum Deo pro Patria et Libertate”

Erected by the THCA in honour of the Rákóczi Memorial Year 2019.

²⁷⁸ Máramarosi emlékkönyv. Ed: Váradi Gábor. Sziget, 1901. pp. 134-135.



94. Memorial plaque of the Rákóczi spring in Vilshany



95. Hanging plaque in Vilshany

The grave of Kuruc General Lőrinc Pekry in Khust

In June 2006, the Reformed Church in Khust erected a marble plaque on the wall of the castle church for Kuruc General Lőrinc Pekry and his wife, the poetess Kata Szidónia Petrőczy.

At the request of the congregation, the granite slab was made by the Military History Institute and Museum of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Hungary. In the church garden Lt. Gen. Dr. József Holló gave an inaugural speech, presenting Kuruc General Lőrinc Pekry and his wife. Pekry died in Homonna on March 6, 1709, but according to family tradition, he was buried next to his wife in Khust. The research of Lajos Józán Reformed pastor of Khust proved the reality of this. The plaque was unveiled by Lt. Gen. dr. József Holló, Vilmos Sziklavári, Consul General of Hungary in Uzhhorod, and Sándor Milován, Vice-President of the THCA.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁹ Badó Zsolt, Az első magyar költő és a kuruc generális. Kárpátalja, 23 June, 2006.



96. Lőrinc Pekry and Kata Szidónia Petróczi



97. Memorial plaque of Lőrinc Pekry and Kata Szidónia Petróczi in Khust

The once existing memorial plaques in Khust

In 1906, the patriotic people of Khust unveiled a black marble plaque, which was built into the wall of the house where Rákóczi consulted with the Transylvanian ambassadors in 1710.²⁸⁰

The inscription on the black marble slab:

This house, in which our glorious prince,
FERENC RÁKÓCZI II consulted with the Transylvanian
lords in May 1710, is marked as an eternal memory in October
1906, at the time of the return of his Holy Ashes, by
THE PEOPLE OF THE TOWN OF KHUST.



98. The former Rákóczi house and the castle ruins in Khust

Between March 8–20, 1706 the town of Khust provided location for the National Assembly of Transylvania convened by Ferenc Rákóczi. The site of the peace treaty had just been planned for Khust. As the mentioned plaque has not survived for posterity, in view of the traditions of independent Hungarian legislation of the Rákóczi era, it is our duty to commemorate this event again.

Furthermore, according to our data, a memorial plaque was erected at the end of May 1906 in the so-called White Court of Khust Castle, the former residence of the prince. An honorary assembly was held in honour

²⁸⁰ Csatóry György, Országgyűlés Huszton, anno 1706. Kárpátalja, March, 2006. (Appendix)

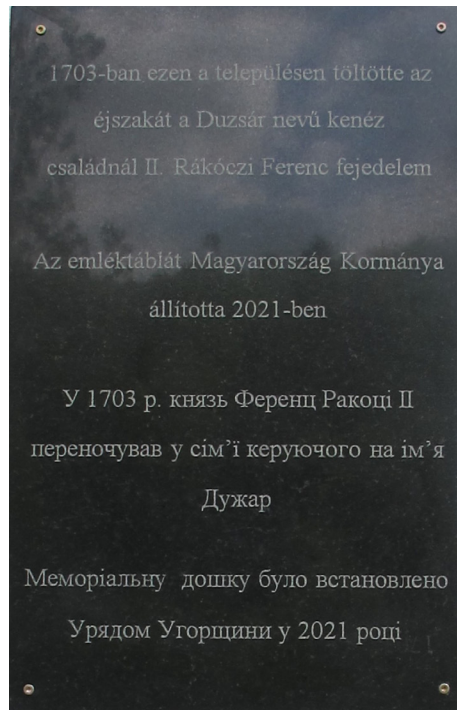
of the event where Chief Judge Jenő Toma spoke to those present. At the plaque, Endre Dudits Greek Catholic parish priest gave a speech. The memorial is no longer visible today.²⁸¹

Memorial plaque to Ferenc Rákóczi II in the village of Pidpolozzia

On May 25, 2021, on the initiative of the Consulate General of Hungary, a memorial plaque in honour of Prince Ferenc Rákóczi II was unveiled on the wall of the Roman Catholic chapel in Pidpolozzia, renovated with the help of the consulate. At the ceremony, the head of the territorial community Vasył Kutlan, village headman Dmytro Rebyan, Hungarian Consul General in Uzhhorod József Buhajla gave a welcome speech, who emphasized the intention to further develop the Rákóczi cult. György Csatóry, lecturer of the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education introduced the audience to the history of the liberation war of 1703–1711.²⁸²

The inscription on the plaque:

In 1703, Prince Ferenc Rákóczi II
spent the night in this
settlement with
the Duzsár family.
The memorial plaque was erected
by the Government of
Hungary in 2021.



99. The Rákóczi plaque in Pidpolozzia

²⁸¹ Csatóry György, *Rákóczi-emlékek és emlékhelyek Kárpátalján*. Ungvár, 2002. p. 77

²⁸² Rehá Viktória, *Felavatták II. Rákóczi Ferenc emléktábláját Vezérszálláson*. Kárpátalja hetilap, 2021.05.25 Available online at: <http://life.karpat.in.ua/?p=57707&lang=hu>

AFTERWORD

In the end, comparing the analyzed sources and literature, we have to agree with the opinion of János Váradi-Sternberg (1924–1992), a professor of history, who stated about the participation of the counties of the Transcarpathian region in the Rákóczi war of independence that the statement of the Kuruc knights of the 55 Uhoča settlements nicely adds to the list of the Kurucs in Bereh. Based on these, we can now name the 1259 Kuruc soldiers of the 165 localities of the two counties. There are no such detailed statements for the other two counties in our region, but we do have some data. In his memoirs, without claiming accuracy, Rákóczi wrote that Maramures County increased its army by about four thousand infantry and eight hundred cavalry. As far as Uzh County is concerned, we know that the Ukrainian peasants who descended from Verkhovina in Velykyi Bereznyi were about five or six hundred in number, besieged Uzhhorod Castle from the autumn of 1703 to March 1704. Based on the above, we can say without exaggeration that in 1703–1704 about 7 or 8 thousand soldiers from our region (Transcarpathia) served in Rákóczi's army. This is a very significant participation, considering that, according to the calculations of military historian Árpád Markó, the Kuruc army numbered about 30,000 at the end of 1703.

If we compare the participation ratio of the people of Uhoča with that of the people of Bereh, we can conclude that although the population of Bereh exceeded that of Uhoča several times, at the 1706 military muster the participation of Bereh County was clearly lower than that of Uhoča. From Uhoča the number of the equestrian nobility was 72 (from Bereh 27), horses 90 (from Bereh 46), servants 15 (from Bereh 15), infantry nobles 99 (47 from Bereh). Uzh County exhibited 115 equestrian nobles, 152 horses, 24 servants, and 38 infantry nobles at that time. Considering that these figures reflect only current conditions, as there may have been significant changes in headcount in weeks or months, there is a clear mass participation in this north-eastern county in terms of proportions.

The most characteristic feature of Rákóczi's army is the constant change, the personal fluctuation. Not only did the main military leadership redirect certain companies and regiments according to the current needs from one battlefield to another, but the soldiers themselves, individually or in groups, either went home from the camp, or they returned, and not always to their original camps. If we look carefully at the muster books, we come across these facts in the remarks box, these characteristics can be said to be general before the establishment of a permanent army.

The surrender was hampered by the plague that raged throughout the country in the last years of the war of independence, which paralyzed traffic, made the settlements more closed, and made the accommodation more dangerous due to the infection. Nor could a parliament be convened because of the infection.

The sources dated in the last stage of the war of independence give a good idea of the conditions that have developed, especially the reports by envoys addressed to the prince himself. Here we can also find the reason for the lack of surrender and possible solutions of the problem. These factors suggest that the population, along with local officials, tried to find a way out to alleviate their livelihood problems. On the one hand, they asked Rákóczi to reduce their tax, and on the other hand, they wanted to protect the interests and further lucrative work of the Uhoča salt miners and suppliers.

Like food, conscription is a constant theme in the relevant sources. The regimental commanders stationed in the region, working to consolidate discipline, drew attention to the fact that the county should prevent the staying at home of those soldiers who have fought on the side of the prince from the beginning. It happened so that these experienced soldiers recruited inexperienced people instead of themselves. They mostly sought to 'stay home,' they could not stand the absence from their home village for so many years. Nor were the decrees of the military commanders and the efforts of the county officials enough to prevent the soldiers from escaping the camps and the sieges. The documents of the county archives – the volume of which was constantly decreasing towards the end of the war of independence – indicated that from February 1710 Károlyi was commissioned to set up a new regiment in the counties of Szatmár, Szabolcs, Bereh, Uhoča and Maramures. The military recruitment was entrusted to Lieutenant General János Gazdag, who was obliged to create new squadrons from the escaped cavalry and infantry, if necessary by force. Those who had been hiding until then, and those who had avoided military service, could also be forgiven if they joined this regiment. The decree stipulated that recruiters should not dare to be violent with nobles and parish priests. Those who had not been registered until then could be called in, with the exception of the Transylvanian armies in the counties. However, the warfare was also in doubt in the counties that remained on Rákóczi's side. The years-long war pushed the population and a significant part of the leaders of the war of independence to accept the peace, despite the fact that Rákóczi and his circle trusted in possible foreign aid, in postponing the negotiations to a favourable date.

The organization of the county army was started by a decree of Bercsényi, in which he stated that Károlyi would calculate the number of

new recruits in the county fairly, and they must be fulfilled accordingly. He recalled the gaps in the conscription of peasant militia and mercenaries. He ordered the replacement of the escaped mercenaries in the regiments.

As early as the end of 1707, the prince's many believers sought refuge in Bereh, Szabolcs, Szatmár, Uhoča and Uzh counties with family members, maids and cattle. In the autumn of 1707, there were 763 such people in Uhoča, with 556 horses, 738 oxen and 386 cows. There were few people among the relocated who could use a gun, so they did not represent a military force.

The north-eastern counties interested in refugee affairs expected the prince to issue quick decrees. At the end of the winter, in his decree, Károlyi demanded that Uhoča be merciful to the Hungarians who had fled from Transylvania, and let them prosper in their temporary accommodation. In the meantime, the conscription of Transylvanian refugees and their supply were organized. Rákóczi reassured the counties that were taking care of the fugitives by saying that appropriate decrees would be made about the fate of the refugees at the meeting to be convened in Eger, and in the meantime he asked the county not to allow them to be disturbed or to move away.

The Transylvanians to be recruited were obliged to enlist during the county recruitments. Sándor Károlyi wrote about this in his open letter to the noble, main and central Transylvanian orders accommodated in Uhoča. He emphasized that the prince was preparing for a campaign in Transylvania and therefore needed the strength and support of the locals. However, Rákóczi's campaign in this direction was delayed, so the return of the refugees could not take place either, and their care problems continued to grow. Transylvanian warfare was no longer possible due to the lack of adequate military equipment. The prince had to constantly discipline opposing camps during the war of independence, and his regulations had to ease tensions between county officials and refugees.

The Khust Parliament (October 26, 1709) made orders about the winter accommodation of the Transylvanians, in such a way that the refugees whose number decreased from 3,500 to 2,500 were brought together and housed in the counties of Maramures, Uhoča and Satu Mare.

The prince did not tolerate the omissions and arbitrariness of the counties towards the refugees. In his orders, he encouraged the county leadership to organize support for the hideouts, as these people lost their possessions because they took up arms to restore the former glorious freedom of our country and nation.

The fate of the refugees was, of course, threatened by the plague in the last years of the war of independence, and the prince himself was in danger

because of its spread. In his letter to Sándor Károlyi, Rákóczi wrote that he had to fear infection already in Mukachevo. He repeatedly mentioned the damage caused by the epidemic in his memoirs. Before arriving at Romhány in January 1710, he recorded that he did not dare to settle in the village because of the plague. Despite the winter weather, they had to sleep on the frosty ground.

In terms of the number of casualties, some 85,000 people lost their lives in the eight-year war of independence, while 310,000 people died in the insidious plague between 1708 and 1711. The fate of those fleeing Transylvania was alleviated only by the peace of Satu Mare. After their certification and taking the oath of allegiance, they were given the opportunity to return home.

The most complete census data of the soldiers of the war of independence can, of course, be found in the muster books kept in the Károlyi Archives. A separate list was made at that time about the nobility of the counties, including Uhochá. The list gives us a comprehensive picture of the cavalry and infantry troops of the county nobility, and then it also counts the nobles who did not appear at the muster and those who were destitute. Examining the county lists, a valuable addition is the list made after the Parliament of Szécsény in 1705, which contains the names of 259 people. The statement does not provide any information other than their names about those who took the oath. First, the list contains the county officers' names, and then the names of persons from the previously analyzed lists are also mentioned. Our research has revealed a list similar in size to this list, which contains 246 names from around August 1707. This list also includes people who are not on the extended list and vice versa.

Regarding the north-eastern counties of the Rákóczi war of independence under consideration in this volume, it can be clearly stated that in addition to the strength of their population, they contributed to the conscription and the supply of the army. It is not up to them that their national efforts have proved insufficient to enforce the conditions of peace that were favourable to Hungary. In Rákóczi's absence, the leaders of the two opposing military camps, Sándor Károlyi and János Pálffy, signed a peace treaty (April 30, 1711), after which the age of the wars of independence in Hungary came to an end. True, not on terms that the Prince intended for his sweet homeland, but which the exhausted country was forced to accept.

The author

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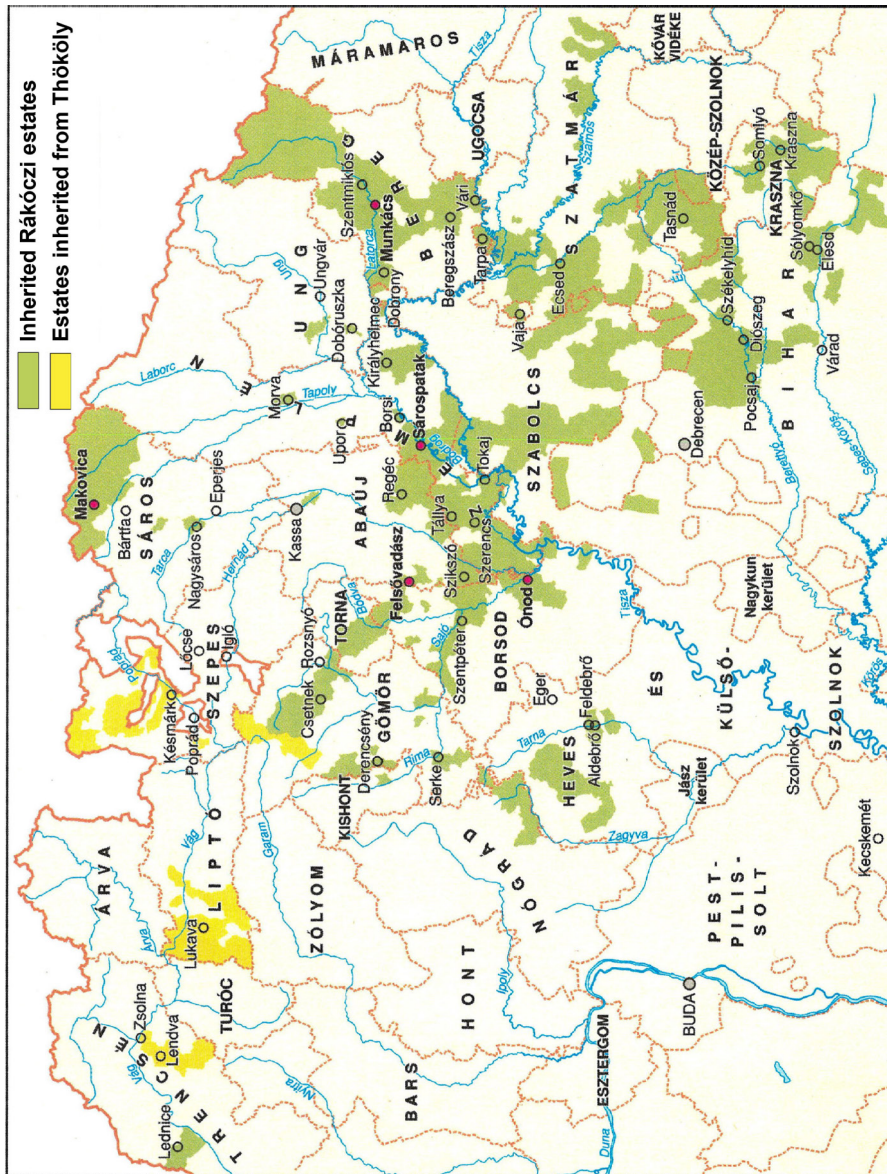
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APPENDIX

Map of the Rákóczi and Thököly estates



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У монографії змальовано життя і діяльність представників князівської родини Ракоці, їх визвольну боротьбу та пов'язані з ними визначні місця Закарпаття. Історичні події епохи роду Ракоці описано з дотриманням наукової об'єктивності та ретельності. Також охарактеризовано ті пам'ятні місця, які населення краю створило для вшанування представників роду Ракоці та подій, пов'язаних із ними. Видання стане в нагоді шанувальникам історії нашого регіону.

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