

Serini 1664, Made in England¹

Miklós Zrínyi (1620–1664) was the great grandson of another Miklós Zrínyi, who had died in a most heroic manner during the desperate siege of Sziget, in 1566. Our Zrínyi, the descendant of a catholic, Croatian aristocrat family, entered Hungarian literary and historical scholarship as the greatest poet of the Hungarian baroque literature² and a fearful commander during the winter military expedition of 1664. As a soldier and nobleman, he had proved to be worthy successor of his most remarkable forefathers, although he did not die gloriously on the battlefield, but in a strange hunting accident, fueling the anti-Habsburg sentiments and passions of the contemporaries. At the present moment, while two national traditions are disputing the (copy)right over the Croatian noble and Hungarian poet, who is the same person, Miklós Zrínyi, it might turn out that there could have been a third claim too. A special historical source³ suggests that although the *Catholic* Zrínyi might have been swearing in Croatian during military combat and producing high quality baroque poetry in Hungarian, yet the early modern Europe, or at least a part of it, used to know him as the *Protestant* hero of the Christendom.

This paper, as a case study, will endeavour to decipher the anthropological relevancies of the different threads within the cultural construction of Miklós Zrínyi's European reception and cult. I will proceed by introducing the different narratives, according to the anthro-

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² Imre Bán: Zrínyi Miklós [Miklós Zrínyi], In: A magyar irodalom története 1600-tól 1772-ig. Ed. Tibor Klaniczay. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1964, p. 159–183; Zrínyi-dolgozatok [Papers on Zrínyi]. Ed. Sándor Iván Kovács. Budapest 1983–1989, I–IV.; Sándor Sik: Zrínyi Miklós [Miklós Zrínyi]. Budapest 1940; Géza Perjés: Zrínyi és kora [Zrínyi and His Age], Budapest 1965; Iván Kovács Sándor: Zrínyi-tanulmányok [Studies on Zrínyi], Budapest 1979; Az első Zrínyi-ülésszak [The First Session on Zrínyi], Ed. András Laczkó. Somogy 1990; Erzsébet Király: Tasso és Zrínyi [Tasso and Zrínyi]. Budapest 1989.

³ The Conduct and Character of Count Nicholas Serini, Protestant Generalissimo of the Auxiliaries in Hungary, The most Prudent and Resolved Champion of Christendom. London: 1664; facsimile edition, ed. Iván Sándor Kovács, Budapest: Zrínyi Katonai Kiadó 1987.

pological dichotomy of *central/native* vs. *peripheral/external* in order to construe the poetical and political implications of this case as a cultural translation and transfer. Moreover, my article aims to interpret this special source, taking account of both iconographical and textual changes as well so that I could evaluate the process of confessionally oriented reception. The analyses of the visual representations will be completed by an anthropological and poetical assessment of the text. Finally, I will argue that this case as a cultural encounter, promotes an illustration about how otherness was translated or appropriated in early modern European Protestantism.

The Hungarian⁴ Zrínyi: the Central/Native Reading

Due to the early death of his father, Miklós, together with his brother Péter, who was to be executed for conspiracy by the Habsburgs, was educated under the close observation of Péter Pázmány, the most important leader of Hungarian counter-reformation. Although, Zrínyi was an educated man, fond of reading and writing with an excellent command in several languages, including, of course Turkish as well, he decided to give up his studies in philosophy. He must have been untouched by the neo-scholastic sophistication of Catholic method applied in the teaching of philosophy. Furthermore, probably, the calling of a sacred family heritage, or the perspective of glory and promotion as the *defensor patriae* constituted an overly powerful temptation for such a brilliant young man.

Accordingly, he hurried to participate to the Thirty Years' War as the general of Croatia, during 1642 and 1645. Then, he was obliged to continue the fight against the Ottomans, who represented a permanent thread and danger for his estates situated at the southern border between the Hungarian Kingdom and Ottoman Empire. Thus, without the military help or any kind of Habsburg support, he engaged into a long-term skirmish with the pagans. As soon as the war broke out again in 1663, Zrínyi, nourishing high expectation from the Habsburg's assistance, in spite of his glorious deeds, was to experience bitter dis-

⁴ I am completely aware of the fact that the Hungarian Zrínyi's origins are in contradiction with my assertion. This time, due to the special issues raised, I am more interested in his cultural identity, or in his self-definition as a famous man, military commander and poet, therefore I promote his Hungarian roots. After all, he had written Hungarian poetry, or as a political man his ambitions were related to the restoration of Hungarian kingdom, therefore I consider that the qualification of Zrínyi as a Hungarian, especially in the context of early modern self/definition, can be regarded as an accurate one.

appointment and dismay. While not just Zrínyi, but more or less the Habsburg-loyal nobility of Upper Hungary, supported and participated in the war against the Turks to liberate Hungary, the Habsburg Empire notwithstanding the expectation of her Hungarian allies and supporters signed the humiliating peace treaty of Vasvár (1664). A high price was to be paid for this political misjudgment. Once it had become clear that the Habsburg administration was more preoccupied with the war against France in order to maintain the empire in the center of the main political struggles of Europe, the Hungarian reaction was reified by the riots to follow organized under the flag of Emericus Thököly and Franciscus Rákóczi.

In this political context, Zrínyi more and more estranged and disgusted from the ruthless pragmatism of Habsburg empirical policy, despite his European fame earned in the winter of 1664, retired to his estates and dedicate his life to literature again. By this time Zrínyi could easily be considered a gifted writer, because he produced a remarkable amount of precious poetry and prose. His main work, the heroic poem narrating the glorious military deeds and sacrifice of his great grandfather, the *Obsidio Sigethiana*⁵ was followed by poems and prose writings (political and military pamphlets) as well. However, Zrínyi's domestic felicity came suddenly to an end in November 1664, when the count, in the company of some friends and a special guest⁶ decided to go hunting. According to the eyewitness's account a wounded beast, a boar killed the brave count to the desperation of a whole nation.⁷ Thus, Zrínyi the greatest baroque poet, a famous soldier and commander passed from this wicked world into a better one, glorified as a man who loved his country, home(s) and nation(s). Croatians and Hungarians mourn and remember him ever since.

⁵ Zrínyi had written the heroic poem during 1645 and 1648, which then became the greatest Hungarian baroque enterprise of the period.

⁶ I refer to Miklós Bethlen, who had come to his court to receive a »proper education« for a young aristocrat. This explanation, alluding to the particularities of the Hungarian familiar system, it is probably only a half-truth. The young Bethlen, the son of János Bethlen, the chancellor of Transylvania, might have had a secret political reason as well to join Zrínyi. However, since his stay coincided with the unfortunate event of Zrínyi's death, he in the quality of an eyewitness, although sometimes after 1708, recorded it in his memoirs: Bethlen Miklós Élete Leírása Magától [Autobiography of Miklós Bethlen]. In: Kemény János és Bethlen Miklós művei. Ed. Éva V. Windisch. Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó 1980, p. 601–603.

⁷ Bethlen's narrative was analyzed by Sándor Bene and Gellért Borián in order to provide, within the limits of existing sources, a more reliable explanation. See Sándor Bene and Gellért Borián: Zrínyi és a vadkan. Budapest: Helikon Kiadó 1988.

The English Serini: the Peripheral/External Reading

The book entitled, *The Conduct and Character of Count Nicholas Serini, Protestant Generalissimo of the Auxiliaries in Hungary, The most Prudent and Resolved Champion of Christendom*, was sold in the bookstore at the Flower Street in London, at the end of 1664. By the time the book became a bestseller, its Hungarian hero, Miklós Zrínyi that is Count Nicholas Serini, had been dead. However, the English gentlemen and women still went on buying this extremely interesting book. Indeed, an infrequent book, which has no author, unless one credits with this function the literate person hiding behind the mysterious O.C monogram, that is the signature added to the *epistola dedicatoria*.⁸ All the same, the booklet, proposes an »original« approach to the life and character of the famous and talented military commander and poet. In order to fulfill the »orientalist« demands of the readership, or maybe to manipulate their predisposition to buy and read something extremely interesting and rare, the description of Zrínyi's life is completed by the curriculum of two other exotic characters: George Castriot⁹ and Tamberlain.¹⁰

The book resembling a travelogue does not consist only of the portrayal of the aforementioned three excellent men, all of them brave and most heroic enemies of the Ottomans, but it also provides a narrative as well, about the distant countries, where these men belong to. In fact, as a description shares a number of similarities with the travel accounts, but its main function seem to be the ethnographic and historical depiction of the environments, in which these men acted. Yet, one has to admit the fact that the mysterious author or authors were not experts at all in history and geography. Their continuous difficulty in differentiating Germany from the Kingdom of Hungary has been paralleled by an unsettlingly inaccurate display of historical data. For instance, much to the surprise of the native (Hungarian) readers, one can learn that Lewis of Hungary and Ferdinand of Bohemia were disputing the Hungarian crown.¹¹ Due to these kinds of erroneous information this written source, in the Hungarian reception, has been declared an unreliable one for Hungarian historiography and literary history. The native interpreters rejected this source relying solely on historical considerations. The *native* cult of Zrínyi seemed to be incompatible with this *external* reading.

⁸ The Conduct and Character, A3r-Br.

⁹ Ibid., p. 112–146.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 147–168.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 11.

The Ethnographic Source and its Authority

After the linguistic turn, or the *metahistory* launched by Hayden White, one, even as a native, can hardly pretend total historical cognition or knowledge. Anthropology as well, after the writing culture debate¹² is confronted with the same relativism and partial access to ethnographic phenomena. Moreover, once the alleged superiority of the native anthropologist has been discredited,¹³ it became clear the situated and fragmented character of all knowledge. Postmodernity in anthropology consists of a prolonged crisis of representation. The failure of the participant observation as a method displayed during the fieldwork in order to interpret cultural otherness, sometimes through the mediation of informants, reveals the arbitrary and somehow accidental process of writing up the ethnographic account, as the expression of an understanding resembling an allegory.¹⁴ The author(s),¹⁵ the other and the self, including the field or the subject of the study are exposed to the impact of anthropological inquiry as a scientific process, but the result is ambiguous.¹⁶ Has understanding/translation just taken place?

My approach follows the theoretical considerations of post-modern anthropology, with a special regard to the (After) Writing Culture the-

¹² First, a report was published about the results of the seminar followed by the famous volume, defined as the milestone of postmodernity in anthropology: George Marcus and James Clifford: *The Making of Ethnographic Texts: A Preliminary Report*. In: *Current Anthropology*, vol. 26, no. 2 (1985), p. 267–271; *Writing Culture: the Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Ed. James Clifford and George Marcus. Berkeley: University of California Press 1986.

¹³ Kirin Narayan: *How native is a »Native« Anthropologist ?* In: *American Anthropologist*, vol. 95, no. 3 (1993), p. 671–686.

¹⁴ James Clifford: *On Ethnographic Allegory*. In: *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Ed. James Clifford and George Marcus. Berkeley: University of California Press 1986, p. 98–121.

¹⁵ The problematic notion and the accessory speculations about the death of author have been transferred from literature to anthropology. Thus the ethnographic account, often produced with the decisive contribution and cooperation of native informants, is pertinently confronted with the questions: who is the author or what is he compiling, translating or (re)inventing? For further details see Lisa Ede and Andrea A. Lunsford: *Collaboration and Concepts on Authorship*. In: *PMLA*, vol. 116, no. 2 (2001), p. 354–369.

¹⁶ I refer to the influence of literary theory upon social sciences. It has recently come to the front the thesis suggesting the difficulty of differentiating the ethnographic narrative from literature. The ever-increasing influence of rhetoric and poetics, just like in the case of historical representation, seem to erase the narrow and overlapping boundary between fictitious and scientific narrative. See: Rose de Angelis: *Introduction to Between Anthropology and Literature: Interdisciplinary Discourse*. Ed. Rose De Angelis. London: Routledge 2002, p. 1–7. For further details and perspectives, see: *Anthropology and Literature*. Ed. P. Benson. Urbane: University of Illinois Press 1993.

ory. Since, one can possess always just partial truths,¹⁷ even as a native anthropologist, every researcher, historian and anthropologist as well is confronted with such a dazzling complexity, often embedded in obscuring historical perspectives that interpretive attempts seems faint and futile efforts. Being native, while attempting to understand cultural otherness, even in one's own culture, the anthropologist and, I may add, the historian must subdue himself to the enactment of hybridity.¹⁸ It is this hybrid identity, consisting of a personal self and an ethnographic self that should be consciously reflected whenever one engages in any cultural contact or encounter. The world, and implicitly the culture, has been made up of mixed multicultural entities for the native and for the anthropologist as well. He who attempts to decipher it, needs to perceive it as such.

Therefore, I consider this whole affair over Serini, a remarkable episode of an early modern cultural encounter between the predominantly Puritan England and the Reformed Hungary, revealing not solely historical, but mostly anthropological implications. Therefore, I intend to classify this English text as an *ethnographic source* promoting a possible/plausible representation of the Hungarian hero, Miklós Zrínyi's cult. Consequently, the Hungarian reception consisting of a vehement enumeration of mistakes found in the text, in fact, illustrates how this cultural encounter is rendered into an imaginary opposition between the *central/native* (Hungarian) and the *peripheral/external* (English) variant/interpretation of the same cultural phenomenon. Yet, according to the latest developments of cultural anthropology,¹⁹ the central/

¹⁷ James Clifford: Introduction to Writing Culture: the Poetics and Politics of Ethnography. Ed. James Clifford and George Marcus. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986, p. 6.

¹⁸ Narayan: How native is a »Native Anthropologist«? (see note 13), p. 681.

¹⁹ There is a famous analogy in cultural anthropology, in fact, a debate about the legitimacy and validity of the outsider anthropologist versus the native anthropologist. I am referring to the debate between Marshal Sahlins and Obeyesekere Gananath, during which, the native anthropologist gave a subversive criticism of Sahlins's interpretation. Yet, today the advantage of being native, while engaged in anthropological fieldwork, is not widely accepted. The criticism of the Geertzian concept of *local knowledge* and the problem of reflexivity in postmodern anthropology are further argument underscoring the complexity of this issue. For further details see: Marshall David Sahlins: Historical Metaphor and Mythical Realities: Structures in the Early History of Sandwich Islands Kingdom. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 1986; Obeyesekere Gananath: The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific. Princeton: University Press 1992; Hendry Joy: Other People's World. An Introduction to Cultural and Social Anthropology. New York: New York University Press 1999; Alan Barnard: History and Theory in Anthropology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2000.

native variant implying the *ethnographic authority*²⁰ of Hungarian historical scholarship as a sort of a *local knowledge*,²¹ cannot claim to be exclusively accurate in judging such a phenomenon. Moreover, I do consider that the difference between the native/central and non-native/peripheral reading is not a qualitative one, it is just the discrepancy between two types of ethnographic authorities. Therefore, my interpretation, instead of providing further arguments impugning the external (English) account, will attempt to construe *the poetics and politics of the ethnographic narrative*.²²

For the book, published anonymously, sets forth a challenging perspective upon the concept of literary and iconographical translation, political transfer and cultural transformation. Moreover, the historical character of Zrínyi/Serini was transmuted into a *topoi* or *locus* of the ultimate *hero* or *princeps* inherited from ancient literary or historical narratives, which performs the function of a model meant to legitimate the validity of a cultural construction (*puritan martyrology*) or a political agenda (*the Christian duty to fight against the pagans*). In order to demonstrate the solidity of these assumptions I will proceed to the interpretation. In a first step I analyze the imagery, and then I turn my attention to the text in order to decipher the inherent cultural codes and reconstruct its rhetorical structure.

²⁰ A classic example, illustrating how the ethnographic authority could disguise shortcomings or contradiction in a given interpretation and compensate with interpretive virtuosity, is the one written by Vincent Crapanzano about Geertz's deep play. See: Vincent Crapanzano: Hermes' Dilemma: the Making of Subversion on Ethnographic Description. In: *Writing Culture: the Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Ed. James Clifford and George Marcus. Berkeley: University of California Press 1986, p. 51–76.

²¹ I refer to Geertz's term and concept, heavily criticized by both anthropologists and historians. Paul Shankman: The Thick and the Thin: On the Interpretive Theoretical Program of Clifford Geertz. In: *Current anthropology*, vol. 25, no. 3 (1984), p. 261–280; William H. Sewell Jr.: Geertz, Cultural Systems, and History: from Synchrony to Transformation. In: *Representations* no. 59 (1997), p. 35–55; Aletta Biersback: Local Knowledge, Local History. In: *The New Cultural History*. Ed. Lynn Hunt. Los Angeles, Berkeley, London: University of California Press 1989, p. 72–96; Jacques Revel: Microanalyses and the Construction of the Social. In: *Histories. French Construction of the Past*. Eds. Jacques Revel and Lynn Hunt. New York: New York Press 1995, p. 493–501.

²² James Clifford definition of culture renders this aim more articulate: »Culture as composed of seriously contested codes and representations; they assume that the poetic and the political are inseparable, that science is in, not above historical and linguistic processes.« (Clifford, Introduction, p. 2).

The True (sic!) Effigies of Count Nicolaj Serini

Besides the incontestable recognition that the English text provides a fake portrait²³ of Zrínyi, it is worth studying this visual representation. Moreover, if we compare this portrait²⁴ to one of the most notorious portraits of Zrínyi²⁵ the resulting differences reveal a few aspects of this type of visual *translation*, too. The first set of modifications is related to the face of the hero. Zrínyi's almost untidy hair was replaced by a fashionable haircut, the typically Hungarian aquiline nose was eliminated and a definitely more attractive one was added. Zrínyi's moustache was transformed into a more stylish one completed by a little, chick beard. The genuine warrior figure was fashioned into a gentleman, a real heartbreaker or a dandy. Furthermore, the modifications operated at the level of attire, are also deeply meaningful. Zrínyi's apparel, reflecting the type of arm he used to command, that is the light cavalry, was replaced with elements borrowed from the representational repertoire of western military tradition. Thus, Zrínyi's characteristically Hungarian clothes were replaced by a suit of light armor, totally in contradiction with the military reality of the time, since the light cavalry was not equipped with armor. The elegance and stylishness, also emphasized in this image, are provided by the use of a scarf and a shawl.

It is almost certain, that the engraver of the portrait, while envisaging the *Protestant Generalissimo* relied on the existing western stereotypes. The artist missed one basic consideration when he redesigned Zrínyi's imagery. He neglected, or simply did not know the fact that Hungarian nobility, especially those involved in continuous combat with the Ottomans, fashioned their identity as a group, reclining on the military attributes of one particular arm: the light cavalry, which was to be known later as the Hungarian Hussar. For this arm, the only effective military device against Ottoman light cavalry, resembling to each other in several considerations, was invented, experienced and improved during the everyday combat with the Turks in the borderland area. Zrínyi was also trained first of all in this type of war, since his estates were situated in fiercely disputed borderlands, where the cavalry garrisoned in Hungarian and Turkish fortresses often attacked in hit

²³ Gizella Wilhelmb dedicated a whole book to the collection and evaluation of the iconographic representations of the Zrínyi family and its members. This portrait has been qualified by her as a fictitious image in western attire. See: Gizella Cennerné Wilhelmb: *A Zrínyi család ikonográfiája* [The Iconography of the Zrínyi Family]. Budapest: Balassi Kiadó 1997, p. 138.

²⁴ See Fig. 1. The source of this image is: Cennerné Wilhelmb, *ibid.* 137, D 82.

²⁵ See Fig. 2. The source of this image is: *Ibid.*, 134, D 77.



*The true Effigies of Count
Nicolaj Serini Generalissimo of the
Christian Army in Hungary:*

H. D. pinsit .

I. Chantry . sculp .

Figure 1. John Chantry: *The Poet Miklós Zrínyi*, 1664

[Erdélyi Magyar Adatbank]



Figure 2. Gerhard Boultats: *The Poet Miklós Zrínyi*, 1664

raids. The nature of this combat demanded speed, mobility and courage always depending upon the element of surprise, or ambush. To be able to perform this type of military action a special arm, light cavalry, was needed.

The conclusion is that the attempt of visually representing the Hungarian Zrínyi as Protestant generalissimo and hero of Christendom was conceived in an inadequate military and historical context. Despite this shortcoming, as a translation or a transfer is a well functioning construction, especially for those western readers, who did not ever see a Hungarian hussar or never heard about the special features of the borderland warfare. This first major transformation, detectable at the level of visual representation, points toward this translation as a modeling process of how a special (native/central) knowledge or perception of reality is transposed into a universal (peripheral, external) set.

The Catholic Zrínyi as a Godly Puritan

The most important change in Zrínyi's character, as a result of the translation, is the modification of his confessional identity. Thus the Catholic Zrínyi becomes Serini, the godly puritan, outstanding example not only for his military virtues or manhood, but for his religiosity as well.

The last and *most considerable observable in him*, and that which much imports the State of Christendom, is *his Religion*, which he useth not as an Artifice of power, but as the Ornament and Comfort of his own Soul [...].²⁶

The immediate historical context of 1664 suggests that in spite of the restoration (1660), Puritan religiosity or religious and political non-conformity, were still present and decisive for the mentality and reading habits of the Commonwealth. Moreover, Puritan devotional literature consisting of a large variety of sermons, conduct books and meditations managed to shape a special readership preoccupied with the practice of piety (*praxis pietatis*) and the conviction of election (*certitudo salutis*). While the elegant and exotic depiction of Zrínyi must have been the perfect bait for women readers, the godly divine spirituality of the great hero fulfilled the various expectation of a homogeneous readership. After all, a true early modern gentleman must have been endowed with the virtue of the piety as well, not only with military skills. Hence, the exotic Hungarian, daringly challenging the pagans, provides a moving example of Christianity as well. The Protestant gen-

²⁶ The Conduct and Character, p. 97.

eralissimo of Christendom consists of a most perfect combination of spiritual and physical qualities; the manly bravery and godly religiosity resembles Cromwell's roundheads, or even the Lord Protector himself. Such a poignant coincidence, one could remark...

However, Zrínyi is represented as the most perseverant practitioner of puritan religiosity and piety. One can learn about him

Indeed his piety is as spreading as his command; and there is no man within the one, but must partake of the other: Yet his own deportment is most remarkable; all his Enterprises begin with Prayer, and some of them with Psalms, which at once inspire his Souldiers, and blesse his undertakings [...]. He is not more careful of his Christian respects to all those persons and things that bear any relation to God [...].²⁷

Furthermore, Zrínyi's religiosity is beyond any human hypocrisy, a charge often raised against Puritan divines, because his religious practice is imbued in the most important Christian and human values and duties.

[His] Practical Piety, consisting of the honour due to God, obedience to princes, Justice, mutual Love, resolution and Patience; together with whatsoever things are good, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are pure [...].²⁸

All the same, it is possible to surmise that the unknown author followed a Puritan pattern of religiosity, based upon the concept of practice of piety, that is, a special *modus vivendi*, consisting of regular prayers, meditations and various religious performances.

The occurrence of term observation (*observatio*), a key term in the theology of the Puritan Ames,²⁹ in fact, refers to this aforementioned practice undertaken by Puritans. The observation, in early modern Puritan practice was the equivalent of a spiritual activity, which automatically supposed the suspension of all earthly preoccupation for the sake of a total spiritual dedication. In this particular context becomes extremely telling the assertion

He [Serini] promotes the observation of the Lords day.³⁰

This Puritan religiosity founded on the puritan piety, and its relevant terms, including the observation, the cases of conscience or the impor-

²⁷ Ibid., p. 108–109.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 103.

²⁹ »De observantia in genere [...]. Modus observantiae hominum est: cum subjectione respicere voluntatem Dei; quia homines per observantiam applicant suam voluntatem ad voluntatem Dei implendam, qua Deus aliquid praecipit illis pro autoritate sua, quae omnia arguunt subjectionem.« Cf. Guilielmus Amesius: *Medulla Theologica illustrata*. Franequerae 1670, p. 5.

³⁰ *The Conduct and Character*, p. 99.

tance of contemplative duties, is completed by another set of considerations. Thus, a further link to the neo/Calvinist and Puritan heritage is grounded on Zrínyi's allegedly Anti-Catholic standpoint concerning the organization and the different rites of the of the church. Much to our surprise, Zrínyi is declared to be the promoter of Puritan simplicity since

He deplores much the use of Images in the Christian Church.³¹

His Puritan and Presbyterian convictions about Church organization are doubled by a genuine Calvinist authority and predisposition toward social control culminating again in Anti-Catholic criticism.

[...] he hath a peculiar respect for a sober and prudent Clergy [...] whose Austerity and Reverence in external Worship, makes way for Religion to enter through the eye to the heart [...] the same Councils are observed necessary for Princes in relation to Religion [...] the Church being of that nature, that if soar too high, it choaks Vertue and Piety in the superfluous Ceremonies, which like too much Paint in Rome, adulterate the face of Truth; but if she be kept too low, then it wants Decency and Order [...].³²

The conclusion is, perhaps, unavoidable that the process of translation, quite similar with the translation of the imagery, again is focused upon the possible demands and expectations of the market. The Catholic Zrínyi has become a Puritan Serini, depicted as a gentleman and western military commander. Besides all theoretical speculation, of course, one should keep in mind a relevant detail, the book is sold in the Puritan England, for a mostly Protestant readership. The sudden interest of English society in the exotic world of Eastern Europe, is also business, a complex affair oriented by military, economic and political interest.

The Discourse of the Translation: Politics and Poetics

The political agenda behind this narrative is not ambiguous at all. During the 1650's and 1660's England became more and more interested in the Eastern European region. That is why, the latest war (1663–1664) suddenly and unexpectedly ended by the peace treaty of Vasvár had a vivid reception in England. The political and economic perspectives remained focused upon the Eastern area of Europe, which was to be liberated by the Christian at the end of the century.³³ Nonetheless, the

³¹ Ibid., p. 98.

³² Ibid., p. 100–101

³³ The treaty of Karłowicze (1699) sealed the reconfiguration of a new political order in Eastern Europe. The Ottomans were forced to give up the major parts of their conquest.

booklet about Zrínyi, was preceded in England by other strange publications, in terms of ambiguous authorship or sources of translation and compilation. Two publications without authors³⁴ and a translation by James Howell refer to the ever-growing interest of English society and public opinion. All these works agreed with this latest book upon one major idea, namely, the Christian duty of liberating Europe from the pagan threat.

The poetical features are closely related to this political agenda, in fact, their main function is to deliver the political message. In order to produce the necessary impact upon the targeted readership they displayed some classical elements of the ancient rhetorical tradition. All the same, the description as a poetical device was chosen from the common rhetorical heritage of Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian. All of them agree that within the wild category of *topoi (loci)*, there is a special set of arguments, related to the Person (*argumenta a persona*). This set of arguments, consisting of 15 different categories, covers all the necessary aspect of a description. Accordingly the rhetorical pattern proposes the following features to be necessarily mentioned when depicting a person:

1. Familia, genus, 2. Natio, 3. Patria, 4. Sexus, 5. Aetas, 6. Educatio, 7. Habitus corporis, 8. Fortuna, 9. Conditio, 10. Animi natura, 11. Studia, 12. Quid affectet quisque, 13. Ante acta dictaque, 14. Nomen, 15. Argumenta ad hominem

Applied to the case of Serini it becomes clear, how importantly and decisively contributed this pattern to the articulation of the discourse depicting the protestant generalissimo. If we confront the model with the structure of the books, in terms of chapters functioning as components of the description, the result is suggestive: 1. *The Famous Serini's Ancestors, his Grandfather, and Father* (Familia, genus); 2. *The incomparable Counts own brave undertakings* (Ante acta dictaque,); 3. *His great Prudence and Conduct* (Quid affectet quisque); 4. *His Temper, Education, Virtues* (Animi natura, Educatio, Conditio): 5. *His great parallel Scanderberg* (comparatio).

Yet, the simple usage of this rhetorical pattern (*argumenta a persona*) solely would not have been enough to display the political and poetical particularities of this complex discourse. Two further rhetorical concepts were employed in order to obtain the counted results. The first is the *accomodatio*, a term referring to those oral or written modifica-

³⁴ A New Survey of the Turkish Empire and Government. London 1663; A Brief Account of the Turks Late Expedition Against the Kingdom of Hungary. London 1663; János Nadányi: *Florus Hungaricus*, transl. James Howell. London 1664.

tions of a text, which are executed in order to meet the expectations of the audience or readership, or to transform a complex, or a culturally alien phenomena intelligible for an average audience readership. Thus the accommodation, in our case, functions as a poetical device undertaking literary and anthropological functions. The culturally alien character of Zrínyi, had to be translated in such a way as to eliminate its anthropologically relevant otherness and narrated in a literary genre which could meet the literary and confessional expectations, prejudices and demands of a certain audience.

Consequently, the modifications of both imagery and text are partially carried out by this poetical process, meant to domesticate and accommodate this unusual cultural and historical phenomenon to the ethnocentrism and culturally limited understanding of the English readership. The anthropologist, Vincent Crapanzano, justly asserted about the use of *accomodatio* in the work of the ethnographer that »he must render the foreign familiar and preserve its very foreignness at one and the same time.«³⁵ A good illustration is provided by the repeated efforts to depict Zrínyi familiar (Calvinist, dressed up according to Western fashion) but in the meantime distant and exotic.

The second poetical device closely connected to the *accomodatio* is the *applicatio* that is the application, namely the author's effort to integrate a distant cultural and historical phenomenon in a familiar context. The Hungarian Zrínyi was promoted in a typically English cultural and historical framework. These twofold procedures were somehow dialectically displayed, for they mutually and simultaneously shaped the evolution of the translation as a discourse. The accommodation and application emerge into a final result, that is the *poetics of appropriation*. All the formerly introduced and analyzed procedures and concepts were employed to accomplish the poetical process of appropriation. After having transformed, then accommodated and applied to English cultural and historical contexts Zrínyi was appropriated in order to promote the values of the translating culture. Therefore, the *translation* has altered into a process of cultural and political transfer culminating in the act of *appropriation*. In spite of a vague orientalism, Zrínyi as an exotic and famous warrior, his character is used in order to validate a political agenda and a cultural/confessional tradition (Puritanism) both serving the interest of the Commonwealth. Hence, the catholic Zrínyi became *Serini, the Protestant Champion of Christendom*.

³⁵ Crapanzano: Hermes's Dilemma (see note 20), p. 52.

Conclusion

The twofold, confessional/textual modifications, involving in the process of representation the translations of both images and texts, it certainly suggests that the constructed text and image have been modified with the declared aim of meeting the expectations of special types of readers. The unknown author proved not only his literally skills in compiling the available Latin and Hungarian (?) sources about Serini, but acted as an experienced anthropologist, who wisely adjusted the possibilities of the text to the demands of the market. According to Talal Asad: »All good translations seeks to reproduce the structure of an alien discourse within the translator's own language. How that structure (or coherence) is reproduced will, of course, depend on the genre concerned, on the resources of translator's language, as well as on the on interests of the translator and/or his readership.«³⁶

The historical and anthropological significance of this phenomenon reaches beyond the narrow-minded and ethnocentric concerns of Hungarian historiography. It is an important example, underscoring the view that cultural encounter and translation as literary, iconographical, and cultural transformation of otherness have deeply contributed to the shaping of the imagination of early modern protestant communities. Although, the historical character of Serini in an attempt to replace the highly esteemed Miklós Zrínyi, was refused by the discourse of Hungarian historiography, but the *hero* Serini, as the *Champion of Christendom*, we have to admit, paid a last but most remarkable tribute to the great poet and warrior.

³⁶ Talal Asad: The Concept of Cultural Translation in British Social Anthropology. In: Writing Culture: the Poetics and Politics of Ethnography. Ed. James Clifford and George Marcus. Berkeley: University of California Press 1986, p. 156.