

KÁLMÁN MÉSZÁROS**THE PALATIAL COURT REGIMENT OF FERENC II RÁKÓCZI
(1703–1711)******Prince Rákóczi's court army***

Being one of the most researched and almost entirely explored eras of the Hungarian history, the War of Independence led by Ferenc II. Rákóczi still contains problems to clarify. For example, the history of the regiments of the “kuruc”¹ army has not been researched up till now – and in all probability, it is one of the principal shortcomings of the Hungarian war historiography engaging in this period. For an overview summary of the issue, it is indispensable to collect all the censuses of the shires and manors, registers of the kuruc army, rolls and headcount tables of the different corps, issues and register books of Rákóczi's chancery and all the other data of the contemporary records. It must be the scattered resources that discouraged the researchers from the work that seemed to demand huge efforts, however, appeared to meet dubious success.

Please, find below a description of one of Rákóczi's court regiments; this description is merely a draft and it cannot be compared to the classical adaptations of the army corps. Even the roughly outlined history of the regiment mentioned in the title can provide us with important evidences – moreover, the court regiment of Ferenc Rákóczi as an ‘elite’ guard can be subject to general interest as well.

For the first time a detailed description of Prince Rákóczi's court regiments is given in a report written in 1705. It had been attributed to Marquis Des Alleurs, Louis XIV's delegate to Rákóczi and it has been cleared only recently that it was written by Coulon, an ambassador sent to Rákóczi by the Prince Elector of Bavaria, Maximilian Emanuel. The report indeed is in connection with Des Alleurs's arrival in Hungary and it seems to reflect the real situation of the kuruc army and state, and it tells us how the French–Bavarian allies judged them.² The report describing the organisation of the kuruc troops

* This work is going to be published in Hungarian, in more detailed form, supplied with further remarks and a complete biographical data survey of the officials of the regiment and the most important documents in HK. Therefore I mention only the most important sources here. – My researches had been sponsored by T 038212 OTKA-Tender. The study was translated by László Oláh. The translation was controlled by Éva Paczolay and Ferenc Csákváry.

¹ The Hungarian word (noun and adjective) ‘kuruc’ means a soldier in the insurrectionist armies of Imre Thököly and Ferenc Rákóczi fighting against Hapsburg oppression or generally a follower of Thököly and Rákóczi.

² The title of the Hungarian publication of the report is “The report of Marquis Des Alleurs about the situation of the Hungarian malcontent”. Hungarian translation by Nándor Szávai. In: RTű

also mentions details about the organisation of the court army, which consisted of the following parts at that time: “the prince organised two court guard regiments, one of them consisted of 1000 horsemen armed with carabines and in the other regiment there were 1000 infantry men called ‘palatials’ by the Hungarians, we [the Bavarians and French] would call them riflemen.” This latter formation was completed with a few hundred men and was divided into two battalions of 500 men each. Beside them there was a French grenadier company of approximately 120 people (half of the crew was Hungarian) and a company of 200 riflemen, organised in April 1705, also belonged to the prince’s court army.³

In the beginning Rákóczi had a palatial infantry guard and a cavalry carabineer court guard. This latter one was under the command of Ádám Gyürky (1703–1704) later under the command of György Ordódy (1704–1710) and in the end under the command of András Zay (1710–1711).

At the beginning of the year 1704 when Fierville le Hérissy, Esq. arrived, the prince founded a French foot grenadier company in which, according to Coulon, there were 180 men. This unit almost completely perished in the battle of Nagyszombat. Afterwards Rákóczi reorganized it, as we have seen, and completed it with Hungarians. Fierville, who had been captured near Nagyszombat, was released at the end of 1705 and took command of the company. The company that was to be organized as a regiment remained in array until the end of the war and then capitulated in Kassa.⁴

The company of ‘Kapososok’ or ‘Deliások’ (a representative foot guard) was probably founded in the spring of 1705. It belonged to the palatial regiment and we will tell about it in detail below. The ‘Arnót’ (Albanian) cavalry mercenaries’ company that appeared between 1708 and 1710 was also a special company and it belonged to the carabineer regiment.⁵ The riflemen’s company

II. 126–142. But the original long, baroque style title of the “Relation” does not refer to marquis Des Alleurs as the author: “Relation de l’état où se trouvoient les affaires des Mécontents d’Hongrie lorsque M. Des Alleurs est arrivé auprès du Prince Rakoczi et des dispositions qu’on avait fait en Hongrie et en Transilvanie pour la campagne de 1705, avec une description du pays et des moeurs des habitants.” (The original French text was published by J. Fiedler: *Actenstücke zur Geschichte Franz Rákóczy’s und seiner Verbindungen mit dem Auslande*. Wien, 1855–1858.) The personality of the author has recently been cleared by Béla Köpeczi: RTü II. second edition, Budapest, 2004. 115–116. I would like to thank Professor Köpeczi for sharing his researches with me at the conference in September 2003 before their publication. Coulon stayed at Rákóczi’s court from the summer of 1704. About him see: Ráday Pál iratai. I. 1703–1706. Ed.: Kálmán Benda, Tamás Esze, Ferenc Maksay, László Pap. Budapest, 1955. passim. (See in the index of names.)

³ RTü II. 131–133.

⁴ The regiment is mentioned on the payment list of the garrison of Kassa even in 1711. See Imre Bánkúti: Források Kassa 1710–1711. évi védelméhez. In: HK, 2003. 890–891.

⁵ See István Seres: Csulay Imre jelentései II. Rákóczi Ferencnek a török földre menekült erdélyi kurucokról, 1706–1708. In: HK, 2003. 853–857.

mentioned by Coulon appears as ‘green riflemen’ in our resources, but we have scanty information about them. According to Kálmán Thaly they were under the command of Ferenc Csicsery.⁶

The court cavalry grenadier regiment was organized in 1706 under the command of Alexandre Joseph Vissenacque (1706–1707), after his death, András Zay became the commander (1708–1710). Meanwhile, in 1707/1708 Noirval’s regiment of dragoons was incorporated into it.⁷ In 1710 the unit was completed with Swedish and Polish auxiliary forces and Colonel Jean-Jacques Charrière became the commander, who followed the prince into exile with some of his soldiers.

The Sekel (Székely) lancer regiment was mentioned in April 1706 for the first time. It was first under Zsigmond Székely’s command⁸ and later under Kristóf Bíró’s command and a part of the regiment even followed the prince into exile with Lieutenant Colonel János Cserei.

From the units founded earlier the prince incorporated Charles Bonafous’s infantry regiment into his court army in early November 1707. After Bonafous had been wounded the former Lieutenant Colonel Hans Jacob Dietrich became the commander of the regiment. In the middle of September 1710, the unit was incorporated into Fierville’s regiment.⁹

The cavalry regiment that was recruited in the little heyduck¹⁰ towns of the Sajó–Hernád territory possessed by Rákóczi got the title of guard regiment in 1709. It was under Ferenc Deák’s command. It remained in the army formation until the Conclusion of Peace of Szatmár. Colonel Deák signed the peace treaty but Lieutenant Colonel Ádám Máriássy followed the prince into Poland.

At last we must mention the Noble Company, which was organized from the beginning of 1706 and was inaugurated on 26 April 1707. It was under the command of Ádám Vay, commander-in-chief of the court army. It was not merely a military formation but an ‘elite educating’ institute and it was an

⁶ Thaly, 1891. 167.

⁷ According to Lemaire, a French kuruc brigadier, Rákóczi first wanted to appoint count Lutzelbourg, brother-in-law of marquis Des Alleurs commander of the united regiment but he refused it. See: *Relation abrégée de ce quis’ est passé dans la guerre d’ Hongrie depuis le commencement de la campagne de 1705 jusqu’ au mois de mars 1708*, par Lemaire, ingénieur, ayant servi en ce pays. It was published almost at the same time by E. C. Fréron: *Histoire intéressante ou Relation des guerres du Nord et de Hongrie au commencement de ce siècle*. Hamburg, 1756. Hungarian translation by Nándor Szávai. In: RTü II. 281.

⁸ The similarity between the name of the Hungarian folk group in Transylvania (Székely) and that of the commander of the regiment organized by them is purely coincidental.

⁹ AR I/III. 537, 540.

¹⁰ The “heyducks” (in Hungarian sing.: “hajdú”, plur.: “hajdúk”) in that time were peasant soldiers settled down with some privileges. Here those soldiers are mentioned who were settled down with the privileges of the Rákóczi family.

attempt at establishing a military order called by the name of Divine Providence.¹¹

The organization of Rákóczi's court army sketched here was based on the traditional organization of the Transylvanian princes' court army and that of the Hungarian lords¹² but it indicates, especially the foreign regiments, the results of the efforts made to organize a modern army. The court armies of the Transylvanian princes¹³ and the court of Imre Thököly and Rákóczi before 1703 could be topics of further studies, but a complex analysis of the question can be carried out only in a monography. In the present study we cannot undertake to do this but dealing with a smaller segment of the topic we can ascertain that the history of the palatial regiment began before the Independence War and in the court of young Rákóczi there were palatials even in 1699–1701, who were obviously palatial and body guards.¹⁴

The first data about the organization of the palatial regiment, 1704–1705

The palatial regiment played an important and unique role in the court army. As we have seen, it was the earliest organized guard regiment along with the carabineer regiment and it remained in the army formation until the peace treaty and even until the surrender of Fort Munkács in June 1711. Unfortunately, our kuruc resources (especially resources on the part of Rákóczi and Bercsényi) regarding the beginning of the War of Independence are scarce. We do not know enough about the foundation of the palatial regiment. We have the earliest data from 1704 when the prince ordered the counties and estates to compile the lists of those who had become soldiers. Unfortunately, these resources are not complete or most of them are still unveiled. In the compilation of Zemplén County, which was closed on April 8 1704, we can find one palatial soldier, but on the lists of the Rákóczi's estates of Munkács and Szentmiklós, which were compiled later, we can read much more palatial heyducks'¹⁵ names. Relaying on

¹¹ The latest publication: Gusztáv Heckenast: II. Rákóczi Ferenc elitképző Nemesi Társasága. In: *Művelődési törekvések a korai újkorban. Tanulmányok Keserű Bálint tiszteletére*. Ed. Mihály Balázs, Zsuzsa Font, Gizella Keserű, Péter Ötvös. Szeged, 1997. (Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez, 35.) 153–169.

¹² In Simon Forgách's court there were palatials who had the same rank as the henchmen and outriders and at the table they followed the hunters and dogkeepers but they came before the German and Hungarian stablemans. See Albert Nyáry: Asztali rendtartás egy kuruczvilági főúr udvarában. In: *Századok*, 1873. 445.

¹³ The latest publication on this theme: János B. Szabó – Győző Somogyi: *Az Erdélyi Fejedelemség hadserege*. Budapest, 1996. 40–51.

¹⁴ The bodyguard of the young Rákóczi was formed by cavalry-carabineers (25 men), palatials (9 men) and riflemen (6 men) so the court guard served as a model for the later court army. The payment lists from different dates preserved only 16 palatials' names who were Hungarian and Ruthenian in spite of the carabineers who were German. See Kálmán Thaly: Munkácsi leltárak s udvartartási iratok. (1680–1701.) In: *Történelmi Tár*, 1900. 356–357.

¹⁵ The old Hungarian word "hajdú" here means infantryman or private.

these resources at first Tivadar Lehoczky and then, in 1937, Antal Hodinka published the list of the soldiers.¹⁶ Among Rákóczi's Ruthenian peasants there were 200 soldiers who served in the palatial regiment. The compilation of county Ugocsa, which was made at the same time, preserved the names of some palatial heyducks and the name of one officer, Lieutenant Ferenc Komlósy.¹⁷

These data confirm the statements of Rákóczi's *Memoires* in which he writes that the regiment was recruited from his own peasants.¹⁸ Some of the officers came from the young nobles who served in his court, for example Sámuel Nagyidai, who later became the lieutenant and vice commander of the 'kacposok', and János Ráthonyi, János Skotka and Zsigmond Uray, who became palatial captains. All four of them entered Rákóczi's service as stewards at the same time, on 17 September 1703.¹⁹

The regiment certainly took part in the early campaigns on the prince's side, according to a later application Palatial Lieutenant Ferenc Szalay earned distinction in the siege of Szeged in 1704 and he managed to kill General Siegbert Heister's scribe in the battle of Nagyszombat. Our sporadic data are not enough to estimate the military actions of the regiment during these early times but they are inconsistent with Coulon's statement that the only reason why Rákóczi had not disbanded the unit that made "a shameless escape" in the battle of Nagyszombat was that "they were the first to enter his service when he appeared in his homeland after escaping from the Vienna jail [rite: Wiener-Neustadt]". As we have seen the Ruthenian peasants of the Principedom of Munkács joined the prince first but in the battle of Nagyszombat they formed only the reserve of the army, and even they were not able to change the situation after the defeat.²⁰ However, we cannot draw a conclusion about Szalay's heroic deeds because he might have belonged to another unit in the battles of Szeged and Nagyszombat.

Coulon has an interesting statement that the palatials before joining Rákóczi "were a group of bandits led by Captain Ádám, a famous bandit and they were engaged in robbing people and made little towns pay tax for them".

¹⁶ Antal Hodinka: *II. Rákóczi Ferenc fejedelem és a „gens fidelissima”*. Pécs, 1937. 5–39. and Tivadar Lehoczky: *Beregvármegye monographiája*. I. köt. Általános rész. Ungvár, 1881. 213–217.

¹⁷ György Csátray: *Levéltári kalászatok*. (Tanulmányok, szövegek közlemények.) Ungvár–Budapest, 1993. (Kárpátaljai Magyar Könyvek, 21.) 39–40, 43, 46.

¹⁸ „Le Régiment de ma Maison, appelé *Palotas* ou du Palais, et tous mes Sujets du Duché de Munkacz, ne demandoinet pas mieux que d'apprendre.” AR III/I. 99.

¹⁹ Their convention contract signed by the chief steward of the household, Zsigmond Bessenyei see: MOL G 29. V. 3. a/B. The camp near Szatmár, 18 September 1703. Rákóczi writes about it in his *Memoires*: „Dès que j'appercevois dans quelqu'un de ma Cour quelque inclination pour le service réglé, je l'appliquois dans les Régimens de ma Maison.” AR III/I. 100.

²⁰ See Árpád Markó's classic work: *A nagyszombati csata*. (1704. december 26.) In: Markó, 2003. 110–153. The participation of the palatials: 118, 130, 149.

Then he writes that even in 1705 “the above mentioned Ádám led them as a guard colonel”. He adds that he was told a story by Rákóczi that at the beginning of the war (probably in September 1703, during the siege of Szatmár) the palatials rescued the prince when he was captured by some scouts of the enemy.²¹ We cannot find Coulon’s story in other resources, but “Captain Adam” can be identified with Ábrahám Ilosvay who is known to have entered Rákóczi’s service among the first noble men and he is mentioned as “palatial captain” on January 1 1704 when Rákóczi appointed him “the Voivode of the whole Gipsy people on this side of the Danube”.²² Ilosvay, of course, was not a leader of bandits. The story might be based on the fact that the Bavarian ambassador in Rákóczi’s court heard disparaging words about the peasants who began the rebellion in Northeast-Hungary and who first joined the prince. Among the palatials, however, there could be some people who had been outlaws before the War of Independence.

The only thing we can rely on from Coulon’s report is that “the regiment was completed with a few hundred soldiers in 1705 so that it could be divided into two battalions of 500 men each”. Probably it happened during this period that the prince incorporated the heyducks of Miskolc who had fought a heroic fight in the battle of Nagyszombat, György Balogh’s company of the garrison of Munkács and the company of Tokaj into the palatial regiment. Our one and only detailed list of the regiment was dated on May 4 1705 in Eger. Under the command of Ábrahám Ilosvay 994 persons were listed, 9 companies, 46 officers and non-commissioned officers, 919 privates, 21 heyducks absent and 7 wounded heyducks and one wounded sergeant altogether. Beside the names they indicated the age and the marital status. Most of the soldiers were between 20 and 40 but some of them were around 60 or 70, and we can also find a company drummer aged 16 in the list. At that time the regimental cadre had not yet been organized, therefore beside “High Captain”²³ Ilosvay we can find neither a lieutenant colonel nor a major.

The next detailed list of the regiment was compiled in the prince’s camp near Ócsa (in Pest-Pilis-Solt County) on June 28 1705 but it contains only numbers. According to this list Ábrahám Ilosvay got 2785 forints from the chief court commissary János Szalontay to pay salary for the period between 21 May and 27 June 1705 to the palatials i. e. 8 lieutenants, 6 second lieutenants, 7 standard-bearers, 7 sergeants, 8 billet masters, 1 chaplain, 9 drummers, 1

²¹ RTű II. 131–132.

²² Kálmán Thaly: Adalék a magyar cigányok történetéhez. II. Rákóczi Ferencs [!] fejedelem Ilosvay Ábrahám palotás-kapitányt cigányok fővajdájává nevezi ki. 1704. In: *Történelmi Tár*, 1880. 607–608.

²³ The old Hungarian word “főkapitány” (= high captain) here means the rank of colonel.

drummer boy, 72 corporals and 673 privates that makes 792 men altogether.²⁴ These data seem to show the previously mentioned reorganization and the completion of the regiment. It indicates a development that on 9 September 1705 Szalontay paid 3292 forints and 60 denars salary and on the same day, he also paid 3262 forints and 65 denars salary for another months for the regiment. On 26 September, he paid one month's salary (25 forints) to Lieutenant János Ráthonyi and 458 forints and 50 denars to the major's company for the period between 22 August and 26 September.²⁵ At that time there must have been a rank called major who might have been Johann Limprecht, an ex-lieutenant of the emperor.²⁶

On 17 and 30 September 1705 the prince had 200 R forints paid out for Bálint Bánrévi and for Pál Kun palatial lieutenants and he paid 300 R forints for Ábrahám Ilosvay especially for recruiting.²⁷ On 26 November 1705 the prince ordered the commissaries of the different territories to provide the palatials with municipalities; in fact those palatials who were dispatched to recruit and find accommodation in Aszaló, Abaújszántó, Szikszó and Munkács on their way. At the same time Rákóczi had uniforms given to the regiment and he ordered Ferenc Berthóti to make 50 drums for the infantry.²⁸

In 1705 Rákóczi organized the company of "kapcsos" or "deliás" palatials to do representative services and to be bodyguards. They got higher payment because on 5 October 1705 Rákóczi gave the following order to János Szalontay chief court commissary: the captain of the "kapcsosok" was to get the salary of a lieutenant colonel, their lieutenant that of a captain, their sergeant that of a standard-bearer, their billet master that of a sergeant, a corporal is to get one and a half months' salary and a private is to get the salary of a corporal.²⁹ The names of the "kapcsos" or "deliás" palatials' commanders, Captain Miklós Péchy and Lieutenant Sámuel Nagyidai, can be found in our resources from 1705 to the summer of 1711. Péchy signed the foundation document of the Confederation of

²⁴ Acceptance certificate verified by Ilosvay's signature and seal. MOL G 29. V. 3. a/B. No. 50. (fol. 103.)

²⁵ About these see the accounts of the chief court commissary János Szalontay from 1705: MOL G 29. V. 3. a/B. fol. 90–98. No. 50, 137–138, 173 and 175.

²⁶ Rákóczi writes about him: "Je leur avois donné pour Lieutenant-Colonel le Baron Limprecht, Allemand de Nation. Cet Officier, Lieutenant dans les Troupes de l'Empereur, avoit été Commandant du Château de Muran bâti sur une montagne fort élevée, escarpée de tout côté, et qui n'étoit accessible que par un chemin étroit, pratiqué dans le roc. Il étoit bloqué, mais il faisoit des courses avec sa petite Garnison, en vrai Partisan. Enfin contraint à se rendre, il prit service, il apprit la Langue du pays, et se comporta jusqu'à la fin de la guerre avec une fidélité et un attachement exemplaire." AR III/I. 99–100.

²⁷ The prince's orders to Szalontay: OSzK Kt. Fol. Hung. 978. Prot. Exp. fol. 145r.

²⁸ Rákóczi's orders to the regional commissaries Sándor Keczer, Pál Kajali and Márton Krucsay and Captain Ferenc Berthóti: OSzK Kt. Fol. Hung. 978. Prot. Exp. fol. 450v.

²⁹ OSzK Kt. Fol. Hung. 978. Prot. Exp. fol. 145r.

Szécsény,³⁰ at the end of the war he was in the castle of Munkács with Nagyidai. We have the lists of the company from four months in 1706 (May to August).³¹ According to the titles of the lists and the other data they belonged to the palatial regiment but we cannot find them in the charts of the regiment between 1707 and 1710. They seem to have belonged to the regiment just in name or officially. The companies that served as bodyguards or as palatial guards³² were important protocol units and were bound to the court, while the regiment was sent to the battlefield several times.

They had their own uniform different from that of the regiment. According to Kálmán Thaly the palatials wore red dolman and red trousers, black high cap, white gown and yellow boots³³ but the “kapcsosok” wore coat made of red cloth with a wide, arched, blue lapel. It was called “delia” and it was probably decorated with the silver clasps; the “kapcsosok” were named after them.³⁴ Their other name “deliás” might have derived from the name of the abovementioned coat.³⁵

The first data of the organization of the company could be Rákóczi’s order (dated 23 March 1705) to the chief administrator Gottfried János Hellenbach. Rákóczi ordered to make five pairs of clasps for 150 men each. We can see it as a sign of fall that on 26 July 1710, the prince ordered to get these clasps back from the soldiers and to make new (probably less worthy) clasps for them as the silver content of the old clasps has to be used in a more economic way.³⁶

Changing commanders and the problems of organizing the regiment in 1706–1707

During the reorganization in 1705, the prince appointed János Szentiványi, formerly adjutant to Chief General Bercsényi, colonel of the regiment. We do not know the reason for changing the commander but Ábrahám Ilosvay remained true and honored person to the prince, and he also got lands from Rákóczi. The prince wrote about Szentiványi in his Memoires that comparing

³⁰ Kálmán Thaly: A szécsényi országos szövetséglevél (1705.), a hg Czartoryski-féle eredeti példányról közölve. In: *Századok* 4 (1870) 342.

³¹ See in the chart in the appendix.

³² For the distinction of the bodyguard and the residential security service see: Ságvári, 2003. 412–413.

³³ Thaly, 1891. 165. Here we mention the data referring to the uniform of the grenadier company organized later. Rákóczi orders in his letter to János Szentiványi on 7 September 1705: “the dolman of the grenadier company can be red with yellow fur”. AR I/III. 500.

³⁴ The Hungarian word “kapocs” means “clasp”, and “kapcsos(ok)” means ‘the man (men) / soldier(s) wearing clasps’.

³⁵ Ságvári, 2003. 413. note 36.

³⁶ Esze, 1955. 491–492. We can find some data about the silver clasps in the above mentioned accounts of János Szalontay: he paid the tailors in Szécsény 4 forints and 17 denars for sewing silver clasps on “delia” and for making 4 trousers. MOL G 29. V. 3. a/B. fol. 98r.

with his fellow officers, “Szentiványi has some theoretical knowledge he obtained from books”.³⁷ It is moved by the fact that the prince got Szentiványi to translate one of the big theoretical military books of the era into Hungarian. Its title was “Schola militaris moderna, oder neuvermehrte Kriegsschule” written by Georg Andreas Böckler and was published in Frankfurt am Main in 1685.³⁸ Szentiványi remained the commander of the regiment until the end of the War of Independence and from 1706 on, we can read his letters that are hard to read, in which he reported to the prince about the problems of organizing the regiment.

In his application³⁹ that was written on 14 July 1706, Szentiványi asks the prince to pay the salaries in arrears to the soldiers. He interestingly reports about the organization of a medical department and a field chemist’s and his plan is that it would be sustained by the contribution of privates and non-commissioned officers. Rákóczi replies that in the future only those soldiers can get free medical services who pay contribution into the budget. Because this contribution is not detracted from the officers’ payments they can get medical services only if they pay for them. So it was a kind of “self-aid health service support” that was compulsory for privates and non-commissioned officers living in bad life-conditions.

It was the privilege of the regiment that it was allowed to have more carts than the others⁴⁰ and Szentiványi reported about obtaining 24 carts and 114 oxen. As the plan was that each company had four carts, these 24 carts did not prove to be enough. Each coach needed coachmen for whom Rákóczi paid a salary of a private.⁴¹ Already there were 2000 people in the regiment and recruiting still went on. This high number of the headcount shows that, compared to the previous year, the regiment got a huge supply. According to the 14th chapter of the report, the headcount of the regiment was increased by János Kenyheczy’s infantry, which was incorporated into the regiment.⁴²

Szentiványi advised that the jewellery decorating the uniforms of the officers (silver crests and buttons for leopard and wolf skin) should not be taken from the officers planning to leave the regiment but the price of the jewellery should be detracted from the officers’ salaries. The prince, who liked

³⁷ AR III/I. 167, 401.

³⁸ István Czigány mentions it in: *A magyar hadtudomány és hadtudományi gondolkodás a XVIII. században*. In: *A magyar katonai gondolkodás története*. Tanulmánygyűjtemény. Ed. Tibor Ács. Budapest, 1995. 63. Unfortunately Szentiványi’s translation has not been published.

³⁹ Imre Bánkúti: II. Rákóczi Ferenc udvari palotás ezredének anyagi-szervezeti helyzete 1706-ban. In: HK, 1993. 102–106. Beside the chapters of the reports there are the prince’s answer.

⁴⁰ The kuruc War Constitution (Regulamentum Universale) allowed each infantry company to have only two carts even in 1707. Bánkúti, 1976. 193.

⁴¹ Rákóczi gave an order to the Commissariat on 26 July 1706: MOL G 19. II. 3. h. Protocollum Rákóczianum, tom. III. fol. 60r.

⁴² János Kenyheczy’s infantry regiment fought in Transylvania in 1705 and as he got a new territory to work on the regiment or a part of it was incorporated in the palatial regiment.

magnificence and ceremonies, replied that the silver jewellery is not the soldiers' own property but belongs to decorations of the regiment, therefore an officer leaving his regiment should return them to the colonel. As the price of the jewellery was deducted from the officers' salary at the time when they received it, the price had to be given back to the officers.

At last it is worth mentioning the data about arming the regiment. Szentiványi wanted each company to have 10-20 marksmen with wheel-lock rifles who would have aimed the officers of the enemy. Rákóczi thought 10 marksmen would be enough for the task. Furthermore, Szentiványi suggested that each company should be supplied with an "organ-pipe" cannon⁴³ and the soldiers should get several kinds of rifles ("pulhák", "tessinka",⁴⁴ musket and flint-lock musket). Rákóczi ordered to use harquebuses instead of "organ-pipe" cannons and he added there was no need for "tessinka" ("Tesching") rifles.

The difficulties of organizing the regiment were still unsolved and Szentiványi wrote Rákóczi about the organization problems and about the recruiting problems yet in his letter of 28th October.⁴⁵ According to our existing, however, incomplete data the privates of the regiment came from the lands of the prince even after the reorganization in 1705⁴⁶ but the completion of the elite guards affected the whole territory of the country according to the War Constitution (Regulamentum Universale) enacted in 1707. The troops should be either recruited or gathered from irregular regiments.⁴⁷

We also have another interesting data about recruiting palatials, which was unusual in those times. Palatial Captain András Némethi was relieved of his office by Rákóczi in the spring of 1706, but he was commissioned with arranging recruiting from home and in exchange he could keep his rank and a lower (a lieutenant's) salary was paid to him.⁴⁸

From 1707 on we have several headcount lists of the regiment concerning the regimental cadre, the commanders of the companies, the rank and file and the numbers of the troops.⁴⁹ The lists were written on different days so we cannot get a consistent picture of the changes but we can assert that the regiment had 1600–2000 soldiers.

⁴³ A group of gun barrels fixed in a frame so that all could be fired at once.

⁴⁴ The old Hungarian names of the weapons of Polish and Silesian origin.

⁴⁵ Bánkúti, 1976. 115–116.

⁴⁶ For example in 1708 41 people served among the palatials from the estates of Szentmiklós and Tokaj. See the military conscription of the Rákóczi estates in 1708: MOL G 28. V. 2. c. fol. 321r–331v. *Conscriptio militiae tam equestris quam pedestris in dominiis Suae Serenitatis* 1708. Unfortunately, the conscription of the Munkács estate is missing from the list, though according to the summary (fol. 323r.) 551 soldiers came from there and about half of them could be palatials.

⁴⁷ Bánkúti, 1976. 196.

⁴⁸ Esze, 1955. 228–229.

⁴⁹ See the chart in the appendix.

Another significant fact is that a grenadier company was also set up within the palatial regiment because they should be organized in each infantry regiment according to the War Constitution. The privilege of the palatials can be seen in the lists because there were 49 coachmen in the regiment in the November of 1707 and in the November of 1709, the number of the carters was only 46.

It could hardly be a privilege that a hangman belonged to the regiment, too. On 18 October 1706 János Visky court commissary gave 63 forints as “salary of the hangman of the palatials”⁵⁰ and we can find a hangman on the list of 3 November 1707. Two years later there were two “carnifex” on the list.

According to the data from 1706, the chaplain’s salary was not enough for the clericals employed by the regiment because they needed three priests. In one of the court regiments of the Catholic prince the troops needed a Catholic clergyman, the protestant heyducks from the Hungarian villages near the river Tisza and from Miskolc and Tokaj needed a Calvinist preacher and the Ruthenian soldiers wanted a “Russian” (Orthodox or Uniate) priest. That’s why the officers of the regiment decided to give a part of their salary to the quartermaster so as to pay the wages of the priests. This decision had been made on the session of the officers of the regiment – so it was obligatory and it caused some problems.⁵¹ It cannot be explained why the military budget did not pay the salaries of several chaplains for so many soldiers of different religions. On the list of November 1707, there are only two chaplains but there is no remark about their religion.

We can see the ranks and files of the regiment in the following chart:

Latin names preserved on contemporary lists	Terminologies and names of the military ranks that are used nowadays
Regiminis Staab	Regimental Cadre
Brigaderius	Brigadier
Supremus Colonellus	Colonel
Vice Colonellus	Lieutenant Colonel
Supremus Vigiliarum Praefectus	Major
Quartiriorum Magister	Quartermaster
Auditor	Assessor of Court Martial Judge of Military Tribunal
Secretarius	Secretary, Scribe
Capellanus	Chaplain

⁵⁰ János Visky’s accounts between 23 April 1706 and 12 March 1707.

⁵¹ Ferenc Nagy standard bearer rebelled against the decision and he was cited to the military court because he condemned his fellow officers and dropped the money on the ground when getting payment because the priests’ wages were deducted from it. A non-commissioned officer was executed because he was caught on stealing several times, this time he stole a part of the priests’ wages.

Adjutantius	Adjutant
Curruum Magister	Master of Coachmen
Annonae Magister	Messing Officer
Chirurgus Regiminis	Surgeon of the Regiment
Tympanista Regiminis = Tympanista Major	First Drummer, Drummer-Major
Huboista	Musician with tarogato
Profusz cum suis	Warden with his hands
Carnifex	Hangman
Boarius / Mercenarius	Cattle-Driver (Coachman)
Prima plana	Company Cadre
Capitaneus	Captain
Lajdinantius	Lieutenant
Vexillifer	Standard-Bearer
Vigiliarum Magister	Sergeant
Firer(ius) ⁵²	Lance Sergeant
Furerius	Billet Master
Chirurgus / Chirurgus Compagniarum ⁵³	Surgeon of the Company
Secunda Plana	Rank and File
Scriba	Company Scribe
Furersicz(ius)	Assistant to the Billet Master
Faber Lignarius	Carpenter
Tympanista	Company Drummer
Corporal	Corporal
Gifrajter(ius) = Vice Corporal	Lance Corporal
Gregarius	Private

On duty in the battlefields and in garrisons

As we have already mentioned, the palatials, being a court guard regiment, were always around the prince on the campaigns. They took part in the siege of Tokaj in 1703/1704 and in the siege of Szeged in summer 1704. They were present in almost every battle that Rákóczi fought: on 26 December 1704 they have not yet played an important role in the battle of Nagyszombat but it was a privilege that Rákóczi incorporated the company of Miskolc putting up a good fight into the regiment of palatials. The regiment took part in the battles of Pudmeric on 11

⁵² The ranks of non-commissioned officers at that time were German terms, they had no Hungarian names. In the official documents the German words with Hungarian spelling got Latin suffixes.

⁵³ Generally, there were no surgeons in all companies, e. g. on 8 December 1707 only 6 surgeons conscripted in 14 companies. This is the reason why they were listed under the regimental cadre.

August 1705⁵⁴ and Zsibó on 11 November, this latter resulted in the temporal loss of Transylvania.

In 1706 the siege of Esztergom was Rákóczi's most important military action. From Vienna to Pétervárad and through the Rivers Tisza and Maros to Transylvania the River Danube was the defence and line of connection of the imperial troops and they carried supply on it. Esztergom was the only key fortress along this line, which was taken, though for a short period, by the kuruc army. The palatials fought with valiant heroism in the siege of the town. The French Brigadier Louis Lemaire condemned Szentiványi⁵⁵ but we know that he got seriously wounded and two months after the injury he was still recovering. A detachment of the regiment led by Ferenc Szalay fought very bravely to get back a mine captured by the enemy. It could obviously not happen by accident that Rákóczi promoted Major Limprecht to lieutenant colonel in the camp near Esztergom.

We have data not only about the soldiers taking part in the fights but also about the part of the regiment that was on duty in garrisons. For example, it was a measurement of the administrative reorganization in 1705 that György Balogh's company of the garrison of Munkács was incorporated into the palatial regiment. In the middle of December 1705, Palatial Captain János Ráthonyi and 100 selected heyducks were sent to strengthen the guard of the castle of Huszt. In the following years several companies of the palatial regiment were on duty changing shifts in the castles of Munkács, Huszt and Kővár and – for a short period – some parts of the guards of Szepesvár, Sebesvár and Görgény came from the palatials.

Munkács as a castle of the prince's family and Huszt together with Kővár as parts of the Transylvanian Principality were very important for Rákóczi. These castles were in the north eastern part of the country "in the heart of the kuruc land" and they got higher importance after the loss of Transylvania as border fortresses. However, their symbolic value was more important because the possession of Huszt and Kővár meant the possession of Transylvania and it was needed because the territory of the Partium⁵⁶ was shrinking. By the end of the war merely these fortresses together with some other castles were Rákóczi's only support and representatives of his power. Knowing these facts we can understand the reason why Rákóczi sent the guards of these three castles from

⁵⁴ See the applications of the widows of two palatials, killed in the battle: Esze, 1955. 262–263, 265–266.

⁵⁵ RTü II. 231.

⁵⁶ "Partium" means those "parts" (i. e. counties) that originally belonged to Hungary and during the 17th century the Transylvanian Principality took control over them.

his most reliable guard regiment and why he sent some palatials to guard Sebesvár in the Partium.⁵⁷

In 1709 the Prince formed a new, separate battalion out of the palatial companies being on duty in Munkács, Huszt and Kővár. Accordingly, two posts were established for majors in the regiment. One of them was on duty with two battalions on the battlefields; the other was the town-major of Fort Munkács. József Rengli had been promoted for the latter rank of second major. According to his detailed instructions he had to complete not only the duties of town-major of Munkács, but as the commander of the battalion, he also had to take control over the palatials in Huszt and Kővár. He had to see the castles of Huszt and Kővár four times a year and he had to correspond with the guards continuously.⁵⁸

In two special cases the palatials were not guards of a castle but watched noble prisoners in the castle. In 1704 they watched general István Sennyey, who was imprisoned on remand in his own castle of Bottyán. In 1707 the prince ordered some palatials to watch Field-Marshal Simon Forgách, who was imprisoned for political reasons. There was a case similar to the above mentioned ones: during the peace negotiations at the beginning of 1705 the palatials were the bodyguards of Pál Széchenyi, archbishop of Kalocsa.⁵⁹ We do not miss the point when we suppose they had protocol duties besides the safety duties. The importance of the protocol duty is shown by the fact that Rákóczi committed his own palatials to the guarding of Archbishop Pál Széchenyi and to the custody of prisoners Baron Sennyey and Count Forgách.

The supplement of the guard of Görgény with palatials happened in different circumstances. In 1707 the regiment was first sent to Transylvania, a place far from the prince, to be under Field-Marshal Lőrinc Pekry's command. During the military operations in Transylvania, Pekry insisted on the palatial regiment as it was the best drilled and most experienced infantry. He even applied for promoting their Colonel János Szentiványi to the rank of a brigadier, however he condemned Lieutenant Colonel Johann Limprecht several times for fulfilling his orders late.⁶⁰ When in the autumn of 1707 the kuruc troops were

⁵⁷ At the end of July 1708 there were 367 soldiers on duty in Munkács, 101 in Kővár, 43 in Sebesvár and 48 in Szepesvár. In the autumn of 1709 386 palatials were conscripted in Munkács, 106 in Huszt and 97 in Kővár.

⁵⁸ Sometimes there were problems about changing the heyducks guarding the castles. E. g. in summer 1710 the palatials did not go to the battlefield after the comfortable service in the garrisons. Their officers incited them because they had the soldiers work on their own estates. See: MOL G 15. I. 1. Caps. G. fasc. 225. fol. 34–35.

⁵⁹ See the list written near the castle of Gács on 6 February 1705: MOL G 28. V. 2. c. fol. 66.

⁶⁰ See Lőrinc Pekry's letters on 20 June 1707 and 30 July: OSzK Kt. Fol. Hung. 1389. fasc. 7. fol. 131r, 146v–147r. About the supply problems of the palatial regiment participating in the Transylvanian campaign in November 1707 see Szentiványi's reports to Field-Marshal Sándor Károlyi: *A nagy-károlyi gróf Károlyi család oklevéltára*. V. köt. II. Rákóczi Ferencz fejedelem

made to evacuate Transylvania again, Pekry sent a detachment of 70 people with Palatial Captain János Ráthonyi to the easily held castle of Görgény.⁶¹ Lőrinc Pekry reported to Rákóczi from the camp near Tótfalu on 29 October 1707 that Görgény had been provided with ammunition, money, food and fire wood for a year.⁶² The “labanc” Mihály Cserei spoke about the provisions of Görgény and about the bravery of Ráthonyi and his heyducks in flattering terms. The endurance of Ráthonyi’s little unit from the autumn of 1707 to the spring of 1708 was the most heroic moment in the history of the regiment. But its details cannot be discussed in this work, they require a separate study.⁶³

Ráthonyi repelled several charges of the imperial troops and he was not inclined to give up the ruined castle after the heavy artillery attack and even after he got a mortal wound. When he died in the second half of February 1708, the defenders elected Standard Bearer György Horváth as their leader and they agreed to capitulate only under the condition of free exit. Because the imperial troops did not agree, the palatials, with some of the other defenders, broke out in two groups towards Moldva and Hungary. The heyducks and the noble men remaining in the castle capitulated without any conditions on 11 March 1708. The imperial troops had lost several officers, including Lieutenant Colonel Lőrinc Kaltenplatt, during the siege. Lieutenant Colonel Henis, who managed to capture the castle, died in a stroke within a few days.

The kuruc headquarters appreciated the heroism of the kuruc soldiers in Görgény, the palatials got a prize, Horváth was promoted captain and Ráthonyi’s widow was given a document by Rákóczi that assured her the income of a would-be pub in Huszt. Ráthonyi’s name was referred to several times later in connection with hardly held castles.⁶⁴

Meanwhile the organization problems of the regiment became acute and at the beginning of the late started campaign of 1708 Rákóczi completed the unit. On 25 July 1708, in the camp of the main army trudging towards Slesien, near

korabeli oklevelek és levelezések, 1703–1707. Ed. Kálmán Géresi. Budapest, 1897. 720–721, 736–737, 741–742.

⁶¹ The list of the unit of 70 that was sent to Transylvania with János Ráthonyi was dated on 5 November 1707, according to this 3–5 privates were sent to the castle from every company under the command of captain Ráthonyi, a standard bearer, a sergeant and some officers.

⁶² OSzK Kt. Fol. Hung. 1389. fasc. 7. fol. 189v.

⁶³ The topic was dealt with by Sándor Márki and then in a literary style of writing by Ágnes R. Várkonyi. See Sándor Márki: *II. Rákóczi Ferencz. II. 1707–1708*. Budapest, 1909. (Magyar Történeti Életrajzok.) 539–542.; Ágnes R. Várkonyi: *A kuruc kor hősei*. 3. kiad. Budapest, 1968. (Sikerkönyvek.) 206–231. Recently István Seres mentions some less known data about the siege: Egy román „gerillavezér” a Rákóczi-szabadságharcban. Adatok Fekete Vaszil kuruc kapitány életéhez. In: *Pro Minoritate*, 2002/tavaszi. 189–190. From the old resources see: Mihály Cserei: *Erdély históriája*. [1661–1711.] Ed.: Imre Bánkúti. Budapest, 1983. (Bibliotheca Historica.) 399–402. and István Wesselényi: *Sanyarú világ. Napló 1703–1708*. II. Ed.: Lajos Demény, András Magyar. București, 1985. passim.

⁶⁴ See the correspondence of Rákóczi and Bercsényi: AR I/II. 616, V. 626, VI. 344.

Verbó, he incorporated the infantry of the formerly deceased Tamás Esze into the palatial regiment.⁶⁵ On 3 August 1708 in the battle of Trencsén, which ended in a disastrous defeat, the palatials and the Esze heyducks struggled bravely. They retired into a little forest they held on after the falling down of the kuruc army and they were the last to capitulate. However, their commander, Colonel Szentiványi seemed to have left his soldiers in the lurch and escaped in time.⁶⁶ János Kovács first drummer died in the battle and young Captain László Bessenyey got wounded and captivated and died a few days later in Trencsén. Five officers, a non-commissioned-officer and 140 palatials and Esze heyducks were captivated and most of them could get home only after a long imprisonment.⁶⁷

In the last years of the War of Independence the regiment had more and more problems with the organization. After the battle of Trencsén, the large number of the captivated officers caused a big problem; on 22 January 1710, in the battle of Romhány, András Becse, the lieutenant colonel of the regiment was killed.⁶⁸ The Prince appointed a young aristocrat, Sándor Gvadányi in Becse's place, but his loving heart and his hot head made him unsuitable for such an important role, and in a short time's he joined the imperial forces.⁶⁹ Szentiványi, who was meanwhile promoted and became a brigadier was away as the commander of the town of Eperjes between April and June 1710, so on one occasion, Rákóczi had no other choice than to have Colonel Limprecht, who had other responsibilities, gather the palatials.

⁶⁵ See the notes of Gáspár Beniczky, the Prince's secretary: *Rákóczi Tár. Történelmi érdekű naplók, emlékiratok, levelezések, pátensek, hadi-szabályok, országgyűlési diariumok és törvényczikkek gyűjteménye II. Rákóczi Ferencz korához*. Ed. Kálmán Thaly. I. köt. Pest, 1866. 147. Tamás Esze, Rákóczi's peasant, was a leader of the movement that prepared the War of Independence and as a brigadier he always protected the peasants' interests. It was a sign of Rákóczi's respect that nobility was given to him and his family, and his home village was given heyduck privilege; after his death his soldiers were admitted to the palatial regiment.

⁶⁶ Árpád Markó: A trencséni csata (1708. augusztus 3.) In: Markó, 2003. 203, 222, 231.

⁶⁷ Kálmán Thaly: A trencséni csatáról, 1708. (Újabb adatok.) In: HK, 1897. 326–327. Three captains István Boda, Pál Kun, János Skotka, two standard bearers István Pálffy and Ádám Szentiványi, the colonel's brother and sergeant István Török were taken POW.

⁶⁸ On 23 January 1710 the kuruc newspaper of the time writes about him: „multis actis strenuus, Vice-Colonellus Regiminis Szent-Ivaniani Betse”. *Mercurius Veridicus 1705–1710*. Translated by Győző Kenéz. Ed. Kálmán Benda. [Budapest,] 1979. (Bibliotheca Historica.)

⁶⁹ The hot-headed young man was the son of an imperial officer of Italian origin and a Hungarian countess. Before he had the rank of lieutenant colonel he had been Rákóczi's adjutant. The reason for his betrayal was that a kuruc general's young widow did not respect his approach but that of a fellow officer who had a higher rank.

The last days of the War of Independence – Rákóczi's last infantry regiment

Since Rákóczi hoped to save the cause of the War of Independence with the help of the Russian Tzar, he left for Poland in February 1711 to negotiate in person. He appointed Field-Marshal Sándor Károlyi, who was the only active general and capable of field duty, commander-in-chief of the kuruc troops. The commanders of the most important towns and castles still resisting were the sick Lieutenant Generals Dániel Esterházy (Kassa) and István Sennyey (Munkács) and Brigadier István Ebeczky (Ungvár) who was promoted major general. From his court regiments Rákóczi designated the territory of Munkács for accomodation of the cavalry, the infantry joined the guards of the castle. There probably were palatials on duty in Kővár and Huszt but there is no data referring to that.

Before leaving, the Prince gave instructions to the commander-in-chief of Munkács. According to the instructions the highest rank after the commander (at that moment Ádám Vay, later the above mentioned Sennyey) was the rank of Brigadier János Szentiványi, who was appointed commander of the lower castle. Rákóczi sent the “kapcsos” palatials to guard the “upper castles” (that is the upper and the middle castle) that formed a separate defence system and he took measure to send 100 “selected soldiers” there. Until the lower castle is captured by the enemy, the guard at the gates of the upper and middle castles should be changed by soldiers from the lower castle because, “except guarding at our doors, ‘deliás’ palatials have been exempted from guarding the gates and everyday watch until the situation gets worse” reads the Prince’s order.⁷⁰ Rákóczi made a good decision when he trusted the “kapcsosok” with guarding his “last shelter” because they wanted to endure to the last even against Sennyey and Szentiványi.⁷¹ After the Conclusion of Peace at Szatmár when negotiations started about the surrender of the castle, Miklós Péchy and Sámuel Nagyidai almost set off a rebellion menacing Sennyey and Szentiványi with death. By the middle of June 1711, the defenders of Munkács also realized that there was no chance for a help from abroad, they capitulated and accepted amnesty. Among the ten officers who signed the document containing the conditions of surrender we can see Brigadier Szentiványi, Major István Boda and even Sámuel Nagyidai who had wanted to endure to the end a month before.⁷² The three palatial

⁷⁰ AR I/III. 572–590. and Bánkúti, 1976. 371–385. For Szentiványi’s rank in the hierarchy see: 589; 384. For the job of the “kapcsosok” see: 583–584; 380.

⁷¹ See István Sennyey’s complaining letter to Rákóczi from Munkács on 4 May 1711. Imre Bánkúti: *Dokumentumok a szatmári béke történetéhez*. Budapest, 1991. (BTM Műhely, 2.) 73–74. Rákóczi soothed him and Szentiványi in his letters. On 10 and 11 May he wrote he had no doubt about their faith and reprimanded Péchy and Nagyidai: AR I/III. 648, 652.

⁷² *Gróf Károlyi Sándor önéletírása és naplójegyzetei*. Ed. László Szalay. Pest, 1865. II. köt. (Magyar Történelmi Emlékek, V. köt.) 487.

officers' signature ment not only the end of the War of Independence but also the end of an enduring kuruc regiment's history. A few parts of some kuruc regiments followed Rákóczi to the emigration⁷³ but they entered Russian and Polish service. The palatials, who endured in their homeland to the longest, can rightly be called one of the last regiments of Rákóczi. We know only the career of one officer, the commander of the regiment. Szentiványi, who had a gorgeous career on the emperor's side, as well. He became a baron and he got important administrative offices.

Appendix

The conscriptions and tabulations of the regiment⁷⁴

DATE	SOURCE	AUTHORISED BY	REFERENCE
4 May 1705 Eger	the whole name list of the palatial regiment	Chief court commissary János Szalontay	MOL G 29. V. 3. a/C. fol. 130–146.
1 June 1706 the camp near Érsekújvár	the name list of the “kapcsos” company and its remittance in May	Captain Miklós Péchy	MOL G 29. V. 3. a/B. fol. 204.
1 July 1706 the camp near Érsekújvár	the name list of the “kapcsos” company and its remittance in June	Captain Miklós Péchy	MOL G 28. V. 2. c. fol. 93–94.
1 August 1706 the camp near Érsekújvár	the name list of the “kapcsos” company and its remittance in July	Captain Miklós Péchy	MOL G 29. V. 3. a/B. fol. 381–382.
1 September 1706 the camp near Esztergom	the name list of the “kapcsos” company and its remittance in August	Lieutenant Sámuel Nagyidai	MOL G 28. V. 2. c. fol. 97–98.
3 November 1707 the camp near Váralja	the tabulation of the regiment's headcount (two companies that were on duty in the garrison of Munkács, are missing)	Colonel János Szentiványi	MOL G 28. V. 2. c. fol. 206–207.

⁷³ Some „kapcsos” heyducks are said to have escorted Rákóczi even to Northern Poland. See: Ságvári, 2003. 421–422.

⁷⁴ The documents of the regiment represented here are not referred to in the notes.

DATE	SOURCE	AUTHORISED BY	REFERENCE
5 November 1707 the camp near Váralja	the tabulation of the unit of 70 people commanded by Captain János Rátonyi, who were sent to Görgény	Colonel János Szentiványi	MOL G 28. V. 2. c. fol. 153.
8 December 1707 the camp near Feketefalva	the tabulation of the regiment's headcount	Colonel János Szentiványi	MOL P 396. Archivum familiae Károlyi. Acta publica 1. Acta Rákócziana Ser. I. 1707. Dec. Fasc. 1. A. No. 32.
24 July 1708 Sine loco	the tabulation of the regiment's headcount	Colonel János Szentiványi	MOL G 28. V. 2. c. fol. 276.
16 July 1709 Terebes	the tabulation of the regiment's headcount	Colonel János Szentiványi	OSzK Kt. Fol. Hung. 1389. fasc. 13. fol. 119.
9, 29 September and 3 October 1709 Munkács, Huszt; Kővár	the tabulation of the companies of the regiment being in garrisons	Muster commissary Sámuel Wipacher	MOL G 15. I. 1. Caps. F. Fasc. 180. (its data are quoted by Thaly, 1891. 165–166.)
5 November 1709 the camp near Zsadány	the tabulation of the regiment's headcount	—	MOL G 15. I. 1. Caps. F. Fasc. 180. (its data are quoted by Thaly, 1891. 165–166.)
25 Martius 1710 Tállya	the tabulation of the regiment's headcount	Major István Boda	OSzK Kt. Fol. Hung. 1389. fasc. 16. fol. 41.

Abbreviations

- AR I/I–X. *Archivum Rákócianum*. II. Rákóczi Ferencz levéltára, bel- és külföldi irattárakból bővítve. Első osztály: had- és belügy. I–X. köt. Közl.: Thaly Kálmán. Pest, 1873. – Budapest, 1889. [The volumes referred to in the notes contain the correspondence of Rákóczi and Bercsényi.]
- AR III/I. *Mémoires du prince François II Rákóczi sur la guerre de Hongrie depuis 1703 jusqu'à sa fin*. II. Rákóczi Ferenc fejedelem Emlékiratai a magyarországi háborúról, 1703-tól annak végéig. Ford. Vas István. A tanulmányt és a jegyzeteket írta Köpeczi Béla. A szöveget gondozta Kovács Ilona. Budapest, 1978. (Archivum Rákócianum III. osztály: Írók. II. Rákóczi Ferenc művei I.) [A bilingual, critical edition.]
- Bánkúti, 1976. *Rákóczi hadserege 1703–1711*. Válogatta és a bevezetőket írta: Bánkúti Imre. Budapest, 1976.
- Esze, 1955. *Kuruc vitézek folyamodványai. 1703–1710*. Összeállította, bevezető tanulmánnyal és jegyzetekkel ellátta: Esze Tamás. Budapest, 1955.
- Fol. Hung. *Folia Hungarica*
- HK *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*
- Markó, 2003. Markó Árpád: *II. Rákóczi Ferenc csatái*. (Válogatott tanulmányok.) Sajtó alá rendezte: Mészáros Kálmán. Budapest, 2003.
- MOL Magyar Országos Levéltár [National Archives of Hungary]
- OSzK Kt. Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Kézirattára [National Széchényi Library, Manuscript Collection]
- Prot. Exp. *Protocollum Expeditionum* [A book of letters of Rákóczi's Chancellery]
- RTü I–II. *Rákóczi Tükör. Naplók, jelentések, emlékiratok a szabadságharcról*. A kötet[ek] anyagát felkutatta, válogatta, szerkesztette, az előszót és a naplórészleteket bevezető kistanulmányokat írta Köpeczi Béla és R. Várkonyi Ágnes. A jegyzeteket írta és a mutatókat összeállította Bánkúti Imre. Budapest, 1973. I–II. köt. (Magyar Századok)
- Ságvári, 2003. Ságvári György: A Nemes Compánia a fejedelmi udvarban. In: *A Rákóczi-szabadságharc és Közép-Európa. Tanulmányok a Rákóczi-szabadságharc kezdetének 300. évfordulójára*. Szerk. Tamás Edit. I. köt. Sárospatak, 2003. (A Sárospataki Rákóczi Múzeum Füzetei, 45.) 397–422.
- Thaly, 1891. Thaly Kálmán: Tényleges létszámok és hadi felszerelés Rákóczi hadseregének ezredeiben. I–II. közl. In: HK, 1891. 7–26., 153–179.