



## ARTYKUŁY

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<https://doi.org/10.33077/uw.25448730.zbkh.2021.662>

### Jesuit libraries and popular Jesuit literature in Kingdom of Hungary in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Interconnection between Hungarian and Polish Jesuit book culture

**Summary:** The authors present the characteristics of Jesuit libraries in the Kingdom of Hungary in terms of their content, with special focus on works by the most influential Jesuit authors, which were among the most numerous ones in Hungarian Jesuit libraries. The authors also draw attention to the most popular titles published by the Hungarian Jesuits in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which can be considered bestsellers of Baroque Catholic literature not only in the Kingdom of Hungary, but also abroad. Many of them also found their readers in Poland and were translated into Polish. Furthermore, the authors point to the interconnection between Hungarian and Polish Jesuit book culture and the Jesuit Polonica in Hungarian Jesuit libraries and typographies of the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> century. The Hungarian book culture does not mean the book culture of contemporary Hungary, but of Kingdom of Hungary. This paper focus on the Jesuits from the Slovak territory, which was a part of Kingdom of Hungary for 800 years (from 11<sup>th</sup> century to 1918). The essential research sources are the international educational program *Ratio Atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Jesu* and catalogues of Hungarian Jesuit libraries, located in Slovakia, from the years 1632–1782.

**Keywords:** Jesuit libraries – Jesuit literature – Kingdom of Hungary – Slovak territory – 17<sup>th</sup> century – Polonica

## Introduction

The Society of Jesus became a bearer of the Papal Reformation and the Catholic Reform and it formed the confessional culture of the early modern period until its abolition in 1773. Libraries of Jesuit colleges were an important means of mass influencing of young people who studied in Jesuit schools in the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>1</sup>. Thanks to the obligatory registration and cataloguing of documents of Jesuit libraries, we have sufficient historical sources to examine the history of reading in the Society of Jesus. Its members built an extensive network of libraries in Kingdom of Hungary, whose library catalogues are a source of information on the composition of their collections. Our research stems from analysis of catalogues of Jesuit college libraries in Slovak territory of Kingdom of Hungary in Bratislava (Pressburg, Posonium, Pozsony), Banská Bystrica (Neosolium, Besztercebánya), Levoča (Leutschaw, Leutsovia, Lócse), Skalica (Skalitz, Sakolcium, Szakolca), Trenčín (Trentschin, Trentsinum, Trencsén), Košice (Kaschau, Cassovia, Kassa) Trnava (Tyrnau, Tyrnavia, Nagyszombat), Jesuit residences in Prešov (Eperies, Eperjes, Preszów), Rožňava (Rosenau, Rosnavia, Rozsnyó), Spišská Kapitula (Zipser Kapitel, Szepeshely, Szepesikáptalan; Mons Sancti Martini), Kláštor pod Znievom (Klosster, Znióváralja, Znyóváralja), Žilina (Sillein, Solna, Zsolna, Žylina), Banská Štiavnica (Schemnitz, Selmecebánya, Selmec) and Jesuit missions in Pezinok (Bösing, Pösing, Basinium, Bazin), Liptovský Mikuláš (Liptau-Sankt-Nikolaus Sankt Nikolaus in der Liptau, Liptószentmiklós, Szent Miklós) and Leopoldov (Neistadtad penes Praesidium Leopoldopolienes, Ujvároska)<sup>2</sup>. These catalogues are from 1632–1782 and are kept in the manuscript collection of the University Library (Egyetemi Könyvtár) in Budapest.

1 K. Głombowski, *Problemy historii czytelnictwa*, Wrocław 1966, p. 25.

2 B. Keserü, *Magyarországi jezsuita könyvtárak 1711-ig. I.*, Szeged 1990, [online] <http://mek.oszk.hu/03200/03228/03228.pdf> [accessed 27.06.2021].

B. Keserü, *Magyarországi jezsuita könyvtárak 1711-ig. II.*, Szeged 1997, [online] <http://mek.oszk.hu/03200/03229/03229.pdf> [accessed 27.06.2021].

E. Zvara, *Katolikus intézményi könyvtárak Magyarországon*, Szeged 2001, [online] [http://real.mtak.hu/22307/1/Zvara\\_Adattar\\_19\\_1.pdf](http://real.mtak.hu/22307/1/Zvara_Adattar_19_1.pdf) [accessed 27.06.2021].

*Manuscript catalogues of jesuit libraries in the manuscript collection of the University Library Budapest* (Egyetemi Könyvtár Budapest): library of University in Trnava (signature: J/27); libraries of jesuit colleges in Bratislava (signatures J/20, J/18, J/24, J 10/10, J 10/8 – pharmacy), Banská Bystrica (signatures J/20, J/18, J 10/7), Skalica (J 10/16, J 10/17), Trenčín (J 10/18) + libraries in residences and missions in Rožňava (signatures J/20, J/21, J/18), Košice (signatures J/21, J/18), Spišská Kapitula (signatures J/20, J/21, J/18), Banská Štiavnica (signatures J/20, J/21, J/18), Žilina (signatures J/20, J/21, J/18, J 10/15), Skalica (signatures J/20, J/21, J/18), Trenčín (signatures J/20, J/21, J/18, J 10/18, J 10/19), Kláštor pod Znievom (signatures J/20, J/21, J/18), Trnava (signatures J/20, J/21, J/18), Liptovský Mikuláš (signature J/20), Pezinok (signatures J/20, J/21, J/18), Komárno (signatures J/20, J/21, J/18, J 10/3), Prešov (signatures J/20, J/21, J 10/4), Levoča (signatures J/20, J/21, J/18, J 10/5), Leopoldov (signatures J/20, J/21, J/8).

## Composition of Jesuit Hungarian libraries. Ideological patterns and bestsellers of Hungarian Jesuits in the 17<sup>th</sup> century

The libraries of Jesuit colleges were, in accordance with the international school educational programme of the Jesuits – the *Ratio Atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Jesu*, an integral part of the educational process. Their mission was to develop and maintain students' reading habits, provide access to appropriate sources, offer opportunities for further education and expand the spiritual and intellectual potential of the community. A focus of the library collections of Jesuit libraries was modern (especially religious) Jesuit literature used in everyday practice. It should be emphasized that the members of the Society of Jesus attached the fundamental ideological importance to writing and publishing since they were aware that the struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism was, last but not least, a struggle for power over book printing, and that the party which could secure effective propaganda literature would win. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century Jesuit writers literally flooded the market with literature that served recatholization purposes. The control of reading was a task performed by the Catholic Church and the Jesuits during the Counter-Reformation. A powerful tool of the guidance and control of reading were the international recommendations of the Jesuit School Education Programme *Ratio Atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Jesu* on lectures valid in colleges around the world, as well as indices of forbidden books compiled by Jesuit authors. Publishing activities of the Jesuits were provided by Jesuit typographies, which were operated with a support of the Catholic Church at Jesuit colleges and universities. Centers of Jesuit book culture and book printing in Slovak territory in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century were Trnava, Košice and Bratislava. In Trnava and Košice there were Jesuit universities which also housed productive academic typographies. The first Hungarian institutional typography operated at the Bratislava Jesuit College thanks to the initiative of the Archbishop of Esztergom and an important Hungarian Jesuit writer Peter Pazmany. Bestsellers in the Jesuit literature published in Kingdom of Hungary were genres of religious Baroque prose, which are not interesting for us in literary terms, but rather in term of cultural history and history of influence. Among the most published by the Jesuits in Hungary in the 17<sup>th</sup> century belonged meditations, prayer books, Counter-Reformation controversies, and a work on a miraculous event that caused a sensation throughout Central Europe – we will discuss it further below. After the abolition of the Society of Jesus, the library funds of Jesuit libraries in the territory of today's Slovakia were divided among existing schools in Kingdom of Hungary. The most important part of them got into the library of the University of Buda and together with the preserved library catalogues they are still stored and accessible in the University Library (Egyetemi könyvtár) in Budapest.

Research on Jesuit library catalogues confirms a uniform classification of literature, which was based on topic and divided into: Bible and interpretations of biblical text with comments, patristics, scholastic and moral theology, ascetic literature and spiritualia, homiletics, liturgy, Counter-Reformation polemical and apologetic works, catechisms, church history, literature from church councils and synods, canonical works, history, philosophy, rhetorics, ethics, law, politics, philology, grammar, mathematics, geography, medicine, poetry, works of humanists (*libri humanistici*), miscellaneous (or *varii*), heretical or other non-Catholic books and *libri vetiti* (forbidden books with works of magic, alchemy, chiromancy etc.). Library collections of the Jesuit colleges contained books used in all forms of apostolic activity ad intra and extra. The ad intra-apostolic occupation represented an inner religious life and included a formation of young members of the Society of Jesus – novitiate, study of philosophy, master’s practice, study of theology, postgraduate; spiritual life – exercises and meditations and communal life. Apostolic activity ad extra, i.e. in relation to believers, consisted of a pastoral care (preaching and confession, pastoral care in hospitals and prisons), catechesis (teaching catechism among the people), a liturgical activity (sacramental life, devotion), a pedagogical activity (teaching at secondary grammar schools and universities), a writing and publishing activity (institutional Jesuit typographies) and service to fellows. In addition to textbooks, works by humanists and ancient writers needed for teaching, the Jesuit libraries also collected literature for catechetical and pastoral work, liturgical books and books for strengthening faith and spiritual life, books for defending the Catholic faith and the Church, theological and professional literature for lifelong learning and for the scientific and writing activities of order members, literature for internal purposes of the Society of Jesus and the diocese, as well as books for religious communities – Marian congregations and fraternities. According to the requirements of a modern humanist period, Jesuit secondary grammar school textbook literature was based on the work of ancient authors and textbooks compiled by Jesuit ideological leaders. The libraries of Jesuit universities were dominated by textbook and scientific literature on theology, philosophy, law and medicine, which corresponded to the system of university education. The literature on pastoral care was based on homiletics or handbooks for confessors, catechisms, which the Jesuits often gave out to common people during catechesis. The members of the Society of Jesus strengthened their faith and spirit through spiritual exercises, using manuals-so-called “exercises”, but also meditations, read the Bible, patristics, hagiography, ascetic literature, etc. To defend the Catholic faith, they compiled Counter-Reformation controversies and other apologetic works and spread them among people. Jesuit libraries archived laws and resolutions of church councils and diocesan synods, religious decrees, regulations or privileges for the internal needs of the Society of Jesus

and the diocese. In Jesuit libraries there were concentrated regulations and handbooks of Marian congregations and fraternities, founded by students of Jesuit secondary grammar schools or universities.

During acquisition of Jesuit university libraries, emphasis was placed on collecting literature needed for teaching at theological faculties, which were the focus of university studies. Therefore university library collections were predominated by works of scholastic, moral and polemical theology or biblical texts and exegesis. The libraries of secondary grammar school colleges recorded an even representation of textbooks and pastoral literature, which was related to activities of all colleges: in addition to schooling, they also organized other apostolic work in the community. The religious residences and missions, in accordance with their functions, kept mostly pastoral, catechetical and liturgical handbooks.

*Spiritualia* i.e. spiritual literature represented by spiritual exercises, meditations, ascetic works and hagiography dominated all Jesuit collections without distinction. The spiritual exercises of the founder of the Society of Jesus **Ignatius of Loyola**, a spiritual model of the Jesuits, enjoyed a special attention. He laid the foundations of Jesuit meditation and his *Exercitia spiritualia* (Spiritual Exercises) became the main spiritual starting point of the Society of Jesus. The Jesuit teaching and educational programme was also developed from this work of Loyola. Unlike shared prayers of order monks, the Jesuits cultivated individual piety according to Loyola's example. Loyola's exercises were the essential guide to individual repentance for achieving inner spiritual purification. They helped young men in novitiates to prepare for a religious life in piety, humility, and self-denial, but all the order brothers indulged in them, to Loyola instructed them how to find God's will through a systematic meditation practice using all human senses. These spiritual exercises have undergone their development and many changes, they have always been adapted to the age, abilities and strengths of subjects. Extensive explanations of Loyola's work were compiled by the fifth general of the Society of Jesus, an Italian Jesuit **Claudio Aquaviva**, in the work *Directorium in exercitia spiritualia*, which is still used by the Church today. Biographical works on the founder of the Jesuit order Ignatius of Loyola formed the richest group of hagiographic literature in the collections of Hungarian Jesuit libraries. Reading of them was recommended particularly in the novitiates.

From meditation literature, meditations belonging to the "ars moriendi" literature group used for preparation for a peaceful death were very popular. Meditation handbooks with prayers for every day of a year or eschatological meditations aimed at peaceful death preparation were a popular lecture of members of religious associations (Marian congregations) which were founded at Jesuit colleges and universities to cultivate the Marian cult. Popular

prayer and liturgical pocket books also served this purpose, their patrons were female aristocrats – mainly wives of influential dignitaries in Kingdom of Hungary and their work proves the important role of women in the history of patronage and book culture. The Jesuits also used meditation with prayers in the catechesis of common people. Meditative and morality teaching Jesuit literature was generally known for its Counter-Reformation function and strongly stimulated religious literary works of the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> century.

Among the works of all Hungarian writers, the works of **Ján Nádaši (Nádasi János, Nádasi Joannes)** – a Jesuit from Trnava, professor of the Jesuit University of Trnava and Jesuit delegate in Rome – were the most represented in the group of *spiritualia* in Jesuit libraries. Nádaši was the most important author of meditations in the 17<sup>th</sup> century in Kingdom of Hungary and worked at several European colleges, where he conducted spiritual exercises. Nádaši compiled about 60 works, which were published even long after his death. Nádaši's meditations were bestsellers of their time, they were among the most published and most translated literature. Several of them were also translated into Polish. They were in a calendar form – connecting calendars with meditations or preachments was common in the literature of the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> century, because calendars were one of the most sold publishing product in those times<sup>3</sup>. They included meditations for a whole year, for every month, week, day, for every hour. The aim of books of this type was not to teach theses, but to provide spiritual reading with practical guidance for spiritual stimuli. The most frequently published and translated was the first work of Nádaši *Annus coelestis Jesu Regis et Mariae* (1648). It was also translated into Polish as *Rok niebieski albo przewodnik do szczęśliwej wieczności...*, the translator was **Franciszek Iworski** and the translation was published in Kalisz in 1697. Nádaši's works in Polish were published continuously for more than 70 years in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century in Polish Jesuit typographies in Kalisz, Kraków, Poznań and Vilnius (Wilno in Lithuania). It can be said that Nádaši's works found the greatest response among Polish Jesuits and were the most translated out of the Hungarian Jesuit writers.

In the libraries of Hungarian Jesuit universities, *spiritualia* had an equal position with the works of *scholastic or moral theology*, which were used in theological faculties. A medieval scholastic **Thomas Aquinas** was the greatest theological leader for the Jesuits. The Aquinas work *Summa theologiae* was the most represented in the Jesuit university libraries. For the Jesuits, this work was the best summary of all the spiritual elements of Catholic consciousness. Catholic Church considered Aquinas's *Summa* an unified scientific system

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<sup>3</sup> G. Tüskés, *A XVII. századi elbeszélő egyházi irodalom európai kaocsolatai*, Budapest 1997, p. 123.

therefore scholastic theology was taught according to it at Jesuit theological faculties. The Jesuit International School Programme *Ratio Atque Institutio...* prescribed reading of the *Summa* along with the *Bible* not only at school, but also in spare time of professors and students, who were recommended private study of selected Jesuit commentaries on the work. Hungarian library catalogues show that Jesuits used mainly Jesuit interpretations with commentaries on the Aquinas theological work by the Spanish Jesuits **Rodrigo de Arriga**, **Gabriel Vasquez** or **Francisco Suarez**. Aquinas' theological *Summa* is an attempt to interpret Christianity through Aristotelianism. Aquinas' philosophy was reflected in the Jesuits' views on forbidden reading. Aquinas developed his system on a principle that no external action has a moral content per se, unless it stems from an act of a free will. Applying the philosophy of freedom of a will based on an intellectual recognition and a free decision to perform an act in qualifying the heresy caused by reading heretical books, the act itself should not be considered in the confession, but the intention of a reader<sup>4</sup>.

The teaching of Thomas Aquinas was influenced by the philosophy and ethics of **Aristotle**. Jesuit moral theology was based on Aristotle's views in the work *Ethica Nicomachea*. In this work, Aristotle presented the historically first interpretation of moral behavior in everyday life, with a description of all possible ways of virtue and good, elaborated on particular cases and thereby he laid foundations for the creation of a moral casuistry. Based on his philosophical views, proclaiming the ability of a man to attain bliss by his own efforts, Ignatius of Loyola taught how to attain perfection by one's own will power. The Jesuits thoroughly elaborated the casuistic literature. It was used at confessions, by which they tried to influence the masses in the Catholic spirit. It was not just a matter of granting an absolution, but also of the spiritual guidance of the penitent and of conscious control<sup>5</sup>, which, as it is clear from the handbooks for confessors published in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, also covered reading. The Church's effort to control reading was reflected in a daily live of believers and also at confession. In the prayer book of the Archbishop of Esztergom Peter Pázmány one of the first questions of a priest concerned reading of bad and immoral books.

Re-Catholicization and Counter-Reformation were supported by the Jesuit polemical literature, which was a response to reformist polemical works of Protestant theologians. *Counter-Reformation controversies* were a very popular and often published literature of the Jesuits, and their popularity was definitely one of the impetus for an establishment of the first institutional Catholic

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4 R. Fülöp-Miller, *Moc a tajemství jezuitů : Kulturní a duchovní dějiny*, Praha 2000, p.189.

5 R. Van Dülmen, *Kultura a každodenní život v raném novověku (16.–18. století)*, Praha 2006, p. 123.

typography in Kingdom of Hungary – the Archbishop’s Typography in Bratislava in 1609. The most prolific Jesuit writer and author of the Counter-Reformation controversies in Kingdom of Hungary was a theologian, cardinal and Archbishop of Esztergom **Peter Pázmány**. His theological works predominated Hungarian religious literature in the funds of Hungarian Jesuit libraries. Peter Pázmány was probably one of the most influential personalities in Kingdom of Hungary at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and a significant persona in Catholic post-Tridentine Europe. He also had a good relationship to Poland – he spent the novitiate in the years 1588–1590 (aged 18–20) in Kraków and Jarosław. There he also acquired knowledge of the Polish language, although there is no evidence that he ever used it<sup>6</sup>. In Kingdom of Hungary Pázmány represented the same as the patron of Catholics in Poland – Cardinal **Stanisław Hozjusz** (Stanislaus Hosius). While Pázmány was the most important controversialist and re-Catholicizer of Kingdom of Hungary, Hozjusz was a defender and apologist of the Polish Catholic world. In Poland, Hozjusz is called “a pioneer of the Polish Counter-Reformation”, the same can be said of Pázmány in Kingdom of Hungary. Pázmány probably became acquainted with Hozjusz’s teachings during his novitiate in Kraków. Pázmány in his works referred to Hozjusz’s works and quoted him among the Catholic authorities he looked up to<sup>7</sup>. Also this fact can be perceived as a reflection of Polonica influence in Hungarian Baroque literature. Pázmány had Hozjusz’s theological and polemical works at his disposal as they were kept in the library of the Jesuit College in Trnava. Both Pázmány and Hozjusz created an impressive collection of polemical literature in defense of Catholicism, without which Catholicism might not have survived. Their careers declare remarkable tenacity and explain the success of Catholicism in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century in Central Europe<sup>8</sup>. A bestseller was particularly Pázmány’s polemical work *Kalauz*<sup>9</sup>, which is a comprehensive summary of Pázmány’s views on spreading of Protestantism in Kingdom of Hungary. *Kalauz* was published for the first time in Bratislava in 1613. In this work Pázmány collected all the hitherto known Catholic-Protestant polemical material

6 P. Shore, P. Tusor, *Péter Pázmány: Cardinal, Archbishop of Esztergom, Primate of Hungary*, “Journal of Jesuit Studies” 2020, Vol. 7, Issue 4, [online] [https://brill.com/view/journals/jjs/7/4/article-p526\\_526.xml?language=en](https://brill.com/view/journals/jjs/7/4/article-p526_526.xml?language=en) [accessed 27.06.2021].

7 Pázmány was 66 years younger than Hozjusz: at the time of Hozjusz’ death (1579), Pázmány was only 9 years old.

8 R. Johnston, H. Louthan, T. Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic Reformers: Stanislas Hosius, Melchior Khlesl, and Péter Pázmány*, “A Companion to the Reformation in Central Europe” 2015, p. 212, [online] <https://brill.com/view/book/edcoll/9789004301627/B9789004301627-s010.xml> [accessed 27.06.2021].

9 *Isteni Igazságra Vezérleo Kalavz : Mellyet irt, Pazmany Peter Iesvitak Rendin Valo Tanito*, Pozsonyi [Bratislava] 1613.

and compiled an important scientific encyclopedia of theology<sup>10</sup>. The essence of the work is a solution of fundamental religious problems and the position of the Church<sup>11</sup>. In terms of genre, Kalauz can be considered an apologetic-polemical dogmatics by which Pázmány created a synthesis of the Baroque scholastic ideological system. The second edition of *Kalauz* from 1623 was the first known print of a typography founded by P. Pázmány in Bratislava for the needs of all Hungarian Jesuits in the times when there was no typographies in Kingdom of Hungary. Its publication in the national language – Hungarian manifests the author’s intention to address a wide range of readers (including non-readers). The practice of reading to others was common in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, informal public reading at occasional meetings was quite usual<sup>12</sup>. *Kalauz* was a typical representative of the Baroque example literature of the 17<sup>th</sup> century: his many narratives and stories (fabula), proverbs, sayings, anecdotes and comparisons, instructive examples from everyday life, but also from church and secular history served well as a guide for priests for their preparation of homilies.

As for the Counter-Reformation influence of the Jesuits on wide variety of people, works about a miraculous power of pilgrimage places and mysterious stories about an appearance of ghosts worked much better than controversies, prayer books or meditations. These religious works full of mystery and often horrors from the beyond talk about individual specific events and miracles, pointing to the protective power of God and attracting the imagination of people. In 1643, perhaps the greatest Hungarian bestseller, *Narratio Rei Admirabilis...* was published in Peter Pázmány’s Jesuit typography in Bratislava. It was a book about a miraculous appearance of a ghost, compiled by a Sirmensis bishop and praepositus of Bratislava Michal Kopčáni and was based on real events, documented in the court trial that accompanied the events. According to Kopčáni, as stated in the dedication of the book to the Archbishop of Esztergom Lipai, the motivation for publishing of this work in print was “the fight against the delusional faith of heretics, which is becoming more and more widespread”, and which “this book is intended to help”. The story aroused interest and many reactions far beyond the borders of Kingdom of Hungary, in various European countries including Poland. In addition to the Latin version, there is its German, Hungarian, Czech, Polish and Italian translation. It is noteworthy that they all come from the same year – 1643. Another curiosity is that already in 1643 the German edition was published not only in Bratislava but also in Augsburg – in the typography of Andreas Aperger, who printed it directly from the Bratislava’s edition. Several reactions to the Kopčáni’s work were known from Protestant writers who disputed

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10 T. Klaniczay, *Reneszánsz és barokk*, Szeged 1997, p. 283.

11 R. Marsina, *Pázmányov Hodegus*, „Viera a Život“ 1999, Vol. 9, Issue 3, p. 241.

12 A. Manguel, *Dějiny čtení*, Brno 2007, p. 157.

it. Polish Jesuits also dealt very intensively with this case. In the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century, most publications directly related to Kopčáni's work were published in Polish<sup>13</sup>. A Polish translation of the work from its German version was published in 1643 in Kalisz under the title *Powieść bardzo dziwna*. The second Polish edition of the story was published in the same year in the Jesuit Academic Typography in Vilnius under the title *Historia o Janie Klemensie...* It was adapted by theologian **Józef Bodanowicz** with a woodcut of the Lady of Sorrows, used from the Bratislava's edition. The third version in Polish was also translated from the German edition by **Krzysztof Mrzyglodowicz** under the title *Relacya abo powieść cudowna...*, still in the same year – 1643, but without specifying the place of printing and the printer. Modern Polish literature also deals with the work, Polish historian Michal Janocha looks into the work in a study of curiosities – special phenomena in art, literature and customs<sup>14</sup>. Reprints and reactions to Kopčáni's work have been continuously published since the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>15</sup>. The text, published on 45 pages, describes the extraordinary events that took place in Bratislava from July 24<sup>th</sup>, 1641 to June 29<sup>th</sup>, 1642. The main part of the work pictures in 6 chapters how 20-year-old Regine Fischer repeatedly saw a ghost of Joann Clemens Zwesspenpauer, a Bratislava resident and former mayor, from purgatory asking for help and liberation. A commission was set up to investigate the matter under the leadership of the Archbishop of Esztergom, Imrich Lósy, and began to work on July 12<sup>th</sup>, 1642. This work is accompanied by a report explaining the course of the current church investigation and verification of evidence with published list of interrogated witnesses. The evidence presented in the trial was as follows – five woodcuts with signs left behind by the ghost: a hand with a cross, a hand without a cross, a burnt-through page and a cross he left pressed into a jug, a handprint burnt into a wooden ironing board and into canvas. This work contains a full-page illustration – an engraving depicting a statue of Pieta, which was made at the request of Count Pavol Pálfi, as a large part of the events took place in his house in Bratislava. Today, the statue adorns one of the side altars of Bratislava's St. Martin's Cathedral. The wooden ironing board and the canvas with burnt-out signs, which were evidence at the time of the trial, were also preserved. Nowadays they are a part of the treasure of the St. Martin's Cathedral of in Bratislava. Similar reports of miracles were very frequent in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The atmosphere of miracles and revelations was typical of Catholic post-Trident spirituality, especially because of the vision of souls in purgatory<sup>16</sup>. Moreover, the mysterious ghost stories served as much

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13 P. Baxa, *Prešporský duch*, Bratislava 2016, p. 64.

14 M. Janocha, *Pieta z Powroźnika czyli osobliwej historii koncept osobliwy*, [in:] *Curiosità – zjawiska osobliwe w sztuce, literaturze i obyczaju*, red. A.S. Czyż, J. Nowiński, Warszawa 2013, pp. 268–277.

15 The latest reflection of the work in Slovak literature is the monograph from 2016 of P. Baxa, op.cit.

16 M. Janocha, op.cit., p. 274

a Reformation as a Counter-Reformation and were a good topic for controversies, since this topic attracted masses and therefore was all the more successful in the Jesuit fight against heretics.

### Polish Jesuits and their works in Hungarian Jesuit libraries and typographies of the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> century

At this point, we would like to emphasize that the Hungarian Jesuits had very good relations not only with the Austrian, Czech and Moravian, but also with Polish Jesuits, with whom they cooperated in the field of education and book culture. While Kingdom of Hungary did not have its own university, the Archbishop of Esztergom helped students obtain scholarships at universities in Vienna, Olomouc, Prague and Kraków. After 1635, when the first Hungarian Jesuit university was founded in Trnava, many Czechs, Moravians, Silesians and Poles studied in Kingdom of Hungary. As mentioned above P. Pázmány, the most important Hungarian Jesuit, a pioneer of Hungarian re-Catholicization and later Archbishop of Esztergom, also completed his novitiate in Kraków and Jarosław at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. He probably became acquainted there with the teaching of a leading Polish Catholic theologian, Counter-Reformer and humanist S. Hozjusz, whom he quoted in his theological works alongside other Catholic authorities.

Likewise Hungarian Jesuits especially from Eastern Slovakia, lived in Poland, where they found refuge during the anti-Habsburg uprisings in Kingdom of Hungary, when their activities in the Slovak territory were interrupted. Hungarian Jesuit libraries contain books of Polish origin from the production of Polish printers, which points to an interconnection of the book market and the import of books for needs of the Jesuits from Poland living in our territory. Catalogues of Jesuit libraries show that Hungarian Jesuits used literature from Kraków, Wrocław, Kalisz, Gdańsk, Legnica, Poznań, Szczecin and Warszawa. The linguistic composition of the Jesuit libraries also indicates the connection between Hungarian and Polish environments and the presence of Poles in Hungarian Jesuit colleges – works in Polish are also represented among the literature in the national languages.

We researched the author Jesuit Polonica in catalogue of an important Jesuit library in Kingdom of Hungary – the library of the Jesuit college in Trnava (1632–1690)<sup>17</sup>. There are works by Polish Jesuits in many thematic group in this catalogue: from spiritualia and homiletic literature through polemical works by Counter-Reformers, professional philosophical, mathematical or medical works to poetry.

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17 Catalogue is published in: B. Keserü, *Magyarországi jezsuita könyvtárak 1711-ig. II. Nagyszombat 1632–1690*, Szeged 1997. Catalogue is available on: [online] <https://mek.oszk.hu/03200/03229/03229.pdf> [accessed 27.06.2021].

The *spiritualia* are mainly represented by works of Polish Jesuits Martin Hincz, Gaspar Drusbiczki and Jan Morawski – a theologian and professor in Kraków and Poznań, as well as a Lithuanian-Polish Jesuit priest and bishop Jerzy Tyszkiewicz, especially his *De Perfectione christiana*. Their works are found in several copies, which testifies to their intensive use. According to the library catalogue of collegium in Trnava the work by Jesuit Adalbert Kojalovicz *Via adinvemendi Veritatem Fidei Polonice!* was in Trnava's collegium in its Polish translation from Kraków 1671.

*Scholastic theology* is represented by works of a Polish Jesuit, theologian and outstanding preacher Thomasz Młodzianowski, especially his *De Deo...* which occurs repeatedly and in multiple copies; as well as his controversies and philosophical works with commentaries on Aristotle's work.

Regarding *theological literature* there are plentiful works of a Polish Jesuit and a leading representative of the Polish spiritual school Daniel Pawłowski, as well as the works of a prominent Polish humanist, theologian, leader of the Polish and European Counter-Reformation Stanisław Hozjusz – especially his *Confessio fidei Catholicae...*

The *Counter-Reformation literature* is represented by controversies by S. Hozjusz, Mikołaj Cichowski or Piotr Skarga – the first Polish representative of the Counter-Reformation.

Among titles from *professional literature* we can mention works on *philosophy and logic* by a Polish Jesuit Martin Smiglecius, *meteorology* and other works on *philosophy, metaphysics and arithmetic* by a Polish Jesuit Adalbert Tulkowsky, but also *bilingual Polish-Latin grammar dictionaries*.

*Poetry* of a Polish Jesuit poet and preacher Andrzej Kanon also appears repeatedly, mainly his lyrical work *Lycorum libri IV*.

The Jesuits at the collegium of Trnava also used a work on the history of the Society of Jesus in Poland, *De Rebus Societatis Jesu...* by an Italian historian and Jesuit **Giovanni Argenti**.

Among works written by non-Jesuit Polish authors there are some worth mentioning e.g. an extensive historical work on the history of Poland by Martin Cromer *De Origine et Rebus gestis Polonorum...*, appearing in several copies, as well as medical works by a physician and philosopher of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Kraków Sebastian Śleszkowski. Philosophical, moral treatise *De officiis hominis Christiani libri tres* by Łukasz Opaliński the Younger (1612–1662), a crown marshal, Polish poet, satirist, literature theorist and an author of political works, was widely spread in Jesuit colleges (not only in Trnava) in the 17<sup>th</sup> century as an ethics textbook.

The influence and reception of Polish Jesuit literature in the Hungarian environment is also evidenced by the fact that Hungarian Jesuit printers printed works by Polish Jesuit authors throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century.

In the Slovak territory, the works of Polish Jesuits were published mainly by the Academic Typographies in Trnava and Košice. Let's mention e.g. Wojciech Tytkowski (Adalbert Tilkowski), whose work *Cura Medica Animae* was published in Trnava in 1752 and 1772. The work of a Jesuit Polish theologian D. Pawłowski *Locutio Dei Ad Cor Religiosi* was published in three editions by Jesuits in Trnava in 1702, 1709 and 1752. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century two editions of occasional poems by a Polish Jesuit Jakób Markiewicz of Krosno were published there (1678, 1679). Moreover the work of a Polish ecclesiastical writer Marcin Ignacy Frankowic *Vita Beatae Cunegundis* was printed there in 1744. A very popular ascetic work *Viator Christianus* by ascetic writer and opat in Koprzywnica Antoni Andrzej Krzesimowski was published in Academic typography in Trnava in 1701 and 1729. This typography printed also two editions of the political writing *Monita politico-moralia* (in 1751 and 1763) by Polish nobleman and politic writer Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro. The Jesuit Academic Typography in Košice produced in 1754 the work of a prominent Polish Jesuit, theologian, preacher, university professor and pronunciation theorist Kazimierz Wijuk Kojalowicz *Modi XL sacrae orationis* – it was 80 years after the author's death. The work *Jerosolymitana Peregrinatio: Dum Assertiones Ex Universa Philosophia* by the Duke of Vilnius, a diarist and patron of the Jesuits in Rzeczypospolita Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł was published in Jesuit Academic Typography in Košice in 1756 for the needs of students of philosophy of the Jesuit University in Košice. Radziwiłł compiled it as a diary from his pilgrimage to the Holy Land and Egypt in 1582–1584. Its edition from Košice contains assertions on universal philosophy from students of philosophy, which were lectured publicly in 1756 stemming from lectures of Jesuit professors at the University of Košice. In 1731, the Jesuit Academic Typography in Košice also published Catholic meditations *Vota sive Sermones* by a Polish nobleman, a duke of Kraków and a mayor of Spiš – at that time under the Polish rule (*starostwo spiskie*), Teodor Konstant Lubomirski. Also the work of his father, a mayor of Spiš and an important patron of typography Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski *De vanitate consiliorum* was published in Academic typography in Trnava in 1745. It should be emphasized that the family of Lubomirski nobles contributed to the re-Catholicization of Spiš region in Slovak territory in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

## Conclusion

The grandiose network of Jesuit college libraries in the world was a sui generis phenomenon, the importance of which was most aptly characterized by the first German Jesuit Petrus Canisius, when he said: “Rather a college without its own temple than a college without its own library”. By means

of libraries and a unification of schooling, the single Jesuit pedagogical system pursued instilling a uniform Catholic view of the world in all young people regardless of their religion. A selection of books, school and extracurricular reading of children and students at Jesuit secondary grammar schools and universities were subject to strict rules of the internationally codified Jesuit education system. The pedagogical activity of the Jesuits promoting a philosophy of unity of thought was not only a factor in maintaining the discipline, stability and inner strength of the Society of Jesus, but also the most important factor in re-Catholicization. Many students from Protestant families who studied at Jesuit colleges later converted to Catholicism. Jesuit libraries, books, and reading played a crucial role in the process of „gaining souls”. Likewise, the publishing activities of the Jesuits, provided by a network of efficiently functioning Jesuit typographies, were an effective tool of Counter-Reformation and re-Catholicization in each country where the Jesuits operated. Polish-Hungarian (or Polish-Slovak) relations in book culture can also be observed through an analysis of the collections of Hungarian Jesuit libraries, where a considerable number of Polonica is found. Furthermore the printing of works by Polish authors in typographies in Slovak territory in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century testifies to active publishing cooperation and interest in this literature. Undoubtedly, the activities of the Jesuits in book culture, which they significantly influenced – once enriched it by establishing libraries and typographies, other times restricted it with indices of forbidden books, definitely deserve our special attention.

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