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Social Influences on the Typographic Medium in the Reformation and Counter-Reformation Period in Bratislava, the Capital of Hungary

Abstract: Over the centuries, the typographic medium and book printing responded to the political, economic, cultural, and social conditions very sensitively. The author deals with social influences on the development of book printing in Bratislava from the fifteenth century when the first printer is documented in the town. She ponders the reasons for the long absence of typographic activities in Bratislava from the late fifteenth century to the early seventeenth century. Paradoxically, the Reformation gave an impetus to the further development of book printing in Bratislava, as a Catholic printing house was established there in direct response to Reformation printing in Hungary. Therefore, the author also examines the conditions of Reformation printing to which the beginnings of publishing activities are tied in the territory of Slovakia. In the second part of the study, she focuses on Catholic Revival literature published in Bratislava in the seventeenth century, which played an important role in implementing Catholic reforms in Hungary.

Keywords: history of printing – typographic medium – social influences – 15th-17th centuries – Hungary – Slovak territory – Catholic Revival literature

Book printing presumably reached the territory of present-day Slovakia as few as twenty-seven years after its emergence thanks to a printer called Andrej who, judging from his surviving prints, might have been active in Bratislava from 1477 to 1480. A definitive piece of evidence of the presence of this printer in Bratislava in the fifteenth century was discovered by chance in 2012 during archival research by students. It confirms that Andrej the printer arrived in Bratislava in 1477 and, after being granted the right of burgess, he “had to personally move to the town as soon as he began to enjoy the privileges”. As Eva Frimmová concludes¹, having conducted detailed research on the history of his printing house, thanks to this find we were able to shift the terminus post quem of book printing in Slovakia with certainty to the period of incunables and, territorially, to Bratislava. It also makes it obvious that Bratislava was an important cultural centre of Central Europe even before 1536 when it became the capital of Hungary. In 1477, when printing might have started there as the earliest surviving print documents, King Matthias Corvinus resided in Bratislava. Matthias Corvinus of Hungary was a Renaissance king, a man of letters, a cultural ruler, who established a significant Renaissance library in Europe *Bibliotheca Corviniana*. Cultural activities and book culture were promoted also by his wife Beatrice of Aragon from Naples, thanks to whom Italian humanism and humanist literature made their way to Hungary. It was her that initiated the establishment of a significant Hungarian royal library in the Buda Castle (Budapest in present-day Hungary). Humanist and Renaissance ideas had an impact on the spiritual life of the entire society and gave strong impetuses to culture, promoting its development until as late as the end of the eighteenth century. The establishment of the institution of cultural patronage, typical for the Renaissance and consisting of financial aid provided to the authors to publish their books, was crucial for the development of book printing². From 1465 to 1491, humanistically oriented men of letters from various corners of Europe were active at the Academia Istropolitana, a university of European importance in Bratislava. The prerequisite for the existence of this institution was a well-established book market thanks to a cultural community with a high demand for books. Bratislava was also the seat of a chapter with an ecclesiastical community of well-educated canons, who had built a precious chapter library already in the fifteenth century and ran their scriptorium, too. Markets were held frequently in Bratislava, and these facilitated the book trade; we assume that a solid customer base had existed in the town already in the fifteenth century. Bratislava had a strategic location and this was also a crucial momentum for printing houses.

1 E. Frimmová, *Počiatky kníhtlače na Slovensku*, [online] <http://www.bookhistory.uw.edu.pl/index.php/zbadannadksiazka/article/view/3/3> [accessed 17.05.2021].

2 M. Bada, *Slovenské dejiny II. 1526–1780*, Bratislava 2017, p. 83.

However, after 1480, there was no printing house in the Slovak regions of Hungary for eighty years. The most probable explanation lies in the adequate supply of books from other regions of the country (from the territory of present-day Hungary where printing houses had been in existence) and in the import of books from abroad, mainly from Bohemia, Austria, or Germany, where book printing was highly developed. From the sixteenth century onward, secondary education was slowly gaining a foothold in the Slovak regions, and it gradually gathered momentum. After the dissolution of the Academia Istropolitana in Bratislava, Hungary had no other university for almost a hundred and fifty years (until Trnava University in Trnava was established in 1635 by Cardinal Peter Pázmán). Although foreign competition did not rule out the establishment of local printing houses, the reasons for the delay in printing in Slovakia lie deeper and must be sought in the educational situation in Slovakia back in the Middle Ages. Even the reason for the short, only twenty-six-year existence of the Academia Istropolitana in Bratislava may lie in the small number of lower schools that would have supplied students to it. From the time of Andrej the printer in the period of incunables, there was no printing house in Bratislava for almost a hundred and thirty years. There were highly successful printing centres in its vicinity though, in Vienna and, later on from the 1570s, also in Trnava from where Bratislava procured its books. Despite the development of literature and the activities of literary humanistic circles in Bratislava in the sixteenth century, a wide reading public was absent in the town. A certain handicap for the intellectuals in Bratislava was the absence of a ruler's court (it had its seat in Vienna) and a university (it was established only in the seventeenth century and in Trnava), which might have accelerated their works and careers³. In general, we may conclude that the Slovak market with its local intellectual circles present at the turn of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries did not have adequate motivation for the establishment of printing houses. The first documented printing house whose activities are confirmed appeared in the Slovak regions only in 1560 in Košice, which will be discussed below.

In the context of the backwardness of printing in Slovak, we should point out the use of the Czech language and books written in Czech by the Slovak ethnicity in Hungary. Contrary to the Slovak regions, wider circles had developed an interest in reading in the Czech lands already earlier, under the influence of the Hussite Reformation which achieved that books began to be printed in Czech, i.e., in a language comprehensible for a wide range of potential readers. It must be emphasized that, in the fifteenth century, Slovaks used the Czech language as a form of their national language thanks to their studies at Charles University in Prague. In the fifteenth century, Czech was the literary, cultural, and official

3 Ibidem, p. 86.

language of the Slovaks in the Slovak regions of Hungary and was used by the Slovak population in their literary sources. The introduction of Czech as the literary language of the Slovak ethnicity resulted from the growing economic and political power of the Slovak burghesses in the last third of the fifteenth century. The reasons for the delayed codification of Slovak as a literary language and, last but not least, for the delay in book printing in Slovak, may lie in this fact. Czech fulfilled the role of a literary language for the Slovaks for over four hundred years. A political and cultural centre that would have fought for the development of their national language was absent for the Slovak nation for centuries. Slovaks were served by Bohemian and Moravian printers who published books in Czech, and these were imported to the Slovak regions, too. The works of sixteenth-century Slovak writers (e.g., of the Renaissance poet Ján Silván or the Renaissance playwright Pavel Kyrmezer, among others) were also published in Bohemia or Moravia. In line with the Reformation trend, Slovak Lutherans used Biblical Czech as their liturgical language from the mid-sixteenth century onward. Moreover, Evangelical intellectuals (Matej Bel and others) considered the Czech language a hierarchically higher form of the Slovak language⁴. The Counter-Reformer Cardinal Peter Pázmán also called for the use of Czech among the Slovaks and emphasized the need for a living, vernacular language for the nation for its Catholic Revival activities. As a result of the use of Czech by the Slovaks, Slovak dialectal elements gradually penetrated it. This is how the Slovakized Czech language was formed. In the eighteenth century, heavily Slovakized Czech became the basis for the standard of the first literary Slovak language codified by Anton Bernolák.

Interestingly, in the fifteenth century, even printers who had a Slovak origin did not operate in the Slovak regions but abroad. Examples include the first Bohemian printer Mikuláš Bakalár Štetina in Plzeň (and, at the same time, the first Slovak of whom we know that he was a printer). The reason why Štetina operated in Bohemia (from 1498) and not in his homeland, in Hungary, may lie in the situation in the local book market. Obviously, there was no massive demand for literature here and a local printer would probably not have made enough profit. Plzeň, where Štetina settled, was engaged in intense commercial activities with the South German towns of Nuremberg and Amberg, and also with Kraków in Poland. Štetina was a bachelor's graduate of the Catholic University of Kraków. He learnt printing in Kraków, so he was familiar with the market there. Štetina was a Catholic and Plzeň was Catholically oriented both politically and culturally. In the fifteenth century, it was a cultured town,

4 J. Doruľa. *Slovensko-české vzťahy v zrkadle jazykovo-kultúrneho vývinu*, [in:] *Brněnské texty k slovakistice*, [online] https://digilib.phil.muni.cz/bitstream/handle/11222.digilib/133272/Brnenske-TextyKslovakistice_003-2000-1_10.pdf?sequence=1 [accessed 29.08.2021].

and, thanks to its cultural maturity, it became the cradle of Czech book printing. It should be emphasized that M. Bakalár Štetina pioneered the Czech-Slovak relations in the history of book culture. His sense of Czech-Slovak co-affiliation manifested itself e.g. in his preface to Guarin's dictionary of 1511, where he assured the readers that "this vocabulary [...] was published [...] so that [...] Slovak teachers of Latin [...] could read [...] also in Czech"⁵.

In the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, the development of book printing and book culture in Bratislava was influenced by socio-political events, especially the Ottoman expansion, the revolt of the Protestant nobility, the development of the school system, the Reformation, and Counter-Reformation. The Battle of Mohács in 1526 enabled the Ottoman army headed by Sultan Suleiman to enter Hungary. Because of the Ottoman expansion, the state, the ecclesiastical, and other administrative institutions were moved from Buda (in the territory of present-day Hungary) to the territory of present-day Slovakia, mainly to Bratislava and Trnava. In the territory of Hungary, the Ottoman wars started in the 1520s and went on for almost a hundred and fifty years. They were very costly, and, in those times, the towns invested in defence rather than the establishment of printing houses. After the occupation of Buda by the Turks, Bratislava became the new capital of Hungary in 1536. In this sense, paradoxically, the occupation of Buda had a positive influence on the development of book printing in Bratislava, because the town became even more attractive thanks to its increased social activities and significance. In addition, Bratislava was the seat of the government and the coronation town of the Kingdom of Hungary.

In the seventeenth century, clashes between the royal court and the Hungarian nobility intensified in the field of economics, politics, and religion, and foretold a wave of anti-Habsburg revolts in Hungary. At the time of the revolts of the Hungary nobility targeted against the Habsburgs, cultural life and printers reduced their activities. As the capital of Hungary, Bratislava became the hotspot of almost all the uprisings of the social strata against Habsburg policies. The leaders of the anti-Habsburg rebellion, members of the Protestant nobility, tried to defend their social privileges, positions, posts, and also the religious freedom of their Lutheran serfs, in armed struggle. What bothered them most was the absolutist rule of the Habsburgs and its enforcement by forceful re-Catholicization. Hostilities during the seventeenth-century uprisings resulted in a stagnation of typographic production, as seen from its fragmentariness. Ultimately, the social unrest and its consequences had a fatal impact on book printing in Hungary, which will be discussed below. The situation was

5 P. Voit, *Mikuláš Bakalár*, [in:] *Encyklopedie knihy*, [online] https://www.encyklopedieknihy.cz/index.php/Mikul%C3%A1%C5%A1_Bakal%C3%A1%C5%99 [accessed 17.05.2021].

similar to plague epidemics. In Bratislava, the plague is documented over the seventeenth century six times. The last plague, of 1677–1680, lasted for three years and killed almost half of the population of the town, causing twelve thousand deaths. During the epidemic, social interactions were discontinued, printers had to suspend their activities, schools were closed, no public events were held, i.e., no markets, either, so booksellers avoided the town. The printers received no purchase orders also for the reason that the potential customers of literature from the higher social strata left the town en masse and moved to their rural estates which were much safer.

Book printing and the massive distribution of literature in the history of book culture in the territory of Slovakia were instigated primarily by the Reformation. We might say, from the viewpoint of culture, books, and readership, Reformation printing not only brought about literature in national languages but also intensified the book market in general. The first printing houses in the Slovak regions in the sixteenth century were Reformation printing houses. It must be emphasized, however, that Reformation was officially banned in Hungary. In the first half of the sixteenth century, not only were profitable Protestant printers unable to gain a foothold in the country, but also the thirtieth customs stations had orders to seize every consignment of Protestant books from abroad. The Protestants felt the need for their religious literature and the only way to avoid censorship and circumvent bans was to establish small traveling printing shops under the aegis of noble patrons. In fact, this meant not only patronage, but also sponsorship. The institution of sponsorship was one of the main driving forces of production and literary life in the sixteenth century. Without the financial support of the nobility, it was practically unimaginable to operate a printing house at those times. Traveling printers were among the cream of the society, they were men of letters, Lutheran priests of high social standing, superintendents, or bishops, leading figures of Lutheran church life in Hungary. As priests and preachers, they were the confessors, and confidants, of their patrons and we assume they were on close, friendly terms. They were multifaceted personalities and devoted themselves to the Reformation movement not only by printing and publishing Reformation literature but by compiling it, too. They addressed the faithful in their national language – in Hungary mainly in Hungarian, the majority language. That is why the first prints of the sixteenth century published in the Slovak regions were works in Hungarian.

The first typographers in the territory of present-day Slovakia whose activities are documented were travelling Reformation printers: Havel Husár (Košice, Komjatice, 1560–1575), Peter Bornemisa (Šintava, Rohožník, Plavecký Hrad, 1573–1584), and Valentín Mančkovič (Hlohovec, Vižoľ, 1579–1597/99). Mančkovič probably came from Poland, and we devoted

a separate study to him⁶. The traveling printers shared their typographies with each other, and their activities were interconnected. Husár's printing facility was purchased from his son by P. Bornemisa and his typography was inherited after Bornemisa by Mančkovič. Reformation printers were often adventurers, too, working in secret and spreading the ideas of Reformation by printing even under the threat of persecution, confiscation of their property, and imprisonment. One of the first censorial orders in Hungary was issued against the printer H. Husár when, in 1558, Emperor Ferdinand I issued a ban on the printing and distribution of his books. At that time, Husár was printing in Óvár in the territory of present-day Hungary. Subsequently, he was accused of heresy and imprisoned. The case was similar with Bornemisa: first, he was expelled by his patron, the Count of Salm and Neuburg in Šintava, from his court for a print of outrageous demonological Reformation sermons about the diabolical temptations of the Catholic Church, her impaired morality, and political corruption (1578). Then, when he was working in secret for his new patron, Count Štefan Balaša, in the Castle of Plavec, Bornemisa was arrested on the order of Emperor Rudolf II and imprisoned at the seat of the Bishop of Vienna (1579). He managed to escape from the prison, returned to the Castle of Plavec, and printed the next part of his sermons along with the passage for which he had been imprisoned.

To reduce the production of non-Catholic books, book printing privileges were introduced. All printers in Hungary who did not have a permission from Emperor Rudolf II were to be liquidated after 1579. Essentially, the Protestant books of the Reformation gave an impetus for the development of printing Catholic, Counter-Reformation books. The first Catholic printing houses in Slovakia were established as a countermeasure and response to Reformation printing. A significant part of sixteenth – and seventeenth-century typographic production published in influential and privileged Catholic and Jesuit printing houses served for Catholic Revival. While there were twelve Protestant printing houses and only a single Catholic one in Hungary in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, by the mid-seventeenth century their ratio almost balanced out: there were fifteen Protestant typographies and eleven Catholic ones. Reformation Protestant and Catholic Counter-Reformation book printing provoked each other; one gave birth to the other. As a response to the activities of Reformation printers, the first Catholic private printing house was established in Trnava by Mikuláš Telegdi (1577–1586), a Catholic writer who, similarly to his Protestant predecessors, had a high social standing. He was the administrator of the Esztergom Archdiocese, a canon in Trnava, and a municipal Catholic priest. He ran his printing house

6 M. Špániová, L. Lichnerová, Z. Nemcová, *Valentin Manskovit a Polish-born Printer in Sixteenth-century Hungary*, "Roczniki Biblioteczne" 2018, Vol. 62, pp. 5–17.

as a private enterprise with the financial aid of the Esztergom Chapter till the end of his life. His printing house was granted permission by Emperor Rudolf II who constituted it as the only permitted printing house in the entire Hungary. Telegdi published his own sermons and, mainly, Catholic Counter-Reformation polemics in response to Protestant works compiled and published in Hungary by the Protestant theologians and travelling Reformation printers H. Husár and P. Bornemisa. The patron of the latter, the Count of Salm and Neuburg, seized the equipment of Bornemisa's printing house in Šintava and expelled him from his court at Telegdi's request, as Bornemisa attacked Telegdi's views in his controversial sermons.

The need to fight against Reformation systematically by printing manifested itself in the establishment of a network of institutional Catholic printing houses set up by the Archbishop of Esztergom and by Jesuits from the early seventeenth century onward. Institutional Catholic book printing began to expand on the publishing market clearly as a Counter-Reformation measure. This is documented by the prolific production of polemic Counter-Reformation literature in Hungarian, on which the first Catholic institutional printing houses – the Archiepiscopal Printing House in Bratislava (1609–1617) and the Printing House of the Jesuit College in Bratislava (1623–1652) – focused early on. Polemic Counter-Reformation printing reflected the denominational conflicts and the views of Hungarian Catholic theologians about the spread of Protestantism in Europe. The most significant author of Catholic Counter-Reformation polemics in Hungary and Central Europe was Peter Pázmán, the Cardinal and Archbishop of Esztergom (his polemic works will be discussed below). Pázmán was the founder of the first institutional printing house of the Jesuits, the Printing House of the Jesuit College in Bratislava. In addition to owning royal privileges, this institutional Jesuit printing and publishing house was very well organized and very well equipped. The literature it produced was meant for the local market. The core of its publishing agenda consisted of literature for cultivating, spreading, defending, and teaching the Catholic faith, and literature for church management. It was meant for Jesuit schools (colleges), for the Trnava University in Trnava, and later also for the Catholic University of Košice, for Catholic dioceses, for the Jesuits, as well as for other Catholic monastic communities, Catholic congregations, and fraternities. It published mainly religious books for priests and the faithful, collections of sermons, prayers, books for schools – mainly school catechisms, but also demanding theological writings and a lot of theological polemics targeted against the theological views of the Reformers. The prevalence of Catholic religious literature on the book market was balanced out only by the activities of the University Printing House of Trnava University in Trnava run by the Jesuits, which finally began to produce scientific literature more intensively. Its

establishment formed part of the Catholic Revival of the country. The Catholic Church and the Jesuits coordinated their publishing activities in Hungary, which reflected in the seamless continuity of the operations of institutional Catholic printers in the ideological hubs of Catholic book culture – in Trnava and Bratislava. When it was established, the Printing House of Trnava University in Trnava began to print with the typeface originally used by the Printing House of the Jesuit College in Bratislava – the Jesuits gradually transferred their typographic equipment from Bratislava to Trnava. The Printing House of Trnava University in Trnava was a powerful enterprise that supplied the entire Catholic population of the country with books over the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. The other side of the coin was that, by the number of privileges it enjoyed from the ruler of Hungary during its hundred-and-thirty-year-old existence, this printing house eliminated its competitors not only in Trnava but also in Bratislava. Its efforts to prevent competition were the reason why Bratislava had no printer for forty years in the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries.

It must be emphasized that, in the seventeenth century, book printing in Bratislava was promoted by a well-developed school system that was an important cultural determinant. Both Protestant and Catholic schools and grammar schools operated in the town. We might say that the priority of the printers/publishers was to associate themselves with the school system, as printers associated with schools achieved commercial success and made a high profit⁷. The development of the Protestant school system and the Lutheran community's foothold in Bratislava in the latter half of the seventeenth century led to the establishment of the Protestant printing house of Gottfried Gründer, a typographer from Silesia, who moved to Bratislava from Wrocław⁸. Surviving prints document his activities in Bratislava from 1668 to 1673. However, a turning point occurred in 1670, followed by the onset of harsh Counter-Reformation in Hungary. Under its impact, in the 1670s, Gründer accepted purchase orders from the Jesuits, too, as liquidation loomed over his printing house. He stayed in Bratislava for five years and his brief operations in the town were put to an end in 1673 by the circumstances triggered by the so-called Bratislava Trials with Lutherans after the revelation of Vešelény's conspiracy against the Habsburgs. Religious freedom was abolished, Lutheran teachers and priests faced harsh persecution, Protestant schools, libraries, churches, and printing houses were dissolved, and their assets were given

7 I. Kollárová, *Vydavateľia v 18. storočí: Trilógia k dejinám typografického média*, Bratislava 2006, p. 146.

8 M. Špániová, *Znani predstavitelia niemieckej gminy ewangelickej ze Śląska i ich aktywność kulturowa w Brańsławie w 17 wieku*, [in:] *Kultura książki w humanistyce współczesnej*, ed. B. Koredczuk, K. Augustyn, Wrocław 2018, p. 198.

to the Catholic Church, mainly to Jesuits. In Bratislava, their churches were taken from the Lutherans, and lawsuits were led against them. Gründer had to leave the town. When he started his operations, he borrowed a part of his typographic equipment from the municipal council, and he had to leave this in Bratislava. The municipal council used it for establishing its Catholically oriented Municipal Printing House, but it operated only briefly, until 1680, due to the above-mentioned large-scale plague outbreak in Bratislava.

Literary production in the territory of Slovakia in the seventeenth century was a true representation of the social situation. It reflected the antagonism between Catholicism and Protestantism, which shaped religious, public, and cultural life. The Catholic Church claimed her right to a monopoly over religious life, its organization, and regulation⁹. In the seventeenth century, the “century of wars”, fear of death loomed over the people, and they longed for eternal peace. In literature, these feelings led to ascetic contrition and heightened spirituality¹⁰. The transience of earthly things, an awareness of the proximity of death, and preparing for it by a pious life, were frequent motifs in Baroque writings. Prayer books were crucial religious texts and probably the most widespread types of books. Their function was specific and was not tied only to prayer in the present-day sense of the word. For the semi-literate, prayer and reading were integrated into a single activity to the extent that these two words were used as synonyms¹¹. Similarly, meditation guides with prayers meant for each day of the week, or eschatological meditations to prepare for a happy and peaceful death, brought inner comfort to the readers of the Baroque period. Meditations were a popular read for the members of religious associations established at Jesuit colleges and universities in Europe to cultivate Marian devotion. Jesuit congregational literature was meant also for children and the youth at Jesuit schools; they grew up on them, and their ideas were formed by them. In general, ethical, meditative Jesuit writings, known for their Counter-Reformation function, provided a strong impetus to religious literary works in the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Jesuit meditations fulfilled their religious role partly thanks to the elements of fine literature and poetic prose they used: they had an impact on the emotional world of the readers by their temperamental elements and examples, not by theological argumentation. Reading ascetic and meditative literature was prescribed by the Jesuit school rules *Ratio studiorum*. From early on, spiritual exercises, to which the use of meditative writings is linked, had a strong tradition in the Society of Jesus.

9 R. von Dülmen, *Kultura a každodenní život v raném novověku (16.-18. století) : Náboženství, magie a osvěcenství*, Praha 2006, p. 9.

10 J. Mišianik, *Pohlady do staršej slovenskej literatúry*, Bratislava 1974, p. 174.

11 I. Kollárová, *Konkurenčné vzťahy vydavateľov*, “Kniha” 2005, pp. 117–118.

We assume exercises and similar meditative literature found their place also in Jesuit grammar schools, where school rules recommended to enhance the effect of teaching religion by spiritual conversations and spiritual readings¹².

Meditations that form part of “ars moriendi” eschatological literature, preparing one for a good death, were very popular. In the first half of the seventeenth century, reading such literature was recommended also by Pope Urban VIII in his papal decrees, confirmed several times. Information about whether the texts comply with the papal decrees is written in the prints as a censorship note. In Hungary, the most read, most published, and most translated author of meditations was Ján Nádaši, a Jesuit and a university professor in Trnava and Graz, the secretary of the general of the province in Rome, and the confessor of Ferdinand III. His works were used by Marian congregations throughout Europe, and even in Mexico. Nádaši compiled about sixty works, several of which were translated into Czech, Polish, Hungarian, and German and were republished long after his death, too. In the seventeenth century, the Slovaks used its Czech translations published in Prague and Trnava, authored by the Czech Jesuits Georgius Ferus (1585–1659), Fridrich Bridel (1619–1680), and Georgius Konstantius (1607–1673)¹³. Nádaši’s meditations consist of versed prayers, psalms, hymns, anecdotes, legends, stories from the Bible, antique mythology, and everyday life, and they are based on the method of examples. They have a calendrical form; its combination with meditations or sermons was frequent in seventeenth – and eighteenth-century literature partly for the reason that, at that time, calendars were the most demanded publishing product. Their sponsors included e.g., the chief captain of Upper Hungary, František Vešeláni (a former student of the Jesuit College in Trnava, where he converted to Catholicism) and his “lectissima” (most well-read) wife, Mária Séčiová, known as the Venus of Muráň.

At this point, it is important to emphasize the female dimension of Catholic book culture, because its development in the seventeenth century in Bratislava is linked to the patronage of Hungarian noblewomen. The Catholic prayer books, meditations, and hymns in Hungarian they sponsored were not meant only for women, but also for men. Their aim was to debate, but also to pray and strengthen the devotion not only of theirs but also of their children and serfs¹⁴.

12 M. Fórišová, *Náboženská literatúra v zbierkach jezuitských knižníc na Slovensku*, [in:] *Slovenská, latinská a cirkevnoslovenská náboženská tvorba 15.-19. storočia*, ed. J. Doruľa, Bratislava 2002, p. 224.

13 G. Tuskés, *A XVII. századi elbeszélő egyházi irodalom európai kapcsolatai*, Budapest 1997, pp. 292–293.

14 M. Špániová, *Spis o duchovi a iné katolícke bestsellery v literatúre 17. storočia*. Z vydavateľskej produkcie bratislavských typografov (2. časť), “*Studia Bibliographica Posoniensia*“ 2010, p. 36.

Fig. 1a, b, c. J. Nádaši, *Annus SSS. Trinitatis Vnius Dei...* Posenii : Typis Coll. S. J., Anno 1650. Dedicatoria for sponsors František Vešelényi and Mária Séciová¹⁵



Besides meditations, pocket prayer books and liturgical books also served for the cultivation of Marian devotion. From among the popular titles, we may mention the prayer booklet *Utítárs*, the liturgical booklet *Officium Beatae Mariae Virginis* by Ján Draškovič, and Matej Hajnal's "heart" booklet with meditations and hymns entitled *A Jesus Szivet Szerető Szivek*. All three were dedicated to Kristína Ňárová, the wife of the Hungarian Palatine Count Mikuláš Esterházi. In his foreword to the prayer booklet *Utítárs* of 1643, the publisher, Juraj Rezeni, a canon in Bratislava, mentions that it had been printed three years before in as many as a thousand copies, which had been sold out, so he decided to publish it at his own cost in a small format so that even poorer readers could purchase it. A fragment of its first, 1639 edition from Bratislava was discovered in a library in Keszthely (present-day Hungary) in the binding of a Parisian print. The dedication of the printer György Zavari, who was working in the Printing House of the Jesuit College in Bratislava, reveals that the prayer booklet was prepared for Alžbeta Turzová, the daughter of M. Esterházi's wife K. Ňárová and her first husband, Imrich Turzo. As Zavari says in the dedication, Ňárová complained to the priest that there were no prayer booklets for everyday reading for the youth and especially for young girls and that is why she initiated its publishing.

15 Available on the Europeana: [online] https://proxy.europeana.eu/0940435/_nhXSms?view=https%3A%2F%2Fjbc.bj.uj.edu.pl%2Fcontent%2F766967%2FNDIGSTDR044142.pdf&disposition=inline&api_url=https%3A%2F%2Fapi.europeana.eu%2Fapi [accessed 15.09.2021].

The popular liturgical booklet *Officium Beatae Mariae Virginis* of 1643 was dedicated to the daughter of K. Ňáriová from her second marriage, to Juliana Esterháziová, for her name day. The dedication mentions the merits of the late Ňáriová who had sponsored the publishing of prayer books in Hungarian by large amounts (she had died two years before the printing of the booklet). According to censorship information, it was published with the permission of Juraj Lippay, the Archbishop of Esztergom, and it contains litanies and prayers approved by Pope Urban VIII's reform of the breviary, translated from Latin into Hungarian by J. Draškovič. Specialized literature mentions another, younger edition of the booklet from 1662¹⁶, financed by Žofia Bátoriová, the widow of Juraj Rákoci II.

The meditative heart book of the Jesuit M. Hajnal, *A Jesus Szivet Szerető Szivek*, published in Vienna in 1629, is also dedicated to K. Ňáriová. Hajnal was a friend of Ňáriová; he worked at the court of her husband M. Esterházi and she converted to Catholicism under his influence after her wedding in 1624. Esterházi was the greatest secular sponsor of the Jesuits; he built the Jesuit (University) Church in Trnava (1630–1637), the first Baroque piece of architecture in Hungary. He supported the Franciscans, too, and established their monastery in Eisenstadt. Esterházi commissioned Hajnal to compile prayers based on earlier Hungarian hymns to strengthen the faith of his wife¹⁷. Hajnal translated the texts of meditations and hymns authored by the French Jesuit Etienn Binet into Hungarian. Their younger, Bratislava edition of 1642 was supported by K. Ňáriová's sister-in-law Klára Kapiová, the wife of her brother, Captain of Košice Štefan Ňári. The book came to be called the heart book because of its decoration. It contained thirty-five woodcuts and eighteen copper emblems with Biblical themes engraved in the shape of a heart, whose use had a symbolic significance: through them, the reader could glimpse the heart of Jesus Christ. They were made by Antoine Wierix, a copper engraver from the milieu of the Antwerp Jesuits.

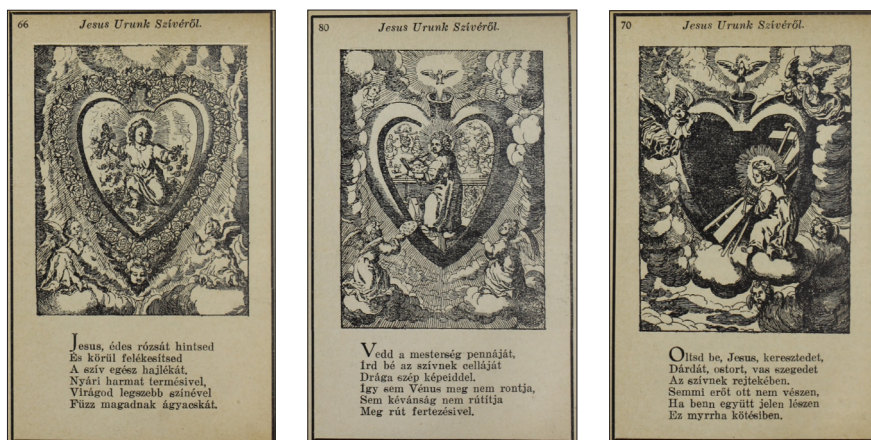
The triumphal advancement of the Catholic Revival in Hungary was closely linked to Peter Pázmán, who became the Archbishop of Esztergom in 1616. As mentioned above, Pázmán was an excellent author of polemic writings. In 1613, the Archiepiscopal Printing House in Bratislava published his most impressive monumental Baroque masterpiece, *Hodoegus. Isteni igazságra vezetlő Kalauz* [*A Guide Leading to the Divine Truth*]. It represents an extensive summary of all the views of Pázmán about the spread of Protestantism in Hungary. In this work, Pázmán collected all Catholic-Protestant polemic

16 E. Hermann, *A katolikus egyház története Magyarországon 1914-ig*, München 1973, p. 270.

17 S. Körner, *Bibliotheca Esterházyana*, [in:] *Modrá krv, tlačiarská čerň : šľachtické knižnice 1500–1700. Medzinárodná putovná výstava*, ed. K. Komorová, Martin 2005, p. 107.

materials available at the time, by which he compiled a significant scientific encyclopaedia of theology¹⁸. Its second edition of 1623 is the first known print of the Printing House of the Jesuit College founded by Pázmány in Bratislava for the needs of all Hungarian Jesuits at a time when they had no printing house for books in the territory of Hungary. We know of a Latin and a Slovak translation of the Guide, but both remained manuscripts. Its last Hungarian edition dates to 1894–1901 and is part of the collected writings of Pázmány published by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Fig. 2a, b, c. E. Binet (transl. M. Hajnal), *A Jesus Szívet-Szerető Szívek...* Posomban, M.DC.XLII. (1642). Heart decoration¹⁹



The manuscript collection of the University Library in Budapest houses the manuscript of the Slovak translation of this work, which is a precious document of the development of pre-Bernolák literature and language²⁰. It is probably a younger copy of the original manuscript of the Slovak translation dating back to 1634²¹. The reason for its Slovak translation was definitely the power of Slovak Protestantism in Hungary at the time of the arrival of Bohemian exiles (including exiled printers) in the Slovak regions. Pázmány was aware of this and promoted the Jesuit Slovak translation of his work at a time when his efforts for Catholic Revival were at their peak. Three translations were

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

19 Available on the Internet: [online] http://real-eod.mtak.hu/7985/2/MTA_Konyvek_867494_3.pdf [accessed 15.09.2021].

20 *Catalogus manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Reg. Scient. Universitatis Budapestinensis = A budapesti Magyar Kir. Egyetemi Könyvtár kéziratainak címjegyzéke*. T. 2. P. 1, Budapest 1889, shelfmark: A 79.

21 I. Käfer, *Az Isteni Igazságra Vezérlő Kalauz 1634-es szlovák fordításának kézírata*, "Világirodalmi Figyelő" 1959, Vol. 5, Issue 2, p. 180.

made of the Guide into Slovak in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, but none of them was printed. The reason may lie in the volume of the work, consisting of a thousand and sixty-six sheets, for whose printing no publisher was found among the Slovaks. Throughout his life, Pázmán strived for the Catholic Revival of the Hungarian nobility and his Guide was meant mainly for the Hungarian aristocratic elite. This fact is suggested also by its high price: in 1657, it cost 2 florins²². The Guide was a typical representative of seventeenth-century Baroque example literature and, with its numerous narratives and stories (fables), short accounts, sayings, proverbs, anecdotes, similes, edifying examples from everyday life and from ecclesiastical and secular history, it might have served also as a guidebook for priests for preparing their sermons. Pázmán donated a copy of his Guide to the municipal council in Bratislava, as his letter sent to the council on 20 April 1614 from Vienna reveals. He mentions that the book will enlighten the members of the municipal council about the truth (at that time, Protestants formed the majority of the council)²³. The Hungarian Palatine Juraj Turzo tried to convince Balthasar Meisner, a professor at the University of Wittenberg, to prepare a Latin response to the Guide, but he did not live to see it; he died in 1617. A response to the Guide was ultimately written in Latin by a Protestant theologian at the University of Wittenberg, Frideric Balduin, entitled *Brevis institutio ministrorum verbi...* and published in Wittenberg in 1621. Another response by Balduin was his writing *Phosporus veri Catholicismi* published in 1626 in Wittenberg, commissioned by Alžbeta Coborová, the widow of Palatine Juraj Turzo. Pázmán reacted to Balduin's response by his writing *A setét hajnalscillag utáin bujdosó luteristák...* printed in 1627 in Vienna and translated into Slovak by Anton Benčíč in 1775 under the title *Za tmavu Dennicu blúdicích Lutheranuw Woditel* (the translation remained a manuscript). We may say that, with his Guide, Pázmán compiled a work that is considered to be historically the most significant apologetic writing in Catholic literature.

Pázmán also authored the historically first printed prayer book in Hungarian, entitled *Imádságos könyv*, which appeared, as far as we know, in nine editions over the seventeenth century (it was republished four times in Pázmán's lifetime). It enjoyed great popularity for two hundred years even among the Protestants. As for the above-mentioned female sponsorship of Catholic literature, it is worth mentioning that Pázmán dedicated the first two editions of his prayer book to the noblewoman Anna Kapi, the wife of Ladislav Pethe from Heteš, the lord of the Ormosd Castle and a secret counsellor of King

²² *Adattár a XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmak történetéhez*, ed. B. Keserü, Szeged 1992, p. 182.

²³ F. Hanuy, *Pázmány Péter összegyűjtött levelei*, Budapest 1910, p. 43.

Matthias II. Kapi sponsored the edition from Graz and asked Pázmány to compile it for the lack of such books in Hungarian. Here too, Pázmány took the opportunity to argue with his rivals and added a forty-three-page polemic addendum to this first edition of his prayer book. “A few hundred books” had been published as the first edition and, as Pázmány stated in the second edition, they had been sold out quickly, that is why it was being published for the second time and in a revised and amended version. He dedicated its last, Bratislava edition to Ilona Amada from Vrakúň, the widow of František Nagymihali of lesser nobility, who had commissioned it. He also dedicated it to all other widows, therefore it has the character of typical women’s prayer books.

Fig. 3a, b. P. Pázmány, *Imadsagos Könyv... Nagy Szombatban... M.DC.LXXXIX (1689)*²⁴



Pázmány dedicated one of his Counter-Reformation polemics, *Bizonyos Okok*, to Eva Popelová of the Lutheran branch of the Lobkovic family on the New Year’s Day of 1631. He did so immediately after achieving the conversion of her son Adam Baťán, the Count of Güssing, later imperial chamberlain and Chief Captain of Transdanubia, to Catholicism. Baťán’s conversion gave rise to sharp polemics among the Lutheran and Calvinist clergy mainly for the reason that, from then on, he stopped supporting the Protestants²⁵. As his surviving correspondence reveals, his mother, E. Popelová, to whom Pázmány dedicated

²⁴ Available on Library Hungaricana: [online] https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/RMK_I_1379a/?pg=4&layout=s [accessed 15.09.2021].

²⁵ M. Špániová, *Katolícke bestsellery v literatúre 17. storočia. Z vydavateľskej produkcie bratislavských typografov (1. časť)*, “Studia Bibliographica Posoniensia” 2009, p. 42.

his book, did not agree to the conversion of her son²⁶. Another interesting fact is also worth mentioning with regard to this polemic – its second, forty-year-younger edition from 1671 was printed by a Protestant printer, G. Gründer, in Bratislava and is one of the few known Counter-Reformation prints published by Gründer on request of the Jesuits and of Archbishop Juraj Selepčiansky. At that time, Counter-Reformation was gaining momentum in Hungary and Gründer came under the close scrutiny of the Jesuits. Publishing Pázmán's polemic writing after a long gap points to the lasting relevance of its contents. Pázmán's merits and achievements in the Catholic Revival of Hungary thanks also to his prolific writings were summed up by Sándor Sík in a single sentence: "Pázmán was born in a Protestant country and died in a Catholic one"²⁷.

In conclusion, we may establish that the main social function of literature in the denominational phase of the development of book printing in the territory of Slovakia that we followed in this study was to spread Reformation or Counter-Reformation. In the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, the social and cultural life of the Slovaks was influenced by the Catholic and the Lutheran clergy and this was reflected also in reading culture. Literature published by Hungarian Jesuits, especially by P. Pázmán, who initiated the establishment and development of Catholic Jesuit schools and book printing in Hungary, played a major role in the successful Catholic Revival. Protestant book culture did not disappear, however. On the contrary, after the situation calmed down in Hungary in the early eighteenth century, it boomed and later played a significant role in spreading Enlightenment in the territory of Slovakia.

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²⁶ B. Iványi, *Pázmány Péter kiadatlan levelei. Körmenyi Füzetek*. 3. sz., Körmeny 1943, pp. 8–9.

²⁷ S. Sík, *Pázmány az ember és az író*, Budapest 1939, p. 82.

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