

1977

# Foundation of the Eötvös Loránd University and its history under Jesuit administration, 1635-1773

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Foundation of the Eötvös Loránd University and its  
history under Jesuit administration, 1635-1773

by

Julius Gyula Paulovits

A Dissertation Submitted to the  
Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of  
The Requirements for the Degree of  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department: Professional Studies  
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DEDICATION

In memory of my mother Julianna —

who always gave generous encouragement of my  
efforts

And to my wife Maria with gratitude —

who contributed her undaunted support toward  
my professional goals.

## PREFATORY REMARKS

During the last few decades educators and concerned citizens have been focusing on comparative education. Since no great culture of the Old World has ever been entirely isolated, this comparative study is aimed at broadening one's perspectives by learning about those people who live in differing national, social or cultural groups. By acquiring some knowledge of similarities and differences between our institutions and others, educators gain better understanding of their own system and the aspirations and ideals of other nations. One should be reminded that each nation has contributed to the world civilization and that humanity would be incomplete without that contribution.

New and increasing demands were made upon the historical commentaries with the birth and developments of great European centers of learning. The history of medieval Hungarian universities has been well-explored; and institutions of the late eighteenth century and contemporary higher education were also examined in educational literature. However, the seventeenth and early eighteenth-century university, the ancestor of today's Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem [Eötvös Loránd University] of Budapest, gained very little recognition in English literature.

The present study was designed to fill in the interval and describe the formation and development of one of Hungary's oldest and existing universities in the small western Hungarian city of Nagyszombat. The search was mainly concerned with the 138 years of university life under the Jesuit administration. The seventeenth-century institution was elevated through the last three centuries to a position of prominence and great importance and has grown to be a permanent center of education.

This search proved to be exciting. One of the questions posed was

whether the founding of the University was mostly the result of one individual's initiative — or the will of dedicated groups of people? Kornis, a former student and the rector at the time of the 300th anniversary of the founding of the institution, in 1935, wrote for the occasion that, "we should be proud that our University was originated not as a benevolence of a ruling prince, but as a purposeful endeavor of an educator."<sup>1</sup> For this ceremonial event Kornis also stated that, "among the Hungarian universities Nagyszombat University is the first which endured the adversities of the tragic centuries."<sup>2</sup>

This study introduces, briefly, the general Hungarian history (political, social, intellectual) of the period as a background to explain the inner and outer forces which helped or hindered the shaping of the nation's education. A short assessment is made of the Protestant tradition and their intellectual activities in comparison to the scholastic achievements of the Catholic tradition. The biographical profile has been devoted to portraying one of the main characters, the founder of the Nagyszombat University, whose leadership, determination, dedication, and generosity made possible the establishment of the University. The necessary preliminary preparations for the foundation are discussed with the provision of funds. There is also a description of the inauguration of the University.

Emphasis is given to the organizational structure, educational philosophy, and the major characteristics of the higher Jesuit institution, examining the three faculties, their teaching methods, courses of studies and degree requirements. A separate chapter interprets some literary works at Nagyszombat with regard to subject matters, theses books, and promotion publications, and explains the University Press as the basic source of

information. This section also deals with the physical characteristics and growth of the institution. A historical review follows, telling of the outer forces (wars and epidemics) which interrupted the academic life and caused changes in enrollment and of Nagyszombat University's struggles during the troublesome years of its early existence.

Here, it might be interesting to note some of the major changes which brought about the current phase in the history of the Eötvös Loránd University (present name of the institution). These forces include the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1773 and the secularization of the institution. The history relates that Queen Maria Theresa, acting within her right given by the law of 1548 (No.XII.), bestowed on the University all of the tangible objects and real estate of the Nagyszombat Jesuits, including its rich library.<sup>3</sup> In 1777, the Queen moved the University from Nagyszombat to Buda, conferred the royal castle to the Institution and furnished it with a new observatory in exchange for the Nagyszombat buildings.<sup>4</sup> The grand opening of the Budapest Royal Hungarian University of Science was held in June 1780 at the Royal Palace with a solemn celebration when the Queen reinforced the rights and privileges of the University.<sup>5</sup>

Emperor Joseph II moved the University to Pest in 1783, housing it in different monasteries and state owned buildings, and later arranged for new buildings and provided it with an ample supply of books and instruments.<sup>6</sup> The Emperor, however, did not like the University's autonomy and made every effort to overshadow it. This situation did not improve until 1848.

The next phase of the University's development started with an enactment of the legislature, in which the XIXth article of the 1848 National

Assembly placed the University directly under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education and declared its right of open and free instruction.<sup>8</sup>

After the Hungarian defeat in a fight for independence (1848-1849), German became the compulsory language of instruction and the official organizational statutes of the German universities were also enforced. (This regulation worked so well in practice that it was kept even after the separation of Hungary from Austria in 1917.)<sup>9</sup>

In the decades following the Austrian-Hungarian compromise (1867), several new buildings were built for the University in order to keep up with the enormous development of the natural and medical sciences. A new building was erected for the University Library, a new clinic was built, and several buildings for the Faculty of Natural Science, also for the Medical School, and for the Institute of Anatomy. The central building of the University on Egyetem Tér (University Square) and the structure of the Institution of Pasteur were constructed at that time. There were several new professorships established and the whole University was furnished with more adequate equipment. "At the beginning of the twentieth century the University of Budapest was already the worthy and equal partner of the large European universities. Its outstanding scholars were valued and well recognized assets not only by the national culture but also by the international sciences."<sup>10</sup>

The University adopted its founder's name, A Királyi Magyar Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem (Royal Hungarian Péter Pázmány University of Sciences) in 1921.<sup>11</sup> By 1934 the Hague Tribunal (World Court) allocated to the University the sixteen thousand hold (23,000 acres) of its Upper Hungarian estates, which had been confiscated by the Czechoslovakian Government.<sup>12</sup>

The National Assembly commemorated the 300th jubilee of the University in 1935 and expressed its gratitude for Péter Pázmány's efforts made at the time of the foundation, and for the institution's accomplishments in science and education on the national and international level. At the same time, the National Assembly granted the University an observatory, an earthquake laboratory, and a large lot for the students' welfare organization. The city of Budapest allocated money for establishing a lung disease pavilion in the University's botanical garden on this occasion.<sup>13</sup>

An elaborate celebration, attended by many dignitaries and numerous delegations from Hungarian and foreign scientific organizations, was held in the large hall under the dome of the Parliament Building on September 27, 1935.<sup>14</sup>

The name of the A Királyi Magyar Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem was changed to its present title in 1949,<sup>15</sup> and bears the name of Baron Loránd Eötvös of Vásárhelyi (1848-1919) who gained recognition as an experimental physicist in optical method designed to determine the constant of capillarity (surface tension) in 1878.<sup>16</sup> The Medical Faculty of the University was re-established as a separate Medical University in 1951, and is now state controlled under the supervision of the Ministry of Health. This independent University of Medicine has the name Semmelweis Orvostudományi Egyetem (Semmelweis University of Medicine), with a teaching staff of 1,155 and a student body of 3,538 (1976/77).<sup>17</sup>

The Eötvös Loránd University is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture and is financed by the state. There are three faculties: (1) Political Science and Jurisprudence, (2) Science, (3) Arts (including education). The teaching staff in 1976/77 school year is 940 with 8,388

student population.<sup>18</sup>

The voluminous new publications of the University reveal that in the field of scientific research more work is done constantly. It is recognized today that the future development of the Eötvös Loránd University depends less upon the class lectures than upon the practical work done in seminaries, research centers, and laboratories.

One final note to the reader is in order. Some aspects of the University's history have been touched upon lightly. For example, town versus gown disputes are mentioned only once (pp.190-91). There is some information on such disputes, and the names of a few troublemakers or victims of calamities have survived for those interested in the effect they played upon the whole structure of the University organization and upon its future development. Országos Levéltár of Hungary (National Archives), E 152, Acta Jesuitica Irregistrata, Collegium Tyrnaviense, no. 10 fol. 6, no 1 fol. 90, no. 10 fol. 29, no. 7 fols. 62 and 70, no. 10 fol. 13, furnish leads for further studies.



## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Gyula Kornis, ed., Jubileumi emlékkönyv [Jubilee Memoirs], vol. 4: A jubileumi ünnepségek jelentősége [Importance of the Jubilee Celebration] (Budapest: K.M. Egyetemi Nyomda, 1936), p. 130.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 131. Pécs (1367), Buda (1389), and Pozsony (1467) Universities could not thrive on account of the troubled condition of the country.

<sup>3</sup>Kálmán Szily, "A Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem 300 éves jubileuma" [300 Anniversary of the Péter Pázmány University], Természettudományi Köz-  
löny 67 (September 1935): 402.

<sup>4</sup>Arthur B. Yolland, gen. ed., View of Trianon's Hungary (Budapest: Gabriel Bethlen Press, 1929), p. 377.

<sup>5</sup>Szily, "Pázmány Tudományegyetem 300 jubileuma," p. 402.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 403.

<sup>8</sup>Yolland, View of Trianon's Hungary, p. 377.

<sup>9</sup>Szily, "Pázmány Tudományegyetem 300 jubileuma," p. 404.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 405.

<sup>11</sup>Julius Kornelius, Education in Hungary (New York: Bureau of Publication Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932), p. 129; Yolland, View of Trianon's Hungary, p. 377.

<sup>12</sup>Szily, "Pázmány Tudományegyetem 300 jubileuma," p. 406.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>The United States was also represented at the commemorative service, as the following letter shows: "Sir: I have the honor to refer to the Legation's note No. 1431, of August 12, 1935, and to inform you that this Government accepts with pleasure the invitation extended to it the rein to participate in the celebration to be held in Budapest from September 25 to September 29, 1935, in commemoration of the 300th anniversary of the founding of the Royal Hungarian Péter Pázmány University of Sciences. I have the honor to add that Dr. Willard C. Olson, Professor of Education and Director of Research in Child Development at the University of Michigan, has been appointed as this Government's official representative at the celebration. Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration. For the Secretary of State: Wilbur J Garr." (Kornis, Jubileumi emlékkönyv, 4: 389.)

<sup>15</sup>International Handbook of Universities, 4th ed., s.v. "Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem - Hungary."

<sup>16</sup>Tibor Erdey-Grúz, Science in Hungary (Budapest: Corvina Press, Franklin Printing House, 1965), pp. 58-59. Loránd Eötvös gained greater fame with the development of the torsion balance at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Geologists acclaimed it, and used it as an indispensable tool in geophysical research. (Ibid. p. 59.)

<sup>17</sup>The World of Learning, 27th ed., s.v. "Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem - Hungary."

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

## I. SEVENTEENTH CENTURY HUNGARIAN EDUCATION FROM A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

To see the birth of a new educational institution, its early history and later developments, can be an exciting experience. However, it is imperative to view educational institutions and their basic philosophies not in isolation, but as an integral part of the society which influences them, and they in turn influence that society. Therefore, an attempt has been made in this chapter to examine developments in education within the broad stream of political, socio-economic and intellectual ideas that characterized the growth of Hungarian culture in the seventeenth century.

The constant change in the political, economic and social sectors of Hungarian society during the seventeenth century resulted from the unsettled conditions caused by the Turks' advancing into the territory. This historical situation, as well as the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, helped determine the country's intellectual climate. Both factors affected Hungarian culture. The former constituted a decline, a marked setback, while the second became associated with the slow but genuine progress of Hungarian education. To explore the way in which Hungarian education developed through difficult phases and to present a valid historical account, a short review of the manner in which specific events are associated with the total culture, is necessary.

### A. Longing for Civilization, a Thirst for Culture

Hungary, with its peculiar geographical location, played an important part in defending Western civilization from Eastern barbaric tribes for centuries. The Magyars (Hungarians) possessed what has been called an

inherited thirst for culture, and in their longing for civilization showed loyalty toward the West, although they were "unwilling to sacrifice their national and racial individuality and their national culture even for the sake of Western civilization."<sup>1</sup> The Magyars showed a constant desire to maintain and develop their national culture by adapting the Western pattern.

#### B. Factors Shaping the Nation's Education

Political issues, religious disputes, new knowledge, and valid interpretation of other important events such as the social and diplomatic aspects of the peasant-movements, the struggles against the Turkish conquerors and against the Hapsburgs, the search for national identity, and the theological and philosophical ideas brought back from the West were all dominating factors and played an important part in shaping the nation's education and culture. These powerful forces in human affairs, along with the country's political tradition and social progress, provide a background and help one understand the Hungarian educational development in a broad sense. It is worth considering the impact the rulers of the period had on instruction and how they supported or controlled educational institutions.

#### C. Political History

During the reign of Mátyás Corvinus (Matthias, 1458-1490), Hungary flourished both in political and military powers and gained cultural fame. He left no heir, however, and the country became a battlefield of the nobles and magnates in their fight for the crown. His successors, King Ulászló (Uladislaus, 1490-1516)<sup>2</sup> and King Lajos II (Louis II, 1416-1526) showed weakness and were unable to exercise power in controlling the disordered nobles. The work of Mátyás was destroyed, and no one was strong enough to

rule the country. The infiltration of the New Faith and the Counter-Reformation made the situation worse. "To stop the new doctrines a severe law was passed: All Lutherans are to be burned."<sup>3</sup>

When the Turks in 1526 hurried to take advantage of Hungary's weakness, the King received no help from the nobles. King Lajos II and his 24,000 men were killed by 200,000 Turks in a battle at Mohács, August 29, 1526. In 1541 Buda, the capital, was also captured. Unfortunately, Lajos had no successor; therefore, according to ancient rule, his brother-in-law, Ferdinand I, King of Austria, was to occupy the throne. Those Hungarians who were against foreign rulers elected and crowned János Zápolyai (John Zápolya, 1526-1539), a Transylvanian nobleman.<sup>4</sup>

The country was divided among three powers, and each of these areas showed different political and cultural trends of development: the Central and Southern parts were occupied by the Turks for about 150 years (Ottoman Empire), the Western part by the Hapsburgs and the Eastern part by Hungarians (Zápolyai). Constant battles between these regions and between their rulers for the next two centuries determined the peculiar aspects of Hungarian history —that is, a "very slow inception of a united national state under Austrian oppression."<sup>5</sup>

The Turkish Sultan recognized and helped the Transylvanian princes in order to perpetuate the division of the country. The Sultan allowed Transylvania "to elect her own rulers, to convene her national assemblies, to keep up an army of her own, and to live as before under the ancient laws of Hungary."<sup>6</sup> In return they had to become the "vassals" of the Sultan and pay taxes to him.<sup>7</sup> The Western part was ruled from Vienna, and the Hungarians lacked the opportunity to influence and shape the Hapsburg policies. The Hungarian Constitution was usually ignored. Diets were brought together

at Pozsony (now Bratislava, Czechoslovakia) from time to time, but only to vote on military and tax matters.

Transylvania's main concern was to protect Hungary's independence and to be a guardian of the inherited Hungarian culture. A few efforts were made to unite East and West Hungary, but each time the Sultan hampered these attempts with new attacks. The Magyars' resistance against Turkish offenses is recorded in numerous epic poems and historical novels.

Emperor Rudolf II (1572-1612)<sup>8</sup> showed disrespect toward the Hungarian Constitution, held no parliament, left the palatine's chair unoccupied, filled most public offices with Germans, placed foreign mercenary troops and foreign castellans into the Hungarian fortresses and threatened the independence of Transylvania. Therefore, the lords of Upper Hungary, with the aid of their Transylvanian alliances, organized an armed rebellion and selected István Bocskay (Stephen Bocskay, 1604-1613), the neglected Transylvanian lord, for their leader. With the help of hajdúk<sup>9</sup> they conquered the Emperor's troops, occupied the territory of Upper Hungary, and elected Bocskay as their sovereign. But Bocskay, instead of taking the crown, signed the Treaty of Vienna, 1606, with Rudolf II with the stipulation that the Emperor would guarantee the Constitution of Hungary and the religious freedom of the Protestants, and acknowledged Bocskay as Prince of Transylvania. He and Gábor Bethlen (1613-1629) improved foreign policy, agriculture and foreign trade. Bethlen was a great supporter of "arts and learning, especially in connection with his own, Calvinist, faith...He raised his country [Transylvania] to the position of a European Power."<sup>10</sup>

His successor, György Rákóczy (1630-1648), a shrewd negotiator, swayed by Bocskay's aims, followed more conventional methods. He participated, as a Swedish-French alliance, in the Thirty Years War against the Hapsburgs,

and conducted a campaign against the Emperor. Unfortunately, because of the constant Turkish attacks, he withdrew and made a peace treaty with Ferdinand III (1626-1657) at Linz in 1645. The Treaty guaranteed religious freedom, but this premature political act left Hungary out of the Peace of Westphalia (1648) and its benefits. The Treaty at Linz seemed advantageous to contemporaries because it provided opportunity, between the constant fights and wars, to establish reformed secondary schools and a higher institution, the so-called Bethlen College, where Protestant men were trained to meet Jesuit scholars on intellectual grounds. The colleges at Sárospatak, Pápa, and Debrecen trained men to be leaders of the Reformed Church. It was customary for young men newly returned from studying abroad to teach in these colleges for only a few years, and then hand over their chairs to later arrivals who had brought back the latest trends on theological and philosophical matters, the new seeds of a higher national culture.

György Rákóczy II (1648-1660) was a weak, conceited man with a policy of reckless foreign adventure which brought disaster to the country. After his death, Nagyvárad (now Oradea, Romania), the most important town of the Partium, beyond the Tisza River (on the Rapid Körös River), fell into Turkish hands and consequently the independent Transylvania vanished.<sup>11</sup>

Miklós Zrinyi (1616-1664),<sup>12</sup> a noble of Western Hungary, was a statesman, a heroic warrior against the Turks and a renowned, impassioned national poet. With his life, a classic example of bravery, and with his epic poem, he spread Pázmány's<sup>13</sup> ideas, reflecting pure patriotism and the national feeling of the country, in the mid-seventeenth century. After Zrinyi was killed in a hunt (It is believed by the Magyars that he was killed by the Hapsburgs.), his brother, Péter, and other nobles (Ferenc Rákóczy, Ferenc

Frangepán, and Ferenc Nádasdy) plotted against Hapsburg rule. Emperor Leopold (1658-1705)<sup>14</sup> seized and executed these nobles in 1671, only Rákóczy received mercy in exchange for 400,000 florins, abolished the Hungarian Constitution and pledged to make Hungary an all Catholic State. He also destroyed the Protestant churches and imprisoned their ministers.<sup>15</sup>

At the turn of the seventeenth century the kurucok — the insurrectionist army of Thököly — fought against the Hapsburgs to win religious and constitutional independence, but their leader, Imre Thököly (1657-1705), had a personal inspiration and wanted to become Prince of Transylvania, even wishing to be crowned King of Hungary. Kuruc activities were helped by Louis XIV and by the Sultan and prepared for a war against the Hapsburgs.<sup>16</sup> Leopold became frightened and in 1681 summoned the Hungarian Parliament by offering concessions, but Thököly rejected them and continued the war. The Turkish army was advancing, too, in the Danube valley and reached the walls of Vienna in 1683. Leopold was in the depths of despair when Thököly saw

the danger for Christianity — even more, the danger against the civilization of all Western Europe — turned with concentrated energy to the defense of the Austrian capital, Vienna, which was then the secular capital of Christendom. The Palatine of Hungary with Thököly, and Charles, the Duke of Lorraine, formed three armies for the defense of Vienna...and the Turks were repulsed.<sup>17</sup>

Between Leopold of Austria, Poland, Venice, Moscow, and the Holy See, a "Holy League" was formed and the Turks were soon driven out from Buda (1686) and from the Great Plains.<sup>18</sup>

Throughout the whole territory of the reconquered country, only a few miserable villages could be met with here and there, population had sunk to the lowest ebb, endless swamps covered the fertile soil of the once flourishing Alföld (Lowland), and the genius of the Hungarian nation had now to engage in the arduous labor of subduing, by the arts of peace and civilization, the sterile waste they had regained at last by their bravery and endurance.<sup>19</sup>

Unfortunately, the victories over the Turks brought no relief to



oppressed Hungary. Leopold promised in the Parliament of 1687 to re-establish the Constitution under one condition — that the kinship would not be elective, but made hereditary in the Hapsburg Dynasty. After seven hundred years of "independence", Hungary ceased to be an elective monarchy, and Leopold also claimed Transylvania, while Thököly was banished to Nicomedia (Turkey).

#### D. The Protestants' Tradition in Education and Their Intellectual Activities

Protestant influences were not only religious and moral in the seventeenth and eighteenth-century Hungary, but they also promoted nationalism, patriotism, and the use of a common, national language in instruction. Protestantism became the representative of the fight against Hapsburg absolutism.

In the third decade of the seventeenth century English-Hungarian intellectual contact became evident, primarily because of the power of the new religion. English Protestants became very sympathetic toward the East-European Protestant communities; by this the isolated Hungarian-Protestants were delighted. Although James I (1603-1625), who advocated that the royal power had its origin in Christ, was hesitant to contact the rebellious, mutinous, radical Hungarians, English King Charles I (1625-1649), in his 1626 agreement against the Hapsburgs, took Transylvania in his Protestant alliance. From that time on, good diplomatic relations developed between the two countries. The English people became more and more interested in the struggle that Bethlen, Rákóczy, and Apafi (1661-1690) had against the powerful Emperor.

England opened her doors to those Hungarian scholars who wished to learn abroad. They were mostly the Protestant theologians who, in the era of Turkish inroads and of the Thirty Years War, were left out of their favored German Universities, such as Heidelberg, and were delighted with the opportunity to be able to learn in England's universities. One student, John Thallyai, studied at Cambridge as early as 1626; another scholar became a student at St. Andrews College in Scotland in 1628. By 1638, ten young Hungarian men had studied in London, and were inspired by the spirit of Puritanism.<sup>20</sup>

A Hungarian theologian, György Komáromi Csipkés, made a journey to England as a student in 1654. Returning to Hungary, he published at Debrecen an English grammar entitled Anglicum Spicilegium (1664). There was no English grammar in Hungary before this or provision for teaching any modern language long after. Therefore, this grammar is a document of the early interest taken by Protestant Hungary from Protestant England during the seventeenth century. As a result of the activity of György Csipkés and of other professors and students of the Debrecen College who had been in England, there arose a strong orientation in the middle of the seventeenth century towards England and the English cultural life.<sup>21</sup>

By the Treaty of Westminster in 1624 Bethlen was admitted, as a member with equal rights, into the anti-Hapsburg coalition created by the Pact of the Hague. One sign of this friendship was shown a few years after the establishment of the Royal Society, when travelers were sent to Hungary to write articles in their scientific journals about Hungarian mines and mineral baths and the cultural and social life of the country.<sup>22</sup>

The English physician who visited the country, Edward Brown a Cambridge graduate, gives a vivid description of the seventeenth-century Hungarian social and economic life in his book, A Brief Account of Some Travels (1673). He wrote a great deal about the tragic history of Hungary, the long Turkish occupation, and how this small nation of Eastern Europe actually stopped the Turkish infiltration and by doing so protected the civilized western part of Europe. The English traveler was sensitive in noticing that Hungary was already a culturally dynamic country, in spite of her struggle for national independence against the Turks and the Hapsburg Empire. He mentioned that there were many well-educated men, although most of their education had been received outside the country. Referring to the language, Brown noted that the common people spoke Hungarian while the nobles spoke Latin and German.<sup>23</sup>

Steinacker, a contemporary West German historian, supports Brown's opinion as he surveys and concentrates on explaining the development of the Magyar character. In his article, "Leistung und Schicksal des Magyartums im Donauraum," Steinacker sees the Magyars mainly as people of action, feeling and will. They also possessed, according to both authors, a strong sense of national pride. From examining seventeenth-century society in Hungary, Steinacker and Brown are both convinced that Hungarians of that time were more concerned with questions related to political and military powers than questions of intellectual and economic development. The authors reason that Hungary remained backward because she failed to develop an indigenous middle class and because the Magyar nobility stubbornly resisted any change which might have tended to limit their power.<sup>24</sup>

John Milton remarked once (before the time of Commonwealth) that even

from as far away as Transylvania, youth came to England to learn. During the Restoration period György Sylvánus and Pál Jászberényi achieved fame, Sylvánus as a classical philologist and Jászberényi as a successful practical educator. Some theologians spent several years abroad, and after their return to Hungary tried to settle the social and mostly religious disputes in the same or similar way that it was done in England. They primarily preached their puritan ideals from church pulpits, but they also translated English works. New ideas were brought to Transylvania by these young intellectuals. Some became so fanatic about reform ideas that even the Hungarians thought they were somewhat prejudiced. Despite some criticism, the seventeenth-century Protestant theologians and writers made good academic connections between the English and Hungarian Protestant intellectuals.<sup>25</sup>

There were constant conflicts and long-lasting theoretical debates within the party from the hostility between the Hapsburgs and Transylvanians and from religious differences between the powerful followers of Counter-Reformation and the Protestants. A struggle also existed within the parties, especially among Protestants, between absolute scholasticism on the one hand and the new views concerning nature and society on the other. In these intellectual debates the pioneers were theologians, physicians and teachers who had returned from foreign universities with new ideas and new knowledge.

In this era only Lutherans went to Wittenburg University in Germany. The Calvinists, after 1620, studied at the University of Basel or in the Netherlands and also in England. In their dissertations and printed lectures one can find the forceful ideological debates that took place in these scholars' scientific lives in Europe at this time: the ideas of German Neo-Scholasticism, Protestant religious natural philosophy, Dutch Cartesianism, and British Puritanism. The intellectuals were filled with such ideas

after their return from several years of study abroad. Buda has only just been recaptured from the Turks in 1686, the year when Newton's Principia was published. Tension and struggle among scientists were apparent, "yet only a very few wished to make a career abroad, following the example of János Bánffy-Hunyadi (1576-1651), an alchemist, who became a member of the Gresham College in London."<sup>26</sup>

Those who came home found their places in Protestant Colleges where scientific life was somewhat vigorous and where philosophy was taught at a higher — though not at an academic — level. They called it philosophia naturalis which was the origin of a long line of future sciences. "Among these schools was the Academicum Collegium of Gyulafehérvár [today Alba Julia, Romania] founded by Gábor Bethlen in 1622, a little later the College of Sárospatak, another in Debrecen, and to a certain extent the School of Eperjes [today Prešov, Czechoslovakia]."<sup>27</sup>

#### E. The Counter-Reformation and Educational Institutions

Great efforts were made by both Protestants and Catholics to advance education and culture in spite of the internal political problems of the country. Some higher institutions founded in this period gained recognition and their importance reached far beyond the boundaries of Hungary.

To counterbalance the influence of the Protestant schools the Catholic Church, too, established a great number of schools during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Jesuits were in the vanguard of the activities of the Counter-Reformation. Having settled in Hungary in 1561, they founded colleges at Nagyszombat [today Trnava, Czechoslovakia], Kassa [today Kőcsice, Czech.], Pozsony, Nagyvárad, Gyulafehérvár, Kolozsvár, and Marosvásárhely, that is, mostly in places where the Protestants already had their schools, with which the Jesuits could compete....In these schools tuition was free in order to attract as many pupils as possible.<sup>28</sup>

Roman Catholic higher education was associated with cultural progress and despite its characteristic Aristotelian scholasticism, it was "more highly

organized and exerted an increasing influence" than its Protestant counterparts.<sup>29</sup>

The Jesuits played a conspicuous role in Hungarian education, as in other parts of Europe. Their system was based on and governed by the Ratio Studiorum (1599), which may very well be called the first organized Christian system of studies on record. Before the time of Comenius, says Quick, "the Jesuits alone had a complete educational course planned out, and had pursued a uniform method in carrying this plan through."<sup>30</sup> The Jesuits exercised a wide range of influence upon the intellectuals, and education improved as never before.

Several Jesuit gymnasiums were established in Transylvania, and education moved haltingly in the direction of a pluralistic culture. The curriculum changed constantly with new knowledge and the popularization of new ideas brought back from the West by scholars.

Higher Jesuit institutions taught three years of philosophy. Speaking and writing good Latin was essential in all Catholic schools where formal rhetoric, the classical Latin-spirit, was emphasized. Ancient writers, with Cicero in the foreground, were read, along with Caesar, Sallust, Livy, and Curtius. The poetry of Vergil, Catullus, and Tibullus was recited, but Hungarian history had no place in the curriculum. Modern languages, Italian and German, were introduced. Dramas, performed by students, played an important part in the Jesuits' educational training. In terms of method, the "spirit of competition" was encouraged and practiced.<sup>31</sup> "Originality and independence of mind, love of truth for its own sake, the power of reflecting, and of forming independent judgement were not only neglected — they were suppressed in the Jesuits' system."<sup>32</sup>

At the end of the seventeenth century, the Piarists, another educational religious order, spread rapidly in Hungary. While the Jesuits stressed logic and philosophy, the Piarists emphasized the teaching of practical subjects, and they even engaged in professional training.<sup>33</sup>

#### F. Printing and Libraries

"At the end of sixteenth and the beginning of seventeenth century individual Protestants and Protestant Churches had set up printing works at Debrecen, Kassa, Lőcse, and Bártfa (today Bardejov, Czech)." The Protestant princes of Transylvania felt honored because of their contribution to and support of the publisher and publications.<sup>34</sup>

Educated readers, nobles, and narrow circles of the intelligentsia of this period were provided with more and more social, scientific, and other useful instructional materials besides the Bible and religious books. These new educational books, with their advanced content, written by learned authors, helped the readers in their reasoning and in finding differences between true and false. The authors of these texts used the syllogistic approach to help the intellectuals with methodical ideas for the purpose of advancing science and improving instruction. These scientific and religious works published by printing houses were fine examples of the remarkable craftsmanship in typography, in fine print and in handsome, illuminated frontispieces.

In the seventeenth century, twenty-seven printing houses were in operation in Hungary, and the number of books increased considerably. In the first five decades of the century, between 200 and 300 books were printed per decade, whereas in the last decade of the century nearly 600 were issued,

of which more than half were in Latin, 200 in Hungarian, and the remainder in German, Slav or other languages. Needless to say the books were published in very small editions because the majority of the population was illiterate. The printers bound the books, and were also the merchants who sold books at various fairs.<sup>35</sup> The demand for books was greatly increased by the growing economic significance of towns by the new generation, the Reformation, and the extension of school education. Unfortunately this intellectual development — this hunger for new knowledge — was retarded for a period of 150 years in those regions occupied by the Turks, constituting about one-third of the country. The existing libraries — except for two Franciscan monasteries, one at Szeged and the other at Gyöngyös — were destroyed.

#### G. Famous Educators of the Era

In the survey of the development of the Hungarian intellectual life in the seventeenth century, and its significant phases, one must take into account the influence of the outstanding educators and their contributions to "progressive" education.

The outstanding figure of the Hungarian Counter-Reformation Péter Pázmány, Archbishop of Esztergom, played a positive role in the seventeenth century's higher educational development by fulfilling the ideas of human dignity. He promoted the Catholic philosophy and his humanistic tendency not only through personal contact as an orator, but also through his voluminous works. Pázmány was an untiring advocate of quality education. His religious belief and faith in human dignity motivated the "founding father" to establish several religious and educational institutions (among them the Nagyszombat



University) which gave a great impetus to the advancement of Hungarian education.

Two Protestant educators, the Moravian Jan Amos Comenius and the Hungarian Janos Apáczai Csere tried to reform the educational system with their more liberal ideas. These educators and reformers were solitary figures. Although intellectual giants, they received little appreciation from their contemporary society. Their dedication to teaching, their pedagogical methods, educational theories and philosophies, their literary work, and their contribution to the nation's education command respect.

The independent Transylvania became not only a guard of the inherited Hungarian culture, but the center of humanist traditions, where learning flourished. In 1650 György Rákóczy II, the Prince of Transylvania, invited Comenius (Jan Amos Komensky, 1592-1670), the great Moravian humanist and educational reformer, to reorganize the Sárospatak College (founded in 1531) in Northern Hungary, and to put his educational theories into practice. He taught at Sárospatak for four years (1650-1654).

This famous scholar, sometimes called the founder of the science of education, settled at the age of 58 in Hungary where he taught and wrote several textbooks including his great Orbis Sensualium Pictus. As a token of his appreciation of the Prince's hospitality, he wrote a book titled, Gentis Felicitas. In this, he advocated that the Hungarians should extend education, cultivate their language, and intensify large-scale tilling of the land to improve the country's economy.<sup>36</sup>

Comenius developed pansophia, the pansophic educational theory, in which he gave greater opportunities for the universal study of the whole body of science. His emphasis on the natural sciences, mens sana (common

sense) and sensus (sensory perception) played a prominent part in his pedagogy.<sup>37</sup>

All his work was motivated by dedication to teaching and good will. He stressed in his teaching the "Order of Nature", which is to first educate the senses, then the memory, then the intellect and finally the critical faculty. As for the senses, he wrote "Nihil est in intellectu quod non prius fuerit in sensu."<sup>38</sup>

As one of his basic pedagogical methods, he suggested that all learners should form a happy community and that each student should take an active part in the beautiful job of acquiring knowledge. "There must therefore be no pressure. Learning should come to children as swimming to fish, flying to birds, running to animals."<sup>39</sup> In his book, Opera Didactica Omnia, which is among the greatest writings on education, he combined the proper educational practices and theories into a collection. "This work . . . represents the influence of realism, and . . . foreshadows many modern tendencies in educational theory and practice."<sup>40</sup>

Comenius was the first educator advocating empiricism (autopraxis). He also thought that students should put theory into practice, and should relate education to everyday active life. As one of the educational geniuses of his time, he tried very hard to put an end to medieval educational anarchy. His basic philosophy was that "the art of teaching requires only the proper artistic arrangements of time, teaching material, and method."<sup>41</sup>

Comenius' theories included a universal system in education with equality of educational opportunities for everybody, including women, and provided appropriate educational experiences for handicapped children. He

also promoted teaching in the vernacular and was the first advocate of this in Europe. As a promoter of democracy in educational theory, Comenius expressed his ideas and his methods of teaching, based on a natural approach, in his well-organized books. Before Comenius' arrival in Sárospatak, János Tolnai Dali, the head of the school and pioneer of the Hungarian Puritan movement (or English origin) spread the same spirit and the pansophic idea: "The rather utopistic pansophic idea itself means the passing on of the totality of knowledge, that is of knowledge from which arises the unity of matter and method."<sup>42</sup> Comenius said: "Nature has implanted within us the seeds of learning, of virtue and of piety. The object of education is to bring these seeds to perfection."<sup>43</sup>

Comenius was aware that the individual's well-being can not be separated from society's welfare. In his introductory speech at Sárospatak, he noted:

In an educated nation each individual serves everyone, each and everyone does his best and what he does should be beneficial for him as well as for others. . . . Politics is not enough, that is the political science of how to govern empires and cities is not satisfactory, the world society demands the knowledge of how to flourish and maintain world peace.<sup>44</sup>

The talented Hungarian educator, János Apáczai Csere (1625-59), the greatest Hungarian Protestant scientist and author, was the gifted son of a poor peasant family. After completing his studies at Kolozsvár and Gyulafehérvár, he managed to leave his native land and continue his studies in the Netherlands. There he became aware of the high culture and intellectual life of the bourgeoisie and the rationalistic philosophy of Descartes, the great French advocate of the scientific method and promoter of science.

Apáczai became a critic of formal educational practices of his time. He was an ardent follower of the philosophy of Descartes. He adopted

Puritanism and its ideals, devoting his life and work to these in the College of Gyulafehérvár. His book, valued most by Hungarian educators, is the Magyar Encyclopaedia, 1655, which he wrote while still in the Netherlands. In this outstanding work he expressed a universal-pansophic philosophy, and for the first time all contemporary knowledge, including the natural sciences, was summarized in the Hungarian language. With this literary work he revolutionized Hungarian scientific terminology and changed the traditional curriculum of the Latin school. Apáczai created many new and more precise words and the special terminology necessary to science. As for the curriculum, he established a didactic sequence of subjects — that is, teaching subjects of descriptive character first, such as, geography, botany, and zoology, and only after mastery of these should come more subjects such as ethics, politics, mathematics, and geometry. It was a definite demonstration of Cartesianism and showed a "positive achievement in scientific methods after so much scholasticism, superstition and alchemy, even if the new science of physics rested on the finding of Galileo and Newton, and no longer on the principles of Descartes."<sup>45</sup>

In 1654 Apáczai published a textbook, Magyar Logikátska (Minor Hungarian Logic), based on Ramus' work on logic and skeptical thought and containing an appendix entitled Tanáts (Advice).

Apáczai was elected professor of the College of Gyulafehérvár in 1655. In his remarkable inaugural lectures, which are considered rhetorical essays, he outlined a detailed program for improving science on the basis of Cartesian educational principles. Apáczai realized the cultural backwardness of his people, criticized serfdom, demanded the mother tongue for instructional use and advocated a new scientific and educational system. He realized that the

only way to upgrade his country's culture was to establish a complete university where Hungarian scholars could study instead of seeking their knowledge abroad. Because of his great interest in a university, he sent in 1658 a memorandum to Prince Ákos Barcsai in which he outlined a logical educational system appropriate to his people and his time.

However, the adverse circumstances were unfavorable for his plans. With his liberal attitude, he came into conflict with Prince György Rákóczy II, who regarded him as an independent and a rebel and transferred him to the inferior school of Kolozsvár. His critical mind and advanced theories brought him disgrace and sealed his early death.<sup>46</sup>

These two educators of the Protestants and their biographical synopses reveal their contributions and their liberal ideas which helped to shape Hungarian education, the nation's intellectual enterprise. Their efforts at cultural advancement attest to the history of the gradual progress of the country's education which developed through long difficult phases. Their influence in promoting education generally, and higher education specifically, is compatible with their Roman Catholic contemporaries.

Hungarian society at the beginning of the seventeenth century was not ready for radical educational movements and in most cases showed hostility towards more advanced sciences. There was a need for moral and financial support from rulers to improve the prevailing conditions.

One who realized this great need was Cardinal Péter Pázmány, the founder of Nagyszombat University, who played a leading role in establishing and promoting higher education in Hungary. The next chapter is the recognition of his life's work and his accomplishments as a Jesuit, statesman, orator, author, and an enthusiastic educator.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Imre de Jósika-Herczeg, Hungary After 1000 Years (New York: American-Hungarian Daily Inc., 1934), p. 157.

<sup>2</sup>King Ulászló in 1515 "made an important treaty with Emperor Maximilian I; his daughter Anna was betrothed to Maximilian's son Ferdinand (later Emperor Ferdinand I); his son Louis [Lajos] (later Louis II) was betrothed to Ferdinand's sister Mary. If Louis died childless (as he did) Hungary and Bohemia were to pass to the Hapsburgs." (The Columbia Viking Desk Encyclopedia, 2nd ed., s.v. "Uladislaus.")

<sup>3</sup>John Foisel, Saxons Through Seventeen Centuries (Cleveland, Ohio: Steingass Litho, Inc., 1965), p. 130.

<sup>4</sup>Tibor Erdey-Grúz, Science in Hungary (Budapest: Corvina Press, Franklin Printing House, 1965), p. 112.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>G.P. Putnam's Sons, publishers, Famous Nations, 14 vols. (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1893), vol. 12: The Story of Hungary, by Arminius Vámbéry (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1886), p. 340.

<sup>7</sup>Denis Sinor, History of Hungary (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1959), pp. 158-59.

<sup>8</sup>"Rudolf II, 1552-1612, son of Emperor Maximilian II, was crowned king of Hungary (1572) and Bohemia (1575) before succeeding his father as emperor (1576). Mentally unbalanced, he had to delegate his imperial power to his brother Matthias (1606), to whom he also ceded Hungary, Moravia, and Austria (1608) and, finally, Bohemia (1611)." (The Columbia Viking Desk Encyclopedia, 2nd ed., s.v. "Rudolf, emperors.")

<sup>9</sup>Hajdúk [Heyduck] were foot-soldiers in the army of Bocskay in the seventeenth-century wars of liberation. (Országh, Hungarian-English Dictionary, 4th ed., s.v. "hajdú.")

<sup>10</sup>Lajos Novák, Pázmány Péter (1570-1637) [Péter Pázmány] (Budapest: St. István Társulat, Stephaneum Nyomda, 1915), pp. 16-17. Also see C.A. Macartney, Hungary (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1962), p. 81.

<sup>11</sup>Arthur B. Yolland, Hungary (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1917), pp. 196-98.

<sup>12</sup>Miklós Zrínyi was the first Hungarian writer on military science. In the Tabori kis tracta [Minor Military Tract] (1646-48) he laid down the theory of modern warfare. In his pamphlet Az török afium ellen való orvosság [Medicine Against the Turkish Opium] (1660-61), he urged the establishment of a permanent Hungarian army. (Ferenc Erdei, gen. ed., Information Hungary [Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1968], p. 663.)

<sup>13</sup>"Péter Pázmány, 1570-1637, Hungarian cardinal. A convert from Calvinism, he entered the Society of Jesus, became primate of Hungary [1616] ....He founded a university at Trnava [Nagyszombat]." (The Columbia Viking Desk Encyclopedia, 2nd ed., s.v. "Pázmány, Péter.") Pázmány enjoyed a high reputation among the great dignitaries and noble families in the kingdom. György Zrinyi, Viceroy of Croatia, called upon Pázmány on his deathbed to be the guardian of his sons Miklós and György. Pázmány adopted the two orphans with fatherly love, provided proper upbringing and education. Most likely Pázmány's spiritual superiority as well as his example encouraged and inspired Miklós Zrinyi to the writer's career. (Novák, Pázmány, p. 44.)

<sup>14</sup>"Emperor Leopold I, 1640-1705. The salient events of his reign (1658-1705) were his wars with Louis XIV of France; the rebellion of Thököly (1678); the Turkish siege of Vienna (1683); and the victorious Treaty of Karlowitz with Turkey (1699). He was fortunate in having such able generals as Montecucculi, Charles V of Lorraine, and Eugene of Savoy." (The Columbia Viking Desk Encyclopedia, 2nd ed., s.v. "Leopold, emperors.")

<sup>15</sup>Yolland, Hungary, pp. 200-201.

<sup>16</sup>Kuruc-forces: formed by irregular bands of soldiers in the insurrectionist army of Thököly and Rákóczy. They became a symbol of nationalism, for centuries the soldiers fighting against Hapsburgs were called kurucok, the Hapsburg soldiers and those Hungarians who fought in the Hapsburg army were the labancok.

<sup>17</sup>Jósika-Herczeg, Hungary After 1000 Years, p. 46.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>"The work, hard as it was, was done. For a century and a half the severe task of colonizing and civilizing has been going on bravely, until finally that tract of land, which they recovered from the Turks, an uninhabited desert, has grown to be populous, flourishing, and one of the richest granaries of Europe." (Vámbery, The Story of Hungary, pp. 335-36.)

<sup>20</sup>Pál Berg, "Az angol nyelvtanítás útja a magyar iskolában" [The English Grammar in the Hungarian School], Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok 4 (May 1942): 116.

<sup>21</sup>Elemér Kerékgyártó, "Komáromi Csipkés György angol nyelvtana" [George Komáromi Csipkés' English Grammar], Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok 3 (1938): 94-95.

<sup>22</sup>Berg, "Az angol nyelvtanítás," p. 116.

<sup>23</sup>János Rapcsák, "Angol utazó Magyarországon a XVII. században" [English Traveler in Hungary in the 17th Century], Elet és Tudomány 30 (October 1975): 2067-71.

<sup>24</sup>Steinacker, "Leistung und Schicksal des Magyartums im Donauraum," Südostdeutsches Archives 7 (1964): 7-38.

<sup>25</sup>Berg, "Az angol nyelvtanítás," p. 117.

<sup>26</sup>Erdei, Information Hungary, p. 662.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 556.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 662.

<sup>30</sup>Robert H. Quick, Essays on Educational Reformers (New York: Appleton and Co., 1904), p. 62.

<sup>31</sup>Julius Kornis, Education in Hungary (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932), p. 5.

<sup>32</sup>Quick, Essays on Educational Reformers, pp. 50-51.

<sup>33</sup>Kornis, Education in Hungary, p. 5.

<sup>34</sup>Erdei, Information Hungary, p. 618.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>František Kožic, Johan Amos Comenius, trans. Sylvia E. Fink-Myhre (Prague: SNTL Publishers of Technical Literature, 1958), no pagination.

<sup>37</sup>Tamás Esze, "Comenius," Élet és Tudomány 12 (1957): 1347-51.

<sup>38</sup>Quick, Essays on Educational Reformers, p. 138.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 136.

<sup>40</sup>Edgar W. Knight, Twenty Centuries of Education (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1940), p. 356.

<sup>41</sup>Esze, "Comenius," p. 1348.

<sup>42</sup>Erdei, Information Hungary, p. 556.

<sup>43</sup>Quick, Essays on Educational Reformers, p. 230.

<sup>44</sup>Esze, "Comenius," pp. 1348-51.

<sup>45</sup>Erdei, Information Hungary, p. 663.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 731.



## II. THE FOUNDER OF NAGYSZOMBAT UNIVERSITY

A truly historic role in the development of higher education in Hungary was that of Péter Pázmány. The "dynamic personality"<sup>1</sup> who conducted negotiations with the King of Hungary, the Holy Roman Church and Jesuit leaders, gave a lavish endowment for the foundation of the University in Nagyszombat (now Trnava, Czech., or the Latin Tyrnaviae). Through his desire to strengthen the state of learning, he became the most eloquent speaker to express the ideals of higher education in general and the training of the Roman Catholic clergy in specific, during a sensitive period of time. As a statesman, Pázmány was aware that "the quantity of the well-educated men form the nation's true strength."<sup>2</sup> His outstanding dedication, his long-ranging optimism, his confidence in educational institutions, which his patronage helped become realities, are demonstrated in his eventful life.

### A. Early Years of Pázmány

Péter Pázmány (pron. pasmanyú) was born in Nagyvárad on October fourth, 1570. He was the scion of an old and noble Hungarian family. His father, Panaszi Miklós Pázmány, descended from the ancient clan of Hunt-Pázmány who settled in Hungary during the reign of Saint Stephen (969-1038). Miklós Pázmány was an alispán, sub-prefect, of Bihar county and a firm Calvinist, while the ancestors of Péter's mother, Margit Massai, date back to the fourteenth century, when Count Massa's family owned large estates in central Italy.

Pázmány's birthplace, the ancient Hungarian city of Nagyvárad, was the stronghold of the Reformation and the center of religious disputes during the rule of János Zsigmond Zápolyai (John Sigismund, 1540-71). It became

a stout rallying point of the Calvinists.<sup>3</sup> A Historian recently estimated that at "the height of the Reformation some three-quarters of the population belonged to one or the other of the reformed churches. Particularly strong was the appeal of the Reformation to the purely Magyar regions." Lengyel stated that "the teachings of Calvin were even more popular than those of Luther. So great was the impact of the Geneva creed on Hungary's plains that Calvinism became known . . . as the 'Hungarian religion.'" <sup>4</sup> Indeed, around 1550 it seemed that the Catholic faith was almost lost in the country. It was a time when the whole country had only three bishops and those were almost incapable of making a living. The population under Turkish rule became Protestant because the people forsaken by everyone and everything were easily attracted to the new religion. Many were not even aware of the fact that they had become separated from the ancient religion, because the Protestants first retained many ceremonies of the Catholic liturgy.<sup>5</sup>

The young Pázmány attended a Protestant school in his hometown and was educated in the spirit and doctrines of this "new religion." He was only ten years old when his mother died, and his father remarried an ardent Catholic woman, Borbála Toldy. The religious stepmother, with her tender care and her firm belief in God, greatly influenced the young Péter's character. Even the constant indoctrination at the Calvinist school and the teachings of his famous instructor, Dávid Zsigmond, could not awaken in Péter a desire to embrace the Protestant faith.<sup>6</sup>

At the same time, the life of the Catholics in Nagyvárad was miserable. They had no place to worship, no church to attend and they were forbidden by law (Transylvania's) to have a priest. By 1579, the Transylvanian Government allowed the Jesuit Orders to settle in the country. Then a Jesuit

priest would come occasionally to Nagyvárad, to organize the diocese and lift the town-people to a religious community. One of these Jesuits, Pater István Szántó, was greeted by the residents as the "Angelus of Nagyvárad." It is evident that the combined efforts of this outstanding man and Pázmány's pious stepmother laid the groundwork for the twelve-year old Péter to be converted to the Catholic faith in 1582.<sup>7</sup>

#### B. Young Jesuit

From that time on Pázmány became very sympathetic toward the Jesuits, and he wanted to become one of them. He continued his education at Kolozsvár (now Cluj, Romania, or the German Klassenburg) in a flourishing Jesuit academy where he harvested a rich spiritual and intellectual crop from the seeds planted in his fertile mind at Nagyvárad.<sup>8</sup>

At the age of seventeen he entered the Jesuit Order, the one he longed for, in a Cracow monastery. Since the inclement climate of the Polish capital was harmful to his health, his superior transferred him to Vienna where he studied philosophy before he was sent to Rome to study the science of theology. There, he was inspired by the consecrated land of martyrs, and surrounded by outstanding theological scholars, including Bellarmine, a renown advocate of the Counter-Reformation. Bellarmine's outstanding personality, his lectures and his literary works, made a great impression on Pázmány. It is most likely that Bellarmine's ideals made Pázmány his follower in the religious struggle against oppression. From this association, he determined to concentrate his main effort in concerting the people of Hungary.<sup>9</sup>

After the completion of his formal schooling in 1597, Pázmány was sent by his superior to Graz, Austria, to perform his first task, which was to

supervise the studium in a Jesuit House. The next year, after a difficult first job, he went to the Jesuit University of Graz where he taught theology. There he felt homesick for Hungary. He set himself a long-range goal to revive the faith advanced by the "István, apostoli király" [Apostolic King Stephen].<sup>10</sup> For this reason he asked for a transfer. When permission to leave Graz was granted, he returned to Hungary where, in 1601, he joined the spearhead of the Counter-Reformation, the Society of Jesus, and offered his services in the drive to restore the Catholic faith. His primary aim was to convert and regain the large land-holding families for the Roman Catholic Church and through them, "without coercion," to win a large part of his (the land-owner's) ordinary people.<sup>11</sup> "The wars of religion overlapped the age of feudalism," according to Lengyel, "where possession of the land meant also possession of the human soul [who worked on the land]. The watchword of the age was expressed in the Latin adage: Cuius regio eius religio [Religion belongs to the owner of the land]."<sup>12</sup> With the above tactful plans he displayed a high standard of intellectual excellence and his understanding of the political forces at the national and local level.

### C. Restoration of the Catholic Faith

With the dawn of the seventeenth century, Pázmány appeared in Selye (North West Hungary) where the Jesuits settled after their persecution and eviction from Transylvania. Here a new era began in Pázmány's career as he won Archbishop Ferenc Forgách's attention with his oratorical talent. He gained the Bishop's confidence to the extent of developing friendly terms with him. Furthermore, the Bishop offered his patronage, and — with the Jesuit Supervisor's permission — elected Pázmány as his theologian. Soon

"with his [Pázmány's] magnificent sermons, he brought a long line of influential people back into the fold of the Catholic Church."<sup>13</sup> Among those were Count Miklós Forgách, Count Zsigmond Forgách, Kristóf Thurzó<sup>14</sup> and Count Miklós Eszterházy<sup>15</sup> whose family owned half a million acres of land.<sup>16</sup> The Archbishop inspired the young priest to write his first Hungarian literary work, Felelet a Magyar István sárvári prédikátornak az Ország romlása okairul irt könyvére [Answers to Stephen Magyar to the Cause of the Country's Corruption]. With this publication Pázmány started his career as an orator, essayist, and ecclesiastical lecturer, and these contributions were a turning point in his life. His opponents soon became aware of the fact that they had to compete and deal with a formidable man of unbounded determination, talent and intelligence.<sup>17</sup>

In the fall of 1603, Pázmány was sent to Graz again, where he taught philosophy at the University for the next four years. During that time he did more extensive research using the rich material contained in the University Library, realizing that he would be without those sources in his poor ruined, looted homeland. By taking advantage of the favorable situation in Graz, Pázmány became a prosperous writer, publishing a book each year for the next four years. (See "Pázmány's Literary Work," p. 32.)<sup>18</sup>

When Emperor Rudolf, forced by Bocskay, provided the Hungarian Protestants with religious freedom in the Treaty of Vienna (1606) Archbishop Forgách was not pleased, foreseeing a great struggle with the Protestants. For this religious battle he wanted Pázmány's talent and asked the Head of the Jesuit Order to give his consent to bring Pázmány to his episcopal court.<sup>19</sup> Pázmány wrote most of his polemical works in this palace "in which he ironically and mercilessly attacked his opponents...doctrines."<sup>20</sup>

## D. Orator and Statesman

Pázmány became a successful orator, "in a short period of time his brilliant eloquence became known in the whole country."<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, during this stage in his life, due chiefly to his outstanding sermons and publications, he brought thirty Magyar landlords and leading families back into the fold of the Catholic Church. Among these families some owned domains larger than a dozen of the smaller principalities of Germany.<sup>22</sup>

In addition to a busy priesthood and fruitful literary life, Pázmány took an active part in the political life of Hungary. In 1608 he drew the entire nation's attention to his views on conflicts concerning ecclesiastic property, as he represented his Order at the Pozsony Parliament. Here he opposed the eighth item of the Vienna Peace Treaty (1606), which refused the Jesuits' right to possess ecclesiastic land. From this time on Pázmány became very influential in both religious and political circles. As a result, he convinced the Archbishop of the importance of a synod, to be held at Nagyszombat in 1611, to purify the clergy's ethical, spiritual and intellectual well-being.<sup>23</sup>

Archbishop Forgách and his disciples found Pázmány best suited to be the country's religious leader. But the Jesuit Order's rigid, restrictive rules forbade its members to take an office associated with the exaltation of a dignity. Therefore, Pope Paul V, after receiving a petition from Emperor Matthias<sup>24</sup> and Archbishop Forgách, exempted Pázmány from the monastic oath. Then Pázmány was promoted to Prelate of Turoc (Hungary), on April 15, 1616, and shortly afterwards, on September 28, was proclaimed Archbishop of Esztergom, Primate of Hungary, by the decree of the Emperor.<sup>25</sup> At the same time, the Emperor pared to a great degree the power, income,

and rights of the Archbishop's office, hoping that Pázmány, being an order-man (Jesuit), would not show any opposition. But Pázmány declared that "he would rather retreat to the seclusion of his order, than agree to the unjust wishes."<sup>26</sup> The Emperor had to accede to all the scholar's requests, because he needed this talented and influential man on his side.

#### E. Primate of Hungary

Pázmány was consecrated as Primate of Hungary in Prague and entered with great solemnity the city of Nagyszombat on the twenty-ninth of November, 1616, where the archbishopric had been moved after the invasion of Esztergom by the Turks, in 1530.<sup>27</sup>

From the very beginning of his new office, Pázmány performed many services for the King. Matthias had no son, so he wished Ferdinand, his nephew and adopted son, ruler of Bohemia (Czech) to be his heir. However, the Hungarian nobles knew Ferdinand's hunger for power and his dislike for the new religion, and were thus opposed to him. Matthias, therefore, turned to Pázmány, who was able to convince the nobility to elect Ferdinand king, by assuring them that the Hungarian Constitution, the rights of the nobles, and the freedom of religion would be respected. Nevertheless, Ferdinand II violated his promise and took the lead of the Counter-Reformation. This act provoked an uprising of the Hungarian and Bohemian nobles, and when the Emperor (Ferdinand) tried to put down this rebellion with weapons the Thirty Years War started.<sup>28</sup>

When the Protestant rebels led by Bethlen, ruler of Transylvania, occupied Upper Hungary and reached Pozsony, capturing and killing with terrible torture several Catholic Church leaders on their way, Pázmány fled to Vienna. A meeting at Sopron (20 January 1620) brought peace between the fighters and

the King recognized Bethlen as governor. This act set the peoples' minds at ease and order was restored. Pázmány returned home and took the Church's spiritual reins into his hands. With the King's aid he restored the church property which had been usurped by the nobility and the King promised in a bull that in the future he would not allow mortgaging of the church property. Pázmány also restored the right of possession of gold and silver scrapings left over from the minting of coins.<sup>29</sup>

#### F. Educational Concerns and Establishments

With great concern and with an iron hand, Pázmány regularized the internal life of his Church and strengthened the relaxed and loose discipline. For these undertakings he called together several synods. To put an end to the shortage of clergy, he founded a seminary in Vienna (the well-known Pazmaneum) with 115,000 florins in 1623.<sup>30</sup> He also started a fund, with 1,333 gold pieces, for the transportation expenses of those students who were entering the priesthood and wanted to learn in the divinity school in Rome — founded by Pope Gergely XVIII in 1576, for German and Hungarian youths.<sup>31</sup>

Pázmány was optimistic in viewing the nation's progress in education and the training of youth. He placed priority on schools, in addition to his church concerns. Indeed, Pázmány, citing the urgent need of the nation's cultural development, brought back to life the Catholic education which had been neglected after the battle of Mohács, the 1526 tragedy which put an end to the renaissance of Hungary. To him and his efforts the Jesuit Academy of Nagyszombat was indebted for its existence.<sup>32</sup> Pázmány also established some parochial high schools (academies) in Pozsony (1626)<sup>33</sup> and later in Győr, in Lőcse, in Gyöngyös, and in Szatmár. These schools



were not only outposts of Catholicism but they were also places of refuge for learning and the sciences, but these institutions took Hungarian youth only to the threshold of general education and vocational training.<sup>34</sup>

Pázmány built a beautiful church and a cloister for the Franciscan Order in Érsekújvár, a convent for Saint Clara's nuns in Pozsony, and lavishly redecored the cathedral of Nagyszombat.<sup>35</sup> He established scholarships for needy students with endowments in the above high schools<sup>36</sup> and he started an educational establishment, boarding-school for the poor youngsters of Nagyszombat (1619), the St. Adalbertinum.<sup>37</sup> The school at Nagyszombat developed into its completeness only after the disorder of Bethlen's military expedition, in 1622, and after that the monastery was elevated to "collegium" rank.<sup>38</sup> The noble's boarding-school (convictus) was founded by Pázmány in 1624.<sup>39</sup> Another of his scholarly acts was the establishment of a library in Nagyszombat on which, in order to enlarge its rich acquisition of books he spent large sum of money yearly to buy new foreign publications. A convincing evidence in showing Pázmány's provision for a more complete and useful library is his letter sent (July 7, 1635) to Pater János Hmira, the regent of Pázmáneum in Vienna, in which Pázmány, in addition to his book order, asked for "the delivery of the latest publications."<sup>40</sup>

Pope Urban the VIII, on November 19, 1629, conferred the title of "cardinal" on Pázmány in answer to Ferdinand II's request and as a result of all Pázmány's good deeds and endowments.<sup>41</sup>

Vilmos Fraknói, the late nineteenth century historian and expert on Pázmány, estimated the amount that Pázmány donated, endowed for spiritual and cultural purposes to be one million golden florins (see value on page 65 of this paper). Pázmány himself wrote in 1620:

I declare that from my income I don't even spend one third on myself, and a lot more than two thirds I assigned to establish divinity schools, and nursing homes; to support students, mendicants, travelers, and spent for my country's people, just as for building churches; these I can show easily and pleasure from my income and expense account to anyone interested.<sup>42</sup>

Pázmány's talent in diplomatic missions<sup>43</sup> and his influence on the country's important political matters was advantageous. "He breathed fire into the indolent and kept under control the fiery tempered."<sup>44</sup> He spared no effort to reconcile contradictory interests and tried to secure the nation's peaceful development.<sup>45</sup> Pázmány exercised his political influence during the wars with Gábor Bethlen, mostly by suggesting the peace treaties. He was on friendly terms with Prince György Rákóczy I, and as long as Pázmány lived, he was able to keep Bethlen from forming alliances with the Protestants and Turks and fighting against Ferdinand II.<sup>46</sup>

#### G. Pázmány's Literary Work

Pázmány's reputation had grown in status and integrity; as a writer he distinguished himself by influencing and advancing the Magyar nyelv (Hungarian language). As a man of insight, he gave his troubled people guidance through his writings. Between 1603 and 1612, nine of his polemical literary works were published. The following publications are only a foretaste of his productive work, the "masterpieces of prose."<sup>47</sup>

Pázmány's first literary work, Felelet a Magyarai István sárvári prédikátornak az Ország romlása okairul irt könyvére (1603), is not representative of his numerous polemical religious writings, because in this work Pázmány provided his readers with an arsenal of arguments all in a well-organized, scholastic manner on one hand, and a pansophic theological work of great value on the other. The pansophic characteristic is perceptible throughout

the book, which contains a great deal of technical knowledge and scientific information revealing the widely-read genius who surpassed his contemporaries. This work enriched Hungarian literature as a classic example of a distinguished compilation of the material, interspersed with baroque tendencies.<sup>48</sup>

In 1604 Pázmány translated the world-famous Thomas Kempis' work, De Imitatione Christi (Vienna, 1604), in which he tried to clarify the lifeless and stiff Latin words so that the reader would believe the text was originally written by a Hungarian. This was a difficult task because Kempis' book is full of short, concise statements, but Pázmány's interpretation is almost always a close, accurate translation, avoiding expressions strange to the Hungarian language, instead using simple language understandable to all.<sup>49</sup>

The interpretation of Kempis' Imitation of Christ showed Pázmány's skills in translation. He was able to express the mystic shades of the Latin writing by maneuvering Hungarian terminology.<sup>50</sup> "The master of composition" and didactic style used intricate sentences throughout his work, but constructed them with beautiful clarity.<sup>51</sup>

Az mostan tamadt oy tudomaniok hamissaganak Tiiz nilvan valo bisonisaga (The Ten Manifest Certitudes of the Newly Risen Sciences) (Graz, 1605) is a comprehensive handbook written in 1605, addressed directly to Lutheran and Calvinist readers. It deals with the signs of the catechism, God's true Church, and the signs of description of sinful behavior.<sup>52</sup>

In 1606 Pázmány published A keresztyeni Imadsagos Keonyv (The Christian Prayer) (Graz, 1606) which he thought would satisfy his contemporary public, regardless of their religious beliefs. He used an easy style for everyone's enjoyment. Pázmány wanted to nourish simple everyday religious practices,

and in this Prayer he showed his sensitivity to the Hungarians' special spiritual needs resulting from the nation's constant sufferings in devastating wars.<sup>53</sup>

In his most outstanding work, the Isteni igazságra vezérő kalauz (Guide to Divine Truth) (Pozsony, 1613), he attempted, with great success, a comprehensive refutation of all the teachings at variance from those of the Catholic Church. The book became a useful guide to the faithful followers of his Church, and from it the clergy gained assurance and self-conviction, finding useful arguments that they could use as weapons against outside invaders.<sup>54</sup>

The Guide to Divine Truth is one of the masterpieces of Hungarian prose-writings. Its endless disputes and intelligent arguments show Pázmány's superiority over his contemporaries. This book was important for several reasons, for "until Pázmány wrote it, the Hungarian language was considered too 'uncouth' to express lofty ideas in religion. Pázmány helped to ennoble the language, and he also brought the Church closer to people."<sup>55</sup>

Why was Pázmány concerned about the proper use of the Hungarian language? According to comparative statistics there were only 10-15 Catholic literary works published in Hungary compared with the 50-60 Protestant theological works from 1550 — the time when Protestantism was widespread — until 1602, Pázmány's first public appearance.<sup>56</sup> Therefore, the decline of the Catholic Church at the beginning of the seventeenth century should not be noted as surprising. The church members' lack of enthusiasm became evident and their membership decreased noticeably. Protestantism experienced its golden age in Hungary. Consequently, Catholicism was in great danger. Pázmány recognized that and realized the only way to solve the

problem was to use methods similar to those of the Protestants.

Protestants were tactful and became more successful because they lectured and wrote books in the popular Hungarian tongue. They produced great achievements and influenced greatly both the political and the spiritual life of Hungary.<sup>57</sup> The only logical way to counteract the Protestant surge, according to Pázmány, was to improve the quality of the Catholic clergy, to give sermons in Hungarian and disseminate ethical rules and religious information in the mother tongue. "He wished to improve the authority of the Catholic Church by up-grading the method of teaching and the qualifications of the clergy."<sup>58</sup> The soundness of his idea included the use of live oratorical speeches and the strong weapon of the pen, although these were not used to wipe out the new dogma, but rather to enlighten the advocates in his faith and eloquently defend the truth. This was highest life's goal he hoped to achieve, and he was seriously committed to it with all his courage and enthusiasm.

As a result of this goal, Pázmány's literary activities concluded with a large collection of his Prédikációk (Sermons) (Pozsony, 1636). More than one hundred of his selected ecclesiastical speeches were collected into a useful literary supplement, to be used by his adherent clergy to aid their ministerial work. None of his other literary prolificals could place his life's creation in a better perspective than this book did. In it he summarized his best speeches with care. The book contains all his work from several decades and reflects the essence of his basic philosophy, which can best be illustrated with his words:

No one could become a medical doctor only by reading books. If he is not taking an active part in everyday reparation he cannot become a doctor. Thus, no one can become good and kind if he listens to

and comprehends only the praising of the gentle, the pious, but he must practice goodness in actions.<sup>59</sup>

The purpose in sermonizing is, according to Pázmány in his Sermons, "to teach ethical principles." Therefore, this voluminous work shows the "whole ethics" (by Christian standards) in a convincing, precise and clear descriptive form.<sup>60</sup>

The Danger of Drunkenness: The drunk opens his heart and declares freely what is on his mind without reservations [fear] . . . . What is in a sober's heart, is on a drunken's tongue. Those who drink too much are not sensitive to reason Godly subjects. That is why Isaias was complaining about those, who under the influence of wine, became drunk and were without common sense [were out of their minds] . . . . As we can not serve two Lords, therefore your heart can not be filled with wine and the Holy Ghost at the same time.<sup>61</sup>

Pázmány's well-received literary works<sup>62</sup> could be categorized into eight classifications: God, religion, virtue, sin, suffering, life, family, and miscellaneous. All of these are filled with a "dynamic sense of faith" and an "Exuberant affirmation of life."<sup>63</sup> The author was a skilled master in the use of "elegant," "periodic style," in his clear, effective and pleasing language. He lived a language which was precise, affirmatively stated and grammatically accurate according to seventeenth-century rules. These techniques enriched his native language with skillful use of beautiful everyday colloquial expressions, and numerous proverbs common to the people were also persuasive. His tendency was to convince his readers with complete and well-rounded compositions. Contemporaries aptly called him the "Hungarian Cardinal Cicero" as a testimony to his greatness — the author of a new era, and the founder of a new nationalistic literature.<sup>64</sup> Several of his works were published under pseudonyms; his fictitious names included John Jemice and Sally; however his devoted readers recognized the author of Guide, by its individualistic style — ex ungue leonem.<sup>65</sup>

## H. Critics of Pázmány

Pázmány's historical role was very complicated, but from a comprehensive and objective standpoint, he was without doubt a Hungarian reactionary and a leading personality of his sensitive time.

Tamás Balásfi, Bishop of Bosna, wrote to Pázmány's critics: "None of you measure up quite to Pázmány whom you could only tear to pieces like two sparrows can pluck a big eagle."<sup>66</sup>

Most Hungarian writers, particularly those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, acknowledge Pázmány as a person who contributed with great success to the Counter-Reformation and the status of education in general in times of the country's internal backwardness and poverty. Pázmány was an outstanding figure who met intelligently the historical challenges of political and religious conflicts with his strong, persuasive personality. Even in his wrong actions he was motivated by good intentions. Therefore, he was highly respected not only by his friends but also by his enemies.<sup>67</sup> In evaluating Pázmány's deeds, one should keep in mind what Szekfü, the nineteenth-century historian, points out about him that "Pázmány was primarily a priest, a monk, and churchman."<sup>68</sup>

Pedagogically, his attempt was to advance national tradition. "The Hungarian genius in his literary works rose above himself," was the ecstatic phrase used by the nineteenth-century theologian Antal Schütz, although he maintained that "Pázmány's prose's content, its artistic composition, is not so universal, and not so rudimentary that it could have been used alone, as a guidebook in nationalistic education as Homer was to the Greeks, Dante to the Italians, or Goethe to the Germans. Pázmány became paedagogus Hungariae (Hungarian educator) not exclusively as an author, but

in all of his creations, and his whole personality."<sup>69</sup>

Historians in twentieth-century Hungary view Pázmány's political activities as a principal support of the Hapsburg endeavor and recognize him as a man who helped them gain power in Hungary<sup>70</sup> — chiefly because Pázmány always depended upon the West and expected to get help from the Hapsburgs in strengthening Catholicism, which was their religion also, and in driving out the Turks from Hungary. However, in the last few years of his life he was not such an intransigent defender of the Hapsburg policy, but became more resilient towards it in relation to Transylvania, realizing dangers expected from the prevalent Hapsburg power and therefore deemed it necessary to set up an independent Transylvania.<sup>71</sup>

As Benedek Marcell states in the revised Hungarian Literary Lexicon (1965), "Pázmány's voluminous literary legacy came into being in the spirit of reactionary tendency, but in such an era where the opposing powers none the less progressed toward scholastic and orthodox philosophy. Contrary to these forces, Pázmány's writings are livelier and more modern; they represent the contemporary European cultural and artistic development."<sup>72</sup>

As for the foreign critics, Ranke said: "He [Pázmány] stopped the spread of Protestantism at the foot of the Alps, and drove it back to the center of Europe."<sup>73</sup> It is difficult to draw a general conclusion at this point as to whether Pázmány's efforts, achievements, and contributions were valuable or not to Hungarian civilization. While a few private citizens elsewhere mentioned in world history were deeply moved by the need for scientific education combined with religious ideals, no one at the time contributed to the cause more generously than did Pázmány.<sup>74</sup>



### E. Pázmány's Final Days

From the time when Pázmány first took public office, there was little relaxation for him, as evidenced by his literary, religious, political, educational, and managerial works. Yet with all the busy workdays he could also find time for meditation and for devotional exercises, as his contemporaries witnessed. His numerous writings and correspondence reveal his sensitiveness; he was susceptible to sorrows and joys which developed deep and lasting feelings.<sup>75</sup> Old age reached him prematurely because he suffered from chronic gout. This long and painful illness brought Pázmány closer to death. The last four decades of his life was filled with continued struggle, many concerns, and an uphill fight, all of which were the undermining factors of his declining health.

The Christmas of 1635 was the last time he stood at the church pulpit. He became very ill for a while and sank into fits of despondency, but soon recovered a little, so that on May 21, 1636, he could lead the Corpus Christi Day procession. Later in that year he went to Selye to cure himself in a mineral bath, regaining his strength and health temporarily and resuming his routine activities for a while. His letters became longer with fewer complaints.

On the twenty-ninth of September 1636 he celebrated the twentieth anniversary of his bishopry, and on the fourth of October his sixty-sixth birthday. From then on, he became very weak and ill.<sup>76</sup> Therefore, on the tenth of November he thought he should prepare for death and took care all of his earthly possessions and wrote his will.

On the nineteenth of March, 1637, Pázmány's illness took a turn for the worse. The Emperor's doctors arrived too late. The final torment did not

last long.<sup>77</sup> According to his will, he was buried in a simple wooden casket without his prelatial insignias and without having his body embalmed. His body was covered with the deep red Jesuit Robe; on his head was the Jesuit style quadratum (black hat).<sup>78</sup>

At his final resting place in the Cathedral of Pozsony is an ornamented memorial monument with the engravings:

For Cardinal Primate of Hungary, Péter Pázmány, who led his nation to a brighter future with his eloquence as an apostolic orator of his age, with his powerful, convincing literary work, with his political wisdom and with the establishment of the University and of other institutions; he defended his faith in a critical and turbulent time, and improved his nation's literature and its culture. 1570-1637.

There is a statue of Pázmány, a memorial to his greatness in the Primate's seat in the rotunda of the Basilica at Esztergom.<sup>79</sup> What a coincidence to see his image, a masterpiece, carved out from the famous marble shipped in from Carrara, Italy, where his mother's ancestors had lived.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Dominic G. Kosáry, A History of Hungary (Cleveland, Ohio: The Benjamin Franklin Bibliophile Society, 1941), p. 123.

<sup>2</sup>Péter Pázmány, Gyöngyök Péter Pázmány összes műveiből [Jewels from the Works of Péter Pázmány], ed. Endre Vargyas (Győr, Hungary: Surrányi János Könyvnyomda Intézete, 1885), p. XVI.

<sup>3</sup>József Szinnyei, "Pázmány Péter," Magyar Irok Élete és Munkái 27 (May 1905): 618.

<sup>4</sup>Emil Lengyel, 1000 Years of Hungary (New York: The John Day Co., 1958), p. 76.

<sup>5</sup>Novák, Pázmány, p. 7.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>8</sup>Vargyas, Gyöngyök, p. 6.

<sup>9</sup>Novák, Pázmány, pp. 11-12.

<sup>10</sup>István király [King or Saint Stephen], 969-1038, national hero of the Magyars. He led the warlike and nomadic nation into Christianity. Under his wise ruling (1001-1038) and through his exertions, the Hungarian people became a civilized western nation. He made an attempt to introduce a certain amount of centralization into the country. The Hungarian state, may be said, dates from his time. The crown given to István by Pope Sylvester II became the sacred symbol of Hungarian national existence. The Pope recognized István's Christian zeal and bestowed the title "Apostolic King" upon him and the rulers of Hungary wore it until the end of the First World War. (Lengyel, 1000 Years of Hungary, pp. 25-26.)

<sup>11</sup>Vargyas, Gyöngyök, p. 6.

<sup>12</sup>Lengyel, 1000 Years of Hungary, p. 78.

<sup>13</sup>Kosáry, A History of Hungary, p. 123.

<sup>14</sup>Count Zsigmond Forgách and Kristóf Thurzó were captains-general of Upper Hungary. (Yolland, Hungary, p. 187.)

<sup>15</sup>Miklós Eszterházy was the Lord Chief Justice, later Palatine of Hungary. (Ibid., p. 189.)

<sup>16</sup>Lengyel, 1000 Years of Hungary, p. 170.

<sup>17</sup>Novák, Pázmány, p. 13.

<sup>18</sup>Novák, Pázmány, p. 13.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>22</sup>Vámbery, The Story of Hungary, p. 347.

<sup>23</sup>Szinnyei, "Pázmány Péter," p. 619.

<sup>24</sup>"German Emperor from 1612-1619. After negotiating the Peace of Vienna with Bocskay, he had himself proclaimed head of the house of Hapsburg, in view of the incapacity of his brother, Emperor Rudolf II. He forced Rudolf to yield him the rule [crown] of Hungary, Austria, and Moravia in 1608; in 1612 he succeeded him as emperor." (The Columbia Viking Desk Encyclopedia, 2nd ed., s.v. "Matthias, 1557-1619.")

<sup>25</sup>Szinnyei, "Pázmány Péter," p. 619.

<sup>26</sup>Novák, Pázmány, p. 24.

<sup>27</sup>János Péteri, Az első jezsuiták Magyarországon (1561-1567) [First Jesuits in Hungary] (Roma: La Fiaccola per le Arti Grafiche, 1963), p. 127.

<sup>28</sup>Novák, Pázmány, p. 26.

<sup>29</sup>Vargyas, Gyöngyök, pp. X-XI.

<sup>30</sup>According to Novak it was founded in 1619. (Novák, Pázmány, p. 32.) Florin is the name of a gold coin first made in 1200's. The word comes from the Latin florem, meaning flower. It bore on one side the imprint of a lily and on the other the name of the city in Latin. Florins also have been issued in Germany and Great Britain. For value see page 65.

<sup>31</sup>Vargyas, Gyöngyök, pp. XII, XIV; Georgius Fejér, Historia Academiae Scientiarum Pazmaniae Archiepiscopalis, 3 vols. (Budae: Typis Regiae Scientiarum Universitatis Hungaricae, 1835), 1: 9.

<sup>32</sup>See Chapter III. footnote 11.

<sup>33</sup>"In 1626 Pázmány built a palace for the Jesuits in Pozsony, which later became the Academy of Law. In the same palace, in 1914, a new university, named after the wife of Franz Joseph, Queen Elizabeth, was founded. After the peace treaty of Trianon in 1921, the Queen Elizabeth University was transferred to Pécs [where the very first Hungarian University was founded by Louis the Great in 1367]. Through the irony or fancy of history, a chain of events seems hidden in the 'blood circulation' of present-day Hungarian universities. (Astriik L. Gabriel, The Mediaeval Universities of Pécs and Pozsony [Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame, 1969], p. 49.)

- <sup>34</sup>Vilmos Fraknói, Pázmány Péter és kora [Péter Pázmány and His Era], 3 vols. (Budapest: Méhner V., 1886), 3: 154-72.
- <sup>35</sup>Vargyas, Gyöngyök, p. XVIII.
- <sup>36</sup>Novák, Pázmány, p. 33.
- <sup>37</sup>Pázmány's document, Deed of the Pauper Students Home. Official copy. 1619, fols. 64-67, no. 1642, Actuum Ecclesiasticum vetus, PLT, Esztergom.
- <sup>38</sup>András Gyenis, A jezsuita rend hazánkban [The Society of Jesus in Our Country] (Budapest: Stephaneum Nyomda, 1940), p. 21.
- <sup>39</sup>Idem, Régi magyar jezsuita rendházak [Old Hungarian Jesuit Monasteries] (Rákospalota, Hungary: Don Boyco Nyomda, 1941), p. 40.
- <sup>40</sup>J. Köhalmi-Kleimstein, Pázmány Péter életrajza [Biography of Péter Pázmány] (Pozsony: Stampfel Károly Könyvkereskedő, 1885), p. 23; Péter Pázmány, Pázmány Péter összegyűjtött levelei [Collected Letters of Péter Pázmány], ed. by Ferencz Hanuy, 2 vols. (Budapest: A M.K. Tudományegyetem Nyomdája, 1911), 1: 593.
- <sup>41</sup>Vargyas, Gyöngyök, p. XIX.
- <sup>42</sup>Miklós Öri, Pázmány Péter a Nemzetnevelő [Péter Pázmány, Educator of the Nation] (Lyndhurst, N.J.: International Printing Industries, Inc., 1971), p. 21.
- <sup>43</sup>It is interesting to view in comparison the characters of the two great cardinals of the era. One was in the freely-developing West, in its luminous glittering center, Paris, and the other in the East in the poor city of Nagyszombat. Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642) wanted to institute French hegemony over Europe; Cardinal Pázmány (1570-1637) was obliged to fight for the existence of his nation, downtrodden by the Turks. Richelieu aspired to weaken the Hapsburg dynasty's Spanish and German power, while Pázmány's chief ambition was, in the hope of gaining aid in the future to force out the Turks, to support the German Emperor's endeavor. Richelieu was a guileful statesman, who was not afraid to use any kind of tool in reaching his goals for the greatness of his country, Pázmány was a straight forward and honest politician who, even in state affairs, kept to a high morality. Richelieu constantly racked his brain over a new war, while Pázmány exerted every nerve to maintain peace, an ever-lasting peace. The French were advanced and had reached a high degree of civilization, because no one interrupted their progress, as had the Tartars and the Turks in Hungary. While Hungary had advanced, improved relatively peacefully in the Middle Ages, even having several universities, the tragedy of Mohács put an end to all cultural and educational operations. Yet, it was not until Pázmány, a century later, that the country started again on the reconstruction of its cultural path.
- <sup>44</sup>Dezső Rita, Beszéd Pázmány Péter tudományos érdemeiről [Speech Acknowledging Péter Pázmány's Scientific Merits] (Budapest: M.K. Egyetemi Nyomda, 1885), p. 28. (Pamphlet.)

- <sup>45</sup>Novák, Pázmány, p. 29.
- <sup>46</sup>Szinnyei, "Pázmány Péter," p. 619.
- <sup>47</sup>Robert A. Kann, A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918 (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press Ltd., 1974), p. 147.
- <sup>48</sup>Magyar Irodalmi Lexicon, 1965 ed., s.v. "Pázmány Péter."
- <sup>49</sup>Novák, Pázmány, p. 15.
- <sup>50</sup>Magyar Irodalmi Lexicon, s.v. "Pázmány Péter."
- <sup>51</sup>Erdei, Information Hungary, p. 728.
- <sup>52</sup>Novák, Pázmány, p. 15.
- <sup>53</sup>Magyar Irodalmi Lexicon, s.v. "Pázmány Péter."
- <sup>54</sup>Péter Pázmány, Isteni igazságra vezérlő kalauz [Guide to Divine Truth] (Nagyszombat: A J.T. Akadémiai Collegiumának betőivel, 1766), passim.
- <sup>55</sup>Lengyel, 1000 Years of Hungary, p. 78.
- <sup>56</sup>From the Széchényi Library index 1800-1807, quoted in Fraknói, Pázmány, 1: 38.
- <sup>57</sup>Steven Béla Várady, History of the Hungarian Nation, 830-1919 (As-tor Park, Florida: Dembian Press, Inc., 1969), p. 99.
- <sup>58</sup>Kosáry, A History of Hungary, p. 123.
- <sup>59</sup>Péter Pázmány, Prédikációk (Nagyszombat: Académiai bötűkkel, Hor-mann János által, 1645), passim; Ernő Balogh, Dékáni avató beszéd, 1935 május 12-i doktoravató [Deacon's Commencement Speech, Graduation of Doc-tors, 12 May 1935] (Budapest: K.M. Egyetemi Nyomda, 1935), p. 1.
- <sup>60</sup>Szinnyei, "Péter Pázmány," pp. 624-25.
- <sup>61</sup>Pázmány, Prédikációk, p. 227.
- <sup>62</sup>"Pázmány's collected works fill forty-five volumes, including his collection of official correspondences and several of his dissertations." (Szinnyei, "Pázmány Péter," p. 24.)
- <sup>63</sup>Vargyas, Gyöngyök, p. 21.
- <sup>64</sup>Ibid., pp. 21-23.
- <sup>65</sup>Vargyas, Gyöngyök, p. 24.

- 66 Vargyas, Gyöngyök, p. XXVI.
- 67 Magyar Irodalmi Lexicon, s.v. "Pázmány Péter."
- 68 Gyula Szekfü, Magyarország története [History of Hungary], 6 vols. (Budapest: K.M. Egyetemi Nyomda, 1935), 5: 282.
- 69 Antal Schütz, A Nemzetnevelő Pázmány [Pázmány, Educator of the Nation] (Budapest: Stepháneum Nyomda, 1938), p. 16.
- 70 Uj Magyar Lexicon, 1961 ed., s.v. "Pázmány Péter."
- 71 Magyar Irodalmi Lexicon, s.v. "Pázmány Péter."
- 72 Ibid.
- 73 Kálmán Thaly, "Könyvismertetési bírálatok" [Book-critics], Századok 2 (1868): 433.
- 74 Imre Szentpétery, A Bölcsészettudományi Kar története, 1635-1935 [History of the Philosophy Faculty] (Budapest: K.M. Egyetemi Nyomda, 1935), p. 169.
- 75 Ibid., p. 289.
- 76 Georgio Dobronokio [György Dobronoki], "Actuum Academicorum Collegii Societ. Jesu Tyrnaviae, Tomus Decimus Septimus," 1 January 1636, (hereafter cited as Dobronoki, Diary), Tom. XXX, Collection Prayana, Archives of the Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest (hereafter cited as ELT), Budapest.
- 77 Ibid., 19 March 1637.
- 78 Fraknói, Pázmány, 3: 296-97.
- 79 It was erected by Cardinal John Simor and his followers in 1882, carved by Della Vedova, Italian artist, it weighs 1,600 ton, and cost 25 thousand forints. (László Zolnay and Edith Lettrich, Esztergom [Budapest: Panoráma, 1960], p. 160.)

### III. FOUNDATION OF THE UNIVERSITY

When the first King of Hungary, István (1001-1039), became a Christian, he was not looking toward the autocratic Byzantium. Instead, he turned to pontifical Rome which decided his nation's destiny, not only in regard to religious matters but to political, educational, and social affairs as well. This step marked the nation's future and its orientation to Western Civilization. The benefits were considerable: the discoveries of the new world (Western Europe, which was new to Hungarians at the time) with all the sciences and arts to help make people happy and make life beautiful and worthwhile.

Europe in the Middle Ages developed scientific universities which awakened the thirst for knowledge and the search for truth. Originally, these medieval institutions belonged not to one nation only, but to all who were striving for more scientific culture and who were endeavoring to gain more understanding of the world.<sup>1</sup>

#### A. Keeping Pace with Western Culture

Paris (1201), Rome (1303), Bologna (1391), Prague (1347), Cracow (1364), Vienna (1365), Cologne (1388), and Basel (1459) for centuries were the centers of learning, attracting knowledge-seeking pilgrims from Hungary. Despite the fact that Hungarian cultural life began only after the tenth century, the medieval universities founded there showed that Hungary kept pace with the West in cultural affairs. The graduates were well-accepted in other universities outside the country. The universities in Hungary, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Pécs 1367, Obuda 1389, Pozsony 1467, and Buda 1480), were in complete accord with the pattern of university



organization in Central and Eastern Europe. These higher institutions were the homes of secular and monastic learnings.

Unfortunately, the land of Hungary became a battlefield in the fifteenth century, and learning was interrupted in the succeeding two centuries. Many of the nation's youth fell upon the battlefield in the struggle against the Turks. The great homes of educational institutions were destroyed. From the era of the Turkish occupation very few records endured. In spite of the lack of complete documentary material, two careful works were done in the last decade, one by Leslie S. Domonkos, A History of Three Early Hungarian Universities: Obuda, Pozsony, and Buda (1966). The other by Astric L. Gabriel The Mediaeval Universities of Pécs and Pozsony (1969).<sup>2</sup> Domonkos and Gabriel skillfully used the little fragmentary evidence that has survived to write this unexplored phase of cultural history of Hungary in English.

#### B. Promoting Factors for the University

During the most difficult times for Hungary, when it was divided among powers and political parties, and while a good portion of the land was under foreign occupation, Archbishop Péter Pázmány laid the foundation of a university in Nagyszombat.<sup>3</sup> This University was more fortunate than its "mediaeval brothers" because it flourished for three and a half centuries and was the direct ancestor of the Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest. Cardinal Pázmány, who never lost sight of Hungary's national interest and exerted his great influence in favor of his countrymen, started to set up the University of Nagyszombat in 1635 after several other of his important endowments (see pp. 30-32 of this paper).

A study of early seventeenth-century higher education brings into sharp focus the fact that Pázmány's University in Hungary was born in an era which was not ready for its development. The third golden age of Neo-Scholasticism was just declining in the scientific character of theology. But it was born not only at the doorstep of the momentary fading of the theological sciences, but also took its first steps in the armed tumult of decades of battle. (see pp. 189-96 of this paper). At this time the need for a new university was recognized by individuals who had received their education in the West, but not by organized groups, institutions or the government. Many European universities became the primary promoters of a more scientific attitude and had an impact on their countries' religious, socio-economic, and political life. One should not expect more from a new-born university than the era was capable of giving.<sup>4</sup>

When Pázmány mentioned in one of his letters "a certain big affair," he referred to the erection of Nagyszombat University (see p. 53 of this paper). Founding a university was indeed a "big affair" at that time. It is almost inconceivable that Pázmány, at the time of setting up his university, should not have been aware that in the preceding (fourteenth and fifteenth) centuries there were universities in Hungary, which unfortunately had not lasted very long. Yet, Pázmány in his correspondence with Ferdinand II, with Pope Urban VIII, and with Kornelius Montmann, the Pope's Rota Auditor, in the year 1635, states:

The fact is suprising that for centuries a flourishing and rich country such as Hungary, had not developed a university where strong abilities could have been fully cultivated. . . . In my judgment the lack of such a university was the main reason for the wide spread of heresy.<sup>5</sup>

It is certain that during the time of the Reformation and its spread in

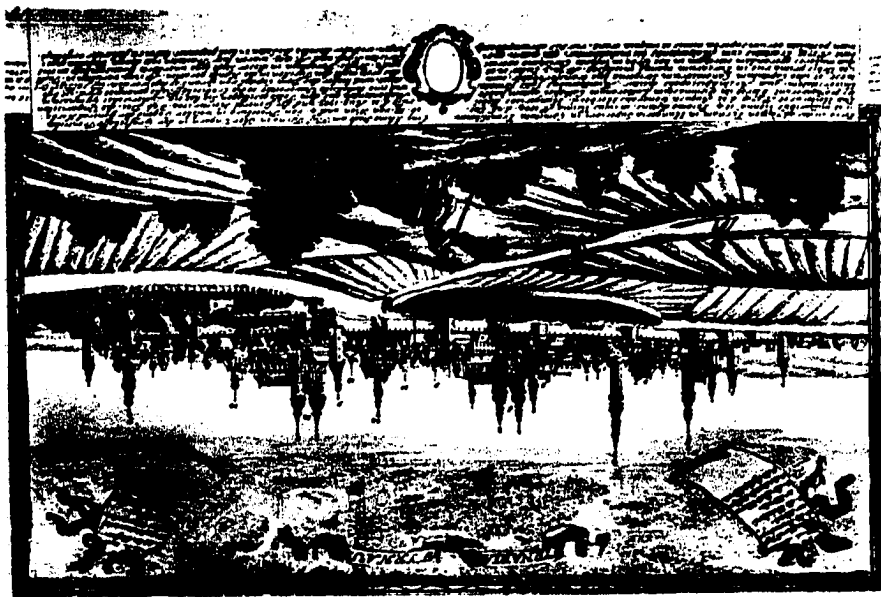
Hungary, there was indeed no university. Therefore, Pázmány thought this was the main reason why Protestantism had spread. He considered it very important that this "defect" be remedied. This was not the only reason for establishing the university (see Pázmány's letters to Ferdinand II on p. 59 of this paper), since he also stated in his Foundation Bull that he wanted the kind of university "in which a warlike nation's character is to be refined to make students capable of administering the affairs of church and state."<sup>6</sup>

Cardinal Péter Pázmány devoted much of his life to preserving and strengthening Catholicism. He was imbued with the life and soul of the proselytizing movement. He was very much concerned with strengthening the Church and Romanizing the country, but nevertheless he also wanted a school to be a lighthouse of higher education. Pázmány's Benjamin — as he called it — was his last creation. In this new institution he wanted to improve the standards and the discipline of the clergy, as well as the status of education in general. He made this clear in the Foundation Bull where he stated that he was guided by "promoting the Catholic faith and furthering the dearest country [patriae charissimae sublevandae] by pure and sincere intentions." For a long time he turned over this idea in his mind, wondering "how he could best serve the dignity of the noblest Hungarian nation [qua ratione . . . nobilissimae gentis Hungaricae dignitati consulere possemus]."<sup>7</sup> This was, indeed, accomplished magnificently in his last act. Emperor Ferdinand II justly praised Pázmány, in his confirmation document, for his good deed as a man who "rendered great services to the whole country [deque tota Hungaria merito]."<sup>8</sup>

Plate 1

The view of Nagyszombat in the eighteenth century. Post card.  
Photographed by I. Bunčáková.

The thirteenth-century Saint Nicholas Cathedral. Restored in  
1619. Photographed by the researcher in Nagyszombat, August 1976.



## C. Preliminaries

The establishment of the University was preceded by careful preparation by the founder, whose major concerns included the provision of the necessary funds and the assumption of future financial responsibilities, and the sale of the idea to the King and Pope — that is, the propagation of knowledge and the spread of Christian learning. He was also concerned with the location, the name of the new school, the necessary courses, and the recruitment of the professors for the new institution. For the school's location, Pázmány was first hesitant to choose a site between Pozsony and Nagyszombat.<sup>9</sup> The original plan was to place the institution in Pozsony, but this did not materialize — mostly because of the obstinacy of the Protestant citizens there, many of whom looked askance at the establishing of a Catholic university.<sup>10</sup>

Pázmány discussed his plans for the university with the Reverend Pater Mutius Vitellescus, the General-provost of the Jesuit Order and asked his consent to have the university set up in the existing collegium of the Jesuit Order in Nagyszombat.<sup>11</sup> Pázmány wanted to place its entire care and governing power in Jesuit hands, but he made it clear that the new institution should be governed by the establishment of terms to be incorporated in the Foundation Bull.

Pázmány, at the beginning of the year 1635, hoped that the Emperor's bond would be enough for establishment of the University. While the bond was given by Emperor Ferdinand II<sup>12</sup> and was written for 40,000 florins, Pázmány himself counted on adding 20,000 florins cash. During the time he was at the Council (Parliament) in Sopron,<sup>13</sup> two leading members of the Society of Jesus from Nagyszombat, Pater György Dobronoki, the rector of the Jesuit

College in Nagyszombat, and Pater György Forró<sup>14</sup> also resided there. As his old and close friends, they were the first to whom Archbishop Pázmány wanted to disclose his big project.<sup>15</sup>

On January 6, the day of Epiphany, Pázmány invited them for dinner. After the dinner was over he ushered his guests into his work-room "holding in his hand the parchment bond note (40,000 florins) in which the Imperial Majesty promised to pay the travel expenses."<sup>16</sup> The Primate told Pater Dobronoki and Pater Forró that he wanted to establish a university in Nagyszombat. Reminding his guests about the theme of the holy day (Epiphany) and of the three kings who brought gold, frankincense and myrrh to Bethlehem, he said:

See, that with the help of the paters, members of the Society of Jesus, we want to offer God our gold, frankincense and myrrh. Take the emperor's bond, and you promise also, that you will demand the 40,000 florins to be paid. To this sum of money, on the holy day of Saint George,<sup>17</sup> I will add my own 20,000 florins in cash, so these 60,000 florins will form the permanent endowment of the Jesuit University in Nagyszombat.<sup>18</sup>

The two Paters welcomed the notification with great joy, and with warm words they forwarded the message in which they expressed gratitude and thanks in behalf of the Jesuit Order, the Catholic Church, and the Hungarian Nation.<sup>19</sup>

#### D. Birth of the University

Pázmány, on May 6, 1635, wrote from Vienna to Dobronoki: "Tuesday or Wednesday I will go, with a special grace of God, to Pozsony to discuss certain 'big affairs' with Thou and Pater Forró....Pater Lamormain<sup>20</sup> will come with me to participate in our business talk."<sup>21</sup> The affair to be discussed was the erection of Nagyszombat University, with regard to the materialization of his great desire to promulgate this institution.

Plate 2

Cardinal Péter Pázmány signing the Foundation Bull. The picture was painted by Rudolphus Temple.

From: Fasti Regiae Universitatis Litterarum Hungaricae Budapestinensis (Budapest: Typis Regiae Scientiarum Universitatis Hungaricae, 1935), p. 3. Used by the permission of National Széchényi Library, Budapest.

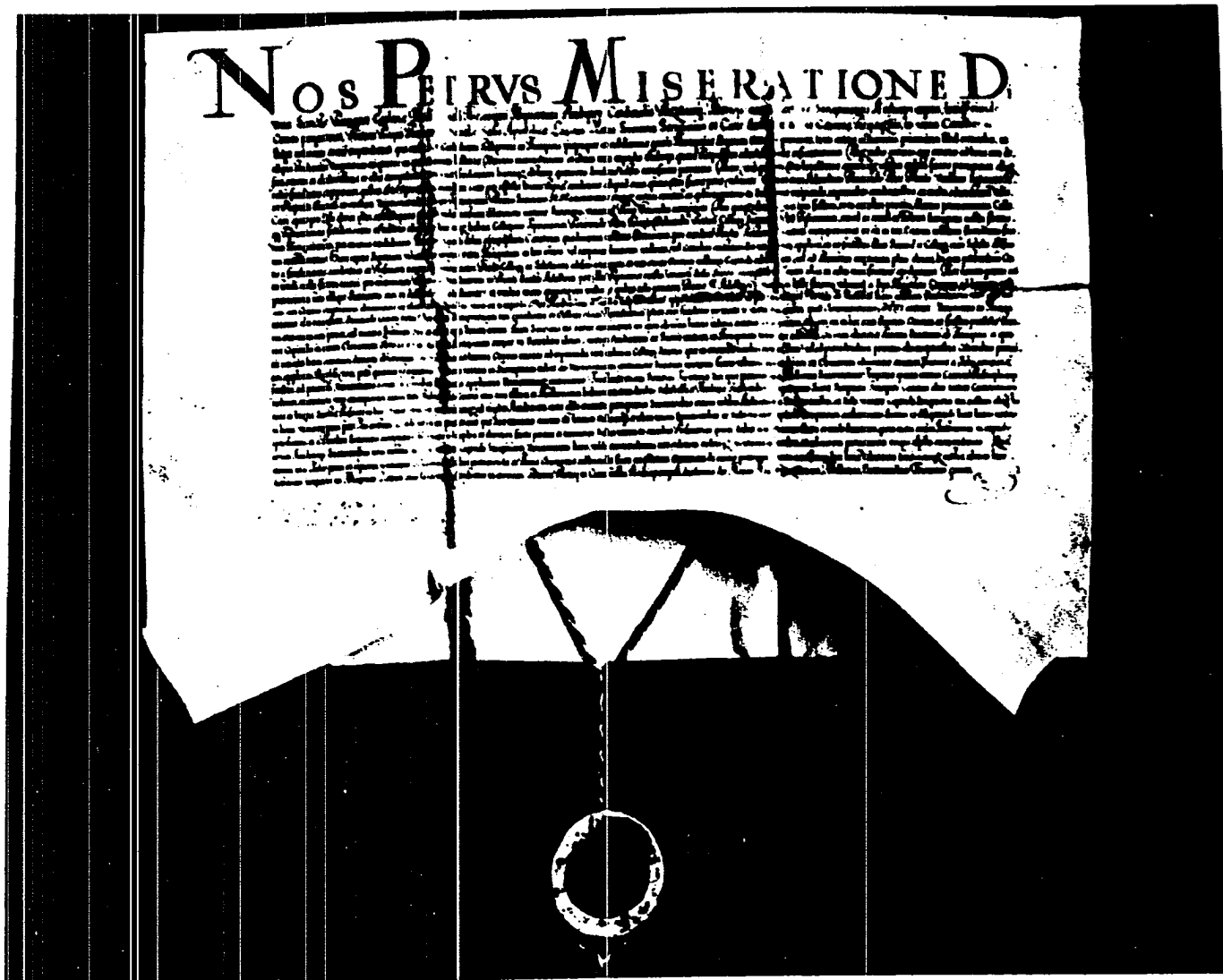




PETRUS CARD. PÁZMÁNY SIGNAT DIPLOMA FUNDATIONIS UNIVERSITATIS  
PINXIT : RUDOLPHUS TEMPLE

Plate 3

The Foundation Bull establishing Nagyszombat University signed by Cardinal Péter Pázmány on May 12, 1635. The picture of this document was taken from Fasti Regiae Universitatis Litterarum Hungaricae Budapestinensis (Budapest: Typis Regiae Scientiarum Universitatis Hungaricae, MCMXXXV), page 4. Used by permission of National Széchényi Library, Budapest.



DIPLOMA UNIVERSITATIS A PETRO CARD. PÁZMÁNY FUNDATAE 12. V. 1635. SIGNATUM.

Six days after the quoted letter was written, the founding of the University was completed.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, May 12, 1635 is the real date when the Nagyszombat University was born. Pázmány brought 60,000 florins (instead of 20,000 florins of his own cash) along with the 40,000 florin bond<sup>23</sup> to Pozsony, where Pater Dobronoki and Pater Forró waited for him. He paid the 60,000 florins in 38,000 imperial tallers and 1,000 gold (1 gold was 14 florins). In his Diary Dobronoki wrote that "I knelt before Pázmány in acknowledgment of His Eminence's generosity."<sup>24</sup> The next day this money was sent by an armed escort to the Jesuit House in Vienna for safe-keeping until it became possible to deposit it for secure interest.<sup>25</sup>

At the same meeting not only financial matters were taken care of but all other affairs concerning the University life were discussed. Among these were the organizational structure, the seat of the institution, whether the university would be in close contact with the Nagyszombat Jesuit's Academy (and share some professors), and whether the curriculum would be based and guided by the Jesuits' Studium Generale.<sup>26</sup> Their conclusions on the above matters were incorporated into a formal documentary agreement, which is considered the Foundation Bull of the Institution. This draft of the agreement was first introduced to the Provost General of the Jesuits who informed Pázmány in his letter of June 23, 1635, that he accepted the conditions laid down in the Foundation Bull.<sup>27</sup>

According to the Foundation Bull<sup>28</sup> the university was entrusted to the care of the Society of Jesus and brought in close association with its existing Academy in Nagyszombat. It was also declared that "if the country should gain freedom from Turkish rule, the University could be transferred to any other city within the diocese of Esztergom. If because of

internal or outside strife the University could not function, the endowment's revenues should be spent to educate Hungarian seminarians abroad, and if the interruption of their studies lasted for a short period of time, the money should be spend to renovate the institution's buildings and support the Society of Jesus."<sup>29</sup>

#### E. Securing the New-Born Institution

Pázmány took the necessary steps to obtain the essential privileges from the King and Pope. He sent a humble request letter to Emperor Ferdinand II, on July 29, 1635, saying:

I have always felt that the most important matter for the growth of the Catholic religion and to promote the education and culture in Hungary [ad Catholicae Religiosis incrementum et culturam in Hungary] is to establish a university on the same basis as the university in Graz, where Jesuits would be teaching philosophy and theology. This great effort of mine was delayed because of the unsettled time and condition. Now, according to the foundation charter, I set up a new university in Nagyszombat...Therefore, I am asking your Majesty for your approval.<sup>30</sup>

Pázmány asked the Emperor in this letter to ratify the constitution, which was drafted by Dobronoki, and to grant this new University the customary privileges of the other European universities. Furthermore, he asked intercession for the Theology Faculty of Nagyszombat to be affiliated with the University of Vienna.<sup>31</sup>

Pázmány had an idea for a while of incorporating Nagyszombat University with the Vienna University to establish close connections between the two scholastic institutions. Therefore on the same date (July 29, 1635) Pázmány wrote to the Consistorium (Board) of Vienna University that he had provided sufficient financial support to establish Theology and Philosophy Faculties with the paters of the Order of the Society of Jesus in Nagyszombat. He

asked the Consistorium that the renowned University of Vienna would take the new University (Nagyszombat) under its wing as its adopted child in way of incorporation.<sup>32</sup>

Fraknói, an expert on Pázmány and his era, says that "Pázmány thought from this relationship there would originate many advantages for his new establishment."<sup>33</sup> Meszlényi, another knowledgeable historian on the sixteenth century Jesuits in Hungary, feels "what kind of relations Pázmány wished to set up between the two institutions, and what noble object he had in view is difficult to determine today."<sup>34</sup> Even the General Provost of the Jesuit Order was not fully aware of and had doubts about whether Nagyszombat University after being incorporated would be placed under the jurisdiction of the Vienna University or remain independent only to accept its patronage. For several reasons the Provost was against this kind of relationship, as it is expressed in his letter written to Rector György Dobronoki on September 8, 1635.<sup>35</sup> According to Dobronoki's Diary, the idea of incorporating the Jesuit Academy with the University of Vienna was dismissed (or rather postponed) because of the disapproval of the Jesuits, and it never became a reality.<sup>36</sup>

Because of Pázmány's weakened physical condition and his poor health, he developed an inner desire to do his work quickly. He made all necessary arrangements in so much haste, urging the preparatory measures in such a way, that even the Jesuits became surprised.<sup>37</sup> This is evident from the duplication of the above letter which was sent to Emperor Ferdinand II on September, 1635 again.<sup>38</sup>

The Emperor, with his royal imperial power, ratified the University's Foundation Bull with great pleasure on October 18, 1635, and issued a Roman

Imperial Golden Bull which was sealed with the royal secret stamp of Hungary. It was signed by several officials: Emperor Ferdinand II; the Empire Chancellor, Baron Peter H. Stahlendorf; the Royal Hungarian Chancellor, Lőrincz Ferenczffy; and by György Lippay, Bishop of Veszprém. It provided this University and those persons who earned degrees there with all the privileges, exemptions, and immunities which the other European universities enjoyed. The Ratification Bull also ordered that the degrees issued by this University be accepted by any other college or academy as well as by public authorities, chapters of cathedrals, and by everyone both within and without the court. At the same time, the Emperor asked that his followers defend the institution with all its clauses and privileges, and promote further graces and benevolences if it became necessary. Furthermore, the Emperor authorized the institution to grant a tudor degree.<sup>39</sup>

The University established by Pázmány assumed a university character from the very beginning. It became a partner of the same acquired university rank with the other Central European Universities, which claimed greater antiquity.<sup>40</sup>

Pázmány wrote the following letter to Pope Urban VIII (1635, the month and day are not marked) asking his ratification.

For a long time I entertained the idea of setting up a university, but numerous obstacles always obstructed my plan and delayed it.... The nation is not without talents and also there is a need for academies, so the priests can be educated in bigger numbers.... I established in kings city Nagyszombat, the university, in which the future priests will learn philosophy for three years, beside that casus and controversium; and for two more years scholastic theology.... So, this small establishment could find stronghold and honor, as I received from His emperor-king Highness as assurance and privileges for this University, I also humbly beg from your Holiness, so that according to the highest power, by which

after Christ, you rule the earth, that you would bless with your fatherly blessings, my efforts of your most humble servant and thus strengthen it according to the power of your Holy Seat.<sup>41</sup>

The Pope's affirmation did not come about and it almost hindered the functioning of the University. Although his reason is not known, the Jesuits assumed that confirmation by the Pope was delayed because Pázmány's University lacked Medical and Law Faculties.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, the Provincial Provost in a letter which arrived August 25, 1637, suspended the promotions of the baccalaureus, of those students already prepared by the examinations held in March.<sup>43</sup> The Provincial Provost thought if the papal ratification was not given because there were no Medical and Law Faculties, then the observance of the promotions could cause complications. However, the University sent Pater Jászberényi, the dean of the Philosophy Faculty, to Vienna immediately, to convince the Provincialist of his false conception. This was successfully accomplished, because on September 2, the dean promoted twenty-six baccalaureates, and there were no more difficulties in awarding promotions.<sup>44</sup>

Historically, in essence the Jesuit University did not pertain to anything else but the theological and philosophical faculties. The seventeenth-century Jesuits' regulation of the Austrian Provinces (under whose jurisdiction Nagyszombat also belonged) at the University of Graz spelled out that "the studies of medical and law studia should not be taught as of they were remote and far removed from the Jesuits' institutions."<sup>45</sup> The University of Graz had only Theology and Philosophy Faculties when the Pope ratified it in 1585. The failure to issue a ratification for Nagyszombat University is more likely that the Pope may have thought, there was no need for special affirmation since Pope Pius IV circumscribed the legal requisites for all Jesuit



universities in 1561. The Nagyszombat University, being under Jesuit administration, could issue academic degrees in philosophy and theology according to the papal guaranteed rights. A later case proves that the above supposition may be right. The "Breslau University (Lower Silesia, Poland), founded by Emperor Leopold I in 1702, attained no distinct papal affirmation since the university was also in the Jesuit's jurisdiction."<sup>46</sup>

Pázmány called his institution, according to the Jesuit custom of other countries, a complete university, studium Universitas, Emperor Ferdinand II dogmatically pronounced it the "studium generale seu Universitas" in his Ratification Bull. In later years Maria Theresa only "enlarged" the Nagyszombat University by setting up the medical faculty in 1769 "ut studium generale seu Universitas completa dici."<sup>47</sup> These annotations underline the validity of university status of Pázmány's institution at Nagyszombat.

#### F. Evaluation of the Fund

A brief appraisal of the fund provided for establishing the new institution might be worth considering to give a better insight of the endowment's value. Pázmány allocated a considerable amount to the Nagyszombat University giving all of the four years' income he had in former years. In comparison to his later earnings, this amounted to about one and one-fourth of his yearly income.<sup>48</sup> The use to which this sum was to be put is revealed in the Foundation Bull, which shows that Pázmány did not think of it as the actual spending of that money, but the use of it as an investment.

Thus, we wish to have this sum (the total of 100,000 florins) placed by the Jesuit Order in a safe place, or to be invested outside of Hungary, to bear interest, and that the fruits of the fund be utilized to quicken additions to the College and school, the existing Jesuit Academy buildings and to support the necessary faculty members. . . . After the buildings are finished, an amount of 1,000 florins

yearly should be paid to feed the pauper students in the Saint Adalbert charitable institution (founded by us) in Nagyszombat.<sup>49</sup>

To give an idea of the purchasing power of the money, the following illustrations are in order. The price of one mérő of wheat fluctuated between one, and two and a half florins.<sup>50</sup> Similarly, one thousand bricks cost two and one half florins.<sup>51</sup> The silver pedum (mace), the symbol of rectorate, which Pázmány presented to the University, cost only 500 florins in spite of its thirty pounds of silver and its beautiful craftsmanship.<sup>52</sup>

A further example illustrating the money-value in that time is when the Archbishop, in 1619, purchased two houses. He paid 400 florins for one from Thomas Wanker to accommodate needy students, and 200 florins for another from Pál Szabó, for the noble youth.<sup>53</sup> The board and room of the noble students was five florins for a month, and this included lunch and a four-course dinner without wine.<sup>54</sup>

Palatinus Miklós Eszterházy also bought a house for young nobles for 3,300 florins.<sup>55</sup> But the Palatinus' largest endowment, the princely church built between 1629-1637 in Nagyszombat, was 80,000 florins, in cash alone, not counting the payments in kind and cartage. At the time it was the largest place of worship in Hungary.<sup>56</sup>

The above data show that Pázmány could have bought approximately 50,000 mérő of wheat, or 40 million bricks on the university's endowment, or he could have had 200 rectorate pedum made.

## Plate 4

The Ratification Bull by Emperor Ferdinand II authorizing the Nagyszombat University with privileges, exemptions, and granting of degrees, etc. Issued on October 18, 1635.

From: Antal Margitai, A Budapesti M.K. Tudományegyetem Szabálykönyve [Regulations of the Hungarian Royal University of Budapest] (Budapest: M. K. Tudományegyetemi Nyomda, 1903), pp. 54, 56, 66, and 68.

Nos Ferdinandus II. Dei gratia electus Romanorum Imperator semper Augustus etc. Memoriae commendamus tenore praesentium significantes, quibus expedit universis. Ab eo statim tempore, quo Divina favente Clementia plurimum Provinciarum, Regnorum item, ac ipsius etiam Imperii Romani suscepimus Gubernacula, nihil antiquius, et prae oculis praesentius unquam habuimus, quam ut subditorum saluti inprimis et Provinciarum Nobis commissarum securitati, ita adjuvante Deo consuleremus, ut in iis consumata quaedam virtutum omnium effloresceret dignitas, et Religionis Catholicae veritas, ubi vigeat, inconcussa persisteret, ubi labefactata fuerat, repararetur, cultus divinus ubique propagaretur, status Ecclesiasticus simul et Politicus nativum sibi servaret splendorem, omnes denique industriae nervos eo contulimus, ut in omnibus Imperii, Iurisque nostri Regnis ac Provinciis ea excogitarenus media, mandaremque executioni, quae omnium sapientum virorum iudicio ad formandam, et in disciplina christiana continendam Rempublicam habita semper sunt efficacissima. Quapropter cum inter haec curarum Nostrarum aestuaria constituti, in eo consistere reperissemus omne Christiani hominis praesidium, ut literis omnibus cumulate instructus, Deo ante omnia, sibi postmodum, ac demum Patriae, Principique suo fidelem ac salutarem in omnibus pro suo statu, et professione navaret operam; conati sumus, ut in Regnis et Provinciis nostris publica magnis sumptibus erigere-

mus Seminaria studiorum, e quibus emenso literarum curriculo tam regendae in Civilibus Reipublicae, quam gubernandis in spiritualibus Ecclesiis utilissimi prodirent Administri. Imitati scilicet in hoc sumus gloriosae ac felicissimae memoriae Maiores nostros Ferdinandum I. Imperatorem, Avum, Rudolphum Patrualem, itidem Imperatorem, et ipsum etiam piissimae memoriae Parentem nostrum Carolum, Austriae Archiducem, quorum singuli probe intelligentes, quantum ad Christiani Imperii maiestatem conferat doctorum hominum copia, suo praesertim illo, ac nostro hoc etiam aere per tot haereseos calamitoso, non tantum illos Caesareo sunt complexi favore, sed stabilia etiam Gymnasia, et Universitates iisdem erexerunt. Non solum autem nos ipsi in persona, ut talia fierent, elaboravimus, sed reliquos etiam Aulae, et ditionum Nostrarum Principes viros, qui ad similia praestanda idoneis a Deo facultatibus instructi videbantur, exemplo nostro provocavimus, ut et ipsi in sortem gloriosi nostri conatus accurrerent, quod et cumulate praestitum a pluribus magno animi gaudio vidimus. Raro, nec antea in Hungaria viso exemplo enituit inter hos magni meriti Viros Principes Reverendissimus in Christo Pater Dominus Petrus, Sacrae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalis Pázmány, Archiepiscopus Strigoniensis, qui experientia doctus, quantum contra grassantium haeresum assultus, et contra quamlibet malorum turbum exacta litterarum omnium valeret tractatio, probeque itidem cognoscens, quantum per orbem universum

in earundem litterarum humaniorum pariter ac divinarum professione Patrum Societatis JESU valeret industria, iisdem Tyrnaviae, Civitate scilicet Nostra Regia et Suae Dioecesis Strigoniensis sat opportuna, Studium Generale, seu Universitatem iuxta Societatis Constitutiones, glorioso fundavit exemplo, et praeter priorem Collegii ab Imperatore Rudolpho secundo gloriosae memoriae de summi Pontificis consensu fundati, dotem, e proprio suo peculio, dedit etiam sexaginta millia florenorum in eiusdem Fundationem, assignavitque de facto in dotem syugrapham liquidi debiti a Nobis, vel Successoribus, aut haeredibus Nostris persolvendi, ut sic in plenam Universitatis dotem, summa centum millium florenorum constitueretur. his ornamento repererint; volumus etiam consequenter imo decernimus, ac e Caesareae simul ac Regiae potestatis nostrae plenitudine statuimus, ut omnes sic legitime promoti Doctores, Licentiati, Magistri, ac Baccalaurei per omnes orbis Christiani, speciatim vero Europae Academies pro talibus habeantur, sintque participes ipso promotionis facto omnium illorum Privilegiorum, gratiarum, immunitatum, antelationum, exemptionum, quibus caeteri in aliis Academiis gaudent, utuntur, ac fruuntur post adeptos tales gradus. sive iam haec privilegia consistunt in actibus externis, ut sunt Disputationes, Professiones, examinationes, Sententiarum censurae, concessus Academici, sive in aliis ornamentis ut sunt Epomides, Pilei doctorales, annuli, et id genus Academicae Republicae insignia, quae ipsa omnia una cum sceptro, sigillo, et Titulis gradui ac officio cuiusvis competentibus, concessa consentur a Nobis et de facto conceduntur ante omnes alios Rectori Academico, Cancellario eiusdem, postmodum Decanis Facultatum, et Professoribus Academicis. Declaramus hic item nominatim, quod Testimonia studiorum, seu gradum, ex hac Archi-Episcopali Universitate legitime obtenta debent admitti a quibuscunque Collegiis, Academiis, Communitatibus, Capitulis, et caeteris omnibus, cuiuscunque gradus et conditionis existant, tam

in Iudicio, quam extra, et iis, qui ea obtinuerint, omnino prodesse et suffragari ad consequendos honores, non solum saeculares, sed etiam Ecclesiasticos, imo et Canonicatus, ac alia beneficia, etiam in iis Capitulis et Ecclesiis, quae in suis candidatis triennale, aut plurium pauciorumque annorum in aliqua Academia studium, vel gradum Doctoratus requirunt. Demum ut Nos ipsi ad ingentis boni spem Universitatem hanc cum Collegio Caesareo, et utraque sua dote totali, ac censu, cum omnibus item officialibus, ac membris, singulari semper parati sumus tueri patrocinio, commodaque eius datis occasionibus promovere, ita Successoribus, Haeredibusque Nostris ac Dominis Hungariae Statibus, Ordinibus, Regnicolis, tam in Ecclesiastica, quam saeculari dignitate, loco, gradu constitutis eandem cum omnibus dictis clausulis, gratiis ac Privilegiis defendendam, promovendam, pluribusque, ubi ad litterariae Professionis finem necessarium fuerit, favoribus ac Privilegiis exornandam pio affectu parique cordis sensu enixe commendamus. Atque hanc praemisso modo factam benignam nostram acceptationem, approbationem, ratificationem, confirmationem, Decretum, et voluntatem, per quoslibet, quorum videlicet interesset, rata haberi, observarique deberi, neque uspiam, ulloque modo laedi, iisque contraveniri volumus et constituimus. Harum Nostrarum manus nostrae subscriptione, sigillisque tam Bullae aureae, qua ut Romanorum Imperator, secretique, quo ut Rex Hungariae utimur, appensione munitarum vigore et testimonio litterarum. Actum in Civitate Nostra Vienna die decima octava Mensis Octobris. Anno Domini Millesimo Sexcentesimo Trigesimo Quinto. Regnorum Nostrorum, Romani decimo septimo, Hungariae et reliquorum decimo octavo, Bohemiae vero Anno Decimo Nono.

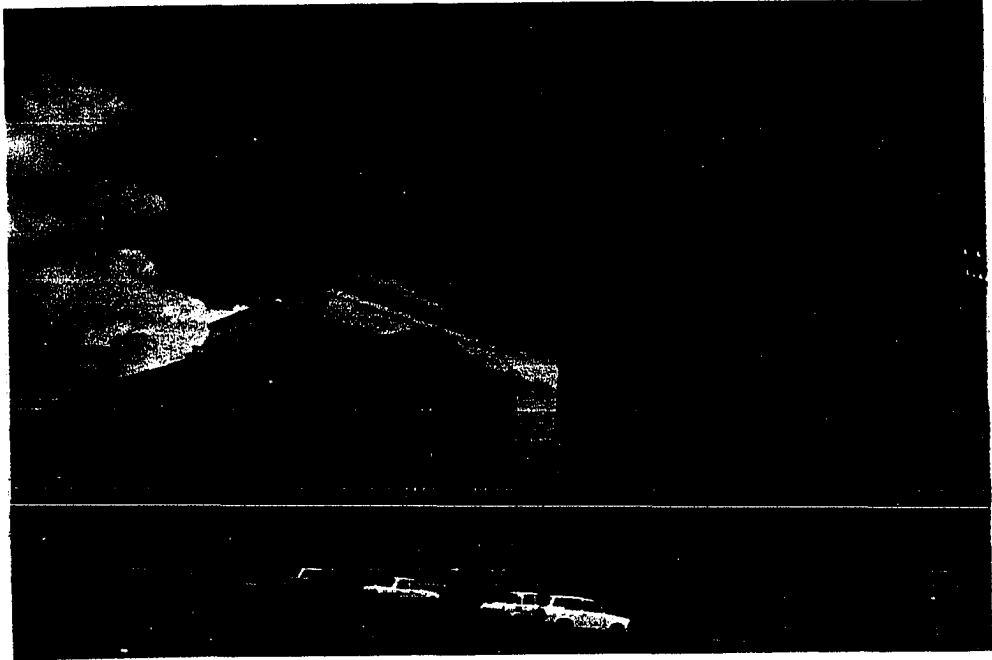
Ferdinandus m. p.

(L. S.) Georgius Lippay Episcopus Vespriemiensis,  
Vdt Regi Hungariae Cancellarius Aulicus m. p.  
Stralendorff m. p. Laurentius Ferenczfy m. p.

Plate 5

Main Building of the Nagyszombat University and the University  
Church at Nagyszombat (Antonio a Giob. Pietro Spazzo, 1630-1637 ).  
Photographed by the researcher in Nagyszombat, August, 1976.

High altar of the University Church (B. Knilling, V. Stadler,  
1637). Photographed by the researcher, August, 1976.



## G. Inauguration of the University

The Board of Professors was appointed on November 13, 1635, and Nagyszombat University was opened with a great celebration in the presence of the aristocracy and common people of both classes, secular and hierarchical. The Council of the Academy, led by the college's pedellus, master of ceremonies, holding a symbolic silver pedum,<sup>57</sup> went to the Primate's palace to lead the Archbishop's procession, which was comprised of the celebrities, to the cathedral. During the splendid liturgy, elevated by "brilliant" music, the Cardinal explained the worthiness of founding the University in a short allocutio (address). Then he gave the Foundation Bull and the Ratification Bull from the Emperor to the first Rector, Pater György Dobronoki. Pázmány's opening ceremony was followed by the speech of Pater Tamás Jászberényi, the Dean of the Philosophy Faculty, in which he emphasized that for the good of the country nothing was more important than establishing academies, and he told about the benefits of higher institutions. The orator extolled Pázmány's gracious services toward his church and his country.<sup>58</sup> He also called upon those present to give grace and gratitude to Providence. The Cardinal started, in voiceful song, to recite the first verse of Te Deum and that concluded the luminous church celebration.<sup>59</sup>

The liturgy was followed by a banquet, to which the Academy invited all the celebrities: Cardinal Primate; Count Palatine Miklós Eszterházy; Archbishop of Kalocs, John Telegdi; Bishop of Veszprém and Chancellor, György Lippay; Bishop of Szerém, György Jakusics; the Captaingeneral of Transdanubia, Count Ádám Batthány; the Palatine's son, Count István Eszterházy; Count Gábor Erdödy; Count Michael Thurzó; Canon of Esztergom, István Bosnyák; Provost Benedek Kisdi; the members of the City Council; the

deputations from the University of Vienna and of the Jesuit Order.<sup>60</sup> The attendance of the representatives from the University of Graz was hindered, for they did not receive Dobronoki's invitations on time.<sup>61</sup>

The silver memorial emblem was minted for this occasion. It portrays Pázmány on one side, and his coat-of-arms on the other side.<sup>62</sup> This was a token given as a surprise to the Cardinal from his friends. Pázmány, who was not a vain man, was not at all in favor of the idea of using his crest in the University's official seal, as was suggested by Pater Dobronoki. Instead, Pázmány recommended another form of seal on which the Blessed Virgin holds a mace in one of her hands and a book in the other, with this script surrounding: Patrona Hungariae Mater Universitatis Tyrna.<sup>63</sup>

On the next day, November 14, Pater Marton Palkovics, professor of logic, gave a substantial speech (his first lecture at the Nagyszombat University), de rationali philosophia (to esteem the logical philosophy), in the University's auditorium. With his oratorical diction awakened, he inspired the zeal of learning in his young students. As he officially opened the school, the studium came into being. A few days later, the students of the Jesuit Academy performed "Benjamin", an impressive Biblical play in honor of the Founder, the Cardinal. "The students selected the story of Benjamin," said Pázmány, 'not without reason, because I must call the University, my 'Benjamin' as my last creation, considering my advanced age, although I am thinking seriously of founding more institutions."<sup>64</sup>

#### H. Opening of the School

Fraknói states that "regular classes with full activities began in the first days of the next year [1636]." In the first academic year "there were



few students," says Fraknói, "because the opening of the University was unexpected and the news about the school's existence did not travel before the winter came."<sup>65</sup>

Several experts in the field agree with Fraknói by specifying that the school began the first week of January 1636. Among them are Tivadar Pauler, László Velics, and Spolok sv. Vojtecha.<sup>66</sup> Contrary to the above allegation, Vilmos Frankl and Kelecsényi asserted in their theses that the lectures started in the late fall of 1635.<sup>67</sup> It is uncertain what kind of sources any of these authors used to give their establishment.

Unfortunately, there are no original documents or proceedings of the Academy available about the University's life which could give a definite date about this occurrence. The existing Diary (Dobronoki's) of the Nagyszombat Collegium began only with January 1, 1636, and did not advert even briefly to the opening of the school activities. If the academic studies had started in the first week of January, Dobronoki would have referred to it, because it was considered a memorable event in the life of the Institution. He remarked among the January 4th events, that during dinner "the logician Antal Haifling delivered an elegant and flowery speech." Similarly the Diary reveals on January 6 the account of theologians (the members of the Order) and students, among them the 58 logic students, which proves the above assumption that the lectures at the University must have begun before Dobronoki started writing this Diary.

Another proof is a codex which contains the academic programs and the school years' opening ceremonial speeches. This codex designates November 14, 1635, as the first teaching day. Pater Tamás Jászberényi, according to this codex, said in his announcement, posted in the hall, dated October

27, 1635:

We would like to remind our students in time, that they should present themselves at the opening celebration on the first part of November by preparing themselves well with good spirit and books, as it is proper to the new members of the Academy. The lower classes [gymnasium] begin immediately....The theological and philosophical lectures will start with a splendid celebration on November 14.<sup>68</sup>

The content of the speech delivered by Márton Palkovics on November 14, reveals that it was a formal lecture on philosophy given to the students.<sup>69</sup>

Another subject of controversy is the academic population at the beginning. From the numerous sources, one of the most acceptable, the Matricula of the Nagyszombat Jesuit school, discloses that there were six students who were registered for moral and fifty-six students for logic courses.<sup>70</sup> Fraknói and Spolok sv. Vojtecha both state that there were two classes and two professors and only ten students for moral lectures and fifty-four students for logic; among them there were twelve Jesuit seminarians (ten of them were sent from Vienna to promote competition). In the facultas artium (gymnasium) the Jesuits had 556 students in that school year.<sup>71</sup>

Two other sources are rather extreme as far as the accounts go. One is Dobronoki's Diary with nine and fifty-eight students,<sup>72</sup> the other is Pauler, who has six and thirty-seven students registered for taking moral and logic courses, listed in succession.<sup>73</sup>

The above diverse information suggests a need for finding a reason for these differences. One might be that registration of a student took place only after the tax (tuition) was paid, and the unpaid dues often caused delayed filing of the students in the Matricula. The Matrica Gymnasii tum Academiae Tyrnaviam contains several such remarks related to

unpaid dues. The one in 1678 reads: "Plures fuerunt depositi, sed qui non tulerunt taxam, neque comparuerunt ad inscriptionem, ideo non sunt in scripti." <sup>74</sup>

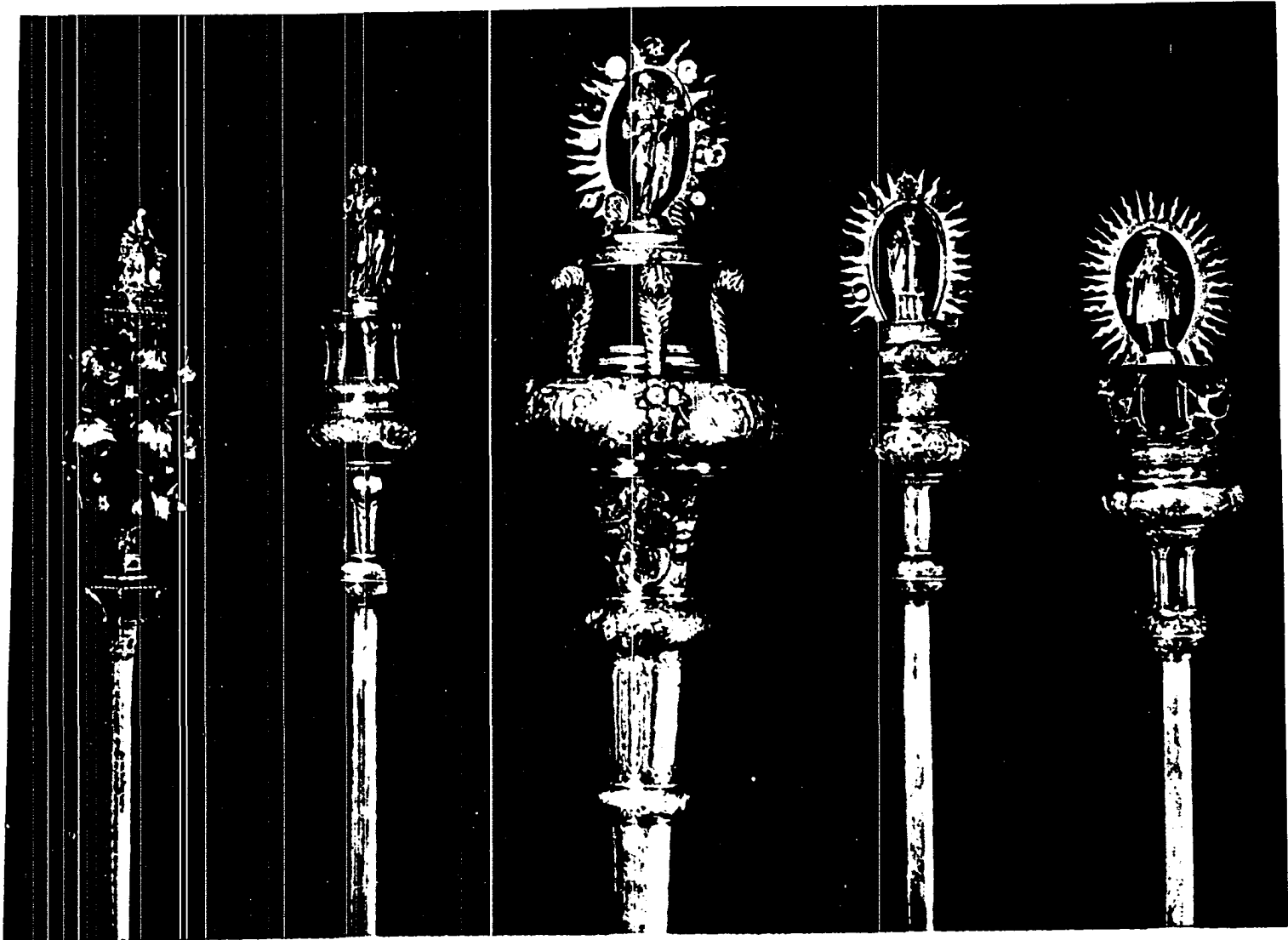
These few misquoted quantitative figures and some diverse historical events are presented here not to cast a shadow on the tradition and the development of Nagyszombat University, but to add a little to what is actually known.

The major cause of these miswritings could be the repeatedly copied manuscripts, their poor legibility, as well as the researchers' skills of reading and interpreting through the ages. (See page 201, also "Thesis Books," p. 164 of this paper.) In the sources of the organizational structure, the administrative functioning, and on the educational philosophy of the young Nagyszombat University, there is more uniform treatment observable in the documentary material.

Plate 6

The maces (pedums, symbols) of the rector and the faculties.

From: Fasti Regiae Universitatis Litterarum Hungaricae Budapesti-  
nensis (Budapest: Typis Regiae Scientiarum Universitatis Hungaricae,  
1935), p. 22b. Used by the permission of National Széchenyi Library,  
Budapest.



SCEPTRA (PEDA) RECTORIS ET DECANORUM FACULTATUM

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Tivadar Pauler, A Budapesti M.K. Tudományegyetem története [History of the H.R. University of Budapest], 3 vols. (Budapest: M.K. Egyetemi Könyvnyomda, 1880), 1: 3.

<sup>2</sup>"The lecture was given in honor of the 600th Anniversary of Hungarian University Education on 16 December 1967, at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York, sponsored by the New York American Hungarian Federation." (Gabriel, The Mediaeval Universities, p. 50.)

<sup>3</sup>Nagyszombat used to be an insignificant city close to the western border of Hungary, but advanced, showed an upward trend into an active cultural center since that time when the Turks occupied the central part of the country and the Parliament moved from Buda to Pozsony and the seat of Primate was transferred from Esztergom to Nagyszombat. The population of the city was composed of mainly Germans, Slovaks, and a smaller number of Hungarians. (András Gyenis, A Nagyszombati Egyetem Nyomdája és az Unió [The Press of the Nagyszombat University and the Unio] [Budapest: Korda R.T. Nyomdája, 1942], p. 6; Antal Meszlényi, Magyar jezsuiták a XVI. században [The Hungarian Jesuits in the 16th Century] [Budapest: St. István Társulat, 1931], p. 54.)

<sup>4</sup>Egyed Hermann, A Hittudományi Kar története, 1635-1790 [History of the Faculty of Theology] (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938), p. 55.

<sup>5</sup>Péter Pázmány to Pope Urban VIII, 1635, no. 8, fasc. 8, Acta Jesuitica Registrata, Collegium Tyrnaviense, E 152, Országos Levéltár [National Archives] (hereafter cited as OLT), Budapest; Péter Pázmány to Kornel Montmann, June 1635, no. 9, fasc. 8, Acta Jesuit. Regist., Coll. Tyrnav., E 152, OLT, Budapest.

<sup>6</sup>Péter Pázmány, "Diploma Universitatis a Petro Cardinali Pázmány Fundatae..." (hereafter cited as Foundation Bull), Pozsony, 12 May 1635, pp. 242-47, Tom. CI, Collectionis Caprinayanae, ELT, Budapest; See original in the Rector Office of the Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Budapest.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 242-43.

<sup>8</sup>Emperor Ferdinand II, "Pro erigenda Universitate Cardinalis Petri Pázmány and Caesarem Ferdinandi II Imp. ac Regis Hungariae Confirmationales," 18 October 1635, (hereafter cited as Ratification Bull), No. 3, fol. 13, 10/a-13, Acta Jesuit. Irregistra Coll. Tyrnav., E152, OLT; An official copy is in the Archives of the Eötvös Loránd University, Tom. IV, Coll. Prajana.

<sup>9</sup>Vilmos Frankl, "A Magyar Egyetem megalapítása" [Foundation of the Hungarian University], Magyar Lion 1 (April 1870): 241.

<sup>10</sup>Vargyas, Gyöngyök, p. 16.

<sup>11</sup>Miklós Oláh, Archbishop of Esztergom, established a parochial school in Nagyszombat, in 1554, which became a competitor of the existing city

school. Later the two schools were united under the Cathedral Chapter's supervision, but the supply of physical facilities, the buildings, and their care remained the city's responsibilities. Later Archbishop Oláh wanted to elevate the school to "academy" level and for that reason he obtained privileges from the king. In 1559 there were 200 students in the school. Oláh, after seeing the Jesuits' good progress made in Vienna's collegiums, placed his school in the Jesuits' hands in 1561. In the meantime, a city school was opened in 1565 and became a constant friction between the two schools. After two years of struggle, the Jesuits took over the school in which there were grammar classes and in its lower grades children were taught how to write, read, some arithmetic, and the basics of Latin were introduced, while at the upper grades some literature was also taught. After a few years of active existence it was dissolved in 1567. (Péteri, Az első jezsuiták Magyarországon, pp. 127-45.) In 1615 the Jesuit Gymnasium was revived, when Primate Frank Forgách regained the forfeitured provostship of Túróc and their property by way of the peace treaty at Vienna (this estate was given to the Jesuits originally by Emperor Rudolf II) for the purpose of setting up a collegium at Nagyszombat. He invited Pater Márton Koldi and Pater Ferenc Szeghy into the city, who organized the school immediately. The Jesuits restored the old cloister so that August 1, 1616, Péter Pázmány was able to open three classes of the school, after he became archbishop and gave the possessions of the provostship to the collegium. The new Gymnasium had 440 students in 1616. The Order with Pázmány's and his successors' support elevated this school as the country's first institution. (Gyenis, A jezsuita rend hazánkban, p. 21.)

<sup>12</sup>Pázmány on the request of the Emperor Ferdinand II was sent on an important diplomatic mission to Rome in 1632. The purpose of his legation was to acquire help from the Pope against the Turkish invaders. This undertaking did not reach its diplomatic goal, but the Emperor agreed to pay for it. Pázmány was escorted by a forty-eight-member delegation on the forty-one-day voyage, and the personal and transportation expenses reached 40,000 florins. ("Leopoldus Divina favente...", no. 342, Actum Ecclesiasticum vetus, PLT, Esztergom.

<sup>13</sup>German Ödenburg, on the western border of Hungary in the Hungarian section of Burgenland, is an old cultural center.

<sup>14</sup>Pater György Forró was a consultor of the Jesuit College in Nagyszombat, formerly the provost of the Jesuit Order in the Austrian Province; then later (14 April 1636) he became the successor of Dobronoki, the rector of the Nagyszombat University.

<sup>15</sup>Vilmos Fraknói, Pázmány Péter és kora [Péter Pázmány and His Era], 3 vols. (Budapest: Méhner V., 1886), 3: 156.

<sup>16</sup>Dobronoki, Diary, 20 January 1636.

<sup>17</sup>Saint George, Christian martyr and Patron saint of England, was tortured and put to death at Nicomedia on April 23, 303 A.D. His feast day is on April 23. The well-known legend of "St. George and the dragon" may have

arisen from attaching to the saint the story of Perseus in Greek mythology. (Uj Magyar Lexicon, s.v. "Szent György.")

<sup>18</sup>Dobronoki, Diary, 20 January 1636.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>William Lamormain was a Viennese Jesuit, the confessor of Emperor Ferdinand II. (Szentpéteri, A Bölcsészet. Kar története, p. 3.)

<sup>21</sup>Péter Pázmány to György Dobronoki, Vienna, 6 May 1635, no. 15, fasc. 8. Acta Jesuit. Regist., Coll. Tyrnav., E 152, OLT.

<sup>22</sup>See date on Foundation Bull.

<sup>23</sup>Pázmány had taken back the bond from Dobronoki in February, for he had a different plan with it for a while. (Dobronoki, Diary, 20 Jan. 1636.)

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Fraknoi, Pázmány, 3: 162; Dobronoki's note on the back of Pázmány's letter (dated 6 May 1635) "12 Maji perfecti negotium et accepti 60 milia flor. rhen. quos 14 Maji deposni Vienna in archivo domus pofessae...." It also proves that the 60,000 was florin and not forint as most authors name it. (See Pázmány's letter in Appendix A, p. 203 of this paper.)

<sup>26</sup>Fraknoi, Pázmány, 3: 160.

<sup>27</sup>The General of the Jesuits' to Pázmány, 23 June 1635, no. 4, fasc. 8, Acta Jesuit. Regist., Coll. Tyrnav., E 152, OLT.

<sup>28</sup>In a letter dated 28 August 1635, Pázmány invited Dobronoki to his place in Túróc (Turca, Czech.). He asked him to bring with him the draft and three parchment sheets, so the University's foundation charter could be recopied officially. These extra copies of the Foundation Bull were written for the Order's General (Rome) and the Provincial Provost (Graz). There are two original copies of the document extant, one is at the Rector Office of the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, and the other is in the OLT. See Péter Pázmány to György Dobronoki, 28 August 1635, no. 16, fasc. 8, Acta Jesuit. Regist., Coll. Tyrnav., E 152, OLT. Also see Spolok sv. Vojtecha, Pamiatke Tyrnavsky Univerzity, 1635-1777 [History of Nagyszombat University] (Trnava: Vydal Literárno - Vedecký Odbor SSV., 1935), p. 34.

<sup>29</sup>Foundation Bull, p. 245.

<sup>30</sup>Péter Pázmány to Emperor Ferdinand II, Pozsony, 29 July 1635, no. 2, fasc. 8, Acta Jesuit. Registr., Coll. Tyrnav., E 152, OLT.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>Péter Pázmány to the Consistorium of Vienna University, 29 July 1635, no. 1, fasc. 8, Acta Jesuit. Regist., Coll. Tyrnav., E 152, OLT.



- 33 Fraknói, Pázmány, 3: 162.
- 34 Frankl, "Magyar Egyetem megalapítása," p. 245.
- 35 Jesuit General to György Dobronoki, 8 September 1635, no. 7, fasc. 8, Acta Jesuit. Regist., Coll. Tyrnav., E 152, OLT.
- 36 Péter Pázmány, Pázmány Péter összegyűjtött levelei, 2: 596.
- 37 Jesuit General to György Dobronoki, 8 September 1635, "Cum Cardinal-em festinare valde videam, dolet; rem talem esse, quae tam cito confici non posset." no. 7, fasc. 8, Acta Jesuit. Regist., Coll. Tyrnav., E 152, OLT.
- 38 Péter Pázmány to Emperor Ferdinand II, 27 September 1635, no. 21, fasc. 8, Acta Jesuit. Regist., Coll. Tyrnav., E 152, OLT.
- 39 Ratification Bull.
- 40 Kálmán Szily, "A Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem 300 éves jubileuma" [300 Anniversary of the Péter Pázmány University], Természettudományi Köz-  
löny 67 (September 1935): 401-7.
- 41 Péter Pázmány to Pope Urban VIII, 1635 (no month and day), no. 8, fasc. 8, Acta Jesuit. Regist., Coll. Tyrnav., E 152, OLT.
- 42 Fraknói, Pázmány, 3: 162.
- 43 Dobronoki, Diary, 25 August 1637.
- 44 Szentpétery, A Bölcsészet. Kar története, p. 9.
- 45 Seventeenth-century Jesuits regulation of the Austrian Provinces, Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica 9 (1886): 324, cited by Szentpétery, A Böl-  
csészet. Kar története, p. 10.
- 46 Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 1: 6.
- 47 Fejér, Historia Academiae, 2: 30; Szentpétery, A Bölcsészet. Kar  
története, p. 11.
- 48 Budapest K.M. Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem nagyszerű alapítójának,  
Pázmány Péternek, 1925 június 6-án tartott szoborleleplezési ünnepé-  
lve [Unveiling of Monument Dedicated to Péter Pázmány, the Founder of Budapest  
R.H. Péter Pázmány University, 6 June 1925] (Budapest: K.M. Egyetemi Nyom-  
da, 1925), p. 16.
- 49 Foundation Bull, p. 243. The Jesuits did not possess the 40,000 florins until 1763. See Vilmos Fraknói, Szekszárdi Apátság története [His-  
tory of the Abbey of Szekszárd] (Budapest: M.K. Egyetemi Nyomda, 1879),  
p. 89. Although, Emperor Leopold I commanded the Royal Chamber to transfer

the Abbey of Szekszárd to the Jesuits as a reimbursement of the 40,000 florins and its interest, but this transaction remained on paper only until 1763. (Emperor Leopold I, "Decretum Leopoldi L. quo Camerae Hung. significatur quod abbatia ob Universitate Tyrnaviensi," Cienna, 6 June 1703, no. 83-85, Tom. VIII, Coll. Hevenesi, ELT, also "Leopoldus Divina favente...", no. 343, Ecclesiasticum vetus, PLT, Esztergom.) According to the above deeds the Jesuits could possess the land only after the death of Merey, the then existing abbey, but, on October 27, 1717, Count Janos Frautsohn, the minister's son, was appointed to abbot's first assistant, so after Abbot Merey's death he became the abbot and the lands were passed into his hands. (Fraknói, Szekszárdi Apátság története, pp. 51-53.) Dobronoki's Diary reveals that, in general, the Jesuits managed their estates skillfully and precisely. One sign of it is that they raised 2064 mérő (one mérő is 40 liter) wheat in 1636. They harvested grapes which abundantly met their needs and took the surplus grain and wine often to the market. (Dobronoki, Diary, 19 Sept. 1636.) The following year Dobronoki wrote again that they sold altogether nine hundred mérő wheat to meet the expenses and needs of the Collegium, and after that they still had two hundred mérő wheat left what they put aside for seed-grain. (Dobronoki, Diary, 23 January 1637.) Furthermore, the constant donations by the aristocracy made it possible to maintain the institution. (Rector to the curator, 15 Febr. 1698, no. 7, fol. 18, Acta Jesuit. Irregist., Coll. Tyrnav., E152, OLT; Legacy of Miklós Eszterházy, no. 45, fol. 14, Acta Jesuit. Irregist., Coll. Tyrnav., E152, OLT; "Fundatio Telegdiana," 15 June 1643, no. 5, fol. 63, Acta Jesuit. Irregist., Coll. Tyrnav., E152, OLT; Athanasius Csatory to Pater N. Pakay, 10 March 1688, no. 7, fol. 97, Acta Jesuit. Irregist., Coll. Tyrnav., E152, OLT; "Extractus Testamentaria dispositionis... Petri Korompay," 17 August 1692, no. 11, fol. 52, Acta Jesuit. Irregist., Coll. Tyrnav., E152, OLT; Ilona Amade's trustfund, 16 September, 1657, no. 10/a-13, fol. 44, Acta Jesuit. Irregist., Coll. Tyrnav., E 152, OLT.)

<sup>50</sup>One mérő wheat is equal to forty liter. See Dobronoki, Diary, 23 January 1637.

<sup>51</sup>Fraknói, Pázmány, 3: 225.

<sup>52</sup>Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 1: 8.

<sup>53</sup>"Patria fassionis Pasmanianae pro capitulo Strig. quoad Tomos Wan-kerianam, & Pauli Szabó a Civitate in quarum una pauperes Studiosos in altera nobiles juvenes alii voluit," 1619, no. 1642, fols. 64-67, Ecclesiasticum vetus, PLT, Esztergom.

<sup>54</sup>László Velics, Vázlatok a magyar jezsuiták multjából [Sketches from the Past of the Hungarian Jesuits], 3 vols. (Budapest: St. István Társulat, 1912, 1913, 1914), 3: 112.

<sup>55</sup>Fraknói, Pázmány, 3: 231.

<sup>56</sup>The baroque cathedral, designed by Pietro Spasso, is 70 meters long, 17 meters wide, 24 meters high. During the years, while the Jesuits taught at Nagyszombat, the church was used for the occasion of issuing degrees. (Spolok sv. Vojtechu, Pamiatke Tyrnavsky Univerzity, p. 45.) A crypt was

built below the church. The vaults for the Jesuit paters are on the right side, for the Jesuit fraters on the left side, and the family grave for the Eszterházy's in the middle. The consecration was a large ceremonious occasion with High Mass offered by Primate Iósy, the sermon was given by Pater György Forró in Hungarian and the performance of thirty-eight musicians and chorus members from Vienna helped to make this event a memorable occasion. The large, gay banquet was followed by a funeral service. A procession of six carriages, escorted by men wrapped up in mourning garments carrying torches, brought six bodies who were the children of Miklós and Dániel Eszterházy. The children's bodies were brought from Kismarton, now part of Austria, to be buried in the new family grave. The students performed a theatrical play which concluded the ceremonies. (Fraknói, Pázmány, 3: 230.)

<sup>57</sup>Pedums (maces) are symbols of the University. The rectorate's mace is decorated with a statue of the Blessed Virgin; the Theology Faculty's with the Savior; the Law School's with Saint Ivo; the Philosophy Faculty's with Saint Francis Xavier. They are still in use by the Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest on ceremonial occasions. See p. 75 of this paper.

<sup>58</sup>Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 1: 8.

<sup>59</sup>Fraknói, Pázmány, 3: 165.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., 3: 166.

<sup>61</sup>Francisco Kazy, Historia Universitatis Tyrnaviensis Societatis Jesu, 2 vols. (Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis, per L. Berger, 1737), 2: 89-90.

<sup>62</sup>Meszlényi, Magyar jezsuiták, pp. 248-49; Fraknói, Pázmány, 3: 166.

<sup>63</sup>Meszlényi, Magyar jezsuiták, pp. 248-49; Kazy, Historia Universitatis, 2: 89-90; Fejér, Historia Academiae, 1: 10-11; Fraknói, Pázmány, 3: 164.

<sup>64</sup>Kazy, Historia Universitatis, 2: 90; See Palkovics' speech in footnote 69 of this Chapter.

<sup>65</sup>Fraknói, Pázmány, 3: 166.

<sup>66</sup>László Velics, Vázlatok a magyar jezsuiták multjából, 2: 62; Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 1: 32; Spolok sv. Vojtecha, Pamiatke Tyrnavsky Univerzity, p. 41.

<sup>67</sup>Frankl, "Magyar Egyetem," p. 249; Kelecsényi, "Adalékok barokk," p. 7.

<sup>68</sup>Tamás Jászberényi, "Magnum officium...", 27 October 1635, fols. 16-17, Pars I, Caput I, Actuum Academicorum Collegii Societatis Jesu Tyrnaviae,

Codex, Seminary of Bratislava, Bratislava, Czechoslovakia.

<sup>69</sup>Márton Palkovics, "Philosophabimur Academici...", 14 November, 1635, fols. 75-80, Pars III, Caput I, Actuum Academicorum Collegii Societatis Jesu Tyrnaviae, Codex, Seminary of Bratislava, Bratislava, Czechoslovakia.

<sup>70</sup>Matrica Gymnasii tum Academiae Tyrnavien, 1616-1693 (hereafter cited as Matrica Gymnasii), 1635/36, Caput I, Batthyány Litter, PLT, Esztergom.

<sup>71</sup>Fraknói, Pázmány, 3: 166; Spolok sv. Vojtecha, Pamiatke Tyrnavsky Univerzity, p. 41.

<sup>72</sup>Dobronoki, Diary, 6 January 1636.

<sup>73</sup>Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 1: 32.

<sup>74</sup>Matrica Gymnasii, 1678, Caput I, Batthyány Litter, PLT, Esztergom.

#### IV. ACADEMIC LIFE OF THE UNIVERSITY

The Foundation Bull stipulated that the Jesuits start a philosophy course in that same year, 1635, and develop it gradually into a three-year course of study with subjects like ethics (morals), mathematics, and scholastic theology. Furthermore, the Bull prescribed that there would be a theologian, an interpreter of Scriptures, a Canon Law teacher, and also professors for conducting disputes and one who could teach the Hebrew language.

Another restriction was made in the Foundation Bull that the reigning archbishop of Esztergom would have no right to intervene in the University's organizational matters and its scholastic life. He was allowed, as the Archbishop of the diocese, to supervise only the assumed responsibilities of the Jesuits and their duties. At the same time, the Bull stated that the Archbishop in office should aid and improve this institution to the best of his ability.<sup>1</sup>

The founder gave no further organizational instructions but left the structural care up to the Jesuits. The entire picture of the academic life and the faculties' function is more meaningful if one sees it in historical perspective by considering how the school attained its seventeenth-century form.

##### A. Organizational Structure

The Jesuits at Nagyszombat University developed a school system out of a traditional scholastic spirit which grew into a modern higher institution. The organizational framework of the newly-founded school was adapted from the Ratio Studiorum<sup>2</sup> (organizational principles of Jesuits) and it determined

the University's inner structure and outer management, elaborated on the functions of the administration, and prescribed the teaching schedule and method in great detail. The focus in unified fundamental principle was on setting forth the duties of the faculty members, rather than on giving the courses of study. The special grouping of regulation concerning the entire structure of the institution reflects one of the Jesuits' basic ideas, that of placing more importance on the teaching staff than on the subject matter.

#### 1. Evolution of the universities

In order to acquire adequate knowledge of the early developments and functions of Nagyszombat University, it will be helpful to briefly compare its organizational framework with the archetypes of medieval universities. The first European "intellectual guilds," Bologna and Paris, were the consequence of the esprit de corps of masters and students; that is, voluntary corporate assemblies for profit, mutual aid, and protection, as opposed to an individual founder's decree and arrangements.<sup>3</sup>

Originally, universities were merely guilds of Masters or Scholars; as such they were imitations of the numerous guilds of artisans and tradesmen already in existence. Out of the simple organization and customs of these guilds grew the elaborate organization and ceremonies of later universities.<sup>4</sup>

These medieval centers of learning became the structural prototypes of the scientific universities founded during the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Organization was an obvious necessity. The organization of Bologna University was different from that of the Paris University. The former was a University of Students, while Paris was a University of Masters, where the government and instruction of students were regulated by the Masters. So it was an aristocratic university as distinguished from the democratic university of Bologna, where "the above matters were controlled

by the students, who also prescribed rules for the conduct of the Masters."<sup>5</sup> The "pattern" of the University of Paris was adopted by the universities of Germany, Denmark, England, Sweden, and Scotland. The organization of Bologna was copied by the universities of Italy, Spain, Portugal, and France (except Paris). Soon the "skilled scholars" became more influential than the "unskilled apprentices" and exerted control over the intellectual and academic life of the university commune, as well as over the common welfare of its members.<sup>6</sup>

The formal recognition of these primal universities, granted by popes and emperors, resulted in special privileges. These documents granted legal and political autonomy, including the right to possess estates. In addition, they set forth academic and organizational guidelines and established the right to issue scholastic degrees. Consequently, each university obtained rights to free elections of officials such as each nation's proctor, the dean of each faculty, and the rector, the head of the entire university.<sup>7</sup>

However, the organization of the newly established Nagyszombat University was essentially different from these medieval institutions and their above mentioned privileges. Pázmány entrusted the new university to the care of the Jesuit Order. The Cardinal, who was inspired by western European ideals, found the Sons of Saint Ignatius of Loyola the most suitable people to carry on his philosophy and propagate his ideas. According to the founder's arrangements and the spirit of his command, the professorships were occupied exclusively by the centrally-appointed members of the Jesuit Order; therefore, the University could not have an independent faculty association.<sup>8</sup>

## 2. Ratio Studiorum

The Jesuits' Ratio Studiorum at that time followed the most modern educational and instructional principles. In the history of educational systematization, it was an unmatched formulation in regard to its unified structure. When Pázmány founded Nagyszombat University and committed its care to the Jesuits, the neglected higher education of Hungary was raised with one stroke to the level of European standards.

Information on the origin of the Ratio Studiorum suggests that it dates back to the sixteenth century German educators' striving for a better system. It may have been initiated by John Sturm, schoolmaster in Strassburg, Germany, who had won considerable merit in his Protestant school in the middle of the sixteenth century. He reorganized the nine-year gymnasium into a five-year intermediate school system and made a considerable impression with his original pedagogical ideas.<sup>9</sup>

The underlying principle of Sturm's teaching method is conciseness and clarity. The main pillar of memory is summariness — according to Sturm — and the subject matter could become explicit for the student only if both the questions and explications of the teacher are abridged. He should tell what is essential for comprehension of the subject but with clarity, so his students can grasp the full meaning.<sup>10</sup>

"If the Society of Jesus were to be successful in combating this intellectual superiority of Protestantism," as Miller points out in his book, The Power and Secret of the Jesuits, "its own members must first of all be in a position to make use of the identical weapons of humanistic education."<sup>11</sup>

The reason for the practical acceptance of the Sturm-system by the Jesuits was its beautiful format and its aspiration toward oratorical eloquence.



Therefore, it seems that the pedagogical and technical principles described in the Ratio Studiorum are not entirely the original productions of the Jesuits, but were consciously and expertly put to good account. The entire system was constructed with a further consideration, aimed at a special purpose.<sup>12</sup> The fully developed educational system, the Ratio Studiorum, was compiled from the adopted elements and became a well-organized and useful educational instrument of the Jesuits in 1599.<sup>13</sup>

There is direct evidence that this "book of rules", the Ratio Studiorum, was known and used at the very beginning of Nagyszombat University's functioning. Rector György Dobronoki, the originator of the seventeenth volume of the school's Diary, recorded the following on March 29, 1636: "I received the Rector János Rumer's manuscript, the book of rules of academies, which describes the academy's inner and outer management."<sup>14</sup>

The regulations of the Jesuit Order and the Order General's correspondents were constant reminders that the solidatis et uniformitas doctrinae be regarded as a manuscript of unified fundamental principles, which meant not only the interpretation of the article(s) of faith, but also the strict following of the teaching mode.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, the Ratio Studiorum was revised for Graz University. The revision was completed in 1655 and adopted by Vienna and Nagyszombat Universities. This new form was called the Forma et ratio gubernandi academias et studia generalia.<sup>15</sup> The data in this work, in regard to Nagyszombat University's educational theory and method, courses of study, examinations, degrees, offices, titles, customs, are taken from the above document, but for practical purposes the name Ratio Studiorum is used in its place. As stated in the Ratio Studiorum, each

member of the University personnel had his assigned duty in the operation of the University in addition to his educational role.

### 3. Rector

The Ratio Studiorum prescribed that the Magnificus Rector (Most Eminent President), head of the whole university, must be the same person as the director of the Jesuit collegium and always be appointed by the Order's General from Rome, without the faculty's approval. "Summa rerum penes rectorem est, qui e gravioribus Societatis Jesu viris, a praeposito generali deligitur, prae est que universitati simul ac societatis collegio."<sup>16</sup> The duty of this man, the "Very Reverend Rector", was to lead, guide, and supervise the institution's academic life with its intellectual activities — to see that law and order existed according to the university's constitution. He had unlimited authority as chief magistrate of the university to act upon all matters pertaining to the university. Among other things, the rector's duties were to provide the faculty with a kind of journal in which all events, past and contemporary, related to academic life were accurately recorded. The rector alone had the right to decide student quarrels.<sup>17</sup>

The organizer and the first rector at Nagyszombat was György Dobronoki (1588-1649), Doctor of Divinity, whose name also appeared in the Foundation Bull. Dobronoki, the former director of the Jesuit Collegium at Nagyszombat since 1630, took the lead at the Nagyszombat University from the year of its foundation until 1645. His successor in the rectorate was György Forró, a philosopher and theologian.<sup>18</sup>

The official registrar of Nagyszombat University reports that there were all together thirty-three rectors awarded the office from the Jesuit Order until the reorganization of the University in 1770; the last Jesuit

rector occupying this dignitary seat was Iván Prileazky (1768-70). Among all the rectors, nine held this offices more than once, two of them served three times.<sup>19</sup>

#### 4. Chancellor

The second most important dignitary of the university was the Cancellarius Amplissimus. He was appointed by the provincial-provost of the Jesuit Order. This office was similar to its western counterpart in title only, because the universities, governed by Jesuits, had no need for a special church representative to "guard" the institution. The bearer of this title also received property as an honorarium.<sup>20</sup>

The chancellor of the university was the immediate associate of the rector. As the general studium supervisor, the chancellor was subject to the rector and had no independent authority. He could not act without the rector's consent, but before issuing a new degree he reviewed the applications and made arrangements for candidates to take certain examinations before receiving degrees. He gave licentia (permission) for the examinations, promotions, and doctoral degrees. The chancellor was responsible for assembling data and keeping record of the examinations. He recorded all earned degrees and was the only one allowed to make any corrections necessary in the register.<sup>21</sup>

In supervising the professors, the chancellor was bound to visit the lecture rooms, to be present at the lectures. Moreover, he had the right to inspect the students' notes and see that no unapproved dogmas were taught.<sup>22</sup> Among his duties was the supervision of orderliness in the studium generale and the teaching procedures.<sup>23</sup> "Cancellarius proximus a rectore est, eique inter caetera incumbit, ut rite atque ex ordine

disciplinae omnes a magistris tradantur, et scholasticae exercitationes instituantur, intendere."<sup>24</sup> In addition to his responsibilities, he was well informed of the professors' backgrounds and their professional preparations. This awareness enabled him to evaluate the faculty's academic competency. The chancellor exercised supervision over all the professors and was responsible for all library books as well as for a complete up-to-date catalog. All types of scientific publications, textbooks, copied illuminated manuscripts, and personal writings were sent to the rector's office for censorship before printing. After permission was granted, the studium supervisor also had to examine them. On holy days and ceremonial occasions, the chancellor gave eloquent speeches and was also the chairman at judged disputatio (disputes).<sup>25</sup>

The first chancellor was Vitalis Pechiorelli, Doctor of Divinity, at the Nagyszombat University. In the period from 1635 to 1770, the University had thirty-four chancellors; the last one was Antal Muszka (1765-70). Several of them took this office repeatedly; moreover, the dignitary office of rectorate and chancellorship was often filled by the same person alternately.<sup>26</sup>

Ordinarily the appointed rectors and chancellors started their terms of office at the beginning of each school year in November, but on several occasions reappointments occurred during the academic year. They held their dignified positions until the Order's General arranged otherwise (or the provincial-provost).<sup>27</sup>

##### 5. Decan

The head of each faculty, the Decanus Spectabilis (Eminent Dean), a man of power and authority, ranked next in importance to the rector and the

chancellor. He was appointed for an indefinite period of time by the provincial-provost and not annually elected by his colleagues.

The most important duty of the dean was the supervision of all the courses. Another matter of his business included the critical hiring of the best-qualified instructors in his field. He supervised the methods by which teaching was performed according to the Ratio Studiorum. The dean accompanied the rector, chancellor, and students to all assemblies of the university. The dean supervised and kept order in the school, commanded and enforced the religious and secular rules and regulations of the university. His other duties included presiding over the examinations and at graduation ceremonies, and reporting all matters related to examination to the rector.<sup>28</sup>

Each year the dean drew up a summary of all publications, writings, books, and compositions related to academic studies so that everyone could inspect and see what books were available. He was the keeper of his faculty's seal, its money, the official papers, and the insignia. Among his duties were to review the students' applications. He was also an active teaching member, giving lectures in the morning hours.<sup>29</sup>

## 6. Secretary

The duties of the secretary were summarized in the tenth chapter of the Ratio Studiorum. According to this official manuscript it was mandatory that the secretary's sphere of activity should not increase the number of collaborators assigned to work for the deans. Instead, he was expected to do his work according to the job description prescribed in accordance to the Ratio Studiorum's regulation. Among his duties were keeping scholastic records in the university's matriculation file and furnishing

them with necessary notes related to personal data on each faculty member. He was not allowed to file any document in the university's archives until permission was granted by the deans.

The secretary demanded maintenance of laws in all university affairs. He had to follow the rector's orders in all matters related to his office. Certain official forms, which were confirmed by the dean and the studium supervisor, were issued to the secretary to be used for official papers and documents for qualified persons and affixed by the secretary with proper official seal, according to the deans' regulation.<sup>30</sup>

The assistant secretary proceeded in less important matters, such as the recording of earned degrees, also noting all other matters in regard to welfare and pertinent facts. His duties consisted of the record keeping of scholastic matters from which, if it was necessary, he made allowances to competent persons of the institution.<sup>31</sup>

#### 7. Lawyer

The lawyer of the university was appointed by the Government. After filling this office, the lawyer had to report with his credentials to the rector and had to review all the discipline cases in order to make the rector aware of all happenings. Because the law was in one man's hand — the rector's — the lawyer acted according to the university's jurisdiction. The Ratio Studiorum stressed that the university's autonomic rights should always be respected by everyone.<sup>32</sup>

#### 8. Pedellus (school-porter)

The circator or pedellus served a significant function in the university life. He was in charge of implementing the school policies on student decorous matters. He escorted the students to church services and to church

processions, generally watching over the students, as they were always expected to march in a well-behaved manner. Outside school activities, the circator also kept an eye on the students, to see that they obeyed the school regulations and that their behavior would not ruin the reputation of the school.<sup>33</sup>

## 9. Professors

The Ratio Studiorum, in the fourth through the fifteenth articles, helps to throw light on the educational system and its spirit, as well as on the power sources of Nagyszombat University. Everything revolved around the importance of excellent instructors in the professorships, whose major concern was the advancement of their students.<sup>34</sup>

The "Aedificatio in doctrina et moribus" was the guideline for professors in the Jesuit Constitution, outlining educational objectives. Its ultimate goal was to help develop a well-educated person of strong religious character, loyal toward God, and practicing brotherly love and virtue. The teachers had to endeavour toward this goal — according to the "Aedificatio" — and set good examples whenever the opportunity arose during teaching or outside the lecture rooms.<sup>35</sup> The teachers were urged by the Ratio Studiorum to complete their subject matter in such a way that after the review there would be one month of free time left.<sup>36</sup>

The era viewed the teacher's mission differently from the way it is observed today. The professors' and the research scholars' duties were definitely divided at that time. Inventors disclosed their accomplishments at the scientific universities (founded at about that time) and then these ready-made attainments were disclosed by professors in lecture-rooms everywhere. Newton, Locke, Descartes, and Leibniz laid down their revolutionary

hypotheses away from universities and needed time until their life-work became public property through the universities. According to Csóka, "the time was still far away, which could have designated the essence of the university's work — that is, combining teaching and researching harmoniously."<sup>37</sup>

The ideal teacher at Nagyszombat University first of all should have a good grasp of the explicant material; he should be familiar with the composition of the entire material. His responsibility was to decide what sections should be divided and how these parts be related to each other. He would need to identify difficult parts, and understand the propositions [ themes or resolutions ] and the questions.<sup>38</sup>

He should be able to treat his subject matter with skill, to arrange it wisely for books and tractatus (management, treatment). Furthermore, he should be capable of dividing the material further into chapters, disputes, and questions, being careful to watch out for possible cuttings of the material. All this should be carried out in a deductive method. Moreover, the teacher must bring in, from the same science (studium), the secondary principium and/or axioms and with them progress toward the resolution, and finally, deduce from the science the theme in question. The teacher should take care to avoid a loquacious lecture and too-rapid dictation. By bringing axioms together, he applies the medieval Euclidean deduction method at the beginning of the explication of all branches of sciences.<sup>39</sup>

It was customary at Nagyszombat University to give different emblems to the professors with high academic achievements at the time of their promotion. Kazy states in his writing that these professors "wore the splendid emblems received from the promoting chancellor."<sup>40</sup>



## 10. Students

The Ratio Studiorum gave a detailed guideline to students concerning how to develop an effective method in learning and how to attain the best results in their academic work. First, it gave advice to those who were studying under one master. For them one of the most important tasks was to follow their own masters accurately and consistently by not trying to find another leader. Students should follow one master closely and take their doubts to scholastic disputes. Those students studying on their own were urged to study under a limited number of masters, or to follow one if possible, so they could be guided by his advice.<sup>41</sup>

All students were encouraged to acquire the habit of the manipulation of analysis and synthesis in attaining knowledge — a method which Plato considered a useful tool leading to more productive study and more efficient thinking.<sup>42</sup> Students were required to stay in groups of ten, with a better student in charge, for another half hour after the lectures to recite what they had learned in class; they were allowed to ask questions of the professor, who also stayed 15-20 minutes.<sup>43</sup> The Jesuit students had more repetitious practice at home in addition to this daily activity. The scholastic activities included prelectures, repetitio, practice declamatio (practice in public speaking), and desputatio (debates) which — depending on the circumstances — were sometimes public. The most important extra-curricular activities were the Congregation de propoganda fide,<sup>44</sup> the theatrical plays, and also the soul-lifting holy day celebrations. The Nagyszombat University had, also, a great concerns right at the beginning for gymnastics and had its own physical instructor to train youth in sports.<sup>45</sup>

Most of the students, especially the theological students, lived in

the seminaries, some in noble convictus (dormitories), and a few in private homes. Needy youngsters stayed in the Saint Adalbertinum Convictus. But some lay students stayed in the seminaries also. Pázmány founded the Stephaneum Seminary, and the seminarists who lived there were called the Stephanists.<sup>46</sup>

The largest among the seminaries was the elite Collegium Generale, also called Rubrorum Seminary because of the royal rubin uniform worn by the occupants. It was founded by Primate György Lippay and was opened on July 31, 1649, with very strict rules. To mention a few, the residents had to visit all of the supervisors before the Holy Day of Maria each year kneeling before them to hear the complaints of the supervisors. In exercising humbleness, these students were required to do some physical work in which the nobles and counts participated to show good examples.<sup>47</sup> After 1688, Primate György Szelepcsényi instituted the Marianum for seminarists and for secular noble students.<sup>48</sup>

To educate their youngsters, the noble families usually sent them at the age of ten or eleven to the convictus at Nagyszombat, where about fifteen to twenty-five students could stay. Those who could not get in the convictus found board and room in the city. Several aristocratic families' generous donations made it possible for needy students to stay at the convictus without charge or for only a minimal fee.<sup>49</sup> An example was given in Chapter III page 66 of this paper about the normal fee, but that sum (five florin) was considerably less than some of the others paid for housing. When Baron Sándor Károly sent his only son to the University of Nagyszombat in the 1717/18 school year, he paid eighty florins a month for board and room at a private home for three persons because the young baron was

accompanied by his prefect, his tutor, and his errand-boy. The eighty florins was a large sum to pay in those days.<sup>50</sup>

As for appearance, the students always wore Hungarian dress. Their complete attire included boots, feathered hat, pelisse, dolman, and tight-fitting pants. They were required to wear a pelisse both in winter and summer months, but the fabric was lighter in summertime. The more valuable buttons and precious braids from an old dolman and pelisse were usually saved and sewed on the new ones. The dominant colors of the suits were royal rubin, blue, and red.<sup>51</sup>

#### 11. Vacation and holy days

The school vacation started on September eighth and lasted until November third. The course of study, schedules, and other information for the new school year were always posted on the walls of the hallway in due time. The school year always opened with ringing of the church bell; the students gathered after they heard it.<sup>52</sup>

The Ratio Studiorum lists the holy days of the school year in its twelfth and thirteenth chapters. Among them one of the most important was Sexagesima Sunday during carnival season when "omnes bis vacant totis diebus" (in two days all became free twice).<sup>53</sup> The manuscript lists a few other occasions, such as Ash Wednesday, Saint Mark's Day, Rogation Days, which were only half holy days with lectures in the afternoon.<sup>54</sup> The only compulsory "University Day" at Nagyszombat was the "Immaculate Conception" on December 8. This school holy day was declared by Emperor Ferdinand III on December 2, 1656.<sup>55</sup> Later, in 1658, the chief magistrates of the Jesuit Order commanded that it should be celebrated in the same manner as the University of Graz celebrated Saint Katalin's Day -- that is, a Holy Mass with

Credo and oath-taking ceremony, plus a religious procession. Besides these, the Faculty of Theology in Nagyszombat commemorated Saint Ignatius' Day, and the Faculty of Philosophy celebrated Saint Xavier's Day.<sup>56</sup>

The University also had a depositio (installation day), a memorable occasion in inaugurating freshmen at carnival time in the same way as it was customary in contemporary foreign universities. Another splendid ceremonial occasion each year was the capping of the graduating baccalaureus and magisters. The academic year always ended on September 8 with a Te Deum observance.<sup>57</sup>

It seems that there were plenty of days off, but the actual vacation was short. The maximum school days were between 160-170, and courses were scheduled for two and a half hours in the mornings and two hours in the afternoon. The Jesuit Pater László Velics explains the short hours by saying: "The Jesuits' old system excelled the present (1913) nerve-breaking didactic procedures... The old Jesuit schools regarded not only the young organs' healthy development, but at the same time concentrated on developing a strong stable nerve system."<sup>58</sup>

#### B. Characteristics of Jesuit Education at Nagyszombat

Educational philosophy at Nagyszombat University was marked by scholasticism. The European Universities, from their beginnings, were the homes of scholastic philosophy which was the mutual functioning of masters and apprentices, teaching and learning.

When today's educators decide on what to teach and how to teach, they find marked differences in their opinions. Not so at the Jesuit universities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, because both the method

and the content of their teaching were limited by the Ratio Studiorum. The Jesuit educational method was not only a unified, well-organized system, but also one very suitable for the complicated goals of education at the period; therefore, contemporaries considered it "almost perfect." It was based on outstanding knowledge of human nature and an educational know-how which reared children to become young adults and, as responsible citizens, to serve their faith and country.

### 1. Scholastic spirit

The Jesuits fostered moral and religious progress but also believed in the concept of a general education. Their schools were recognized for their full education rather than mere teaching. No doubt the Jesuit schools provided their students all the knowledge and experience necessary to lay the ground-work for their vocations. They improved logical thinking. Paulsen says: "Everyone should state without prejudice, that their higher education was satisfactory and modern [at that time], notably the philosophy training as the completion of the general scientific teachings which was followed by professional training."<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, this method emphasized the mere attainment of knowledge rather than keeping pace with the development of sciences.<sup>60</sup>

Molnár, a late nineteenth century historian of general education in Hungary, provides a theory to examine the means, used by the Jesuits to prepare their students for intelligent action. The main characteristic of the Jesuits' educational system is viewed by Molnár from two complementary perspectives. In the first, emphasis is on the effort made by the Jesuits to provide education, not only by the established principles, but also by a uniform and enduring instructional system. The ultimate goal, it seemed,

was that this unified method instructed youth for concord in faith, feeling, and thinking. In the second perspective, attention was focused on requiring respect and obedience as the basis for school training, even if it was at the expense of intellectual and independent activity.<sup>61</sup> These two views thus represent mutually reinforcing conceptions of the Jesuit educational system and served well as the basis for their educational philosophy in the period under discussion.

"That statement about the Jesuit education being beyond reason and only rote learning," according to Molnár, "is a false allegation." In his study, Molnár points out that the Jesuit teaching always emphasized the provision for comprehension. Their first rule of teaching was to make students understand the subject matter, then to have them retain it with the aid of practice and fixed memory. Finally, they were to exhibit their talent unceasingly. The Jesuits strove to make the subject matter clear and to require students to memorize it, but they inhibited individual thinking and did not improve the students' independent production. These educational tools became part of the intellectual equipment of all masters and apprentices.<sup>62</sup>

Another distinguishing characteristic of the Jesuit system at Nagyszombat was that it allowed, in fact compelled, the students to question, to argue, to discuss, and to do independent writing, but students were obliged to arrive at a conclusion predetermined by the authorities, and were to resign themselves to it no matter what doubts they might have had. In religious matters, of course, the Church was the absolute authority. Similarly, in secular subjects the Jesuits had sovereign domination over attainments in their specialized field. The masters of authority above all

were Cicero in the gymnasium and academy courses, Aristotle in the philosophy lecture, and Saint Thomas in theological instruction. The student was required to adjust intellectually to them in all his studies, to copy them, defend their doctrines, and declare false those which the authorities condemned.<sup>63</sup>

The above educational system was desirable at the newly founded Nagyszombat University because scholastic philosophy was still maintained in European universities at that time.<sup>64</sup> Scholastic philosophy reconciled two points of view: faith and knowledge. However, its dominant foundation had started to crumble by the middle of the seventeenth century,<sup>65</sup> as the rising trends of thought from Galileo, Bacon, and Descartes caused the scholastics to waver.

## 2. Institutional attitudes toward new trends

By the later part of the seventeenth century the Jesuit directorate still emphasized adherence to scholasticism in teaching philosophy, but they also recommended to the members of the Order the consideration of the new era's accomplishments and needs.<sup>66</sup> In accepting modern trends the Jesuits declared as a general theory, that "in case of contradistinction the new idea should rather be accepted than the old theory; not because antiquity is detestable but because the newer thought possesses more experimental devices which are more precise and practical."<sup>67</sup>

For a long time the Jesuit Order had no official position on the theories of Descartes. Only after the turn of the century, in 1706, was the first restriction made by the Generalprovost. He summarized, in a list of thirty items, those doctrines of Descartes which were forbidden in the teachings of philosophy.<sup>68</sup>

### 3. Teachers' position toward scientific evolution

At Nagyszombat University the aversion for scholasticism was clearly discernible at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the Jesuits enthusiastically joined in reviewing the recentior philosophia (new philosophy). Rationalism and empiricism gained favorable acceptance among them. The professors were to avoid a speculative scholastic attitude and accept intellectualism and experiences as a guide. They adopted research methods in natural sciences, physics, and metaphysics.<sup>69</sup>

It was difficult to harmonize the traditional scholastic base with the modern concepts, to recognize the humanistic aims of the day in the frame of the medieval scholastic form. The fact that the material at the Nagyszombat Library included the works of Copernicus, Kepler, Riccioli, and Newton indicates that Jesuits made an effort to gather information about the natural science research results, but remained eclectic and did not take sides with any of the new trends.<sup>70</sup>

The viewpoint of a contemporary historian, Zemplén, is interesting. "The Jesuits took notice of only such discoveries in physics which were linked with the name of Jesuits. They mention Scheiner and Kircher but ignored Galileo and Kepler." She also pointed out in her book that "the conditions under natural sciences were taught at Nagyszombat, and the quality was neither better nor worse than at Protestant colleges of the time."<sup>71</sup>

#### C. Teaching Method

The teaching method followed the tradition of medieval philosophy exercises and it was practiced in two forms, lectio (the lecture — reading and



explaining the subject) and disputatio (disputes, debates). This method conformed to both contemporary Catholic and Protestant universities' educational goals and purposes. It emphasized the quaestio (art of questioning) and dictation. When difficult questions were discussed the policies stated in the Ratio Studiorum were followed. The professors' lectures — in general — were based on their notes.<sup>72</sup>

The Ratio Studiorum, in its ninth and tenth articles, favors lectures and explication as the primary modes of instruction, but does not rule out dictation. By the later part of the seventeenth century the method of lecturing on books, which had become more available, as well as the mode of dictating had been perfected by several generations of Jesuit masters. How the method developed gradually can be seen in a detailed manuscript of Szentiványi, describing Nagyszombat University's ways of instruction. "The dictation should be prepared in such a way that it could be readily used as divisional disputatio material. There should be controversial topics made also from printed books." According to the above postulates the professor had the right to smooth over the lecture material, by completing it with new observations and expanding its verifications if he felt it necessary for the sake of objective lecturing.<sup>73</sup>

In spite of the scholastic teaching method which still remained in use, the Jesuits also developed new, original and highly successful modes of teaching. The professor lectured on the material in predication and negation form, and the students were supposed to master it. From the completed scope of knowledge they were required to give private debates weekly, and public debates monthly.<sup>74</sup> These disputes were one of the most important activities in the University's life. It was customary to have the debate

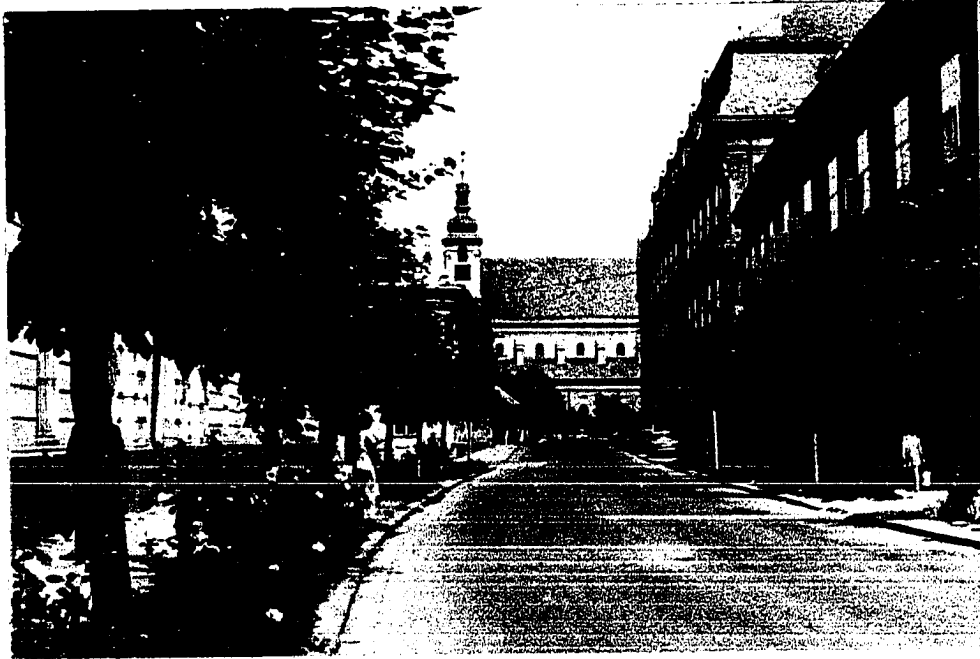
topics displayed at the ceremonial hall.<sup>75</sup> Sometimes the debate topics were carved on ornate brass-plates.<sup>76</sup>

According to Szentiványi's manuscript, by the turn of the seventeenth century it was considered improper for a professor to restrict himself to one author and follow him blindly. This was disapproved of even if it served to the advantage of someone like Saint Thomas or Scotus. It was regarded as illogical to always follow the same authority in search of "truth". Furthermore, it was also inconsistent with common sense because the time-honored arguments often lose their power, since many of the circumstances may have been unknown to older generations. Therefore, these long-standing questions should be examined in the connotation of the seventeenth century. Szentiványi believed that the venerable thinkers themselves did not anticipate such mental-slavery from their successors who felt obliged to follow their lead in everything, "nec illi ipsi . . . scientiarum quasi Principes tantum servitutem et captivitatem intellectus a posteriis suis exigebant."<sup>77</sup>

The accent in lectures was on form, as Szentiványi prescribed it in his manuscript, with meticulous care and elaboration by giving the precise and detailed rules of discourses.<sup>78</sup> In addition to the public lecture, private courses played an important part at Nagyszombat. These were planned by the professors for a deeper understanding of the topics under discussion. For the exertitationes (exercises) the professor wrote discourses which he dictated or printed for the students. Then the professor selected a student responsio to defend his thesis. The name of the student appeared on the dissertations or on assertiones (formal declarations) or on another discourse. This was the beginning of disputatio privata, and for its purpose the discourse was divided into small chapters and within them small theses. The

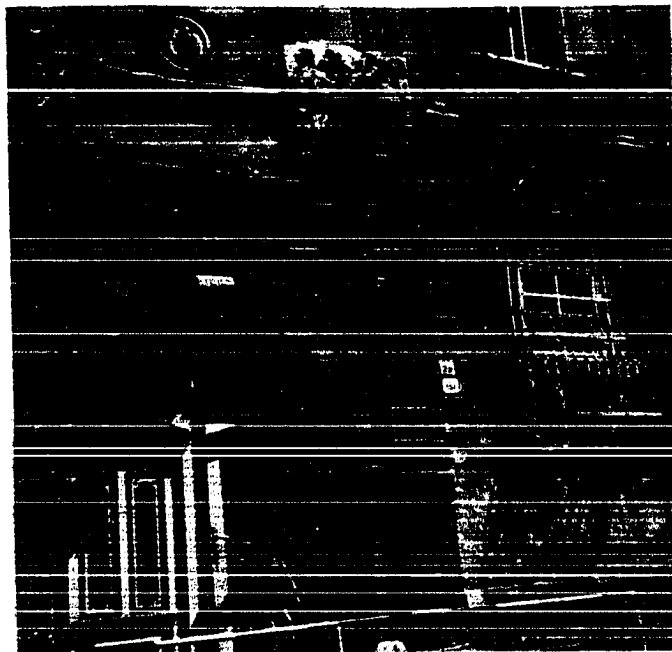
professor presided over the disputation, but this did not mean he presided silently, rather, he directed the disputes and provided assistance to the thesis defending responsio.<sup>79</sup> (See Plate 13 on page 174b of this paper.)

## Plate 7



Former dormitories of Nagyszombat University

Jano Hollecho (John Street) leading to University Church at Nagyszombat. The first building on the right was the Stephaneum Seminary, the second building on the right the Convictus Nobilium, former dormitories of Nagyszombat University students.



Entrance to the former Stephaneum Seminary. Both photographs were made by the researcher in Nagyszombat, August 1976.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Foundation Bull, p. 246.

<sup>2</sup>"Ratio Studiorum et Institutiones Scholasticae Societaty Jesu," 1599, no. 324, Tom. II, Collection Prajana, ELT.

<sup>3</sup>The members of a guild were exempted from taxation, and from military services; they were placed under the jurisdiction of special courts, in which alone they could be tried. The universities as corporations were given the right to confer upon their graduates the license to teach "anywhere in the world" without further examination, and the very important right to suspend lecture, i.e. to strike, pending the settlement of grievances against State or Church. (Arthur Norton, Readings in the History of Education [Cambridge: Harvard University, 1909], p. 80.)

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.; Lowrie J. Daly, Medieval University 1200-1400 (New York: Sheed and Ward, Inc., 1961), p. 27.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid. The intellectual life of western Europe was aided during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by valuable books which were recoveries from the large number of ancient and long discussed Greek and Roman learning. Among these books were the works of Aristotle, the medical works of Galen and Hippocrates and the body of Roman Law. The principles of Aristotle's work became widely known and gradually its acceptance had been established. His work for centuries remained the major studies of the universities everywhere. Aristotle, however, became an object of repeated attack by the sixteenth century; his works were replaced by the new philosophy of Descartes at the end of the seventeenth century. (Norton, Readings in the History, p. 49.)

<sup>7</sup>Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 1: 12.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>9</sup>Aladár Molnár, A közoktatás története Magyarországon a XVIII. században [History of the General Education of Hungary in the 18th Century], 3 vols. (Budapest: M. Tudományos Akadémia Könyvkiadó Hivatala, 1881), 1: 192. See also Johannes Müller, Das Jesuiten drama in den Landern deutscher Zunge vom Anfang (1555) bis zum Hochbarok (1665), 2 vols. (Augsburg: Filser, 1930), 1: 3-4. Also see René Fülöp-Miller, The Power and Secret of the Jesuits, trans. F.S. Flint (New York: The Viking Press, 1930), p. 405.

<sup>10</sup>Molnár, A közoktatás Magyarországon, 1: 192.

<sup>11</sup>Fülöp-Miller, The Power of Jesuits, p. 405.

<sup>12</sup>Molnár, A közoktatás Magyarországon, 1: 193.

<sup>13</sup>Jesuit General to all Jesuit Institutions, Rome, December 1599, no. 226, Tom. II, Collection Prajana, ELT.

- <sup>14</sup>Dobronoki, Diary, 29 March 1636.
- <sup>15</sup>"Forma et Ratio Gubernandi Academias et Studia Generalia Societate Jesu, in Provincia Austriae," 1655, (hereafter cited as Ratio Studiorum), fol. 16, no. 18/b, MSS. II, G.H. VIII, Bibliotheca, Esztergom.
- <sup>16</sup>Kazy, Historia Universitatis, 2: 135; Ratio Studiorum, Pars I, Caput III.
- <sup>17</sup>Ratio Studiorum, Pars I, Caput III.
- <sup>18</sup>Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 1: 14.
- <sup>19</sup>Album seu matricula almae Universitatis Tyrnaviensis S.J. (hereafter cited as Matricula Universitatis), Rector Office, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. Also see Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 1: 14.
- <sup>20</sup>Kazy, Historia Universitatis, 2: 135; Fejér, Historia Academiae, 1: 15; Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 1: 13.
- <sup>21</sup>Ratio Studiorum, Pars I, Caput VI.
- <sup>22</sup>Hermann, Hittudomány története, p. 23.
- <sup>23</sup>Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 1: 20; Kazy, Historia Universitatis, 2: 135.
- <sup>24</sup>Kazy, Historia Universitatis, 2: 135.
- <sup>25</sup>Ratio Studiorum, Pars I, Caput VI.
- <sup>26</sup>Matricula Universitatis, cited by Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 1: 14.
- <sup>27</sup>Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 1: 14.
- <sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 15; Kazy, Historia Universitatis, 2: 136.
- <sup>29</sup>Ratio Studiorum, Pars I, Caput IX; Hermann, Hittudomány története, pp. 23-24.
- <sup>30</sup>Ratio Studiorum, Pars I, Caput X.
- <sup>31</sup>Ibid., Pars I, Caput XI.
- <sup>32</sup>Ibid., Pars I, Caput IV.
- <sup>33</sup>"Constructus...", Construct with the pedellus for the school year 1693/94, fol. 83, no. 10, Acta Jesuit. Irregist., Coll. Tyrnav., E152, OLT.
- <sup>34</sup>Béla Breznay, A Budapesti K.M. Tudományegyetem Hittudományi Karának tanulmányi rendszere [School System of the Theology Faculty of the Budapest R.H. University] (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor Könyvnyomda, 1896), p. 74.

35. Akos Kelecsényi, "Adalékok a Nagyszombati Egyetem barokk szellemiségéhez" [Contribution to the Baroque Spirit of Nagyszombat University] (Ph.D. dissertation, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Budapest, 1944), p. 12.
36. Molnár, A közoktatás Magyarországon, 1: 156.
37. Lajos Csóka, A K.M. Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem története [History of the R.H. Péter Pázmány University] (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1940), p. 11.
38. József Serfőző, Szentiványi Márton S.J. munkássága a XVII. század küzdelmeiben [Márton Szentiványi's Activity in the 17th Century's Struggle] (Budapest: Korda R.T. Nyomdája, 1942), p. 82.
39. Ibid.
40. Kazy, Historia Universitatis, 2: 16.
41. Ratio Studiorum, Pars II, Caput I-XV; Martino [Márton] Szentiványi, "Tractus de Deo-Trino...", p. 14, no. 38, Tom. XXXII, History Coll. Tyrnav., ELT.
42. Ratio Studiorum, Pars II, Caput IV. Also see Serfőző, Szentiványi munkássága, p. 82.
43. Ratio Studiorum, Pars II, Caput IV. Also see Molnár, A közoktatás Magyarországon, 1: 157.
44. "Leopoldus c. et r. caedinalisque a Kollonits, congregationi S. crucis Tyrnaviae attestant particulam...", 14 September 1691, fols. 39-40, no. 83, Tom. XL, Collection Caprinayanae, ELT.
45. János László, ed., Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem [Eötvös Loránd University] (Szeged, Hungary: Szegedi Nyomda, 1970), p. 6.
46. Hermann, Hittudomány története, p. 84.
47. Gyenis, Régi magyar jezsuita, p. 40.
48. Ibid.
49. János Telegdi, Bishop of Kalocsa, offered his house of Nagyszombat for the use of noble convictus. ("Fundatio Telegdiana," Tyrnavia, 11 February 1637, fol. 63, no. 5, Acta Jesuit. Irregist., Coll. Tyrnav., E 152, OLT.) Mátyas Tarnóczi, Bishop of Vác, established scholarship for one student. (24 February 1655, fol. 28, no. 36, Acta Jesuit. Irregist., Coll. Tyrnav., E 152, OLT.) Endowments were made by the following persons for the St. Adalbert Seminary, which was founded by Péter Pázmány for the poor in 1619: Amade Helena Nagymihaliana in 1657 gave 2,550 florins, János Bornemissza 4,800 florins, Andreas Szili in 1680 gave 6,000 florins, and Nicolaus Pálfi 360 florins, in 1688 Ladislaus Sennyei 2,000 florins, in 1689 Nicolaus Balogh 1,000 florins, in 1693 J. Czobor 60 florins, in 1690 Péter Corompai 5,000 florins, in 1695 Joannes Muszlay 9,000 florins, and in 1696 John Szabó

3,000 florins. ("Extractus Foundationum in Seminario S. Adalberti Tyrnavia pro Pauperibus Studiosis....," 6 May 1709, fols. 34-35; Tom. VIII, Collection Hevenesi, ELT.) Péter Korompay, Bishop of Nyitra, left 5,000 florins to the needy noble students and 6,000 florins to the University. ("Extractus Testamentariae....," 17 August 1692, fol. 49, no. 10a-13, Acta Jesuit. Irregist., Coll. Tyrnav., OLT.)

<sup>50</sup>Velics, Vázlatok magyar jezsuiták, 3: 112.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., 3: 113.

<sup>52</sup>Tamás Jászberényi, "Magnum officium....," 27 October 1635, fols. 16-17, Pars I, Caput I, Actuum Academicorum Collegii Societatis Jesu Tyrnaviae, Codex, Seminary of Bratislava, Bratislava, Czechoslovakia.

<sup>53</sup>Ratio Studiorum, Pars II, Caput XII, XIII.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., also see Serfözö, Szentiványi munkássága, p. 79.

<sup>55</sup>Decree of Emperor Ferdinand III, 2 December 1656, fasc. 9, no. 8, Acta Jesuit. Regist., Coll. Tyrnav., E 152, OLT.

<sup>56</sup>Serfözö, Szentiványi munkássága, p. 73.

<sup>57</sup>Kelecsényi, "Adalékok barokk," p. 12.

<sup>58</sup>Velics, Vázlatok magyar jezsuiták, 2: 158; Serfözö, Szentiványi munkássága, p. 79.

<sup>59</sup>Fr. Paulsen, Geschichte des Gelehrten Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten, 3 vols. (Leipzig, Germany: Veit & Co., 1896), 1: 434.

<sup>60</sup>Szentpétery, A Bölcsészet. Kar története, p. 25.

<sup>61</sup>Molnár, A közoktatás Magyarországon, 1: 193.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., 1: 194.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., 1: 193-94.

<sup>64</sup>Thorndike lists the lectures in Astronomy from 1642-1644 day by day at the University of Bologna, and the catalogue of lectures and exercises which the professors of the University of Hesse-Schaumburg did hold in the semesters of 1654/55. The lectures shows clearly that in astronomy they were following Ptolemy's theories, and in physics Aristotelians. "He will enter the vast field of Theories of the Planets according to the hypotheses concerning the system of the world both of Ptolemy and Copernicus, follower of the pristine Pythagoreans....And if any students wish to dispute in physics, he will offer material on the principles of physics from the mind of the Aristotelians." (Lynn Thorndike, University Records and Life in the Middle Ages [New York: Columbia University Press, 1944], pp. 393-405, 407.)



<sup>65</sup>Csaba Csapodi, "Két világ határán: Fejezet a magyar felvilágosodás történetéből," [On the Boundary of Two World: Chapter on the History of Hungarian Enlightenment], Századok 79 (January 1945): 85-137.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., p. 105; Antal Reviczky, Elementa philosophiae naturalis, Vol. 1: Physica (Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis, 1757), p. 10.

<sup>68</sup>P. Tamburini, Restriction about the Doctrines of Descartes, Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica 9 (1886): 122-24, cited by Csapodi, "Két világ határán," p. 111.

<sup>69</sup>Csapodi, "Két világ határán," p. 90.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., pp. 92, 106.

<sup>71</sup>Jolán Zemplén, Magyar fizika története, 1711-ig [History of Hungarian Physics until 1711] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1961), p. 58.

<sup>72</sup>Serfözö, Szentiványi munkássága, p. 72.

<sup>73</sup>Szentiványi, "Tractatus de Deo Trino...", p. 14-17, no. 38, Tom. XXXII, History Coll. Tyrnav., ELT.

<sup>74</sup>The disputation, or debate, one of the most important university exercises, "first became really established in the schools as a result of the new method." This exercise was sometimes carried on in the manner of a modern debate; to defend a thesis in public debate, to "respond," and to argue against the respondent, to "oppose." Sometimes the public was invited to challenge the respondent. In such cases the respondent usually indicated the side of the question which he would defend. The disputation was another mode of this exercise. It was carried on by a single person, who argued both sides of the question and drew the conclusion in favor of one side or the other. (Norton, Readings in the History, p. 115.)

<sup>75</sup>In regards to these exposed debate topics Kazy remarked: "While the students and professors were attending the coronation of the Empress of Ferdinand III, the school was closed and the long list of exposed thesis topics were left behind in the auditorium." (Kazy, Historia Universitatis, 2: 95.)

<sup>76</sup>The contemporary historian, Kazy, remarked at the year 1640 that "Baron Ferdinand Pálfi, who completed the philosophical courses with success, after receiving the engraved theses on a decorated copper-plate, he defended them with outstanding ability and skills." (Ibid., 2: 14.)

<sup>77</sup>Szentiványi, "Tractus de Deo-Trino...", p. 20.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., pp. 19-20.

<sup>79</sup>Ferenc Eckhart, A Jog és Államtudományi Kar története 1667-1935 [History of the Political Science and Law Faculty 1667-1935] (Budapest: K.M. Egyetemi Nyomda, 1936), p. 28.

## V. FACULTIES OF THE UNIVERSITY

The faculties at Nagyszombat University were not like those of other European universities at that time, with faculties side by side. At Nagyszombat all intellectual activities were gradated and served subordinately, one faculty under the other. Therefore in the Theology Faculty only those students were admitted who completed all three-years of the philosophy course.<sup>1</sup>

Strictly speaking, the whole educational system at Nagyszombat University had not only two but actually three ranks: first, the Gymnasium, studia inferiora, the lowest group with the grammatics, rhetorics, and humanists (six years); second, the university, studia superiora, with the Philosophy Faculty (three years); third, the university with the Theology Faculty (four years).<sup>2</sup>

The Gymnasium, the Philosophy and Theology Faculties jointly formed the complete Jesuit University and at the same time — according to the Jesuits — fashioned the most complete and thorough system of instructing the human spirit and mind.<sup>3</sup>

## A. Gymnasium

The six-year gymnasium was an integral part of the educational institution to such an extent that it was considered the third faculty known by several designations: facultas linguarum, facultas humanitatis, and facultas artium of the university. The prefect of the gymnasium was called decanus linguarum, or sometimes director linguarum. He arranged for public singing and for the reciting of poetry at least twice a year. One of these assemblies was in memory of the patron, Péter Pázmány, and was followed by the presentation of awards.<sup>4</sup>

The classes at the gymnasium were called rhetoric, poetics, syntax, grammatic principles, and parva (the young ones). In these Latin, poetry, oration, and grammar constituted the main subjects, but the Greek language was also required. In the rhetoric and poetry classes the students held public orations five times each year, and in the grammatic class the production of dramas by students was considered important from time to time.<sup>5</sup>

The primary goal of education in the gymnasium was, as it is stated in the Ratio Studiorum, "to acquire the knowledge of the beautiful, explicit language of Cicero in an artistic form, in eloquent speech and writings."<sup>6</sup> The lower section of the gymnasium, the grammatic, gave sufficient language background, the rhetoric cultivated the memory, and the classes of grammar improved the mind and judgement. Only after this formal training could the student comprehend "scientific truth."<sup>7</sup> The rudiments of mathematics were taught in the gymnasium, also, but higher mathematics only after 1769.<sup>8</sup>

#### B. Philosophy Faculty

The Foundation Bull introduced three courses in the Philosophy department: logic, physics, and metaphysics. These were taught by three professors, according to the Ratio Studiorum. In addition, two other faculty members joined them, teaching ethics (moral-philosophy) and mathematics respectively in a one-year course. In most cases the ethics professor, after keeping his chair for a few years, was promoted to the philosophy department, while the mathematics instructor stayed longer at his assignment. However, his course was considered less important.<sup>9</sup>

Pater Márton Palkovics taught logic in the first academic year, 1635/36, and his students were called logicus. The same professor lectured on

physics to them in the following year, when they became physicus, and studied mathematics under Pater Károly Szinics. In this school year the new logicus class was taught by Pater István Gosztonyi, whose doctor of philosophy degree had been conferred by the provincial-provost on September 18, 1636, at the same ceremonial occasion where Pater György Forró (the new rector since April 4, 1636) received his doctoral degree in the presence of Cardinal Péter Pázmány and several other bishops.<sup>10</sup> The third year the students were named metaphysicus because by that time their professor, Pal-kovics, introduced metaphysics to them. Another subject, moral ethics, was also added this year and with it the three-year philosophy course was fulfilled.<sup>11</sup> Ethics was taught by Pater Zsigmond Hattai; Pater Miklós Wesselényi was the professor of the new logicians; Pater István Gosztonyi was the physics professor, and Pater András Guetsoldt lectured on mathematics in that year (1637/38). With these five professors the Philosophy Faculty became complete.<sup>12</sup> As the courses of studies increased in number in later years, new professorships were founded in history, geography, higher mathematics, astronomy, and in several languages: Hungarian, German, French, Italian.<sup>13</sup>

The various disciplines taught at Nagyszombat University reveal their organizational patterns and the intellectual methods associated with them. The entire school program was organized around the individual disciplines, Jesuit teaching, with its strict scholastic structure and the special emphasis on religious instruction, respected the integrity of the individual fields of knowledge, and at the same time — with the aid of qualified teachers — provided a fine measure of coherence and relation to their educational program as a whole.

A closer examination of the Philosophy Faculty's general course of studies in progress reveals that "in comparing the unified method with today's concept of education, one can perceive several conspicuous features."<sup>14</sup> The Jesuits found a useful method in that the three courses of philosophy (logic, physics, and metaphysics) were often taught by apprentice teachers who taught the three-year course. After completion of a three-year apprenticeship, they were either promoted to the theological faculty or transferred to other positions. This occurrence was characteristic of the time, not only at the Jesuit schools. "France [too] found it a very effective measure at the end of the seventeenth century, that students with lower academic degrees should also be teachers simultaneously."<sup>15</sup>

The Jesuit establishment stressed learning, becoming a research institution only in the nineteenth century. Before that time the scholastic method of teaching was generally guided by the same basic textbooks used at the University of Vienna, and deviation from them required a petition from the superior. The theological synthesis of scholasticism had undergone development in Jesuit teaching, but had not been entirely supplanted.<sup>16</sup>

The lectures in philosophy were given according to the principles of Aristotle, in which the professors followed the course of study prescribed by the Jesuits. The masters guided their students through the three-year period, each year lecturing different courses, because they considered the pedagogical advantages originating from this method more precious than scholastic precision. After a few years of lecturing in the field of philosophy, they applied this method also to the theological lectures.<sup>17</sup>

In the Jesuits' teaching routine there were harmful, hampering circumstances unfavorable for deeper scientific observations. The Order required

its members to do many tasks in addition to their professions. The multiplicity of these tasks and the quite-frequent transfer of the professors hindered the individual members from doing more thorough research.<sup>18</sup> In spite of these handicaps, there were always a number of scholars who studied a certain section of sciences for several years and rendered great service with numerous publications of their textbooks. (See page 145 of this paper)<sup>19</sup>

From the literary work of Pater Márton Szentiványi one can draw a conclusion about what was taught and in what depth at the University of Nagyszombat. Szentiványi was a polyhistory professor at Nagyszombat, and with his wide and general knowledge, as one of the great teachers and scholars of his time (1633-1705), he contributed fame to the University. From his constant search for knowledge, he authored several publications including a wide range of literature in philosophy and sciences.

Szentiványi's teaching method of sciences and his logic were expounded in his Miscellanea, Vol. 3: Dissert. secunda "Applicatur . . . brevis et mirifica methodus . . . ad scientiam Logicam" (Application . . . concise and wonderful methods . . . towards expertness in logic).<sup>20</sup> Szentiványi elaborated on logic, which had its source in Aristotle's principal trend determined by the mathematical methods and the strict scholastic systematic form: by identification, by classification, and by syllogistic conclusion. The theme of his wisdom was the same as that of the earlier scholastics. The appropriate applicatur and further cultivation of skills became Szentiványi's pedagogical ideal which had its ultimate goal in the aid of scientia (knowledge), to better oneself. Therefore, a short method was needed to secure the undoubted result; that is, it made possible the absorption of the

essence of knowledge in a short time and made good use of it.<sup>21</sup>

Szentiványi's method, the noted brevis et mirifica methodus, was composed of six parts: 1. Observationes et regulae circa scientiam (the part of science which is being observed), 2. Maxims and axioms from the same theme, 3. Analogy, the science under discussion and in relation to other sciences, 4. Analysis and synthesis, 5. The application of or the use of Lullus - Kircher's ars magna (great theory), and 6. The adaptation of ars combinatoria.<sup>22</sup>

The scholastic form was stressed especially in logic and metaphysics but least detailed in physics. The entire material was divided into dissertations or disputes; furthermore into sections, chapters, and within those subdivided to articles and finally paragraphs. The thesis was generally given in question form, followed by the list of opinions with the opposing refutations, including the proofs of these, then denial again, and finally the reviewing.<sup>23</sup>

The Jesuits, having been indoctrinated by rigorous scholastic methods, prepared their students for logical, rational thinking. The close compliance with the strict logical direction and progression, the rigor mathematicus, characterized the Jesuits' mathematical literature. They had been teaching mathematics with a mind trained in scholastic philosophy, which made them suitable for the exact and precise rational thinking and undeviating conformity to standards.<sup>24</sup>

First it was difficult to get away from the traditional scholastic base, although it later became obvious that scholars tried to become more knowledgeable in scientific research and its results, which began to flourish in the seventeenth century. With great concern the Baroque men examined

nature as a marvelous stage and searched for nature's laws, although their main interest was in astrology.

Teachers at Nagyszombat stood at the borderline between the Ptolemaic and Copernican systems. The argument was not yet resolved, but they were undoubtedly leaning toward the Ptolemaic conception of the universe. The attitude taken in astrology is noteworthy; scientists believed that there was a connection between the stars and earthly events, but they made the one restriction that the stars could not influence man and his free will.<sup>25</sup>

As far as scholarly criteria of books were concerned, one can say with an easy conscience that they remained on a level with contemporary standards. The backwardness showed later, in the eighteenth century, when most scientists remained loyal to the older scientific theories and took no part in progress.

The few existing mathematical examination questions cast light on the character of seventeenth century physics and math. 1. How can a certain location's distance be measured by the speed of sound? 2. By using Archimedes' theory, what force is needed to lift Hungary out of its location?<sup>26</sup> A similar example was mentioned in Dobronoki's Diary, "Assuming that there exists a fixed location outside the earth, according to Archimedes' theory, what should be the length of the rope which would move the earth?"<sup>27</sup>

As for the amount of time devoted to this subject, Dobronoki reveals in his Diary that mathematics was taught from one-thirty to two-thirty in the afternoon each day.<sup>28</sup> Later, in the eighteenth century, general mathematics was lectured for two hours daily in the second semester of the second year. In the third year Euclid was added for three-fourths of an hour daily. The teacher often devoted extra time privately to those who were



talented in this area.<sup>29</sup>

The large portion of the literature written in Nagyszombat on mathematics contained mostly algebra, geometry, and trigonometry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Most of these works were used for textbooks, and from their content one may sense the Western intellectual influence which resulted from the Jesuits' international connections.<sup>30</sup>

A French effect was noticeable in the teaching of physics in Nagyszombat. One of the predominant characters was Regnault, who provided the Jesuits with a method of incorporating experimental and Newtonian physics into the educational system. His model was immediately followed by numerous publications of illustrious text-books at Nagyszombat, some of which gained recognition in Europe.<sup>31</sup>

The first degree in the Philosophy Faculty was the prima laurea or baccalaureus which was received after a test taken, in the presence of four examiners, at the end of a two-year study. Those who wished to earn a baccalaureate degree, had to petitio (petition) in February, and the graduation was usually in late August or the first part of September. The first petitio for baccalaureate degree was on February 18, 1637, and the first initiation of the twenty-six graduates was held on the second of September.<sup>32</sup>

The Ratio Studiorum made a minimum of five public disputes mandatory on the Philosophy Faculty each year. Participation in these was a prerequisite for acquiring a degree at the end of the three-year course.<sup>33</sup> The first such debate on logic was held on February 1, 1636, and Cardinal Pázmány, as a listener, graced the occasion with his presence.<sup>34</sup>

After the third year the artum liberalium et philosophiae magister title was issued to those who had accomplished high scholastic success.

The first graduation of magistrates was held on August 4, 1638, for those who had been educated at Nagyszombat University. At that time eleven graduates earned the artum liberalium magister title. Among them first in rank was Miklós Maylád, an eminent student who was educated by the Jesuits of Nagyszombat for nine years.<sup>35</sup> These first magisters were the pupils of Pater Márton Palkovics. He planned to confer their degrees, but at the last minute he was deprived of this joy for as he stood on the pulpit at the commencement, he suddenly became ill and had to leave.<sup>36</sup>

The formal affairs of receiving the baccalaureate or the magistrate degrees were sometimes special occasions when the emperor rewarded the promoveo (those promoted) with golden chains. They were usually noble youth and always eminent students. Some of them singled out for distinction were among the philosophical students: Count István Nádasdy and Baron István Czikulini in 1669, and Count Drugeth Homonnai in 1672. The audience at their final examinations and disputations included many distinguished persons. The year 1675 became noteworthy in the University's life, because the number of the baccalaureates reached fifty, as recorded in the Litterae Annuae (Jesuit Yearbook), "The jubilee number fifty had not happened before among these champions at the University."<sup>37</sup>

To earn a tudor degree the candidate had to take an hour long examination and also give a public debate.<sup>38</sup> A rare document, originating from November 11, 1642, sheds light on the procedures held at issuing a doctoral diploma. Maylád's diploma evidences that he, after two years of study in philosophy at Nagyszombat University, earned the baccalaureate degree, the first given by that faculty on September 2, 1637. A year later (Aug. 4, 1638), the diploma says, he became licentiat (master). After receiving the magister

title he was the first to be endowed with the "laurel wreath" in philosophy "...philosophiae lauro primus omnium in hac universitate nostra meruerit coronari" at Nagyszombat University, on November 11, 1642. This diploma provided Maylád with all those privileges, immunities, rights, and honours that initiates enjoyed in any country. The University's official seal in red was hung on a string at the bottom of the diploma.

This diploma has a special point of interest, and as such it is unmatched. Miklós Maylád's coat-of-arms is painted on the diploma, although the title of nobility was presented to him only five months later by Emperor Ferdinand III as a reward for Maylád's outstanding work in philosophy. According to the wording of the diploma, the country's most important dignitaries were present at the final examination; this fact proves that the conferring of the degree of doctor on Maylád was sub auspiciis regis and was an award given with the owner's painted coat-of-arms on his diploma.<sup>39</sup>

The above data are not only the first of rare recollections of the Philosophy Faculty at Nagyszombat, but they are proof also that the faculty exercised an intensive, complete, and methodical function from its very beginning.

### C. Theology Faculty

In the fall of 1635 the University offered only one course for the theological students, namely casuistic (practical ethics) taught by Pater Tamás Jászberényi. The following year a second casuistic course, theologiae moralis (moral philosophy), was added and lectured by Pater István Keresztesi.<sup>40</sup> The Ratio Studiorum prescribed each of these subjects as two-year courses.<sup>41</sup>

The rest of the courses were added in the fall of 1638 only, because the prerequisites for the actual dogmatic theology were the three-year philosophical courses. Therefore, 1638 is considered the birthdate of the Faculty of Theology. The inauguration of the complete Theology Faculty was observed by a High Mass, offered by Archbishop Imre Losy, Primate of Hungary. An eulogistic speech on scholastic theology was delivered by Pater Mátyás Bastiancsics, a theologian who arrived from Vienna to teach at Nagyszombat. Another professor was also appointed, from Graz, to lecture on scholastic theology.<sup>42</sup> The newly offered courses were:

1. dogmatics (religious dogma)
2. polemics or controversiae (theological controversy)
3. interpretation of the Bible
4. Holy or Hebrew language

Each of these subjects, except for dogmatics, was taught by one professor for a one-year course.<sup>43</sup>

The major subject at the Theology Faculty, according to the Foundation Bull, was dogmatics, called scholastic or speculative-religious instruction. It was taught by two theology professors who lectured in four-year courses. "Anno 1638, principem illam cui scientiae aliae subserviunt, et quam speculativam dicimus theologiam, eatenus intra vota existentem, adiecit."<sup>44</sup>

With these seven professorships the Theology Faculty functioned until 1753.<sup>45</sup> Although Church history and oratory were added (no exact date is found in documents) to the above courses of study, they were taught as subsidiary courses until the second half of the eighteenth century, when they received separate professorships.<sup>46</sup>

The Matrica Gymnasii reveals that the dogmatic course began with

seventeen students in 1638.<sup>47</sup> The 1665 Litterae Annuae indicates that the decade's enrollment was between 40-60 in Nagyszombat (50-60 in Graz and 20-30 in Vienna) in the Theology Faculty.<sup>48</sup> There were also a number of lay students among the theologians. Because Nagyszombat University was the only Catholic higher institution offering the tudor's degree, those who wanted to earn a degree had no other choice. The Matrica Gymnasii shows eleven lay students in 1660, six in 1661, and fourteen in 1724.

The daily schedule of courses in the Theology Faculty was prescribed and adopted from the elaborated form of the Ratio Studiorum:<sup>49</sup>

7:00 - 7:45 A.M.	Canon Law	It was required for first and second year theologians but it was lectured by the professor of the Law School
7:45 - 8:30 A.M.	<u>Tertio lectio</u> (scholastics lectures)	Given every third day for first and second year stud.
8:30 - 9:30 A.M.	<u>Dogmatica</u> (scholastic theology)	For first year students
	<u>Casuistica</u> (moral philosophy)	For second year students.
9:30 - 10:30 A.M.	<u>Exegesis</u> (interpretation of the Bible)	For third and fourth year students
1:30 - 2:00 P.M.	Hebrew language	For first year students
2:00 - 3:00 P.M.	<u>Dogmatica</u>	More advanced level
	<u>Casuistica</u> (practical ethics)	For first year students
3:00 - 3:43 P.M.	<u>Controversia</u> (theological controversy)	Disputes for third and fourth year scholars
3:00 - 4:00 P.M.	<u>Scholastic repetitio</u>	Study groups with reviews and recitals
3:45 - 4:00 P.M.	<u>Circulus</u>	Practice for sociability

The rules in the Ratio Studiorum made it mandatory for the interpreter of the Scriptures to be fluent in foreign languages, experienced in theology, well versed in history, familiar with literature, and an eloquent speaker. The interpreter of the Scripture made every endeavor to establish the literal meaning of words. This required a knowledge of Greek and Hebrew.<sup>50</sup> These qualifications were considerable. The master-orators emphasized interpretation of the Scriptures in connection with their course of study. The reading of the Scriptures, lectio, was recommended by the Ratio Studiorum for two years, namely the second and third year courses, for one hour daily. The Hebrew language was to be taught by the interpreter of the Scriptures, or if someone else was the lecturer he was required to be a theologian. Greek was a required course in the gymnasium.<sup>51</sup>

The Jesuit educational system in the Theology Faculty was in complete harmony with the period — that is, the Neo-Scholastic system — and formed a natural transition in developing the "modern" theological system at Nagyszombat University. It is regarded as a transition from two standpoints. In the first place, it shortened the time requirements for the tudor degree. (Under this new system four years of regular and two years of continuation courses and studies were required to receive a tudor degree. The quiet medieval duration was over and a faster preparation was expedient.) Secondly, it was a pioneer system, because it started to bring into the established theological science teaching and learning the many-sided eruditio, influenced by the Renaissance. Every effort was put forth to develop the intellectual faculties of the students and to satisfy the practical life demands in a particularly exciting new epoch. More emphasis was on the practical and cultural aspects of church life rather than doctrinal and

speculative questions alone.<sup>52</sup> These appear to be the main reasons for adding new courses, such as casuistica (practical ethics) and theological polemics, in 1652.

The theological professors were not allowed to follow the stylish medieval allegoric view (sensus allegoricus) or the moralist view (sensus moralis).<sup>53</sup> The Ratio Studiorum made mandatory the following of Thomism. Therefore the philosophy of Saint Thomas (four volumes of Summa theologica) was stressed and served as a framework for the other theological disciplines: scripture study, ethics, and Canon Law. The Ratio Studiorum forbade the use of syllogistic method in Scripture-study and rightly prescribed rational principles. Teachers were encouraged to explain scientific views (sensus literalis) always in accord with the interpretation and decision of the Church.<sup>54</sup>

The theologian professors, by the Jesuits' rule, were also often moved from their posts, although they usually stayed for the completion of a course. A considerable permanence was observable in the professorship of dogma. This position was usually kept for a period of five to eight years. The extended period had a noticeable effect on the literary contributions of those professors.<sup>55</sup>

The lecture material was reinforced in the form of debates, where the students proved their skills in using the theories they learned. Polemical disputes were a vital part of the educational system at Nagyszombat University, especially at the Theology Faculty. There were several kinds of disputations: first the sabbatina, or disputationes hebdomadariae, which was held for two hours every Saturday afternoon, and second, the disputatio menstruae which occurred for four hours (twice two-hour sessions) monthly.<sup>56</sup>

Besides the above-mentioned disputes there were other, less formal ones, called disputa domestica, held for an hour just before supper, for the theologians on Monday and for the philosophers every Tuesday.<sup>57</sup>

In the final dispute, which lasted four to five hours, only the best students participated, those who worked for their doctor's degree, and the entire Faculty was requested to be present. Two of these final disputes were held each year, one at the beginning and one at the end of the school-year.

For young theological students the first casuistica dispute on practical ethics took place on January 27, 1636. Cardinal Péter Pázmány was also present as an observer.<sup>58</sup> The first theological polemics of dogmatics was held in 1638, in the presence of Archbishop Emery Losy and numerous prelates. Another discussion of all theological philosophy was held in 1641.<sup>59</sup> The first public dispute concerning interpretation of the Bible was in 1642.<sup>60</sup>

The polemical topics at the promotions allowed one to examine the Theology Faculty's world of thought. Hermann's study of these topics indicates that of "the enduring fifty topics given at Vienna University compared with those twenty-nine given at Nagyszombat University, the latter were far more varied. The cultured branch of the entire theological science of that time," says Hermann, "was included in the course of study at the Nagyszombat University."<sup>61</sup> Biblical questions were rarely discussed. Two existing polemics on the subject are representative of the type of problems discussed, and they can also be used as the basis for objective historical judgment. The first topic given in 1697, was "Whether or not Christ did more with his eighteen years of disguised life for the souls, than with his three years of public function, or vice versa?" This was a polemical topic for baccalaureates.



The first candidate argued that "Christ taught wordlessly with his life and with it he also gave example of all the virtues that were more valuable than words." His opponent proved that both together (taciturnity and endowment with all virtues) are expedient as the precious stone in a ring. The second Biblical question came to the focal point of a discussion exactly thirty years later, in 1727, "Whether the garden of Eden was still in existence?"<sup>62</sup>

Topics more frequently discussed were related to practical life situations, such as: "Whether the Faculty of Theology at Nagyszombat University brought more fame to its students by providing them with knowledge or the reverse; that is, whether the students' apostolic zeal brought fame to the Faculty of Theology?" One of the students, defending the thesis, stated that science would have been locked in a drawer at the University, if the students (pastors) had not taken it with them and had not fought with it for the truth. The theologians were doing that; therefore, they paid back the received knowledge with interest. The other speaker called the first one to order and scolded him for his ungrateful behavior and he proved that the University gave the ministers the opportunity for fame and honor.<sup>63</sup>

On the Theology Faculty students received the bachelor degree at the end of the third year and earned the masters degree after another year of study. There was a special two-year course, casus conscientiae, set up at the Theology Faculty of Nagyszombat University, along with the four-year courses, for those not interested in earning degrees. This short preparation provided the students with the amount of knowledge that a pastoral job required.<sup>64</sup>

Two types of final comprehensive examinations were given before a degree was issued. One was referred to as disputation, in which the baccalaureate

had twenty topics and the magister had fifty thesis topics to discuss. On the second type of examination the student defended in a public dispute one thesis, selected from the Summa theologiae.<sup>65</sup>

The promotion for the baccalaureate was conferred by a professor or sometimes by the dean.<sup>66</sup> The graduation of magisters was held in the ceremonial hall. Each graduate was required to take an oath as he touched the pedum and promised that he would always be loyal and would respect the authority of the University. He pledged also that he would protect the rights and the peaceful development of his Alma Mater, and promised that he would not accept the same degree from any other university. Then his blue-trimmed gown was exchanged for a red-trimmed one. To commemorate the initiation, promotion was usually preceded by High Mass. At the same time the creed and the oath of belief in the Immaculate Conception were taken by the magisters.<sup>67</sup>

The tenth point of the Ratio Studiorum prescribed that the best students should be selected for apprenticeship during their fourth year of study. These students were sent for a two-hour examination. After completing the test successfully, the candidates were provided the licentia by the chancellor. The magisters, with this license became eligible to teach theology, interpret the Scriptures and were entitled to deliver sermons. At the same time, it authorized them to earn a doctoral degree.<sup>68</sup>

Those students who wanted to continue their studies and become doctors, did not go through the above formal initiations until they were ready to receive their doctoral degree. To earn the doctor degree new examinations were not prescribed for the candidate to take; the only requirement for them was to hold the so-called vesperis (evening ritual) on the eve of

the initiatory proceedings. On this religious observance the licentiate eloquently discussed and elucidated one of the major theological theories in the front of the circle of guests.

The initiations of the doctors were more elaborated ceremonies, starting with a High Mass, at which the students received the licentia and took the same oath which the graduate masters required. This formal act made them licentiatus and after that they became eligible to take the doctoral oath. Then the promotor conferred the degree of doctor on them, putting on them the red trimmed viola doctoral epomis, the scarlet doctoral biretum, placing the Scripture into their hands and putting the doctoral ring on their fingers.<sup>69</sup>

The Ratio Studiorum restricted the age of the candidate to twenty-five to receive a doctoral degree.<sup>70</sup>

#### D. Law School

The Law Faculty of the Nagyszombat University was founded on January 2, 1667, with four departments: Canon Law, Roman Law, Speculative Law of Hungary, and Empirical Law of Hungary (*ius patrium and municipale*).<sup>71</sup> The addition of the Law Faculty was a major step forward in the advancement of the University's academic life.

From the 30,000 florins — willed as a fund for the Law School by Archbishop György Lippay, Primate of Hungary (1642-1666), and his predecessor Archbishop Imre Lósy (1637-1642)<sup>72</sup> — 5,000 florins were given to the Jesuit Order with the stipulation that from its interest (6%) the Jesuits must pay the Canon Law professor's salary. For the purpose of this convention it was also stated that in case the Jesuits were banished from the country, the money would have to be left for the improvement of the Law School.<sup>73</sup>

The rest of the fund was given to the Chapter of Cathedral of Esztergom, with the provision that it would pay three secular law teachers' salaries; those were placed under the Esztergom Canon's supervision. The Foundation Bull mandated the salary as five hundred florins for each professor, per year (the Jesuit teacher of the Canon Law received only 300 florins). In return these professors had to take an oath of allegiance to the Chapter of Cathedral and to the Rector of the University.

The Foundation Bull was written in two copies and was signed by Szege-di Ferenc Lénárd, Bishop of Vác, and György Pongrátz, Bishop of Végyszendre, as the executors of Lippay's will, the Provincial Provost of the Jesuit Order, Pater Michael Sicuten, and László Vid, the active Rector of the University. This document contains: (1) the relationship between the Law School and the University, (2) method of teaching, (3) length of school year, (4) course of studies, (5) location of classes, (6) privileges of students, and (7) the seal of the Law School.<sup>74</sup>

The newly-founded Law School opened its doors with all solemnity on January 16, 1667. The dignitaries of the land gathered at the University Church, where Textor János Ádám, the first professor of Roman Law, and Ferdinand Preyschaff, the first professor of Canon Law, gave their appreciative speeches about Roman and Canon Law. The next day, on January 17, 1667, the lectures began.<sup>75</sup>

The Foundation Bull made it mandatory to have the dean's office of the faculty filled in alternate years by a pater who taught Canon Law and one of the lay teachers. In rank, the Bull placed the Law School at Nagyszombat after the Theology Faculty and provided it with its own symbolic pedum (mace, a shield resting on ostrich feathers and holding the statue

of Saint Ivo), and its own seal. The professors' institutional rights were subordinated to the rector and to the Council of the University. The rights of issuing degrees for the law graduates were made possible by incorporating the faculty into the existing Jesuit University as an integral part.<sup>76</sup>

The primary duties of the Roman Law professors were to provide information on Corpus Juris Civilis (Body of Civil Law),<sup>77</sup> on the entire legislative records with its supplements and commentaries to which the books of the Feudal Law also belonged.<sup>78</sup>

According to the Foundation Bull, two of the four professors were assigned to teach national law and, further, to review the routines or practical aspects of law in one of the departments.<sup>79</sup> Therefore, one can say that teaching at Nagyszombat Law School was progressive and provident in the late seventeenth century, because the German universities at that time were restricted to the Roman and Canon Laws. Even from those courses of study, the Germans provided students with only speculative instruction. Eckhart noted that "the law students [in Vienna] left the university without getting an inside view of the judicial needs or juristic life of their country without becoming familiar with their own system of laws."<sup>80</sup> It is worth mentioning that at the University of Wittenberg in Germany, the Hungarian György Bayer gave the first lecture in national law, in 1707, but it was taught permanently only after educational reforms were introduced by Queen Maria Theresa in 1753.<sup>81</sup>

In addition, the Foundation Bull prescribed that the national law professors should introduce to their students the Decretum Generale, which is known as Tripartium (Three Books of Hungary's Common Laws) and the

Hungarian Laws, both theoretical and practical. The Bull instructs the faculty to consider the deficiency of Hungarian Law which should be corrected and supplemented by Roman and Canon Law.<sup>82</sup>

The lecture time for Roman and Canon Law was set at three-fourths of an hour daily.<sup>83</sup> The teachers of national law had to take turns daily in teaching because of the shortage of lecture-rooms.<sup>84</sup>

The Matricula (Register of the students) along with the seal of the Law School was destroyed by Miklós Székely, the dismissed law professor, in 1759. (Székely was the first and "only" professor who was dismissed from this post on charges of neglected duties, in September 1759)<sup>85</sup> Therefore, very little is known of the Law School's operation in its first one hundred years.

Other remaining documents provide some information about the Law School and reveal the many reasons why this department could not function properly in the first few decades. In the year 1667, only Roman and Canon Law courses were given. The first professor to teach national law was hired only in 1672 and the second in 1696. The tranquil functioning of the Faculty was interrupted several times, not only by wars and epidemics, but also by financial difficulties. The yearly earnings, from the funds given out to big land owners for 6% profit, did not come in regularly because of the various wars.<sup>86</sup> Providing the money to pay teachers was a constant struggle, because of the lack of funds. In 1706, Mihály Bencsik, who was in desperate need of money, asked the chapter of cathedral to remit him at least 300 florins, in return for his yearly salary. István Dolny, the chapter of cathedral's grand-provost, paid out this sum from his own pocket. Three years later (1709) Bencsik again had to accept wheat and wine as compensation from

György Erdődy, who could redeem his overdue interest only in this way. Another case shows, that in 1717, Ferenc Koller had to entreat the chapter of cathedral to give him 400 florins in return for his salary, which had been overdue for several years.<sup>87</sup>

Under such difficulties, it was indeed the result of the professors' devoted efforts, that the Law School operated successfully. The lectures, as prescribed in the Foundation Bull, started with the national law course from 6:45 A.M. until 7:45 A.M. This course was followed by Canon Law until 8:30 A.M. Roman Law was taught in the afternoon from 12:30 until 2:15. From this plan the law professors deviated periodically, but they returned repeatedly to the original plan. The lectures were given in Latin, but the explanation of a few expressions was in the vernacular.<sup>88</sup>

First-year students were novicius (probationers), the second-year the veterans.<sup>89</sup> After their successful completion of two years the chancellor issued them licentia. The third year was attended only by those who prepared for the tudor degree. The doctoral examinations included not only testing on the Canon and civil laws, but also evidence of their knowledge on the books of the feudal law, following an examination in which they were required to defend their theses in a public debate.

In addition to giving the formal tudor debates, it was customary for law students to hold other public discussions. The controversial thesis topics provide valuable documents with regard to the teaching method, and the material used in the seventeenth century. The first such debate, according to the rare remaining documents, was held in Canon Law in 1691, and in national law in September of the same year. The first public debate on Roman Law was organized on January 7, 1693, by Ernő Sommeting, a German law

tudor (who was the law professor for five years at Nagyszombat). The dean issued the promotion with all solemnity, and the ringing of the great church bell was part of that ceremony.<sup>90</sup>

The Law School used to have festive occasions to commemorate their patron saint, Saint Ivo. For this occasion an eminent law student gave a speech in which he commended Ivo, the Breton believer who studied law in Paris, and became known as the patron of the widowed and the orphaned.<sup>91</sup>

The Chapter of the Esztergom Cathedral gave out a new ordinance on December 22, 1759, which made it mandatory for the Roman Law professor to give lectures also on natural law (the law binding on all mankind by the law of nature). The seminarists were also required to take this subject. At the same time the salary was raised for the Roman Law professor from 500 to 800 florins, and the daily lectures were lengthened from forty-five minutes to one hour.<sup>92</sup>

The Jesuits, who were frequently transferred, gave lectures in Canon Law explaining why the Jesuits possessed generally scientific knowledge, but could not get involved in intensive search in any of their specialized fields. There is a lack of sufficient information by those who taught the Canon Law each year because they did not do literary work in that field, hence, only a few of this type of work endured.<sup>93</sup>

Lorinc Tapolcsanyi, who taught Canon Law several times at Nagyszombat, was one of the few exceptions who left literary work behind. Among his works, Quinqua gena (Tyrnaviae, 1716) and Centuria Casuum (Vienna, 1728) he discusses fifty cases within the domain of Canon Law by using the main principles of that law and by bringing forward pros and cons. Another of his works includes the Axiomata Christiano Politica in which twenty moral



statements were discussed, assembled from the works of Seneca. These works testify to the wide intensive knowledge of its author.<sup>94</sup>

The lecture material in national law and its method is revealed in the manuscripts by Ferenc Koller, who was the professor of the national law for thirty-three years. These detailed manuscripts, Isagoge ... and Methodus were written and used for lectures or dictations, thus considered among the first law text serving a practical purpose.<sup>95</sup>

The Law School used the book titled Triocinium, written by János Szegegi, doctor of laws, as reference material. In it the author points out the ordinance of Roman Law and Canon Law in relation to Hungarian Law and calls attention to the antiquated law customs.<sup>96</sup>

The scientific advancement of Hungarian Political Law started in the late seventeenth century. Among the Catholics, Mihály Bencsik, the professor of national law for 28 years, was the first who published his detailed informative work in Hungary: Conclusions... (Nagyszombat, 1691). It contains all the material from the public disputes held under the chairmanship of Ferenc Koller, law tudor, on September 2, 1691. The book reveals the Hungarian judicial system with many appropriate examples and resumes of the frequent litigious characters. It also shows the different aspects of lawsuits, citations, attendance, the action of law, judgments, and ideas about remedies. The thesis topics are valuable sources because they reflect the educational theories of the state law at Nagyszombat University. His other work regarding Hungarian Constitutional Law is even more valuable. Novissima Diaeta ... Hungariae, was written at the time Bencsik's son had his public disputes in 1722. This book contains the discussion of twenty-three assertions, the basic principle of public law, and as the author

himself states in his preface, "the complete cyclorama of Hungarian Political Law is given [here]." Dubious doctrines are reasoned out in his book. Bencsik traces the nobility from the military habits of the Kuns and considers Saint István the real innovator. He also enumerates the classes of society, then lists the modes of acquiring nobility such as: grant, letter patent of nobility, affiliation, investing a daughter with the rights of a son, and nationalization "iure novellarum." The real roots of nobility can be found, according to Bencsik, in virtues. He distinguishes four classes of the nobility: (1) gentry with large land, (2) gentry with smaller land, (3) gentry with one hide land, and (4) gentry without land. The book also discusses the rights of each estate, including the rights of the secular and clerical members of society, and lists among them the greatest nobility, the king's Princeps nobilissimus rights. The author raises a question as to whether the laws have a binding force on the king. He answers it by saying: directly no, but indirectly yes, because common sense assumes that whatever rules one prescribes to for another person as an obligation, he himself must also respect. He informs the reader about the hereditary rights of the Hungarian kings.<sup>97</sup> Aside from historical places and ethnographical data, this work reflects the views and conditions of that era. Bencsik's work is regarded as an important illustration concerning Nagyszombat University's intellectual trends, initiative cultivation of the constitutional law, and the existing religious discrepancies.

Another rare source of the period is Szentiványi's three volume Hungarian Law collection (Nagyszombat, 1696). The first volume reviews István Verböczi's Tripartitum, the second volume lists all the royal enactments until 1583, while the third volume discusses Rudolf's edicts until 1604 and

and the Newer Laws between 1608 and 1688.<sup>98</sup>

The theoretical section of the complete national law courses lasted for fifteen years, the practical part for twelve years. These were offered continuously. Therefore the students, during the two-year course, received only fragments of the entire study. To help correct this defect the Royal Council of Governor declared on November 3, 1760, that the two national law teachers would teach daily, instead of every other day, and use the Husti's textbook. The teacher who started using it the first year should continue with it, completing it the second year. The use of the Husti text made the dictation unnecessary, and the lectures could move at a faster pace.<sup>99</sup>

Primate Barkóczy, on May 3, 1763, gave out a formal regulation in which he made it mandatory for the national law students to take Roman Law as well as natural law courses. Furthermore, he ordered public examinations to be held at Easter and at the end of each school year, and those students who failed were excluded from the University.<sup>100</sup>

Plate 8

LIST OF PROFESSORS UNTIL THE EDUCATIONAL REFORM  
Ers. of Nagyszombat (1667-1777)  
TANSZÉKEK BETÖLTŐI A RATIO EDUCATIONISIG.  
A nagyszombati korszak. (1667-1777.)

Years	1669-1672.	1673.	1680.	1683.	1685-1687.	1691.	1694.	1707.	1711.	1714.	1718.	1722.	1725.	1731.	1735-IV. n. é.	1740.	1755-II.	1759.	1763.	1767.	1772.	Ratio Educa- 1775. toalis.	
Évek:	1667.	1675.	1680.	1684.		1691.	1704.		1711. (Nincs eljárási.)	1714.		1720.	1723.	1729.	1733. L. II. f.é.		1740.	1756.	1761.	1765.	1769-1770.	1773.	1777.
<b>Roman Law</b> Római jog:	Textor (Takács) Ádám János	*	Ádám Ignác	*	Illés István	*	Somcsing Frigyes Ernő	Steiner György Bernát	*	Schaller János	Bencsik Mihály	Virágh György és Hertel Márton	Alliprandi Antal	Kugler János	Reen Gáspár	Lehotai András (h.)		Rendek János		Szedmágy Mihály			Dernjta Antal
<b>National Law</b> Magyar jog: Theoretical	Dvonikovics Mihály	*	Janikovics Ignác	*	Laczkó János	*		Koller Ferenc	Bencsik Mihály		Koller József		Bencsik Mihály		Malevicz Ignác		Kregar István László		Khósz Pál (Helyettes)	Székelly Miklós		Zelenay János	
<b>Nat. Law</b> Magyar jog: Practical	Dvonikovics Mihály	*	Janikovics Ignác	*	Laczkó János	*		Koller Ferenc							Lehotai András		Khósz Pál					Nitray Gábor (1793-ig.)	
<b>Canon Law</b> Egyszéki jog:	P. Preyachald Ferdinand S. J.				Jesuits whose names did not [remain] endure																		Lakics György (1780-ig.)
	* Teachings were interrupted during these periods																						
																							Natural Law Természeti jog: Van der Hayden Henrich Stur József

From: Ferenc Eckhart, A Jog és Államtudományi Kar története 1667-1935 (Budapest: A K.M. Egyetemi Nyomda, 1936), p. 79. Used by permission of National Széchényi Library, Budapest.

## FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup>Molnár, A közoktatás Magyarországon, 1: 156.
- <sup>2</sup>Paulsen, Geschichte des Gelehrten, 3: 422.
- <sup>3</sup>Molnár, A közoktatás Magyarországon, 1: 156-57.
- <sup>4</sup>Kazy, Historia Universitatis, 2: 136.
- <sup>5</sup>Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 1: 27.
- <sup>6</sup>Ratio Studiorum, Pars II, Caput IX.
- <sup>7</sup>Molnár, A közoktatás Magyarországon, 1: 156.
- <sup>8</sup>E. Financy, A reneszánsz-kori nevelés története [History of Education in the Renaissance] (Budapest: K.M. Egyetemi Nyomda, 1919), p. 257.
- <sup>9</sup>Foundation Bull, p. 246.
- <sup>10</sup>Domronoki, Diary, 18 September 1636; Szentpétery, A Bölcsész. Kar. története, p. 14.
- <sup>11</sup>Kelecsényi, "Adalékok barokk," p. 7.
- <sup>12</sup>Matrica Gymnasii, 30 August 1638.
- <sup>13</sup>Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 1: 2.
- <sup>14</sup>Csóka, Tudományegyetem története, p. 10.
- <sup>15</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>16</sup>Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 1: 75.
- <sup>17</sup>Kelecsényi, "Adalékok barokk," p. 8.
- <sup>18</sup>The constant changings of the professors was typical, according to Duhr, not only at the Jesuit institutions, but also at the contemporary Protestant universities. (Bernh Duhr, Geschichte der Jesuiten [The Story of the Jesuits], 3 vols. [Regensburg, Germany: G.J. Manz, 1921], 3: 417.)
- <sup>19</sup>Pál Sárközi, Nagyszombati régi matematikusok [Old Mathematicians of Nagyszombat] (Pannonhalma, Hungary: Kapistrán Nyomda, 1933), p. 3.
- <sup>20</sup>Martino [Márton] Szentiványi, Curiosiora et Selectiora Variarum Scientiarum Miscellanea, 3 vols. (Tyrnaviae: Friedl, in Typis Academicis, vol. 1: 1689, vol. 2: 1691, vol. 3: 1702), 3: passim.
- <sup>21</sup>Serföző, Szentiványi munkássága, p. 79.

<sup>22</sup>Serfözö, Szentiványi munkássága, p. 79.

<sup>23</sup>Csapodi, "Két világ határán," p. 119; Abelard, a pre-university teacher in Paris was the initiator or the father of the "new method," later called "scholastic method." "The new method which Abelard formed for discovering the truth is presented in the: Yes and No [his publication]. He first stated in the form of a thesis for debate the question on which doubt existed. The book contains one hundred and fifty-eight such questions. He then brought together under each question the conflicting opinions of various authorities, and, without stating his own view, left the student to reason for himself in the matter. There is no doubt that this method served his purpose to 'stimulate tender readers to the utmost effort in seeking the truth.'" (Norton, Reading in the History, p. 20.)

<sup>24</sup>Sárközi, Nagyszombati matematikusok, p. 18.

<sup>25</sup>Kelecsényi, "Adalékok barokk," p. 17.

<sup>26</sup>Molnár, A közoktatás Magyarországon, 1: 217-18.

<sup>27</sup>Dobronoki, Diary, 10 January 1637.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>Financy, A reneszánsz-kori nevelés, p. 257.

<sup>30</sup>Sárközi, Nagyszombati matematikusok, p. 18.

<sup>31</sup>Raymund Rapaics, "A természettudomány a Nagyszombati Egyetemen" [Natural Science at the Nagyszombat University], Természettudományi Közlöny 67 (June 1935): 257, 263-64.

<sup>32</sup>Dobronoki, Diary, 2 September 1636.

<sup>33</sup>Serfözö, Szentiványi munkássága, pp. 77-78.

<sup>34</sup>Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 1: 26.

<sup>35</sup>Szentpétery, A Bölcsészet. Kar története, p. 15.

<sup>36</sup>Dobronoki, Diary, 4 August 1638.

<sup>37</sup>Litterae annuae Society Jesu provinciae Austriae (hereafter cited as Litterae Annuae), 1675, p. 25, Cod. lat. 12,031, MSS., Bibl. Pal. Vind., Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

<sup>38</sup>Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 1: 26.

<sup>39</sup>Béla Majláth, A Nagyszombati Egyetemen kiadott doktori oklevél 1642-ből [Doctoral Degree Given at the Nagyszombat University, 1642] (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1900), p. 138.

<sup>40</sup>Sumerecker, Provincial Provost, informs Pázmány in his letter that Pater Márton Palkovics and Pater Tamás Jászberényi were appointed to lecture logica and casuum at Nagyszombat University in the fall of 1635. (Sumerecker to Pázmány, 17 August 1635, no. 12, fasc. 8, Acta Jesuit. Regist., Coll. Tyrnav., E 152, OLT.)

<sup>41</sup>Ratio Studiorum cited by Kelecsényi, "Adalékok barokk," p. 8; Hermann, Hittudomány története, p. 5; Frankl, "Magyar Egyetem," p. 247.

<sup>42</sup>Hermann, Hittudomány története, pp. 5-15.

<sup>43</sup>Catalogus Brevis: Personarum et Officiorum Societatis Jesu, Provinciae Austriae, 1635, p. 118, Caput IV, MSS, Bibliotheca Archiabbatiae, Pannonhalma, Hungary; also Kazy, Historia Universitatis, 2: 136; Fejér, Historia Academiae, 1: 16, 44-45.

<sup>44</sup>Catalogus Brevis: Personarum..., 1635, p. 118, Caput IV, MSS, Bibliotheca Archiabbatiae, Pannonhalma; Fejér, Historia Academiae, p. 12.

<sup>45</sup>Kelecsényi, "Adalékok barokk," p. 8; Hermann, Hittudomány története, p. 5.

<sup>46</sup>Duhr, Geschichte der Jesuiten, 1: 53.

<sup>47</sup>Matrica Gymnasii, 1638.

<sup>48</sup>Litterae Annuae, 1665.

<sup>49</sup>Ratio Studiorum cited by Hermann, Hittudomány története, p. 40.

<sup>50</sup>Csóka, Tudományegyetem története, p. 12.

<sup>51</sup>Breznay, Hittudományi Kar tanulmányi rendszere, p. 3.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>53</sup>Hermann, Hittudomány története, p. 28; Kelecsényi, "Adalékok barokk," p. 9.

<sup>54</sup>Ratio Studiorum cited by Hermann, Hittudomány története, p. 28.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>57</sup>Pachtler, "Ratio Studiorum et Institutiones scholast. S.J.," Monumenta Germaniae Pedagogica 3, Coput IV, pp. 355-56.

<sup>58</sup>Dobronoki, Diary, 27 January 1636.

<sup>59</sup>Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 1: 21.

- <sup>60</sup>Hermann, Hittudomány története, pp. 5-15.
- <sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 48.
- <sup>62</sup>Ibid., pp. 48-49.
- <sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 49.
- <sup>64</sup>Kelecsényi, "Adalékok barokk," p. 11.
- <sup>65</sup>Hermann, Hittudomány története, p. 40.
- <sup>66</sup>Velics, Vázlatok magyar jezsuiták, 3: 107.
- <sup>67</sup>Hermann, Hittudomány története, pp. 40-44.
- <sup>68</sup>Velics, Vázlatok magyar jezsuiták, 3: 108.
- <sup>69</sup>Hermann, Hittudomány története, p. 44.
- <sup>70</sup>"Academia Graecensis," n.d., no. 19, fol. 84, MSS, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.
- <sup>71</sup>Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 1: 2.
- <sup>72</sup>Imre Lósy, Primate of Esztergom, in his last will, written at Nagyszombat, November 6, 1642, left 15,000 florins for the erection of the Law School. This money took its origin from his house which was sold in Vienna. His successor and executor of his will, György Lippay, used the interest of this money, which would not have been enough to establish the Law School, for establishing the foundation of the Rubra Seminary with the permission of the diocesan council in 1649. Later Lippay added another 15,000 florins to the original capital in his last will at Pozsony, 1665, (Imre Lósy was Primate from 1637 to 1642, and György Lippay from 1642 to 1666.) (Eckhart, Jog és Allamtudományi Kar, p. 3.)
- <sup>73</sup>"Foundation Bull of the Law School" (hereafter cited as Foundation Bull), 2 January 1667, cited by Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 1: 481. The original document is in the private archives of the Eötvös Loránd University and is not available to the public now. An official copy is in the OLT, no. VII, Acta Historica Coll. Tyrnav., E 152.
- <sup>74</sup>Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 1: 481-85; Eckhart, Jog és Allamtudományi Kar, p. 3.
- <sup>75</sup>Pauler, Adalékok a hazai jogtudomány történetéhez [Contributions to the History of National Law Science] (Budapest: A M. Tudományos Akadémia Könyvkiadó Hivatala, 1878), p. 2.
- <sup>76</sup>Foundation Bull, cited by Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 1: 482.



<sup>77</sup>The Roman Law, known as Corpus Juris Civilis (Body of Civil Law) was an important addition of the 12th century to the field of university studies. The greater part was compiled at Constantinople, 529-533 A.D., by certain eminent jurists under the Roman Emperor, Justinian. It was collected and arranged by Irnerius, the pre-university teacher of Bologna. The recovery of Corpus Juris led to the development of the University of Bologna, where the law became the leading faculty for five centuries. Two important privileges for masters and scholars — exemption from taxation and the right of trial before special courts — were granted by the Code of Justinian. (Norton, Readings in the History, pp. 49-54.)

<sup>78</sup>Pauler, Adalékok hazai jogtudomány, p. 3.

<sup>79</sup>Foundation Bull, cited by Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 1: 482.

<sup>80</sup>Eckhart, Jog és Államtudományi Kar, p. 6.

<sup>81</sup>Pauler, Adalékok hazai jogtudomány, p. 9.

<sup>82</sup>About 1142 A.D., Gratian, a monk of Bologna, made a compilation of the Canon Law, which included the canons or rules governing the Church in its manifold activities — its relations with the secular power, its own internal administration, or the conduct of its members. The law became an independent subject in the schools and the compilation made by Gratian was added to it later and became known as the Corpus Juris Canonici. Its main divisions are: (1) The Decree of Gratian (Decretum Gratiani) in three parts, published c. 1142 A.D., (2) Decretals (Decretales), 3 vols., published by Pope Gregory IX in 1234 A.D., (3) Sixth Book (Liber Sextus), supplement to Decretals, published by Pope Boniface VIII in 1298 A.D., (4) Constitutions of Clementine (Constitutiones Clementinae), 1317, (5) Sever-al collections of papal laws not included in those above, Extravagantes. (Norton, Readings in the History, pp. 55-56.)

<sup>83</sup>Foundation Bull, cited by Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 1: 484.

<sup>84</sup>Eckhart, Jog és Államtudományi Kar, pp. 6-7.

<sup>85</sup>New diary of the Law School, with the starting date 1 January 1760, cited by Pauler, Adalékok hazai jogtudomány, p. 3.

<sup>86</sup>One example to be mentioned: From the original capital 15,000 florins was loaned at 6% interest to Ferenc Wesselényi, Palatine and landed gentry of Hungary. The deceased Palatine's land was seized by the government in 1670. The chapter of cathedral, even after an acrimonious law-suit of long standing, was unable to recover the 15,000 florins invested capital and its unrealized profits. They (the chapter of cathedral) received the village of Polonka only in 1678 with its landed property in place of the borrowed sum and its eight years interest. The estate brought very little or no profit, because of the Kuruc-wars, the plague, and famine. Therefore, half of the foundation became fruitless. Only in 1694 was it possible to sell the estate for 17,500 florin. This sum was loaned to Baron György Erdödy at

interest. He had paid the interest regularly. Because of the Rákoczy's uprising the interest was in arrears from 1703 until 1709 and only with the help of the king could the chapter of cathedral obtain it. (Eckhart, Jog és Államtudományi Kar, pp. 8-9.)

- <sup>87</sup> Ibid., p. 16.
- <sup>88</sup> Ibid., p. 28.
- <sup>89</sup> Pauler, Adalékok hazai jogtudomány, p. 53.
- <sup>90</sup> Ibid., pp. 23-25.
- <sup>91</sup> Eckhart, Jog és Államtudományi Kar, p. 28.
- <sup>92</sup> Pauler, Adalékok hazai jogtudomány, p. 25.
- <sup>93</sup> Eckhart, Jog és Államtudományi Kar, p. 24.
- <sup>94</sup> Elek Horányi, Memoria Hungarorum et provincialium, 3 vols. (Vienna: Impensis Antonii Loewii, 1775-77), 3: 397.
- <sup>95</sup> Eckhart, Jog és Államtudományi Kar, p. 10.
- <sup>96</sup> Csóka, Tudományegyetem története, p. 13.
- <sup>97</sup> Eckhart, Jog és Államtudományi Kar, pp. 14-16.
- <sup>98</sup> Martino [Márton] Szentiványi, Rectus Modus Interpretandi Scripturam Sacram (Tyrnava: Academicorum Univ. Tyrnaviae, 1696), passim. Also see Serfőző, Szentiványi munkássága, p. 88.
- <sup>99</sup> Eckhart, Jog és Államtudományi Kar, p. 68.
- <sup>100</sup> Primate Barkóczy, "Disciplinary Rules Distributed to Law Students," 3 May 1764, cited by Molnár, A közoktatás Magyarországon, 1: 227, 230-31.

## VI. LITERARY WORKS AT NAGYSZOMBAT

Among the interesting literary relics remaining today are the books, the basic tools of teaching and learning at the University. Their contents reflect, at least to some degree, the state of affairs of Nagyszombat University in regard to the development and organization of knowledge. The Jesuit schools stressed the factual and descriptive information. The ultimate purpose of scholastic functioning was the precise recording of facts and its wide analysis.<sup>1</sup>

A closer examination of these books, used mostly as texts, reveals the fact that a certain measure of attention was given to the relationships of the individual fields to each other and to the entire program of studies. The subjects taught, such as geography and history, were connected to one another and to other social sciences; physics and mathematics were linked to other natural sciences.

Some books for instruction were printed at the University Press after 1640, but the University also bought books regularly from Vienna. In the early days of the University's life, in March 1636, six hundred florins — a considerable amount — was paid to a Viennese book merchant. These instructional tools were used by the professors of philosophy and casuistry.<sup>2</sup> This fact proved that meticulous care was provided for good teaching material.

This study has dealt chiefly with the scientific books used, and their content material, rather than theological writings, in order to give a better insight into the various fields that comprised the program of studies, as well as the connections between ideas in an individual field.

## A. Mathematics

Pater Henrik Berzevitzi was the first Jesuit mathematician at Nagyszombat whose work was published. Paintner noted that "Berzevitzi taught mathematics with great competence at Nagyszombat University in the 1691/92 school year."<sup>3</sup> His work Aritmetica practica (Tyrnaviae, 1682) was basically a timetable showing how to exchange currency. During those early years twelve was used as a measuring unit or the "bill of exchange"; for example, 1 garas = 3 krajcár = 12 fillér. But besides the unit twelve, there were other "bills of exchange" in use such as huszonöt pénzes (twenty-five unit money) = one Máriás (old Hungarian silver coin) = 17 krajcár (penny), also the Tíz-pénzes (ten unit money) = 7 krajcár. The use of these different systems made it difficult to convert or to exchange currency, but it had practicality in deepening the skills of calculation.<sup>4</sup>

Pater János Dubovszky was another mathematics teacher at Nagyszombat University between 1694 and 1697.<sup>5</sup> In his publication, Canon Sinuum, tangentium et secantium ad partes Radii 100,000, he discusses the totus (ray), sine rectus; the definitions of tangent and secan (secant); and prescribes prescriptions for the use of tables. Trigonometry is used as the solutions to right angles and other triangles, and finally Dubovszky presents a few practical problems to solve such as how to measure the height of a tower and the depth of a well.<sup>6</sup>

Jesuit Pater Mihály Lipcsics wrote the first Algebra book in Hungary, Algebra sive analysis speciola (1738). Here he describes explicitly a method which he believes would provide simplicity and brevity in learning, even for the most difficult problems of arithmetic. The book presents the theory of basic operations, the methods of solving equations, and the use

of literal calculus methods through diversified examples.<sup>7</sup>

## B. Natural Sciences

The seventeenth and eighteenth-century general physics was comprised of geology, botany, zoology, astrology, and anthropology.<sup>8</sup> It is a rather hard task today to determine exactly to what extent Nagyszombat University was involved in teaching natural sciences throughout the Jesuit era. One thing is certain: Physics as a subject was taught there for the first time in 1675 by Pater Márton Cseles. He was followed by Pater Ferenc Meleghy in 1676, and in 1677 by Pater Károly Schretter.<sup>9</sup> None of these professors published any books. Therefore, it is difficult to identify the educational level in science of these and other professors.

From the literary work of Szentiványi one can draw a conclusion about what was taught and in what depth it was taught at the University of Nagyszombat. Most of Szentiványi's scientific writings, in their scholarly quality, reveal the progress made in this field in his time. Szentiványi's scholastic and humanistic attitude was reflected in his writings in physics and chemistry. The latter can not be taken seriously, because chemistry in seventeenth-century Hungary was based upon the four principles inherited from ancient and medieval history.<sup>10</sup>

Szentiványi's most noteworthy collection and compilation was titled Curiosora et Selectiora Variarum Scientiarum Miscellanea, and it was amassed and printed between 1689-1702 by the Nagyszombat University Press and became its largest publication. The quite remarkable Miscellanea is not an ordinary encyclopedia, with alphabetical entry words, but rather it contains all basic information. It is a large collection compiled of all branches of

sciences. This became one of the best representatives of the scientific endeavor, and an exquisite remembrance of natural sciences in seventeenth-century Hungary. It is also the storehouse of all scientific knowledge that grew in status and integrity and became a useful text of contemporary terms.<sup>11</sup> The lengthy study of Miscellanea was published in three volumes. As each volume has three sections, the whole work contains nine volumes in all. The first volume elaborates the following sciences: cosmography, astronomy, astrology, divinatoria (divination), study of elements, meteorology, and hydrography. The second volume contains general botany, biology, zoology, physics, medical science, and anthropology. The mere listing of these subjects or topics gives an insight into the kind of science being taught during that period, revealing the fact that before Szentiványi, no one had discussed or dealt with sciences to such an extent.

Szentiványi's Miscellanea clearly shows the general scientific stages of development including the way they achieved high standards of quality. It also reveals the struggle between the old and new theories most typical of the century. With it (Miscellanea) Szentiványi closed the section of development which began with the appearance of calendars and herbal books.

#### 1. Astrology

Szentiványi's teaching about the cosmos was taken from his publications. He took the globe theory as the base of the macrocosm. He taught that the spheres around the globe-shaped earth are parallel to the earth's surface (see plate 10). The terra qua (earth) was surrounded directly by atmosphere and by putatus ignis (ether). Outside it came the coelum sydereum (sky filled with stars), which was followed by aquae supercoelestes (heavenly water), and finally the whole macrocosm surrounded by empyreum

(heaven), quod est sedes beatorum (which was the throne of the blessed).<sup>12</sup>

Zemplén, a present-day historian, states that Szentiványi's "physics is peripatetic science, and his ideal was the German Jesuit scientist, Kircher, but without his experimental skillfulness."<sup>13</sup> In astronomy, Szentiványi not only rejected the Copernican theory, but listed it under fictitious matters. He taught of the Copernican system as non-existent and denied the theory of an axis of the earth's precision — in the same manner as he rejected the prevalence of a salamander living in fire or the fictitious phoenix bird. Although a firm believer in scholastics, Szentiványi even contested some of Aristotle's antiquated affirmations on astrology. He stated that the primum mobile does not exist in the Ptolemaic system. To him it was also a false belief that the stars counter-move or that fire under the moon exists.<sup>14</sup>

In his Miscellanea Szentiványi introduced the Copernican system for the first time in Hungary in spite of the fact that he denied it, as did most everyone else in the seventeenth century. He accepted Tycho Brahe's theory of the solar system instead. In Szentiványi's macrocosm, the sun and the planets orbited in the following manner: the moon orbited around the still earth; beyond that was the sun; then around the sun was Mercury; then Venus and Mars as the sun's moons; then again around the earth was Jupiter with its moon, and finally Saturn. The moon was a global dark body which obtained its light from the sun. The dark spots on the moon were shadows thrown by the moon-mountains. The planets were also global and dark.<sup>15</sup>

Szentiványi engaged in the writings of astrology which had not lost its credibility during his time although it was not so highly regarded as

a "courtly science" as in King Mátyás' time. What remained from the golden age of astrology was spread by calendars. The theory of the heliocentric solar system and the spread of information and development were delayed by theological beliefs which did not always agree. The theological teachings were in opposition to astrology; for this reason Szentiványi took every opportunity to point out the faults and superstitions of astrology. Besides the use of horoscopes, he was also concerned with other predictions of which his chapter on physica divinatora is very interesting. In this he examines the archimimus (Chief Buffoon), palmistry, oneiromancy, and necromancy. He was dubious about the horoscope and avoided fortune tellings considering them erroneous.<sup>16</sup>

## 2. Biology

One should appreciate Szentiványi's noble spirit for his interests in versatile and practical questions. He not only studied astrology with zeal, but he himself made some observations and opened up new paths as a botanist. His great interest included technological developments as well as architectural problems. Szentiványi made most of his observations in the University's botanical garden which was set up for biological and agronomical exercises in its early days.<sup>17</sup>

Szentiványi pursued extensive literary work in the natural sciences. His work, Physica curiosa de plantis (1689) familiarizes the reader with the science courses of study at Nagyszombat University and provides him with the Jesuits' general botanical knowledge. "His observations on the flora and fauna of seventeenth-century farms contains some valuable elements."<sup>18</sup> The fact that his book was reprinted in 1754 and 1755 indicates that it was the first large comprehensive biology book to become widely distributed.



Szentiványi, in his twenty-four chapter descriptive botany, deals with the main elements of biology by maintaining the view of Greek natural philosophy. Each separate chapter informs the reader of every phenomenon of life including nutrition, growth, reproduction. The twelfth chapter describes the life of a plant as determined by its climate and its location; this chapter would make a good precursor for plant-ecology. Seventeenth century thought is reflected in his writings about the qualities of plants, their temperaments, sympathies and antipathies (curative remedial and poisonous effect) which had great importance in medical science in ancient and medieval times. He writes about parasitical plants in a separate chapter, and in another chapter he disclaims the existence of the nightshade (Circaea lute-tiona).<sup>19</sup> At the same time he introduced several interesting exotic plants such as Mimosa pudica (Modest Mimosa) and Ficus bengalensis (fig tree). It is a matter of common knowledge that members of the Jesuit Order traveled in exotic lands; therefore, it is understandable that those trips acquainted them with geographical and botanical facts based on these experiences.

The way in which Szentiványi viewed natural sciences and arranged them in his books demonstrates that he was not guided only by rigid scientific classifications and observations. Nevertheless, he strove to organize, sort, and arrange all of his material, although his sorting was only external and philosophical. Nevertheless, the purpose of his lifework, the Miscellanea, was only to serve the common culture and not to follow stern scientific theories. The chapter on birds in his book began, for example, with the eagle, only because it was worthy of being the king of birds.<sup>20</sup>

CURIOSIORA  
*ET*  
 SELECTIONA  
 VARIARUM SCIENTIARUM  
 MISCELLANEA.

*AUTHORE*

P. MARTINO SZENT-IVANI,  
 Societatis JESU Sacerdote  
 Opus posthumum.

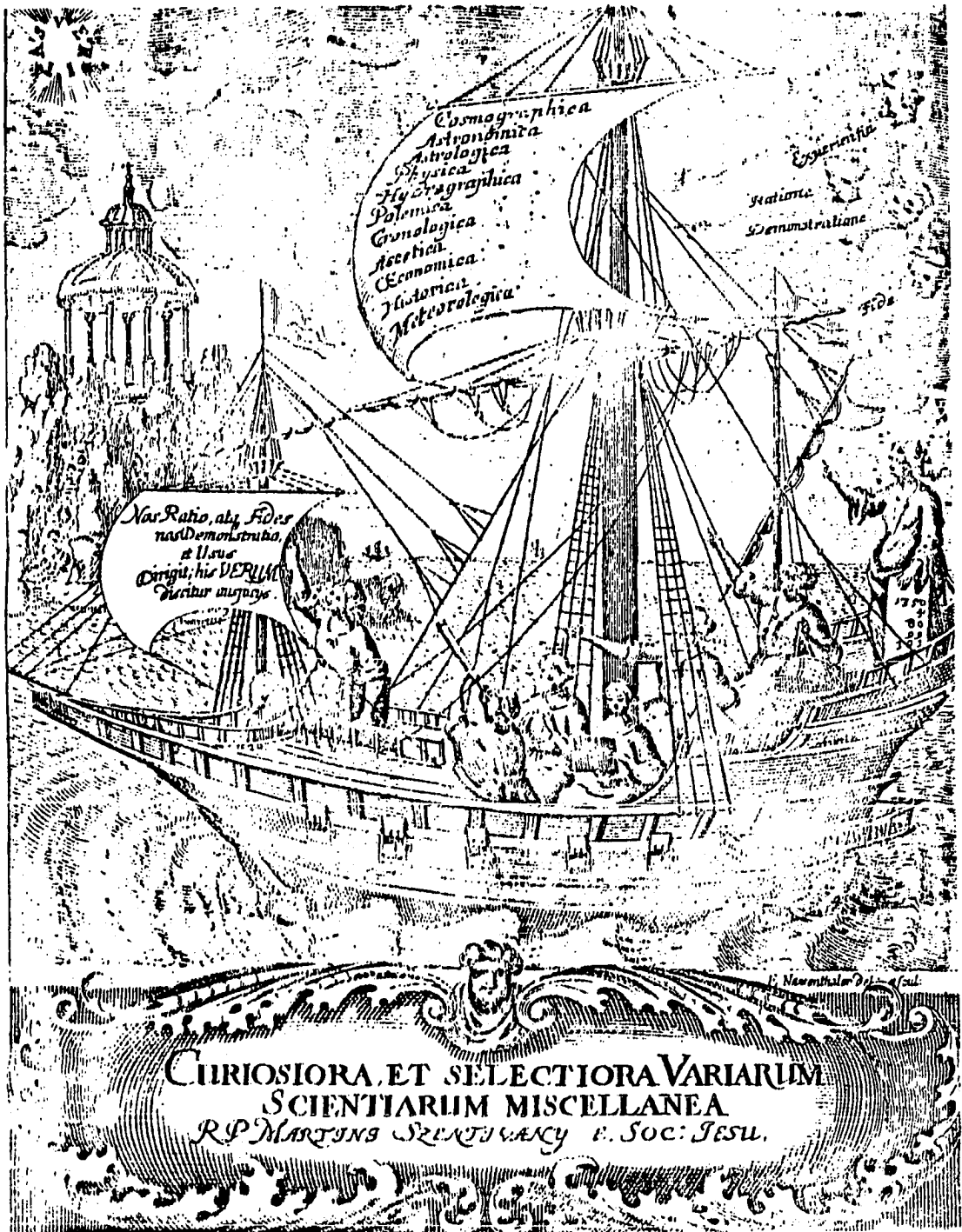
DECADIS TERTIÆ  
 PARS SECUNDA.  
*Continens*  
 CURIOSAS OBSERVATIONES  
 IN IPSAS SCIENTIAS.

*Cum Facultate Superiorum, & Privilegio Sacrae Caesareae Regiae  
 Majestatis, Speciali.*

*Typis Academicis Anno M. DCC. LXXXIX.*

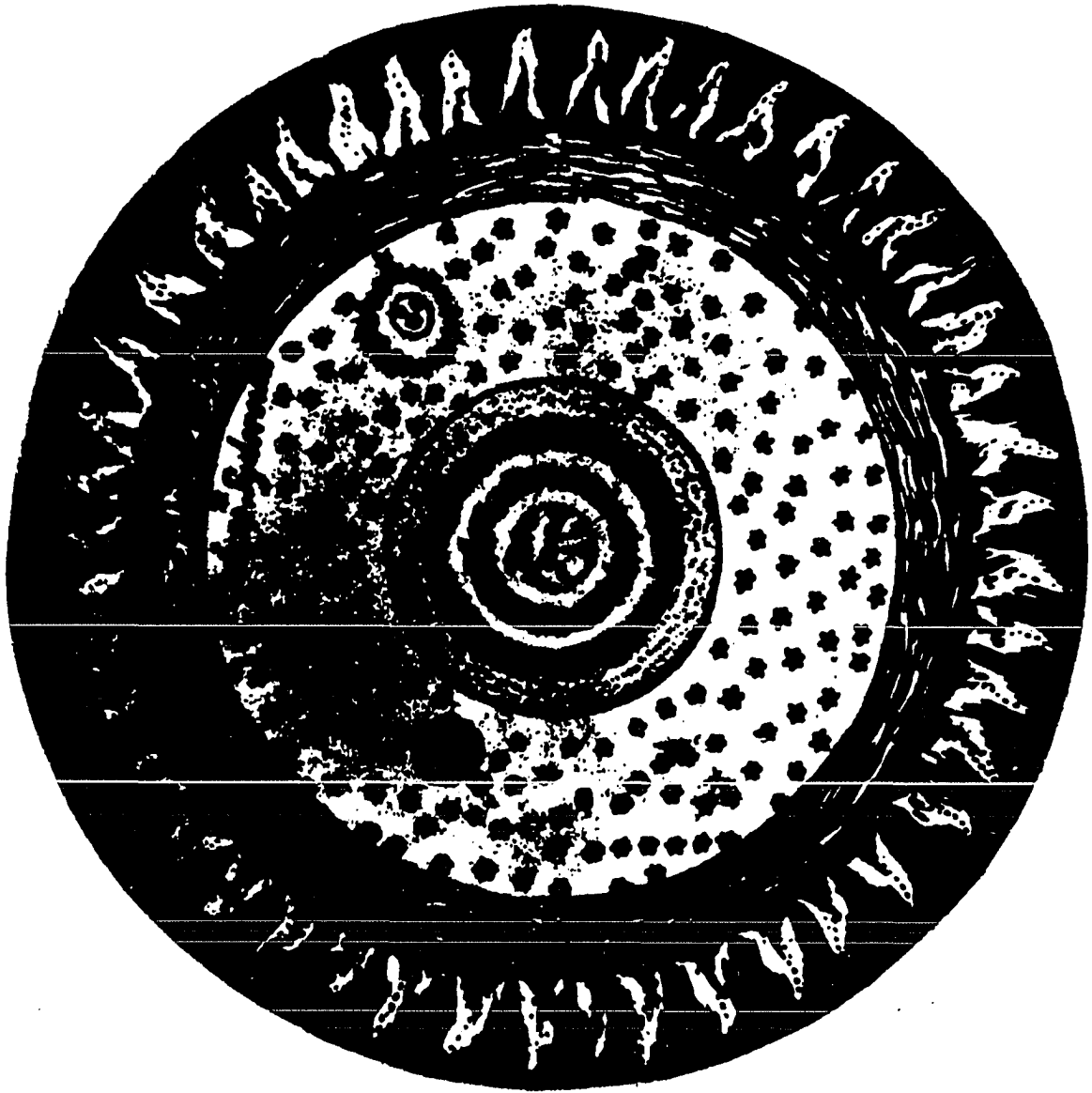
TYRNAVIÆ  
 Typis Academicis Anno M. DCCIX.

## Plate 10



Frontispiece of Marton Szentivanyi's *Miscellanea* (Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis, MDCCIX). Used by permission of Eötvös Lorand University Library.

## Plate 11



World viewed by Márton Szentiványi in his Miscellanea, fig. 26, 1:31.  
Used by permission of National Széchényi Library, Budapest.

### 3. Geography

In relation to natural sciences, there was room in Szentiványi's Miscellanea for geography not as an independent branch of the sciences, but as an active part of physics and philosophical history and its functions. He examined the earth with a broad perspective and viewed it as it was connected with the solar system, placing it first among the heavenly bodies in the center of the created universe.<sup>21</sup>

His general geography Brevis Totius Terrarum Orbis Descriptio is nothing more than a list of the four continents' renowned mountains, lakes, rivers, cities, archdioceses, and bishoprics. For the European countries he also listed the academies. These lists of geographical facts had no other obvious purpose than use in reinforcing historical events. In higher learning the students were required to relate each historic happening to its geographical location. On the other hand, with each important geographical place, the student was expected to be knowledgeable about the historical event associated with the location.<sup>22</sup>

After the texts mentioned above, Szentiványi wrote the legends and traditions of these geographical places. Although he also told mystical stories about the inhabitants, he mentioned nothing about the climate, the plant and animal life, or other geographical factors or elements.

Szentiványi went into much greater detail in writing the geography of Hungary, enlarging it with historical connections and preserving the ancestral traditions of the Magyars. He felt that geographical knowledge was indispensable for dealing with historical and philosophical questions. In these geographical reviews, he touched upon only those main facts which were of great historical importance. Szentiványi made a list, with short

descriptions, of the country's rivers, the ways in which they were most significant, and the cities or forts built along the river banks in discussion. Furthermore, he wrote about Hungary's rich natural resources and fertile soil. For these writings he used mostly foreign sources which spoke of the land in terms of highest praise for its marvelous richness, its productivity, the bravery of its inhabitants, its "noble vines", and the variety of its minerals.<sup>23</sup>

In a separate dissertation, Szentiványi described the country's artesian waters and mineral springs. Here again, he first instructed the reader with philosophical knowledge. For example: "What is deeper, the earth or the ocean?" — "...because the rivers must get their origins from the oceans — according to the Scriptures: Ad locum unde exuent Flumina revertentur, ut iterum fluant." Later he wrote of the miraculous curing effects of the water and about the Turks and their love for water, particularly the hot baths which were built by the Turks at Buda.<sup>24</sup>

In relation to Hungary's ethnography, Szentiványi wrote that there was hardly any country that had been occupied by so many nations as this. Thus, its people were mixed with various elements of many races and many nationalities — all this because of the fertile land.<sup>25</sup> Szentiványi's Biblical historiography is very typical in that it evolves the country's inhabitants successively. The first dwellers, according to Szentiványi's tradition, were the descendants of the Semitic tribes, the Bannon, from whom the territory appears to get its name (pannonia). Bannon became part of the territory postdiluvian in 167 A.D., whose followers were conquered by Hidaspis Darius, followed by the great migrations and long struggles in this land. The territory changed occupancy as different nations journeyed across it.

These were Macedonians, Vandals, Eastern Goths, Romans, Huns, Longobards, Avars, and Jazigs, followed by the Hungarians, Pannonians, Slavs, Cummanians, Wallachians, Ruthenians, Croations, Serbians, and Turks. In addition to the pure listing and some historical connections, these narratives did not cover other facts such as the people's costumes, their occupations, or any other aspects of their lives. The cities of Hungary were introduced but were regarded only from two standpoints: historical and cultural. His main interest was in the origins of cities and in their founders. He also gave attention to their military successes and historical roles and to their schools and other institutions.<sup>26</sup>

#### 4. Physics

One of Szentiványi's topics in physics included an essay about optics in which he specifically elaborated a theory and physiology of eyesight. When he was not restricted or in conflict with his Order's teachings and beliefs, he would discuss new discoveries which attracted him: the telescope, porcelain, matches, the compass, maps, and the solar spots, etc., with fresh curiosity.<sup>27</sup>

By the middle of the eighteenth century more of the Jesuit teachers became involved in scientific writings and gained recognition with their publications. Among the authors of the physics books written at Nagyszombat is Pater András Adányi with his voluminous book entitled Philosophia naturalis. Its first volume was published in 1755, the second volume Pars recentioris physicae in 1756. From that time on more copious books from the works of Nagyszombat University professors were also published. The widely-used physics text was Institutiones physicae (1756) written by Pater András Jaszlinszky. In the next two years (1757-58) Pater Antal Reviczky's

Elementa philosophiae naturalis was printed by the Nagyszombat Press. Without further interruption two other books, the Institutiones physicae and Metaphysicae by Pater János Ivánchich came to light in 1759. Later Pater Antal Radics published his book by the same title at Buda in 1766. This list of authors was concluded by Pater János Horváth with his books Physicae generalis in 1767, and Physicae particularis in 1770.<sup>28</sup>

Szentiványi's books verify the spirit and the nature of the teaching material of the seventeenth century. The above works bring to light the new trends of the eighteenth century. Reading them, one can sense the authors' effort, the way in which they were trying to keep pace with the rapid evolution of the natural sciences. They accepted Copernicus, Galileo, Newton more readily. Jaszlinszky states explicitly that "God did not give revelation in physics matters, rather he left to be the subject of the human debate."<sup>29</sup> Reviczky defends the theory of Descartes on the criterium of truth,<sup>30</sup> but he disproves Descartes' thesis of ideae innatae (concepts of innateness) along with Jaszlinszky and Ivánchich.<sup>31</sup> In the "determination of space" Ivánchich remarks that "We join the Cartesians."<sup>32</sup>

Adányi in his Physica introduces the Descartes' four tools of physics and writes "They are worthy to be accepted by all philosophers."<sup>33</sup> The professors of Nagyszombat acknowledged Newton; only Reviczky and Jaszlinszky criticized that "he only stated the rules of solar motion, he did not investigate the causes, whether they are inner or outer."<sup>34</sup>

Leibniz was not so much accepted by Nagyszombat University, but a few of his theses found places in Reviczky's and Jaszlinszky's works.<sup>35</sup> Perhaps the most notable of these books is the detailed information they provide about the new science of anthropology: anatomy, physiology, organs, bones,



osteology, craniology, histology (see Plate 13 of this paper).

It is easy to make a statement from the above investigation that by the middle of the eighteenth century Nagyszombat University kept only one aspect from the scholasticism: "its form." The form that urged students to put forth extra effort in studying so they could display their accomplishments in the debates.

### C. Social Science

When Szentiványi became preoccupied with history, his mathematical and geometrical perception was reflected in his work. Yet he still observed the occurring historical events completely. It would seem that he was not concerned with inner motives, interrelatedness, fundamental causes, or with the spirit of history, because he never explained or passed severe judgment on anything.<sup>36</sup> As he pointed out, "omnis scientia requirit mathematicam [every science requires mathematics]." He did not build history into a homogeneous living organism, but left it simply as chronology and kept it astronomiae subserviat; that is, he treated all sciences as simple "servants of mathematics."<sup>37</sup>

Szentiványi was a versatile man, often at the expense of thoroughness. Thus, many errors crept into his labored geographical and historical writings.<sup>38</sup> Throughout his works, the effect of this deficiency is noticeable. As a historian, Szentiványi adopted many ideas from his wide readings, without any doubt or criticism. The only criterion he used in selecting his material was the Aristotelian scholastic philosophy; he rejected what was contrary to it without any hesitation.<sup>39</sup>

Szentiványi ascertained virtues — and through them awakened national

regard — which up until then historians had not been concerned about.<sup>40</sup> Szentiványi's belief was that the duty of the chronologist is to gather historical events from manuscripts and put them in their proper places, no matter when they might have happened, before or after Christ.<sup>41</sup>

Szentiványi viewed the entire body of material on Hungarian history in five synopses: (1) The historic events in Pannonia before the Hungarian conquest; (2) the arrival of the Hungarians until Saint István (373-1000, meaning the Huns); (3) the years 1000 to 1500; (4) the years 1500 to 1600; (5) the seventeenth century. After all, what Szentiványi needed most was chronology on which to base history and distinguish and arrange events, because without it (chronology) neither secular nor ecclesiastic history could have been understood.<sup>42</sup>

Szentiványi did not call himself a historian. Nevertheless he paved the road to modern history which resulted in the continuous publication of compendia in the calendars. A further outcome was the collection of original sources in the whole territory of the country. In the process of data collecting, he turned for help to the public, especially to aristocratic families, hoping that the descendants of the famous old noble families' archives would have abundant valid documents. From such successors who were proud of their ancestry Szentiványi anticipated that many precious contributions would come to light. He similarly approached the monastic orders and communes with such requests.<sup>43</sup> However, he was not pleased with the results. Although he obtained some original material, it was much less than he expected. Some of those from whom he sought information found excuses, saying that their archives had been destroyed during the devastating wars; others blamed the older generations' neglect and lack of sensitivity for lack of

documents.<sup>44</sup>

In his writings and teachings of geography and history Szentiványi was not seeking explanations for man's social life. In fact, he was least concerned about how to control social environment. Instead, he was trying to interpret and understand the collected data. In each mental discipline he formulated questions about the subject matter and developed a system within the framework of strict scholastic structure. As a devoted Jesuit he was preoccupied with the concept of dogmatic Christian teachings and the power and authority of the Church.<sup>45</sup>

The picture that emerges from this short review of Jesuit teaching material reveals that in the teaching of sciences there was some consistency. The mental disciplines were characterized by the systematic scholastic method, and the teachers at Nagyszombat were faced with the problem of trying to develop structures which would relate science to the social sciences in more meaningful ways. This was recognized as a difficult task in the effort to avoid undue fragmentation of knowledge.

#### D. Promotion Syllabus or Publications

It was customary in Nagyszombat University life that when the baccalaureate and/or magister graduated, the poets and the rhetors (orator students), the two senior classes of the Jesuit gymnasium, to publish small pamphlets in honor of the graduates' commencement. Sometimes a promoted student was honored by his classmates with such literary work; furthermore, it also happened that the graduate dedicated a publication to his fellow graduates. Usually these pamphlets or small books contained the selection of the best speeches of the year. Although the authenticity of authorship

is difficult to determine at times, the professor's name generally appeared on the title page and sometimes, if the book contained poems and speeches, the authors of these were printed at the end.<sup>46</sup>

The first such publication in Nagyszombat is known as Decas Orationum, printed in 1652. It contains a collection of ten speeches, including one about Saint Catharina, the patroness of rhetoricians and philosophers. It describes the Jesuit ideal of what they believed in. The topic was taken from the name Catharina and its three letter a's (Catharina), which, accordingly, inspired martyrdom, innocence, and wisdom, since in Latin the three words begin with "a", or sapience filled with amor, which were represented allegorically. "If one were to erect a monument or memorial for these three virtues," the book says, "it would be more precious to one's feelings than the great pyramids in Egypt."<sup>47</sup>

An excerpt of the 1662 Corona sopho basilica... reveals how the orators symbolically offered to the graduating philosophy magisters the "royal crown" of Saint István, the first king of Hungary, and the "philosophical crown" of Saint Stephen, the first martyr. The authorship of this book is attributable to Pater István Cseke, who was the teacher of the orators in that year. The dedication of the syllabus reads:

The philosophers became kings by their virtues; their country is life, their royal court is soul, their virtues are the people of the court [royal household]; their throne is courage, their scepter is intelligence and wisdom; their sword is justice, their helm is moderation. But the philosopher is also a martyr, because he flitters away his life, in search of truth, for justice, and his perspiration [great effort] compares to inundant blood."<sup>48</sup>

The first chapter of the book starts with Attila's death, and the birth of Saint István. Géza (the father of István) contracted an alliance with super-terrestrial powers: God was to bless him with a son, the son in return

would dedicate Hungary to God, "Ex Ungariae Regno, faceret regnum Dei. Accordingly, Saint István's country at that time was regnum Dei and not regnum Marianum. The second chapter is about István's upbringing. In the following chapter the author praises István for how wisely he formulated a peace treaty with the neighboring princes, because with the outer help and its antidote (counter-poison) it is possible to control the inner illness of the country.<sup>49</sup>

Another writing brings philosophical ponderings to light. The pamphlet was published in 1656 at the Nagyszombat University Press and one of its illustrative paragraphs reads: Ex Libris Metaphysicorum. Here the philosopher extols metaphysics, with various maxims as the principle of human sciences. The book is purely speculative.<sup>50</sup>

These typical examples of the above books are also typical of the philosophical outlook of other pamphlets and books. Everywhere antique pictures and samples march in front of one's eyes bringing close the elements of scholastic activities of the University life. Jesuit authors, students, and masters never failed to emphasize that there were more important individuals, personalities, and characters, which Christianity produced.<sup>51</sup>

Just as the new tendency toward the emerging sciences is distinctly noticeable in scientific books, it can also be observed in the promotional literature of the eighteenth century. The following poem is taken from a promotion pamphlet — dedicated to the promoted magisters by the rhetors in 1750 — reflects the University's attitude toward progressiveness.

We praise the old, but we use our years  
 How I admonish you and assist you. I envy no things,  
 I hear nothing from the old = I live these times;  
 But we live what will be given....<sup>52</sup>

## E. Thesis Books

It was a basic requirement for students before earning a degree to participate in disputations and in a comprehensive oral examination. The student's defended thesis was published. Often contained writings of loose thoughts without connection. These were, in regard to their content, mostly the lists of scholastic philosophical dogmas stated in interrogative form. Some are still relevant discussion topics in modern philosophy.<sup>53</sup> The selection of topics was made by the major professor who was also responsible for organizing them.<sup>54</sup> The candidate who was promoted wrote a dedication in the front of the thesis book.<sup>55</sup>

The first such work surviving for later generations was published in Pozsony, in 1638. It was issued at the ceremonial graduation of Miklós Székhelyi, the first graduate to receive a doctoral degree at Nagyszombat. His chairman was Pater Márton Palkovics, Dean of Philosophy and Professor of Controversy. The title of his thesis book was Exercitation philosophica, and contains fifty items, or dogmas, from the usual scholastic philosophy topics.<sup>56</sup> Its special feature is that after each dogma there is a list of practical questions, such as "Is logic necessary or important for a normal life?" and "Is it the farmer or the soldier who supports or maintains the country?"<sup>57</sup>

In 1640, after the foundation of the University Press, the first known printed thesis was András Mokchai's Triplex philosophia. His chairman was Professor Miklós Wesselényi. The theoretical section of his thesis-book stressed the importance of philosophy. Mokchai, in his search for natural sciences, described Renaissance men with great enthusiasm. He wrote that to arrive at the realm of philosophy one must pass through the narrow gates

of logic. The conflict opens up for the human mind which opens all secret locks, "Nihil que illustratum et impertentatum sinit Philosophy." The mind searches for the earth's wondrous wealth, investigates the origins of metals, the minerals, the waters, uncovers their secret powers, and tries to determine their values. It is the voice of a rationalistic man, who did not think of nature as being magical or mystical, or as a difficult, fathomless creation. Rather he thought of it with a sober and zealous mind to determine its real value. Physics was the guardian of the human mind on this route. Mokchai pointed out that "philosophy, along with political science, economy and ethics, is useful in regulating individual behavior in its human relationship." Finally, he said, "if one prefers something perfect, or complete, here is the queen of philosophy, the metaphysics."<sup>58</sup>

Only scholastic fundamental principles are evident in the philosophical discussions, which revealed nothing new, despite the expectations raised by reading the introduction to Mokchai's book. Its logic is classic Aristotelian. In the final analysis of these topics, it becomes evident that they were not touched by modern philosophical questions. They were based on traditional Aristotelian — Thomistic beliefs — but with the use of the Suárezian method, they developed a systematic exposition of theology on rational, classical principles, the Jesuit philosophy of the era. Some topics were taken from Duns Scotus.<sup>59</sup>

The dedication of another thesis illustrates how by using Greek myth the author was able to universalize a problem. Adamó Illiészáy's Philosophia was published in 1656; the promoveal professor was Andrea Makar. The author dedicated his book to György Lippay, and in it one can find all the allegorical dedications of that era. The Cardinal is first mentioned as

Hercules who holds on his shoulders the sweet weight of the country as a wise and virtuous man. Later on, as was quite customary in written dedications of the time, he compares the Primate to the sun. The dedication is illustrated through the use of a copper engraved picture. On it is a pillar and on each side stand two heroes, one holding an emblem with the two-headed eagle, the other holding the Hungarian emblem in one hand. In their right hands they are both holding a script: Pro Caesare — Et Rege (for the Emperor and ruler), and on the pillar is Lippay's coat of arms. As a sign of interest in natural sciences the top part of the picture shows a putto holding the earth which is chained to pillars on both sides, and between the links are the sun, the moon, the stars, and the four elements. (See Plate 12 of this paper.)<sup>60</sup>

The thesis books and promotions pamphlets clearly demonstrate that the literary form used was a transition between the Renaissance and Baroque styles. The splendid settings and accessories remained from the Renaissance era, but between the lines the new world's view chimed out a pleasant ring with its victorious essays. The literature, for the most part, was Latin, the kind of elegant and exquisite Latin which was used in classics and literary masterpieces. However, the reading of the rare Latin words and expressions was the cause of great difficulty in interpretation and was partly responsible for slow readers and the frequent use of the Horatius' structure. In general, the stoical effects, or impressions, began to make their influences felt throughout the period.<sup>61</sup>



## Plate 12



Title page of Adamo Illiészazy, "Philosophia" (B.A. dissertation, Nagyszombat University, 1656). Used by permission of National Széchényi Library, Budapest.

### F. University Library

The University Library was located in the north section of the building on the ambitus (second floor). It was a large hallway-like room with six windows on one side. This was the largest library, bibliotheca magna. There were also a smaller parva and a community library, communis.<sup>62</sup>

When this new library was completed it became the well-known Nagyszombat Library, worthy of praise. It was sponsored by Cardinal Lippay's and Cardinal Szelepcsényi's funds, and it contained book cases and cabinets similar to the ones used at the Graz Library. In between the library and the stairways was the librarian's room which had a direct entry door to the library only from the hallway.<sup>63</sup>

The books were organized into subject classifications which corresponded to the cataloguing practices of the time. The literary works were arranged in the following categories: theology (1-7 cabinets); law (8-12 cabinets); philosophy (11-13); philology (11-16); and history (17-19 cabinets).

The University Library developed from the library of the Convent of the Society of Jesus in Nagyszombat and adopted its original ideas and its cataloguing system. The earliest catalogue was made for the Jesuit Academy in 1632, and it was used until 1690. The rather inadequate form was alphabetized according to the first letter of the entry word, and no further subarrangements were made or any space provided for later notes. The entries included the author's name, the title, the format, the type of binding and the place and the time of publication.<sup>64</sup>

This system of cataloguing was altered somewhat in 1660, and important changes were made within each of the initial twenty-three subject sections.

In addition to the usual data it also recorded the time of cataloguing.<sup>65</sup>

In the seventeenth century most librarians did not always find it necessary to construct useful catalogues. There were no uniform practices developed among the cataloguing hands. At the Nagyszombat Library Jakab Némethi made an attempt to organize and revise the cataloguing to make it articulate and readable at first view, although he did not divide the pages into columns but made margins and the different titles were separated only by the numbers placed in the margin, or by indenting the title's second and third lines about one half centimeter from the first line.<sup>66</sup> According to medieval practices the entry word was usually the author's first name as in Nicolas Telegdi which came under the letter N; Auctore Nicolao Telegdi (N 39-48). In this rather primitive catalogue the ancient authors' names were recorded in the same way. For instance, Tacitus was listed under C; Cornelius Tacitus (C 99). There were a few exceptions to this rule: when the family name was used for the entry word like Calpurnius (C 190) and Copernicus (C 207);<sup>67</sup> in the case of anonymous works, the first word of the arbitrarily abbreviated title was used, but not if it was a preposition. The titles of even the non-Latin publications were cited in their conventional Latin form.<sup>68</sup>

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Tivadar Margo, Az Egyetem múltja és jelene - Ünnepi beszéd melyet 1880 évi május hó 13-án a Budapesti M.K. Tudományegyetem ujjaalakításának 100-ik évfordulója alkalmából mondott az Egyetem rectora [Past and Present of the University - Rectorial Speech Delivered on the 100 Anniversary of the R.H. University of Budapest] (Budapest: M.K. Egyetemi Könyvnyomda, 1880), p. 7. (Pamphlet)

<sup>2</sup>Szentpétery, A Bölcsészet. Kar története, 2: 14.

<sup>3</sup>Sárközi, Nagyszombati matematikusok, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>5</sup>Fasty Regiae Universitatis Litterarum Hungaricae Budapestiensis (Budapest: Typis Regiae Scientiarum Universitatis Hungaricae, 1935), cited by Sárközi, Nagyszombati matematikusok, p. 8.

<sup>6</sup>Sárközi, Nagyszombati matematikusok, p. 8.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>8</sup>Rapaics, "A természettudomány a Nagyszombati Egyetemen," p. 257.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 259.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 260.

<sup>11</sup>Szentiványi, Curiosiora...Miscellanea, passim; Also see Rapaics, "A természettudomány a Nagyszombati Egyetemen," p. 259.

<sup>12</sup>Szentiványi, Curiosiora...Miscellanea, cited by Rapaics, "A természettudomány a Nagyszombati Egyetemen," p. 260.

<sup>13</sup>Zemplén, Magyar fizika története, p. 148.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 148-49.

<sup>15</sup>Rapaics, "Az általános növénytan kezdetei Magyarországon" [Beginning of the General Botany in Hungary], Botanikai Közlönyök 29 (April 1932): 105. Also see idem, "A természettudomány a Nagyszombati Egyetemen," p. 260.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>János László, ed., Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem [Eötvös Loránd University] (Szeged, Hungary: Szegedi Nyomda, 1970), p. 6.

<sup>18</sup>Erdei, Information Hungary, p. 663.

<sup>19</sup>Rapaics, "Az általános növénytan Magyarországon," p. 103.

- <sup>20</sup>Serfözö, Szentiványi munkássága, p. 38.
- <sup>21</sup>Szentiványi, Curiosiora...Miscellanea, 2: 5.
- <sup>22</sup>Brunó Balassa, Történet tanítás múltja hazánkban [History Teaching in the Past in Hungary] (Pécs, Hungary: Dunántúl Nyomda, 1929), p. 57.
- <sup>23</sup>Serfözö, Szentiványi munkássága, p. 40.
- <sup>24</sup>Szentiványi, Curiosiora...Miscellanea, cited by Serfözö, Szentiványi munkássága, p. 40.
- <sup>25</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>26</sup>Szentiványi, Curiosiora...Miscellanea, 2: 1.
- <sup>27</sup>Zemplén, Magyar fizika története, p. 149.
- <sup>28</sup>Rapaics, "A természettudomány a Nagyszombati Egyetemen," pp. 263-64.
- <sup>29</sup>András Jaszlinszky, Institutiones physicae (Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis, 1756), pp. 18-19.
- <sup>30</sup>Antal Reviczky, Logica (Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis, 1758), p. 129.
- <sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 33; Jaszlinszky, Metaphysica (Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis, 1756), pp. 214, 238.
- <sup>32</sup>János Ivánchich, Metaphysica (Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis, 1759), p. 162.
- <sup>33</sup>András Adányi, Pars recentioris physicae (Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis, 1756), p. 28.
- <sup>34</sup>Jaszlinszky, Institutiones physicae, p. 153; Reviczky, Elementa philosophiae naturalis (Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis, 1757), p. 176.
- <sup>35</sup>Jaszlinszky, Metaphysica, p. 117; Reviczky, Elementa philosophiae naturalis, p. 25.
- <sup>36</sup>Serfözö, Szentiványi munkássága, p. 51.
- <sup>37</sup>Szentiványi, Curiosiora...Miscellanea, 1: 1.
- <sup>38</sup>Tivadar Pauler, "Szentiványi Márton jellemzése," [Description of the Character of Márton Szentiványi], Magyar Tudományos Akadémiai Értesítő, March 1857, pp. 252-68.
- <sup>39</sup>Zemplén, Magyar fizika története, p. 147.

<sup>40</sup>Szekfü, Magyarország története, 6: 138.

<sup>41</sup>Serfözö, Szentiványi munkássága, p. 54.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>43</sup>Szentiványi, Curiosiora...Miscellanea, 3: 1.

<sup>44</sup>Serfözö, Szentiványi munkássága, pp. 66-67.

<sup>45</sup>"The collection of historical material was initiated by the Catholics — to aid research into Church history. It was started by Gábor Hevenesi (1656-1715), the founder of the Jesuit School of History, who, with Church support, collected 140 volumes of manuscripts, while István Kaprinay (1714-1786) added 156 more volumes to the collection." (Erdey-Grúz, Science in Hungary, p. 163.)

<sup>46</sup>Kelecsényi, "Adalékok barokk," p. 8.

<sup>47</sup>Decas Orationum (Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis, 1652), RMK 2: 775. (Promotion book); Also see Kelecsényi, "Adalékok barokk," p. 8. A bibliography was compiled in the nineteenth century by Károly Szabó, Régi Magyar Könyvtár (hereafter cited as RMK) [Old Hungarian Library]. It has three volumes: (I) Books published in Hungarian language anywhere (1879), (II) books not in Hungarian printed in Hungary (1885), (III) books by Hungarian authors written in foreign languages not published in Hungary (1896-98). All three volumes were published by Akadémia in Budapest and provide valuable reference of those books published until 1711. The citation includes RMK I, II or III and the bibliographical entry. The call numbers are following the cataloguing system of the copies available in the reference research library at the National Széchényi Library.

<sup>48</sup>Corona sopho basilica (Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis, 1662), RMK 2: 995. (Promotion book)

<sup>49</sup>Ibid. Also see Kelecsényi, "Adalékok barokk," p. 14.

<sup>50</sup>Ex Libris Metaphysicorum (Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis, 1656), RMK 2: 237. (Promotion book)

<sup>51</sup>Kelecsényi, "Adalékok barokk," pp. 8-9.

<sup>52</sup>János Ivánchich, Elementa opticae: Honori magistrorum a rhetorica Tyrnaviensi dicana... (Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis, 1750), p. 74. (Promotion book)

<sup>53</sup>Kelecsényi, "Adalékok barokk," p. 3.

<sup>54</sup>Szentpétery, Bölcsészettudományi Kar története, 2: 91.

<sup>55</sup>Kelecsényi, "Adalékok barokk," p. 3.

<sup>56</sup>Miklós Székelyi, "Exercitation philosophica" (Ph.D. dissertation, Nagyszombat University, 1638), RMK 2: 530.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid.

<sup>58</sup>András Mokchai, "Triplex philosophia" (Ph.D. dissertation, Nagyszombat University, 1640), RMK 2: 559.

<sup>59</sup>Kelecsényi, "Adalékok barokk," pp. 4-5.

<sup>60</sup>Adamo Illiész, "Philosophia" (M.A. dissertation, Nagyszombat University, 1656), RMK 2: 858.

<sup>61</sup>Kelecsényi, "Adalékok barokk," p. 18.

<sup>62</sup>Serfűző, Szentiványi munkássága, p. 141.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid.

<sup>64</sup>Endre Pálvölgyi, "Egyetemi Könyvtár 17-18 századi katalógusai" [17th and 18th Century Catalogues of the University Library], Egyetemi Könyvtár Évkönyvei 4 (1968): 61. This old fashioned Nagyszombat Library developed into a modern research center with its 1,081,000 well-organized items which are easily accessible to any patron. By using the library today one should think of the tremendous progress which has been made in cataloguing from this antiquated form to the three most frequently used catalogues of the library; main author - title catalogue, readers' author-title catalogue, and the detached alphabetical subject catalogue today. (László Mátrai, András Tóth, and Miklós Vértési, eds., "Revised Edition of Library Cataloguing Rules, 1960," Egyetemi Könyvtár Évkönyvei 2 [1964]: 64.)

<sup>65</sup>Pálvölgyi, "Egyetemi Könyvtár 17-18 századi katalógusai," p. 61.

Plate 13

Assertiones Ex Universa Philosophia Quas. A formal declarations from universal philosophy in fifty (L) debate topics. Nagyszombat University, 1760. Engraving. The responsio (defender) was Josephi Bencsik.

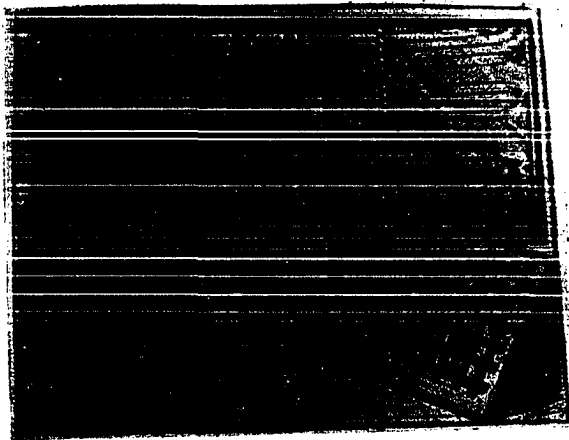
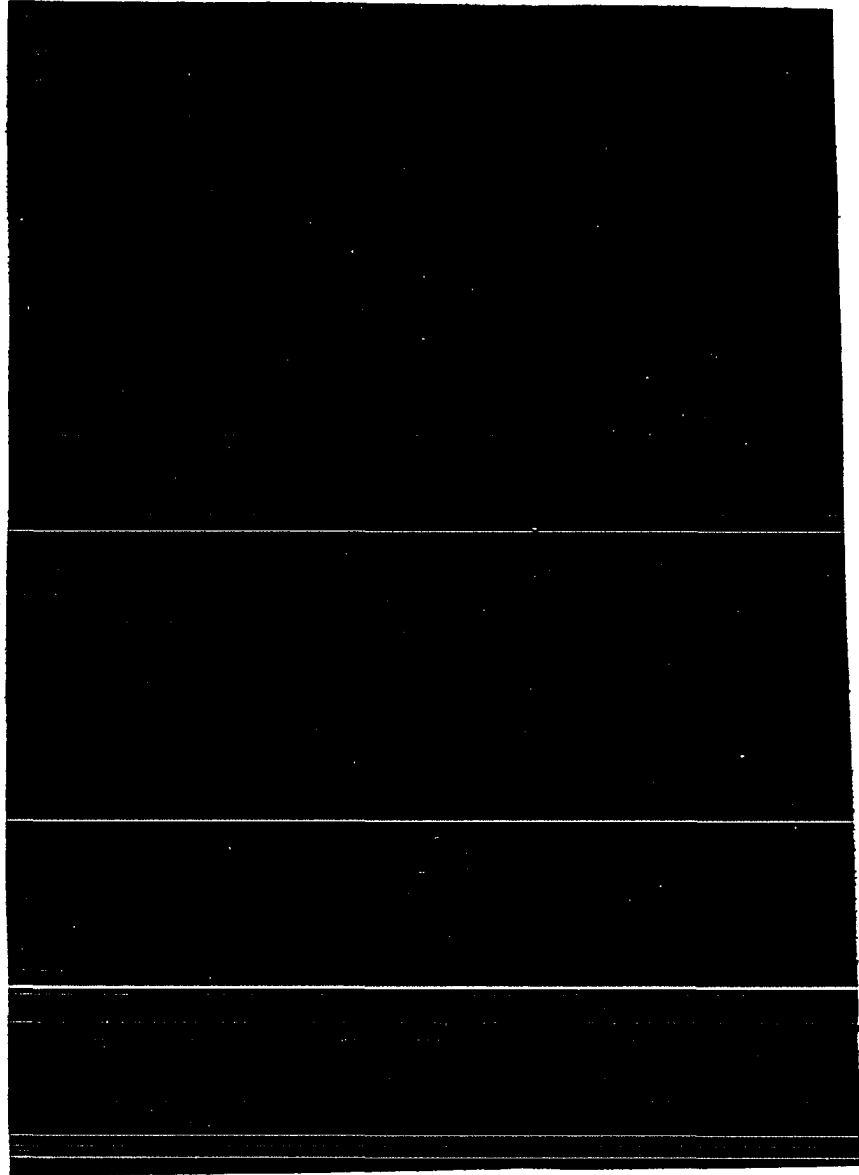
Used by permission of Bratislava Seminary, Bratislava, Czechoslovakia. Photographed by the researcher in Bratislava, August 1976.

Illustration from Antal Reviczky's Physica. Upper right shows the optical explanation of the rainbow, below an enlarged cross section of a histological cutting.

From: Antal Reviczky, Elementa philosophiae naturalis, vol. 1: Physica (Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis, 1757), p. 47.

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## VII. THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Miklos Olah, Primate of Hungary (1554-1568), recognized the significance of the press realizing what an enormous weapon printed books were in the hands of Neo-Humanists. Literature had won thousands for the new religious movement. A press, he said, could serve the same purpose for the interest of the Catholic Church. Therefore, he planned in 1558 to establish a press, but only Miklo's Telegdi (1535-1588), a Catholic bishop, with his wit and influence, was able to materialize this plan.<sup>1</sup>

Telegdi, since his bishopric was under Turkish occupation, could devote all his energy defending his Church. As a director of the reorganized Jesuit gymnasium, he fought with every means available to hinder the spread of the Reformation. He anticipated and recognized the danger that faced the Hungarian Catholic Archbishopric. Its destruction was imminent if the city of Nagyszombat deserted Catholicism.<sup>2</sup>

By the second half of the sixteenth century the Protestants had twenty presses already in operation in Hungary.<sup>3</sup> It was high time, thought Telegdi, to fight back and use the press for his ideals. He also realized that he must voice his views, by using the common people's language, to promote the causes in which he believed. During his struggle for favorable public opinion, he finally organized and established the press — as one of the most important means of communication.

Having no financial means, Telegdi used his influence with the church hierarchy and convinced the archbishop to buy an unused press from the Austrian Jesuits. He founded the press, with the consent of Emperor Rudolf and the chapter of cathedral, in his rectory at Nagyszombat in 1577. With this new enterprise he contributed to the cause of elevating the city of Nagyszombat to a Catholic literary center. The first Corpus Juris Hungarici

was printed there. From this modest initiation of a printing shop came the foundation of the large printing operation of the University in the seventeenth century. This same press had grown to be an integral part of the University and an essential feature of the country's cultural development.<sup>4</sup>

After Telegdi's death, according to his will, the books printed by the press were given to the Jesuits, but the press, after a long-lasting court case, became a possession of the Esztergom Chapter. After being used by several owners for a few decades, it was returned to Nagyszombat in the year of 1639. "The printing press started its full activities again in 1640 by printing Andrea Mokchai's thesis book."<sup>5</sup>

The Jesuit Academy, since it had come into existence at Nagyszombat, had fought for its supremacy at first possibly unconsciously. After the founding of the University as an outgrowth of the Academy, it fought with full consciousness not only to maintain the highest academic position, but to further develop the University Press into the country's first press. For this purpose the University equipped the Press with the best tools of its time. For top priority Nagyszombat had to compete with Pozsony, thus creating several conflicts. Pozsony wanted the press for the same reason as Nagyszombat did, to improve the cultural status of the city. The long-lasting contention between the Pozsony and the Nagyszombat Academies hindered the printing press in its progress, but finally Nagyszombat was the victor. By 1663 the dispute was settled; the press remained in Nagyszombat, and as Nagyszombat University Press, resumed its full activity.<sup>6</sup>

The University's reasons for having its own printings and publications were neither "merely a matter of prestige," nor for the "sake of arguments," but were mainly the demands of concerned scholars to provide an intellectual

center for Hungary.<sup>7</sup> This endeavor was crowned by success and paid many dividends by the end of the seventeenth century. The University Press, with its large number of publications by that time, had become the stronghold of Hungarian culture. The press, from 1640 on, operated with some problems and successes for some years, but later in the last decade of the seventeenth century it became prosperous.<sup>8</sup> The large number of publications printed there was an indication of the intellectual growth, the flourishing literature, the market for books, and the educational prosperity of that period.

The first publication of the press was Mokchai's Triplex philosophia written in Latin in 1640. There is no proof of any publication from the year 1641. Evangeliumok es epistolak (Scriptures and Epistolars) (1642) was the first book printed in Hungarian and the only copy in existence is well-guarded in the National Széchényi Library in Budapest.

In the years of 1643-44 and of 1646-47 there is no indication of publication, although in 1645, Fabian Kerti's book, Maria, az boldog örökkévaloságnak szent aita,ja (Maria, the Saint Door of Entryway to Happy Eternity), was published. All in all, only eight books are known to have been printed during the first decade of the history of the Press (1640-50). Later the number increased gradually in the years from 1650 through 1670, and the books printed yearly were around eight.<sup>9</sup>

After examining the quantity of books printed in the University Press, the content and language should also be examined. These books served as the basis of scholastic development of that period. Among the eight known books printed between 1640-50, one was philosophical and the rest theological and religious. Two were in Hungarian, the others in Latin. The books

published in the second half of the seventeenth century and the first decade in the eighteenth century were in Latin for the most part and only a small number in Hungarian.<sup>10</sup> It is a fact that several Lutheran presses were much more productive in printing Hungarian literature than the University Press, since it was a Jesuit affiliated higher institution and thus it placed more emphasis on scientific literature written mostly in Latin. Throughout its existence, the Press fulfilled not only the University's requirement, but also provided the reading public with numerous significant works of Hungarian literature and scientific writings.<sup>11</sup>

The University Press had to support himself by selling books. Therefore, books that were "best sellers" were favored. It was difficult to find a market for Hungarian books since the Hungarian population was small (a large portion of the country was under Turkish rule). Latin books were read generally; moreover, the German publications were popular because the Hungarian intelligencia could read them and these books could also be sold in other countries.<sup>12</sup>

Only about a dozen Hungarian authors, mostly Jesuits, kept the University Press occupied with Hungarian publications in the first half century of its existence. Among the published Hungarian books were the fervent religious works of Péter Ágoston (1616-89), the Szivek kincse (Hearts' Treasures) (1671), Mirrhaszedő zarándok (Myrrh-gathering Pilgrims) (1672), and Mennyei dicsőség (Glorious Heaven) (1674). Other publications were by Prince Pál Eszterházy (1635-1712). His Hungarian books about the Blessed Virgin were printed with movable type. Other writers were the Illyés brothers, András and István, who were industrious in publishing books on religion, meditation, philosophy as well as speech and hymn books.<sup>13</sup>

Pater Imre Kiss, a Jesuit priest, became known for his polemical writings about the disputes between István Czeglédi and Pósaházi. Pater István Landovics, also a Jesuit, wrote the religious Elválasztott juh (Separated Sheep) (1676), Új segítség (New aid) (1689), and several other books. János Lippay wrote some practical books on botany, such as the Posoni kert (Garden of Pozsony) (1664). Lippay became known for his careful observations and his knowledge of species of his time.<sup>14</sup>

The one-time Calvinist priest, Ferenc Foris Otrókocsi, searched for relics of the ancient history of Hungary. After returning to the Catholic faith, he wrote religious books titled: Róma Isten szent városa (Rome, the Holy City of God) (1698), and Isten előtt járóknak tökéletessége (The Perfection of God's Believers) (1699).

Márton Szentiványi, a long-time professor at the University, wrote numerous literary works, but only two of his publications were written in Hungarian with the University Press relief characters: Négy rövid könyvecskék a hitben támadott versengésekről (Four Little Books About Religious Competition) (1699), and Ötven okok és indulatok, miért kell a római vallást választani (Fifty Reasons Why One Should Select the Roman Church) (1699). Another Jesuit, Pater István Tarnóczy, translated John Bona's Mennybe vezető kalauz (Guide to Heaven) (1675) and Bellarmine's Nagy mesterség a jó élet (Good Life Is a Great Tradesman) (1680) to Hungarian language. He also wrote several Hungarian books.<sup>15</sup>

Besides these writings there were anonymous books probably written by Jesuits of Nagyszombat. These included calendars, regulations of congregations, catechisms, funeral sermons, eulogies, epistles, song books, and military regulations as well as some small pamphlets.<sup>16</sup>

Although there was only a small number of Hungarian books printed at Nagyszombat there were a large number of Latin and other foreign publications by the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. Primate Lipot Kollonich, who was the protector of the Ruthenians, enriched the printing shop with Cyrillic letters in 1681, so it became suitable for the printing of Slavic and Ruthenian books also.<sup>17</sup> Likewise, there were religious books printed for Serbians and Croats. Later, in early eighteenth century (1727), the Cyrillic letters were taken to Kolozsvár (Transylvania) and this ended the Ruthenian book printing at Nagyszombat.<sup>18</sup> The Latin, German, Slav, and other foreign printings were for the greater part theological writings: prayers, katek, canons, manuals, missals, officiums, rituals, polemics. Beside these, there were philosophical, historical, and judicial books. Books on natural sciences and classics were also published but in a relatively smaller number. The Nagyszombat calendars were famous and popular; a whole series was published from 1666-1711. The Bills passed in the Parliament in 1683, 1688, and 1697 were also printed by the University Press, as was the revised edition of the Corpus Juris Hungarici.

At the beginning of 1700, the Press showed its shrewdness by sending the publication of various educational books to Vienna. From time to time, one of the dealers, Márton Endter, gave an account of the books he had in his bookstore to Szentiványi (director of the press), giving the kind of books, the number of books, and their values. The extent accounts and receipts cover a period between February 23, 1702 until January 16, 1705, but the exact time the Press made the first business contact with Endter and on what basis is not clear from these original papers. One of the reports

shows 80 books, valued at 43.18 florins,<sup>19</sup> another shows 29 literary works in which 335 books are listed and valued at 189.01 florins.<sup>20</sup>

After an examination of some of the different kinds of books printed at Nagyszombat University Press, it is no less interesting to investigate the physical facilities there.

The printing plant was housed at the west end of the aedificium academicum (the main building of the University) and attached to the classrooms. The rectangular building was, according to the technical description and blueprint, bordered on one of its long sides by an acute-triangular courtyard, and on its other long side by the University's large courtyard. On one short side of the printing plant was a garden, while the other narrow side joined the University's main building.<sup>21</sup>

According to the well-preserved floor plan there was an ambitus academicus (direct door) for the supervisor and his assistant to use in going from the University's main building to the press. The press employees were not allowed to use this door; instead they went through the side door and out into the street to get to the University. The press had another door also which led to the large courtyard of the University. This door was always locked and the key kept by the prefect, who opened it only if books or papers had to be transferred or transported.

The actual press room, the so-called composing room, was on the second floor where the letters were kept. Here, in the typography room, the words were set and put into type. The reason the typography was on the second floor, according to the description, was that it had more light than the main floor and it was also more convenient for the prefect. The printing shop was located on the main floor in a 36-foot long room. There were two



other rooms: one for papers and the other for press supplies and tools. The freshly-printed materials, just off the press, were hung and dried in the press room on ropes and wooden rods fastened to the walls on both end of the room.<sup>22</sup> The final printed sheets were kept in the University's main building. Firewood necessary for heating purposes was stored under the stairs or in a small courtyard, where a well was also located.<sup>23</sup> Finally there were two other rooms used for an apartment to accommodate craftsmen.<sup>24</sup>

Until 1687, the prefects changed yearly, or possibly after two or three years. This was a disadvantage, because these men cared only for administration, and supervision, and not for progress. The year 1687 was a turning point, for the University Press started to flourish under Márton Szentiványi's leadership. Szentiványi, during twenty-five years of supervision, built a separate building for the press (1699).<sup>25</sup>

Serfözö's essay on Szentiványi states that "Szentiványi cared for the Press and it was as close to his heart as his teaching at the University."<sup>26</sup> He took press matters seriously, remained its supporter, and was inseparable from it until the end of his life. What were the motivating forces that made him so involved with the furthering of the Press? "It is quite obvious," Serfözö writes, "being one of the most assiduous toilers in writing himself, he was well aware of the significance of the Press."<sup>27</sup>

Emperor Leopold I appointed Szentiványi to State Censor in 1688. The censorship was planned to protect the Catholic writers through the consent of the royalty of high clergy. But other religious sects practiced their censorship arbitrarily. In Transylvania the books were censored by the Protestants to protect their views. In Nagyszombat the tendency was to "centralize" the rights of the bookstores; therefore the authority to censor

was given to the administration of the University Press.<sup>28</sup>

By 1690 the publication was at the height of its production under the energetic leadership of Szentiványi,<sup>29</sup> who had been appointed rector to the University in 1691. Besides this office he kept the job of prefectus, supervisor of the press and, at the same time, was the State Censor. Obviously this position made it possible for him to promote the best interests of the Press.<sup>30</sup>

Supply and price of the paper were the two major concerns of the Press. Because of the increased demand of books and publications, the Press needed a larger quantity of paper. It was imperative to get its paper supply for less money, a situation which led to the necessity of having to own paper mills. There is no recollection or written document that would show any evidence that the University or the Press wanted to establish a mill, or that it already had one. "As everyone knows," Serfözö said, "the Press had not possessed its own mill until 1693, and it got the paper supply from some other place."<sup>31</sup> According to Iványi - Gárdonyi, Nagyszombat Press bought its paper supply from Barin's paper mill between 1640 and 1693. Until then the Press had no paper mill of its own, and it had to pay a high price for the paper.<sup>32</sup>

It is difficult to find the exact date when the mills were built, but the available documents make one thing certain; by 1694 they had been completed, because by 1695 both the University's and the Press' diaries indicate the Press started to pay back its debts to the University, and further indicate that the Press had received its paper supply from elsewhere until 1693. The curious historian has no tangible evidence about the details of the mills' construction, but it is certain, that the Press could

not have built them alone without the University's financial support, and those debts were grounds for later disputes. These arguments could be summarized in three points: (1) The University could have taken in both mills, because they (the mills) owed the University more than the mills were actually worth. (2) It was reasonable that the mills' profit and its control be possessed by the University. (3) It seemed more important to have the mills in the hands of the University. The most important argument was that the Press did not pay its debt and the University had need for it.<sup>33</sup>

For a long time the University thought about and secretly wished to take the mills' sources or revenues and the financial affairs away from the Press. This desire, and also the fact that the University had some serious financial difficulties, make one think that the mills must have been prosperous, or the University would not have wanted to possess them.<sup>34</sup>

With these obstacles relating to budget in view Szentiványi never lost interest in the personnel of the Press. He cared for the workers and took their financial well-being seriously. He stood up and fought for the University's privileges constantly, also considering the workers of the Press as a part of the University. Szentivanyi demanded a better life for them and begged the City Magistrate to respect the printers, value more their highly useful trade and make them immune in matters of unequal duties.<sup>35</sup> But the city wanted just the opposite. The printers were excluded from the University's jurisdiction and heavily taxed. These men complained bitterly against the city's over-taxation and its absolutism. The full content of their complaint is known from a letter sent to the City Magistrate in January, 1697.<sup>36</sup> The letter states that other university printers everywhere were under the jurisdiction of the University and

not the city, and they were free from civic duties. The printers at Nagyszombat were not granted any advantages by the city; on the contrary the city burdened them with heavy duties so they lived a degraded life and could hardly support their families.

The Press employees were skillful and outstanding tradesmen and they greatly increased the reputation of the Press. Up until 1693 one of the best foremen of the Press was John Horman, who was known as the best printer of his time, and who worked at the University Press from 1693 to 1704. During its flourishing time the Press attracted well-known foreign designers and copper-engravers.<sup>37</sup> The Press prospered from their work and became famous, but most of the credit should be given to Szentiványi, because most matters related to Press depended on the prefect's decision.

The accounts of all the printed works published at Nagyszombat University Press were carefully combined in a bibliography, 1578-1930, written by Aloysius Zelliger in 1931. In his well-illustrated bibliographical study Zelliger organized his work by the years they were published and used item numbers within each year. "This unpretentious work," said Zelliger in his preface, "will proclaim to the world that Nagyszombat, bearing the title 'little Rome,' educated noble-minded youth. They were trained in sciences and fine arts, and through them mankind's cultural life profited."<sup>38</sup> The books published at the University Press attracted attention in foreign countries, and they have been well-received at antique stores up until the present day.<sup>39</sup>

## FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup>Kelecsényi, "Adalékok barokk," p. 13.
- <sup>2</sup>Ibid.; Béla Iványi and Albert Gárdonyi, Egyetemi Nyomda története 1577-1927 [University Press' History] (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1928), p. 39.
- <sup>3</sup>Tibor Erdey-Grúz, gen.ed., Hazánk, Magyarország [Our Motherland, Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975), pp. 127-28.
- <sup>4</sup>Margit M. Braunecker, Nagyszombat mint irodalmi központ (1560-1640) [Nagyszombat, a Literary Center] (Budapest: Sárkány Nyomda R.T., 1933), pp. 20-27.
- <sup>5</sup>Iványi - Gárdonyi, Egyetemi Nyomda, p. 38; Kelecsényi, "Adalékok barokk," p. 13.
- <sup>6</sup>Iványi - Gárdonyi, Egyetemi Nyomda, pp. 39-45.
- <sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 51.
- <sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 51-52.
- <sup>9</sup>Aloysius Zelliger, Pantheon Tyrnaviense, Bibliographicam... (Tyrnaviae: Typis Soc. S. Adalberti, 1931), p. 6.
- <sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 6-43; Iványi - Gárdonyi, Egyetemi Nyomda, p. 52.
- <sup>11</sup>György Székely, ed., A 325 éves Budapesti Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem rövid története [A Short History of the 325 Years Old Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest] (Nyiregyháza, Hungary: Szabolcs-Szatmári Nyomda, 1960), p. 10.
- <sup>12</sup>Ibid.; Iványi - Gárdonyi, Egyetemi Nyomda, pp. 52-53.
- <sup>13</sup>Iványi - Gárdonyi, Egyetemi Nyomda, pp. 53-54.
- <sup>14</sup>Ibid., pp. 54-55.
- <sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 55.
- <sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 56.
- <sup>17</sup>Gyenis, Nagyszombati Egyetem Nyomdája és az Unio, p. 8.
- <sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 14.
- <sup>19</sup>Marton Endter, Accounts, 23 February 1702 to 16 January 1705, no. 70, fasc. 10, Acta Jesuit. Irregist., Coll. Tyrnav., E 152, OLT.
- <sup>20</sup>Ibid., no. 69, fasc. 10.

<sup>21</sup>Blueprint of the University Press, n.d., no. 180, fasc. 10, Acta Jesuit. Irregist., Coll. Tyrnav., E 152, OLT.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., no. 179, fasc. 10.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Molnár, A közoktatás Magyarországon, I: 220.

<sup>26</sup>Serfőző, Szentiványi munkássága, p. 130.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>Iványi - Gárdonyi, Egyetemi Nyomda, p. 57.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 196.

<sup>30</sup>Serfőző, Szentiványi munkássága, p. 130.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 131.

<sup>32</sup>Iványi - Gárdonyi, Egyetemi Nyomda, p. 196.

<sup>33</sup>Serfőző, Szentiványi munkássága, pp. 131-32.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 131.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., pp. 144-45.

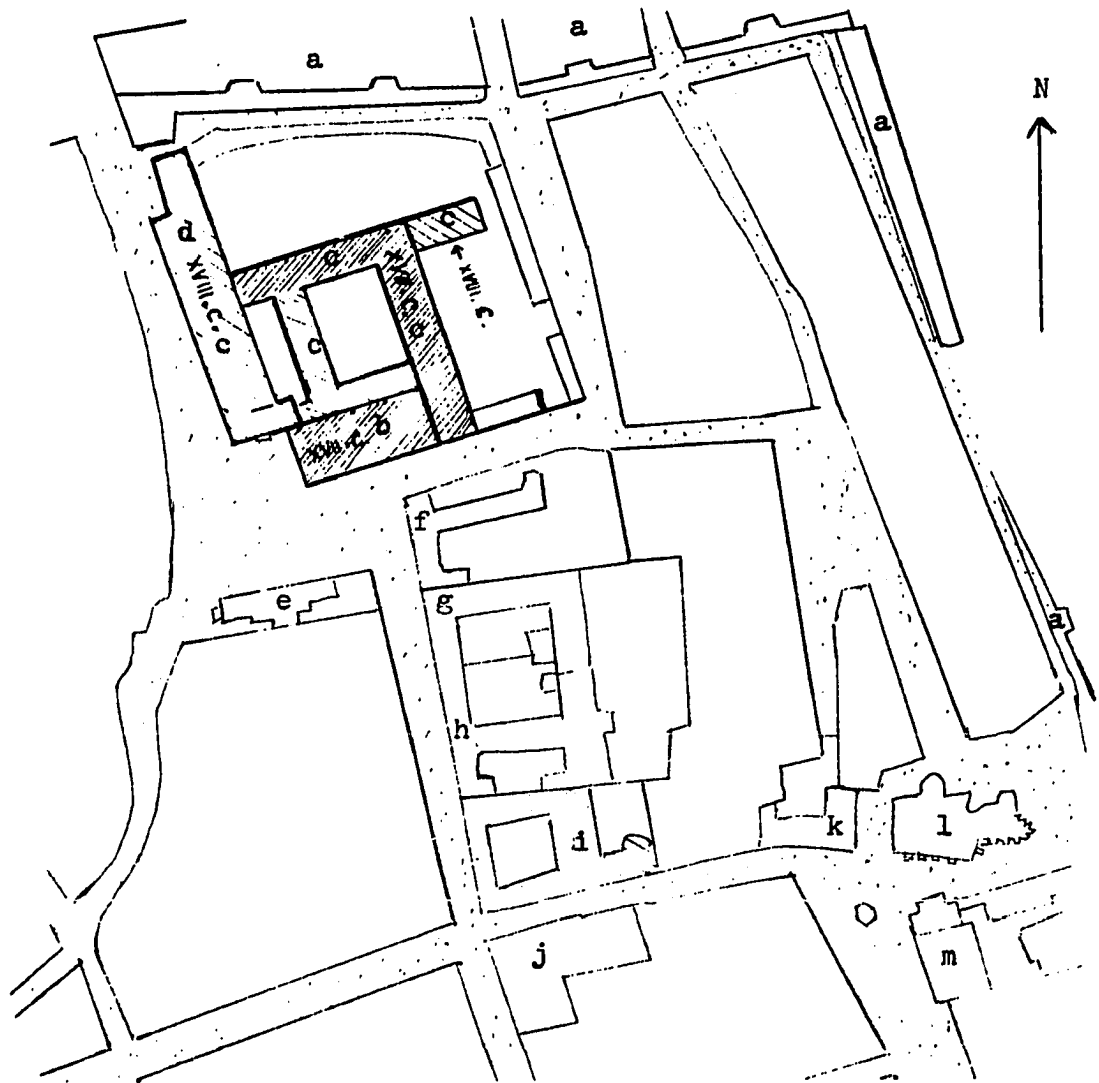
<sup>36</sup>University Press employees to City Magistrate, January 1697, no. 28, fasc. 10, Acta Jesuit. Irregist., Coll. Tyrnav., E 152, OLT.

<sup>37</sup>Iványi - Gárdonyi, Egyetemi Nyomda, p. 72.

<sup>38</sup>Zelliger, Pantheon Tyrnaviense, p. VI.

<sup>39</sup>Béla Breznay, Egy pillantás a Budapesti K.M. Tudományegyetem történetére az alapítástól mainapig [ A Glance at the History of Budapest R. H. University from Its Establishment to Present ] (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor Könyvnyomdája, 1896) p. 5.

Plate 14



- |                      |                          |                           |
|----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| a. City walls        | f. St. Adalbert Seminary | k. City Parish            |
| b. University Church | g. Collegium Generale    | l. St. Nicholas Cathedral |
| c. University Bldgs. | h. Marianum Seminary     | m. Archbishop's Palace    |
| d. University Press  | i. Convictus for nobles  |                           |
| e. Gymnasium         | j. Stephaneum Seminary   |                           |

Topography of Nagyszombat, the site of the University, other educational institutions, and churches.

From: Jaroslav Dubnický, Ranobarokový Univerzitný Kostol V. Trnava (Bratislava: Slovenska Akademia Vied a Umeni Akademia Scientiarum et Artium Slovaca, 1948), Table II.

VIII. HIGHLIGHTS IN THE UNIVERSITY'S DEVELOPMENT  
DURING THE JESUIT ADMINISTRATION

The Jesuits opened the University doors to the students in the fall of 1635, just as they had promised in the Foundation Bull. In spite of the short preparation time, and the fact that the opening could not have been publicized properly, students enrolled in unexpected numbers, and in a few years the institution had between 300 to 400 registered students, plus another 500 to 600 students in the gymnasium.<sup>1</sup>

The classrooms became so overcrowded that additional buildings were necessary. The foundation for the new building, which consisted of eight classrooms, was laid on March 12, 1636. The building contract was signed by master Péter, a bricklayer from Nagyszombat, and by Daniel Kreszacz, a stonemason from Vienna. There was a silver emblem placed in the cornerstone which weighed four thaler. The script on one side of it reads: Petrus S.R.E. Cardinal Archiepiscopus Strigoniensis posuit. On the other side is a portrait of Saint Ignatius with the words from Saint Paul: Ut sapiens Architectus fundamentum posui, quod est Jesu Christus (That Wise, Fundamentally Able Architect, Who Is Jesus Christ).<sup>2</sup> In the meantime, to provide space, another floor was added to the building.<sup>3</sup>

The living quarters also became inadequate. Therefore, on February 11, 1637, János Telegdi, Bishop of Kalocsa, who was encouraged by Pázmány, offered his house to be used as a convictus (dormitory) for the noble youth. Two days later, Pázmány bestowed his house (worth 10,000 florins) for the convictus and he also gave an additional 100 florins to Rector György Dobronoki to provide the building with furniture.<sup>4</sup>

The endowments were essential to secure professors whose reputations



would attract students. Indeed, some foreign students even attended Nagyszombat University in the first year. Tolvay, the University's first historian, wrote proudly of the newly established University, "which disseminated its splendor to a great distance, so that it attracted many students not only from the neighboring provinces, but also from far away places in search of philosophy."<sup>5</sup> Several counts and barons intermingled in the group, and many Protestant students were also registered.<sup>6</sup> Pázmány, in spite of his ill-health, visited the classrooms and disputations regularly, and sometime took the opponent's chair in the dispute.<sup>7</sup>

Energetic academic activities characterized the University from its beginning. In the year 1640 the Jesuits had an occasion for celebration. It was 100th anniversary of the Pope's recognition and re-enforcement of the Society of Jesus. Science disputes were held in the auditorium and awards were given, also, in the presence of the leading dignitaries.<sup>8</sup>

The next year some serious disputes occurred between the University and the city authorities. The University, in accord with the other royal universities, exercised its sovereign authority over the student body through the king's appointed judge. Punishments were given according to the seriousness of the offense ranging from death to physical punishments or dismissal from the University.<sup>9</sup> On this occasion the city judge arrested two students who insulted one of the citizens, imprisoned them in the city jail and refused to hand them over to the Judex Academiae in spite of the demands of Rector, the Primate, and the Palatine.<sup>10</sup> The King, upon the Rector's request, directed an inquiry into the matter on November 27, 1641. But the committee, which was appointed by the King, and arrived in Nagyszombat in February 1642, could not accomplish its goal. Meanwhile, the Rector

arrested two criminal students. Dániel Eszterházy, the University's judge, sentenced them to death and later beheaded them on the University Square.<sup>11</sup> Finally, the ruling upon the disputed question of law was forwarded to the King, who in 1643 ratified the agreement introduced by the Palatine. According to this pact the University's jurisdiction remained untouched, but the implementation of death sentences was to be carried out by the city-council.<sup>12</sup>

The peaceful functioning of the University life was of a short duration. Nagyszombat had gained several students from the closed University of Olmutz because of the Thirty Years War, and in 1642 the number of philosophical students had increased from forty-six to seventy-seven and the next year up to eighty-one.<sup>13</sup> However the Rákóczy Uprising in 1644 disturbed the tranquility of Nagyszombat. Both the philosophical and theological students scattered to different colleges.<sup>14</sup> The Matrica Gymnasii indicates seventeen first-year students being registered for the 1644/45 and 1645/46 school years, however through this period there is no record in the register which shows any second-year physics, or third-year metaphysics students. According to the Album seu Matricula there were neither baccalaureate nor magistrate initiations; thus this indicates that the teaching was interrupted repeatedly during those three years.

Prince Rákóczy issued a patronage (protection) letter on July 16, 1645, in which he prohibited, under penalty of death, the mistreatment of the Jesuits or their possessions.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, the studium paused for a considerable period because of the devastating plague, and later the pestilence.

Another danger during these years jeopardized the existence of the University. The National Assembly, held in 1647, showed hostile attitudes

towards the Jesuits. During that session it was requested that the Jesuits be dismissed from the country or be deprived of their possessions. Fortunately the storm abated and the Institution was able to resume its operation.<sup>16</sup> In 1649, during his first term in the rectorship, Pater Márton Palkovics started an annex on the North side of the new building and he completed the construction in 1657.<sup>17</sup> Pater István Keresztes, to provide comfortable living quarters for the students, arranged for the building of another floor on the top of the noble youth convict in 1650.<sup>18</sup>

For some reason, the Theology Faculty started its function again only in 1652 as the register of students attests, "Hoc 1652.7.Novembris Theologica scholastica, quae ab anno 1644 ob tumultus Transylvanicos interrupta fuit, resumpta est magno cum incremento regni et Academiae."<sup>19</sup>

The following few years allowed the University to work efficiently. The diaries of those years reveal only the disputes and solemn initiations and some discord between the city government and the University. The plague in 1656 interrupted the school activities for a half year, but did not arrest the development of the University. As a sign of growth there were eighty first-year students registered in 1658.<sup>20</sup>

In 1659, because of the pandemic the school was closed for a few months again; and four years later the Turkish war hindered its functioning (1663) for the next two or three years. The students, during that time, returned to their homes, the professors found employment in Vienna, Graz, Bavaria, and Poland. Only the Rector and a few paters remained to protect the property of the Order and to assist the inhabitants of the city in Nagyszombat. The Matrica Gymnasii provides a list of first-year students only in 1665, and second-year students were registered only in 1666.<sup>21</sup> The first

initiation of the baccalaureate, after 1663, was not until 1667. The magistrates were also promoted at that time but special permission was needed from the Provincial Provost.<sup>22</sup>

A few years later, in 1683, the functioning of the University was interrupted by the Thököly War. In July the insurgent army reached Nagyszombat. The students and most of the teachers had fled. Only ten members of the Order stayed in the collegium. In August Bertóthy, the captain of the occupying army, made his living quarters in the noble's convictus. He arrested all the Jesuits and sent them to different cities as prisoners.<sup>23</sup> They were treated so badly that two of them — Pater Ferenc Topos and Pater Gáspár Szarka, philosophy professors — lost their lives. The following year started only with the lower grades. The Philosophy and Law Faculties reopened only in 1685, and it is surprising that 61 students enrolled for the philosophy course. The Faculty of Theology was the latest to open its doors for full operation again in 1689.<sup>24</sup>

The 1687 Parliament admitted the rights of citizenship to the members of the Jesuit Order who lived in Hungary.<sup>25</sup> For a decade the University life again became normal and fruitful. Márton Szentiványi, as rector, made the ultimate effort to improve the Institution: he built a new home for the Press, remodeled the auditorium in 1691, and the following year, with the endowment of Pál Eszterházy, he refurnished the theatrical hall.<sup>26</sup> How active the University was in these years is shown by the fact that in 1693 nine theologians received doctoral degree. Of the nine, five were Hungarian, two Székely from Transylvania, one Croatian, and one the imperial courtly chaplain of Austria.<sup>27</sup>

The wars of Rákóczy, between 1703 and 1705, again caused disturbances,

interfering in the scholastic life at the University. Bercsényi, Rákóczy's captain, provided some peace by commanding that the University must be unmolested. He also stated that there would be no disturbance in the University's normal functioning and assured the students and professors that the lectures would continue. Nonetheless, the University could not have completed the scholastic year again in 1710 because of pestilence. Bercsényi expressed antagonism toward the Jesuits, because they displayed devotion toward the Emperor. Therefore, Bercsényi expelled from the city those Jesuits who were not Hungarians in origin, as well as Gábor Szerdahelyi, who was Hungarian.<sup>28</sup>

In the following decades the University experienced a more placid development. Student enrollment increased, and by 1722 a new addition was built. This year the number of philosophical students increased to 326, of which 200 were logicus.<sup>29</sup>

This short history shows that prior to the turn of the century the University, because of extenuating difficulties, hardly reached a state of undisturbed quietness. It was almost impossible to have steady scientific development. A more peaceful time began in the second part of the Jesuit period at Nagyszombat University and resulted in better scholastic standards.

The Provincial-Provost, Ferenc Molindes, issued an ordinance, on October 28, 1735, that in all schools of the Austrian Province (among them Nagyszombat) history should be emphasized. This decree also comprised mathematics and natural sciences. The effectiveness of the concrete sciences in the eighteenth century can best be seen by a comparison of the school textbooks.<sup>30</sup>

The Jesuits educated "not only deeply religious, thoroughly knowl-

edgeable, but at the same time psychologically sound, dynamic youth for the country, who would live up to their commitments.<sup>31</sup> There were many among the University graduates who rose in high religious and state dignitary positions: one became primate of Hungary, there were three archbishops of Kalocsa; five archbishops of Eger, one bishop of Nyitra, two bishops of Pécs, nine other bishops, two royal chancellors, two vice chancellors, three palatines of Hungary, eight field marshals, five chief justice, three status ministers, and one chairman of the Treasury.<sup>32</sup>

The training at the University was so good that several of the professors — educated in Nagyszombat — were invited to lecture at the University of Vienna and other universities.<sup>33</sup>

For a long period the government was not involved in the welfare of the University. Finally in 1723 the University became the focal point and was a great concern of all the people. In 1723, the 70th Act of Parliament, in its fourth article provided, that "The Academy should offer not only philosophy, theology, and law subjects, but other courses suitable for public affairs and military service under the leadership of qualified teachers."<sup>34</sup>

Emperor Charl III, on March 17, 1733, ordered the reduction of the philosophical courses from three to two, and the theological courses from four to three years.<sup>35</sup> The Jesuits were very unhappy, expressing their opinion of and opposition against this rule in a memorandum to the Emperor. This letter set forth examples of the harmful consequences which would result from the supplantation of the courses. "Some of the subjects should be cancelled or should be condensed. The abandonment of the course would be contrary to the organization of the University, its condensation would lead to ex omnibus aliquid ex toto nihil . . . .The Hungarian universities,

with their incomplete structures, would become ridiculous to the learned World." They asked the Emperor to dispatch the theologians after the completion of the second or third year, if there was such a big need for priests, but not to shorten the courses.<sup>36</sup> It is not known if this opposition was the extenuating reason, but the abridgement of the courses was postponed at this time, although only for two decades. The educational reform was introduced by Queen Maria Theresa in 1753.<sup>37</sup> She also completed the University by establishing the Medical School in 1769.<sup>38</sup>

By that time the Jesuits had forty-one high schools and three colleges in Hungary. They had indeed developed education to a higher level.<sup>39</sup> But Pope Clement XIV was compelled to dissolve the Jesuit Order in 1773. Nagyszombat University became the Royal Hungarian University. Its first elected rector, Count Zsigmond Keglevich, was a former student of the Nagyszombat University.<sup>40</sup>

## FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup>Frankl, "Magyar Egyetem," p. 247.
- <sup>2</sup>Dobronoki, Diary, 12 March 1636.
- <sup>3</sup>Frankl, "Magyar Egyetem," p. 249.
- <sup>4</sup>János Telegdi, "Fundatio Telegdiana," 11 February 1637, fol. 63, no. 5, Acta Jesuit. Irregist., Coll. Tyrnav., E 152, OLT.
- <sup>5</sup>Emericus Tolvay, Progressus Universitatis Tyrnaviae, 1661-1700, 3 vols. (Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis, 1728), 3: 1.
- <sup>6</sup>Frankl, "Magyar Egyetem," p. 249.
- <sup>7</sup>Meszlényi, Magyar jezsuiták, p. 250.
- <sup>8</sup>Kazy, Historia Universitatis, 2: 95.
- <sup>9</sup>Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 1: 19.
- <sup>10</sup>Ibid., 1: 18.
- <sup>11</sup>"In foro academico securi percussi, his qui boni et probi erant documento, malis etiam exemplo salutari." (Kazy, Historia Universitatis, 2: 43/)
- <sup>12</sup>Ibid., 2: 72-73 Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 1: 18-19. The newly developed discrepancies were reconciled by the palatine in 1653. Because there were repeatedly renewed diversities, in 1669, Emperor Leopold ratified the 1643 compromise. In 1687 the citizens of Nagyszombat took their grievances to the parliament, but the affair was taken to the royal chancellor again, where the matter became settled and the University maintained its privileges. (Kazy, Historia Universitatis, 2: 42-46, 61-64.)
- <sup>13</sup>Matrica Gymnasii, 1642 and 1643.
- <sup>14</sup>Litterae Annuae, 1644.
- <sup>15</sup>Ibid., 1645.
- <sup>16</sup>Kelecsényi, "Adalékok barokk," p. 8.
- <sup>17</sup>Velics, Vázlatok jezsuiták, 2: 84.
- <sup>18</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>19</sup>Matrica Gymnasii, 1652.
- <sup>20</sup>Szentpétery, A Bölcsészeti Kar története, 2: 20.



- <sup>21</sup>Matrica Gymnasii, 1665, 1666; Tolvay, Progressus Universitatis, 2: 5.
- <sup>22</sup>Tolvay, Progressus Universitatis, 2: 5.
- <sup>23</sup>Litterae Annuae, 1683.
- <sup>24</sup>Kazy, Historia Universitatis, 2: 152; Matrica Gymnasii, 1682-1685, and 1689.
- <sup>25</sup>Velics, Vázlatok magyar jezsuiták, 2: 158.
- <sup>26</sup>Serfözö, Szentiványi munkássága, p. 130.
- <sup>27</sup>Album seu Theologiae cited by Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 1: 22.
- <sup>28</sup>Kazy, Historia Universitatis, 2: 167.
- <sup>29</sup>Velics, Vázlatok magyar jezsuiták, 2: 160; Annuae Collegii Tyrnaviae in the Rector Office at the Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest.
- <sup>30</sup>Velics, Vázlatok magyar jezsuiták, 2: 160.
- <sup>31</sup>Ibid., 2: 158.
- <sup>32</sup>Stephani Horváth, Prolusio acadimica de celeberrimis alumnis Regiae Scientiarum Universitatis Hungariae (Budapest: Typis Regiae Scientiarum Universitatis Hungariae, 1843), pp. 196-98.
- <sup>33</sup>Rapaics, "Természettudomány a Nagyszombati Egyetemen," p. 265.
- <sup>34</sup>Kazy, Historia Universitatis, 2: 14, 35.
- <sup>35</sup>Emperor Charl III, Decree of School Reform, 17 March 1733, no. 73, fasc. 3, Acta Jesuit. Irregist., Coll. Tyrnav., E 152, OLT
- <sup>36</sup>University Nagyszombat, Memorandum to Emperor Charl III, 1733, no. 15, fasc. 3, Acta Jesuit. Irregist., Coll. Tyrnav., E 152, OLT.
- <sup>37</sup>Pauler, Adalékok hazai jogtudomány, p. 9; Szentpétery, A Bölcsészet. Kar története, p. 26.
- <sup>38</sup>Szily, "Pázmány Tudományegyetem 300 jubileuma," p. 402; Serfözö, Szentiványi munkássága, p. 8.
- <sup>39</sup>Várady, History of the Hungarian Nation, p. 99.
- <sup>40</sup>Pauler, Tudományegyetem története, 2: 35.

## IX. CONCLUSION

The religious motivation in the church-instituted Jesuit University of Nagyszombat is obvious. Although it is an unsettled question, whether or not the Jesuits were influential in the cultural development, and if they were, to what extent. Concerning the formation of the Baroque culture in Europe, one can say without doubt, that their influence was noticeable and had a stimulating effect and some educational impact on that era. The Jesuits' efforts in education certainly have inspired and encouraged others. In their newly founded Nagyszombat University, with their scholastic standards, obtained high place in the history of philosophical, theological, and legal studies. In their establishment at Nagyszombat the above disciplines were elevated to scientific importance.

In a brief resume the primary purpose of the research follows:

1. To provide the reader with the founding principles and the educational phases of the Nagyszombat University.
2. To supply a comprehensive view of the University's development by using some original, unpublished sources, files, manuscripts, and diaries; furthermore give a new perspective of the historical matters of this institution from 1635 to 1773.
3. To attempt an evaluation of the quantitative and qualitative aspect of Jesuit education of the period.
4. To provoke thought in the present-day education establishment about its historical development; and show that educational problems re-occur.
5. To view the history of higher education as an aspect of the intellectual development of the country.

6. To suggest that the history of its educational message in a widening sense had just begun at the time of the ending of the Jesuit administration.

7. To present a reminder of the cultural impact on the nation's higher education, which last longer than the period of scholastic development reviewed in this study.

8. To provide the interested reader with a carefully selected bibliography of pertinent literary allusions which may be used in a more specialized treatment of any given phase of the subject.

There were many difficulties encountered in the writing of a systematic account of continuous events of the almost three and a half century old University of Nagyszombat, because of the scarcity of information available. To give an acceptable insight into the University's role under the Jesuits was a problem since there was a lack of sufficient source.

Unfortunately the original documents, regarding the University, for the most part vanished after the suppression of the Jesuit Order and the termination of its functions. Only some fragmentary manuscripts, memoirs, diaries, biographies, speeches, and valuable books were saved by the University. Later part of the subsistent documents were transferred to the National Archives in Budapest. In addition, some original and handwritten copies of documentary materials are available in certain places within Hungary, including Primate's Cathedral Library in Esztergom, the National Széchenyi Library's Archives in Budapest, the Library of the Arch-abbey in Pannonhalma, and the small Bibliotheca of Esztergom.

Still other sources can be procured at the Pozsony (Bratislava) Seminary, the City Archives at Nagyszombat, both in Czechoslovakia, and the

National Archives in Vienna.

Because of the antiquity of the original and "exact" copies of manuscripts and codexes, the effort to give an explicit rendition was difficult. Among the obstacles were the interpretation of the over-ornamented Baroque structure in both Latin and Hungarian with its euphemistic style and rare Latin expressions. Contemporary Hungarian literature was also an ordeal of translation into modern usage and how to determine the quid pro quo in English without losing the original meaning. Sometimes illegibility created the problem of attaining completeness because of the disjecta membra (scattered remains).

The third hindrance was the limited time spent in research (only eight weeks on collecting sources in Europe); at times it seemed almost hopeless, because the officials' permission to use the archives was delayed, but finally granted. Gathering the sources, located in different parts of Hungary and outside the country was also time consuming and did not allow more thorough research at one place.

In spite of all these difficulties it was a rewarding search in constructing a comprehensive interpretation of the history of Nagyszombat University.

In this study an attempt has been made to explain the prevailing conditions and the aspirations for high achievements of Nagyszombat University; and not only to present a chronological narrative. It is an examination of the forces and ideas which most clearly delineate the impetus of the Jesuit Order on the system of higher education. The seventeenth and eighteenth-century institution, with its theories, philosophies, and educational system laid the foundation and made an impact on the Hungarian education.

## X. APPENDIXES

## A. Letter of Archbishop Péter Pázmány

In this letter Pázmány invited Rector György Dobronoki to an important meeting at Pozsony. Pázmány planned to discuss bizonyos nagy dolgok (certain 'big affairs'), which he kept as a secret. It was, actually, his plan to erect Nagyszombat University, the materialization of his great desire to promulgate this institution. Vienna, May 6, 1635. Used by permission of National Archives, Budapest.



B. Title Page of Rector György Dobronoki's Diary

Actuum Academicorum Collegii S.J. Tyrnaviae, Tomus Decimus Septimus

.... 1 January 1636.

Used by permission of Eötvös Loránd University Research Library.

Actuum Academicorum  
Collegij Societ. Jesu Tyrnavia

Tomus Decimus Septimus.

Continens Ephemerides seu diarios Euen-  
tus Collegij & Academiae primo. 2.  
Elogia Professorum Academiae ac Ma-  
gistratum post mortem. 3. eorum itide-  
piam memoriam, qui ex hac Uniuersitate in  
vivos Illustres evaserunt tam Ecclesiasti-  
cos quam Saeculares. 4. liberalitatem eo-  
rum ac benevolentiam qui huic Studio Gene-  
rali, eiusq; Privilegijs, dum uiuerent, Pa-  
troni ac Defensores extiterunt.

Inchoatus A. M. DC. XXXVI. qui fu-  
it Bissextus 1. Januarius.

Auctore Sergio Schaeffer.



# Annus Christi 1636. Bissex. Ianuarius.

Littera Dominicalis fuit F. E.

1. <sup>9</sup> Januarius, qui in diem Martis incidit, vota renouavit in Sacello seu Sacraria laterali Septentrionem versus celebrante R. P. Rectore Collegij. 2. Ad solenne Leonum Indulgentiarum Nominis fuit, Pontificavit nobis in Sacraria laterali Meridiem versus, R. P. D. Matthias Lenaxi Praepositus Ingulatus S. Thoma. 3. Fuit in solatio P. eminentis D. Cardinalis Fundator Academiae tam in sollicitudinis quam ad praesens, et comparuit ad utrumque cum D. Comite Michaeli Thuro, R. P. D. Ni-  
slao Pontae Eminenti. D. Vicario R. P. D. Joanne Piski Abbate Heilcenfi et Adm. R. D. Gregorio Segezi Canonico, et Seminarij S. Stephani Praefecto. 4. Tempore missae eleganti et florida oratione perseveravit fr. nosser, Ant. Hingling, Logicus. 5. Finito praesens ibidem ad mentem dicitur Eminentiissimus Beneficia aliquot et Capituli officia distribuit. R. P. D. Vicario, supra nominato, contulit Praeposituram S. Stephani Protomartyris. R. P. D. Ni-  
slao Sanguis. Officium Lectoris. R. P. D. Joanni Piski, contulit Praeposituram S. Thoma. Octo alij, iam in Praesens bene exercitatis, contulit totidem Canonatus partem in hac parte Poponij. His finis habitus ad vespere Capitularis recessit. 6. Condidimus Inven tam Nos vestrum in familia duplici, quam Studiorum omnium. Et quidem Nos  
Sere. universum 76; domi quidem 37, foras vero in ve-  
rejs. P. idest et Missiombus 39. familia domestica, octo-  
nario, praedialis, novenario consistit numerus. Studiosi qui  
per anni ad portam, cibum et foras accipiunt, plus minus duo  
decim. Logici 57. Rhetor. 58. Poetae 59. Synchronici 99. Grammatici  
conf. sunt 108. Praeceptorum 110. Parvulorum 120.  
7. Die in februm incidit. In Praesens in his alterationes  
vesperi facia divisio sanctorum, et datus nomen anni singularis.

Coll. Tyron.  
S. G.

A.

D. Title Page of Francisco Kazy

HISTORIA  
UNIVERSITATIS  
TYRNAVIENSIS  
SOCIETATIS JESU

AUTHORE

FRANCISCO KAZY,

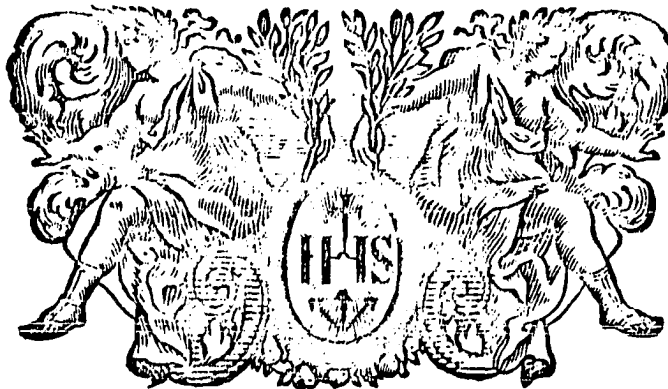
SOCIETATIS JESU SACERDOTE.

Ad Annum Christi M. DCC. XXXV.

EJUSDEM UNIVERSITATIS

SECULAREM.

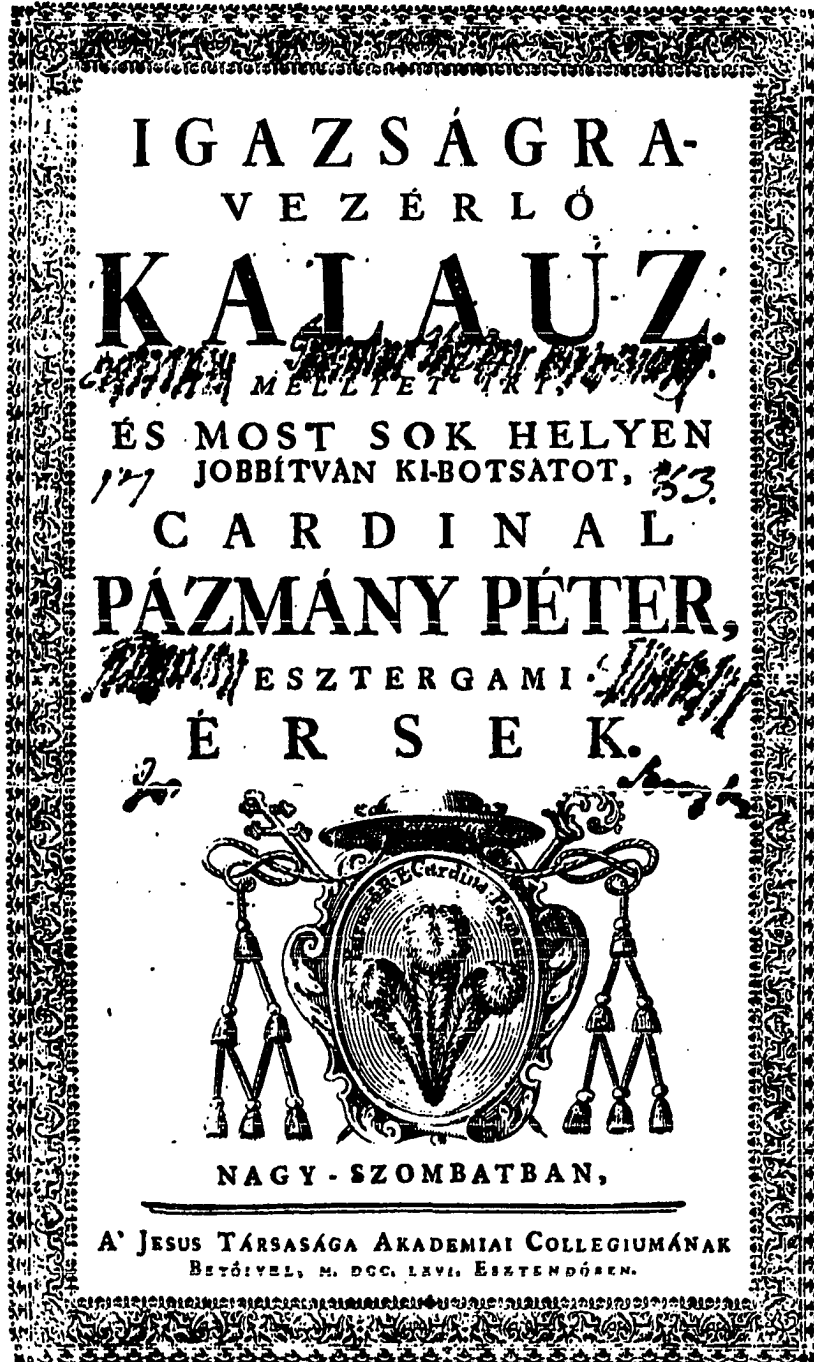
*editio. Primum. 1737.*



~~—————~~  
Tyrnaviæ, Typis Academicis, per Leopoldum Berger, Anno 1737.

Bibliotheca Archiabbatiae O.S.B.

H-9090 Pannonhalma

E. Title Page of Péter Pázmány's Kalauz (Guide)

F. Buildings of the Eötvös Loránd University

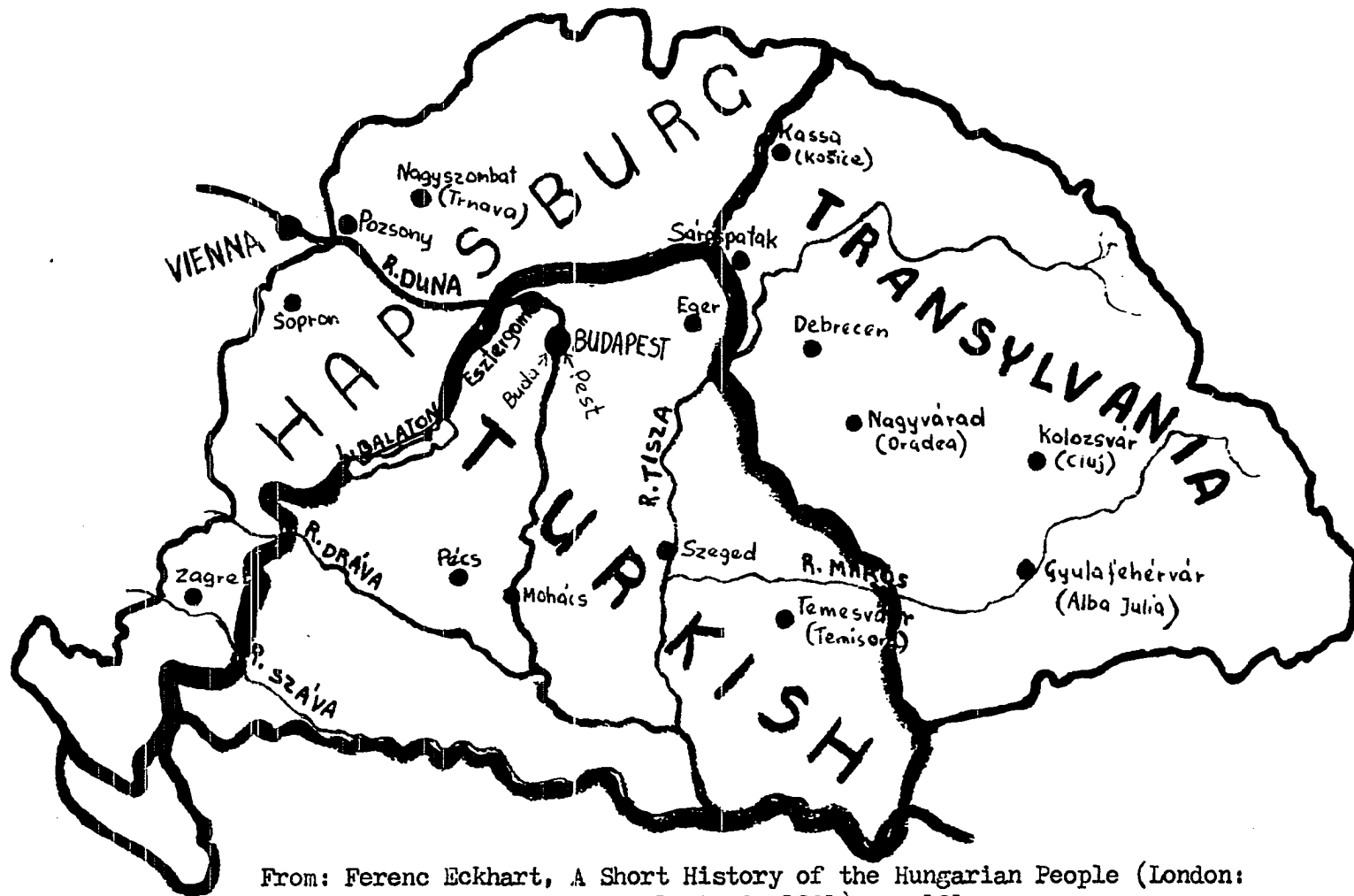
Central Building of the Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest and the  
University Church.

Main Library (Bibliotheca) and Archives of the University.

Photographed by the researcher, August 1976.



G. Hungary at the Time of Prince Gábor Bethlen (c.1626)



From: Ferenc Eckhart, A Short History of the Hungarian People (London: Grant Richards Fronto limited, 1931), p. 131.

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