

Péter Pázmány

(1570–1637)



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Edited by Alinka Ajkay and Emil Hargittay



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Péter Pázmány, Archbishop of Esztergom (1616–1637), founder of the Nagyszombat University, Painting by an unknown 17th century painter (detail)

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CHRONOLOGY OF PÉTER PÁZMÁNY'S LIFE (1570–1637)

composed by Alinka Ajkay

1570

October 4 – Pázmány Péter is born in Panasz near Várad (Oradea), into a Protestant Reformed noble family. His father Miklós Pázmány is a Calvinist noble man of county Bihar. His mother is Margit Massai

1571

March 14 – Prince János Zsigmond dies without a successor in Gyulaférvár (Alba Iulia), Transylvania

May 25 – The Diet of Gyulaférvár (Alba Iulia) elects István Báthory (King of Poland from December 14, 1575) as Prince of Transylvania

1575

Summer – The Turkish Army occupies Fonyód in the Transdanubian region, along with the castles of Kékkő (Modrý Kameň), Divény (Divín) and Somoskő in the mining region of Hungarian Kingdom

1576

October 12 – King Rudolf I moves his court from Vienna to Prague (Praha)

1578

– The Catholic printing house in Nagyszombat (Trnava) begins its work under the direction of Miklós Telegdi

1579

March 1 – Pope Gregory XIII founds a college in Rome for the training of Hungarian priests (Collegium Hungaricum)

October 1 – the first Jesuits arrive at Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) Monastery, Transylvania

1580 around

– Pázmány begins his school studies in Várad (Oradea), Transylvania

1580

May – The Jesuit College of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) is founded by István Báthory

1581

May 12 – Official Letter of István Báthory, founding the University of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca)

1582

– Pázmány's widowed father marries a Catholic woman, Borbála Toldy

– Pázmány attends the Jesuit grammar school in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) (to 1587)

1583

– Pázmány converts to Catholicism at the age of 13 at the Jesuit College in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca)

1584

– Antonio Possevino, an Italian Jesuit, completes his work *Transylvania*, in which he describes Transylvania at that time as having 500 Protestant preachers (200 Lutherans, 200 Calvinists, 100 Unitarians) and just 10 Catholic priests

1586

Summer – plague epidemic, 29 of 45 Transylvanian Jesuits die from the plague

December 12 – Prince István Báthory dies

1587

– Pázmány's first year of philosophical studies in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) (to 1588)

1588

September – Pázmány enters the Jesuit Order

Autumn – Pázmány a novice in Krakow, then in Jarosław (to 1590)

December – Prince Zsigmond Báthory is crowned as the prince at the Diet of Medgyes (Mediaș); the expulsion of the Jesuits from Transylvania is decided

1589

– The Jesuits leave Transylvania; the Jesuit college in Znióvárálja (Kláštor pod Znievom) moves to Vágsellye (Šaľa)

1590

– The first complete Hungarian *Bible* is published in Vizsoly, translated by the Protestant Gáspár Károli

Autumn – Pázmány studies philosophy (logic, physics, metaphysics) at the Jesuit College in Vienna (to Spring 1593)

1591

– Fifteen Years War between the Habsburgs and the Ottoman Empire begins, lasting until 1606

1593

April – Pázmány studies theology in Rome at the Collegium Romanum (to July 1596)

October – Turkish forces occupy Veszprém and Várpalota

November – the royal troops (led by Miklós Pálffy and Christoph von Teuffenbach) achieve victory in the Transdanubian region at Pákozd, in the north at Romhány, recapture the castles of Divény (Divín), Fülek (Fiľakovo), Szécsény, Buják, Somoskő, Hollókő, Drégely, Ajnácskő (Hajnáchka) and Nógrád (to March 1594)

1594

May–June – The Turkish siege of Esztergom, led by Archduke Matthias, is unsuccessful. During this siege, the poet Bálint Balassi is wounded on 19 May and dies on 30 May

July–September – the Turks occupy Tata and Győr and the whole of North Transdanubia falls under Turkish rule

1596

April 13 – Pázmány is ordained a priest in Rome, in the Basilica of Lateran
Autumn – Eger Castle is captured by the Turkish army

October – Pázmány's third and last Jesuit probationary year (to September 1597)

October 22–26 – at the Battle of Mezőkeresztes, the Christian troops led by Archduke Maximilian are defeated by the Ottoman army led by Sultan Mehmed III

1597

August 20 – Recapture of Pápa

September – Pázmány arrives in Graz, Austria; on 26 October (after ten years of study) he is awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy; from November he starts teaching (for 3 years he teaches logic, physics, metaphysics; to 1600)

December – Agreement between Rudolf II and Zsigmond Báthory on Transylvania

1598

March 29 – Recapture of Győr from Turkish control

1599

March 29 – the new Transylvanian prince András Báthory

1600

September 10 – Giorgio Basta, Captain General of Upper Hungary, arrives in Transylvania on the orders of King Rudolf

October 15 – Alonso Carillo, provincial governor, sends Pázmány to Vágsellye (Šaľa) to work with Sándor Dobokay, rector

October 20 – the Turks capture Kanizsa Castle

1601

February – Pázmány is sent to Kassa (Košice) as confessor to the captain-general Ferrante Gonzaga and pastor of the Hungarians

August 3 – At the Battle of Goroszló (Guruslău), Habsburg troops, led by Basta and Prince Mihai Viteazul of Wallachia, defeat the army of Prince Zsigmond Báthory of Transylvania; 6 days later Basta has Prince Mihai Viteazul assassinated

September – Recapture of Székesfehérvár

1602

January 20 – King Rudolf appoints General Giorgio Basta as Governor of Transylvania

Summer – In the court of archbishop Forgách in Radosnya (Radošina), Pázmány writes his reply (*Felelet*) to the work of István Magyar, a Lutheran preacher from Sárvár, *Az országokban való sok romlásoknak okairól*, thus beginning his series of controversies

August 29 – Székesfehérvár is again occupied by the Turks

1603

– Pázmány teaches again in Graz, this time in theology (to 1607)

– Pázmány's *Felelet* is published in Nagyszombat (Trnava)

1604

January 6 – Giacomo Barbiano Belgiojoso, the chief captain of Kassa (Košice), with his troops occupies the Lutheran Church of St Elisabeth in Kassa and hands it over to the Catholics

October 15 – István Bocskai's Hajdú troops defeat the imperial army at Álmosd

November 17–28 – Bocskai is defeated by Basta at Osgyán (Ožďany) and then at Edelény

1605

February 21 – István Bocskai is elected prince at the Diet of Marosszerda (Miercurea Nirajului), and is inaugurated on 14 September at the Diet of Medgyes (Medias)

– Pázmány's *Diatriba Theologica* (in defence of the Italian Jesuit theologian, Bellarmino) and the *Tíz bizonyság* are published in Graz

April 20 – At the Diet of Szerencs, the rebellious Hungarian orders elect Bocskai as Prince of all Hungary.

November 11 – Bocskai receives the so-called Bocskai Crown from Grand Vizier Lala Mehmed on the field of Rákos

1606

June 23 – Peace of Vienna between Prince István Bocskai and King Rudolf

November 4 – Pázmány is awarded a doctorate in theology in Graz

November 11 – King Rudolph I and Sultan Ahmed I conclude the Peace of Zsitvatorok (Žitava), ending the Fifteen Years' War, through the mediation of Bocskai

December 29 – István Bocskai dies in Kassa (Košice)

– Pázmány's *Imádságos könyv* is published (further editions: 1610, 1625, 1631)

1607

- February 11 – Zsigmond Rákóczi is elected Prince at the Diet of Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia)
- Autumn – Pázmány returns to Hungary to lead the emerging Catholic revival alongside archbishop Ferenc Forgách
- Pázmány's *Keresztyéni felelet* is published

1608

- Pázmány protests against the exile of the Jesuits at the Diet of Pozsony (Bratislava); argues for religious freedom; later plays a role in the conversion of several noble families to Catholicism
- March 7 – the Diet of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) elects the new Prince of Transylvania, Gábor Báthory
- June 25 – Rudolph (retaining the imperial title, Bohemia and Tyrol) abdicates in favour of Archduke Matthias, who becomes king under the name Matthias II
- November – The king is crowned at the Diet, the Protestant István Illésházy is elected as the Governor; the free practice of religion is enacted; the Jesuit order is not allowed to own property in the country

1609

- Pázmány publishes three controversies: the *Öt szép levél* against Péter Alvinczi, and after Alvinczi's reply the *Megrostálás*; chronologically between these two, *Calvinus hiszekegy Istene*, for which the Protestant orders demand his trial
- December 7 – After the death of István Illésházy, the Protestant György Thurzó becomes the new Governor

1610

- March 28–30 – the synod of the Lutheran Church in Zsolna (Žilina), from when the Lutheran Church in Hungary was founded
- Pázmány writes his *Peniculus papporum* against the Synod of Zsolna (Žilina)

1611

August 1 – Synod of the Catholic Church in Nagyszombat (Trnava); Pázmány's leadership

1613

– Pázmány's main work, the *Kalauz (Isteni igazságra vezérlő Kalauz)*, a synthesis of Catholic defence of the faith, is published in Pozsony (Bratislava)

October 23 – the new prince of Transylvania, Gábor Bethlen (Gábor Báthory) is dethroned and assassinated on 27 October)

1614

– Pázmány's renewed polemic with Péter Alvinczi, now in defence of the *Kalauz: Az calvinista prédikátorok tüköre* (Vienna), under the pseudonym István Lethenyei; *Az igazságnak győzedelme* (Pozsony), edited by Tamás Balásfi. His other polemics, also in defence of the *Kalauz*, with Lutherans from Western Transdanubia: *Csepregi mesterség* (1614, Vienna), pseudonym Miklós Szyl; *Csepregi szegényvallás* (1616, Prague)

Spring–Summer – Pázmány's fellow monks object to his treatises and give credence to his denunciation of his alleged libertine lifestyle, prompting the Order's General Claudio Acquaviva to order him to Rome

December 15 – Pázmány clears himself of accusations in Rome; General Acquaviva dissuades him from joining the Carthusian order; talks with Pope Paul V about the Jesuit college in Nagyszombat (Trnava); the Pope replies to the Hungarian lords urging Pázmány to return home (to 24 January 1615)

1615

April – Pázmány is ordered to Vienna, after Acquaviva's death the Austrian provincial magistrates want to transfer him to Olmütz (Olomouc)

August 10 – the King and archbishop Ferenc Forgách re-establish the Jesuit College of Nagyszombat (Trnava), which had been closed in 1567

October 16 – Archbishop Ferenc Forgách dies unexpectedly, and both the Viennese court and the Catholic leadership would like Pázmány to succeed him

Early December – Pázmány arrives in Prague (Praha) at the invitation of Matthias II

1616

April 25 – King appoints Pázmány Prepost of Turóc; his papal dispensation from his Jesuit vows and his conversion to the Somask Order is in progress

September 28 – Matthias II appoints Pázmány archbishop, confirmed by the Pope in November

1617

March 12 – Cardinal Melchior Klesl of Vienna consecrates Pázmány bishop in the Cathedral of St Vitus in Prague (Praha)

1618

– Thirty Years' War (to 1648)

May 16 – After the death of György Thurzó, the new reigning Governor is the Catholic Zsigmond Forgách

July 1 – Pázmány crowns Ferdinand II King of Hungary in St. Martin's Cathedral in Pozsony (Bratislava)

1619

Summer–Autumn – Gábor Bethlen's uprising against the court of Vienna

September 7 – Pázmány flees to Vienna; participates in the so-called *Querela Hungariae* debate

1620

August 25 – At the Diet of Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica), Bethlen is proclaimed King of Hungary and Pázmány is exiled from the country

November 8 – Defeat of the Czech Protestant orders at the Battle of Fehérhegy

– Pázmány's *Rövid felelet* is published

1621

December 31 – Peace of Nikolsburg between Ferdinand II and Gábor Bethlen

1622

November – Gábor Bethlen has part of the former Archbishop of Pozsony's (Bratislava) printing press transported to Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia)

1623

August – Bethlen launches his second campaign against the Habsburgs
September 10 – Pázmány founds a Hungarian seminary for the education of priests in Vienna (Pázmáneum)
– the second, revised edition of Pázmány's *Kalauz* is published

1624

May 8 – Peace of Vienna between Ferdinand II and Gábor Bethlen
– Pázmány's Hungarian translation of Thomas Kempis's *Imitatio Christi* is published in Vienna (*Kempis Tamásnak Krisztus követéséről négy könyvei*)
– Pázmány founds a noble convent in Nagyszombat (Trnava)
– Albert Molnár Szenci's translation of Calvin's *Institutio* (*Kereszteni Religiora és igaz hitre való tanítás*, Hanau) is published in Hungarian

1625

May 28 – the Peace of the Colonies between the Court of Vienna and the Porte, renewing the Peace of Zsitvatorok (Žitava)
September – Pázmány plans a Jesuit college at the Diet of Sopron, as there are no Catholic schools in the whole of Transdanubia
October 25 – Miklós Esterházy is elected Governor at the Diet of Sopron
November 27 – Pázmány crowns Ferdinand III king in the Franciscan Church of Sopron (there was a plague epidemic in Pozsony) (Bratislava)
– the publication of the *Rituale Strigoniense*

1626

August – Gábor Bethlen's third campaign

- September 11 – Pázmány founds the Jesuit College of Pozsony (Bratislava)
December 20 – Peace of Pozsony (Bratislava) between Ferdinand II and Gábor Bethlen
– Pázmány's *A Szentírásról és Anyaszentegyházról* is published in Vienna
– the first complete translation of the Catholic *Bible* in Hungarian is published by György Káldi, with the support of Pázmány

1627

- September 13 – Peace of Szőny between Ferdinand II and the Ottoman Sultan Murad IV: renewal of the Peace of Zsitvatorok (Žitava), necessary because of Bethlen's campaign
– Pázmány's book *Setét hajnalcsillag után bujdosó lutheristák vezetője* appears in Pozsony (Bratislava), written in response to the work of the theology professor Fridericus Baldvinus of Wittenberg, polemicizing on *Kalauz*

1629

- Conversion of Ádám Batthyány with the help of Pázmány, one of the thirty or so aristocratic nobles converted to Catholicism by Pázmány, according to tradition
November 15 – Gábor Bethlen dies in Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia)
November 19 – Pope Urban VIII appoints Pázmány cardinal

1630

- December 1 – György I Rákóczi is elected Prince of Transylvania at the Diet of Segesvár (Sighişoara), whose reign is supported by Pázmány
– Pázmány's polemic against Péter Pécsváradi, entitled *Jó nemes Váradnak gyenge orvoslása* is published in Pozsony, under the pseudonym István Sallai

1631

- April 3 – Ferdinand II and György I Rákóczi, with the intervention of Pázmány, reach a settlement
June 3 – Pázmány founds a Franciscan church and monastery in Érsekújvár (Nové Zámky)

- Pázmány's little book *Okok, nem okok*, a reply to Pécsváradi's reply, and his *Bizonyos okok*, written to the converted Ádám Batthyány's mother, Éva Lobkovitz Poppel, wife of Ferenc Batthyány, are published in Pozsony (Bratislava)

1632

March–June – Pázmány is Ferdinand II's envoy in Rome, where he fails to win support for Habsburg interests due to Pope Urban VIII's French policy

1633

April – Provincial synod on the importation of the Roman rite, among other things

1635

January–February – at the Diet of Sopron, the feud between Miklós Esterházy, the Prince Procurator, and Pázmány continues

May 12 – Pázmány signs the charter of the University of Nagyszombat (Trnava)

November 13 – University of Nagyszombat (Trnava) is inaugurated, led by the Jesuits

1636

Autumn – István Bethlen attempts to gain the Transylvanian throne with the support of the Pasha of Buda, but in October the army of Prince György Rákóczi I defeats the Turks; Pázmány clearly supports Prince Rákóczi; after long negotiations they make peace

- the result of Pázmány's forty years of preaching, the *Prédikációk*, which contains 102 homilies, is published in Pozsony (Bratislava)

1637

February 15 – Ferdinand II dies

March 19 – Péter Pázmány dies in Pozsony (Bratislava), and is buried in his will in the crypt in front of the main altar of St. Martin's Church

– the third edition of Pázmány's *Kalauz* is published in Pozsony (Bratislava)



WORKS OF PÁZMÁNY TO WHICH REFERENCES ARE MADE IN THIS EDITED VOLUME

A görögök szakadásáról (1613, 1623, 1637) – *On the Schism of Greeks*

A kálvinista prédikátorok tüköre (1614) – *The Mirror of Calvinist Preachers*

A Mahometvallása hamisságáról (1605, 1613, 1623, 1637) – *On the Falsehood of the Religion of Muhammad*

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Imádságos könyv (1606, 1610, 1625, 1631) – *Prayer Book*

Isteni igazságra vezérlő kalauz / Kalauz (1613, 1623, 1637) – *A Guide to Divine Truth*

Jó nemes Váradnak gyenge orvoslása (1630) – *A Poor Remedy for Good Noble Várad*

Kempis Tamásnak Krisztus követéséről négy könyvei (1624) – *Four Books by Thomas Kempis on Following Christ*

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Öt szép levél (1609) – *Five Beautiful Epistles*

Peniculus papporum (1610, 1611) – *Brush for Fluff's*

Physica (1597–1599) – *Physics*

Pozsonyban lött prédikáció (1610) – Homily of Pozsony

Prédikációk (1636) – Homilies

*Relatio legationis Romanae, quam obiit Card. Petrus Pázmány jussu
Caesareae Majestatis apud Suam Sanctitatem anno 1632 (1632) –
Report on the Legation which Cardinal Péter Pázmány Carried to His
Holiness in Rome by Order of the His Imperial Majesty*

Rituale Strigoniense (1625) – Ritual of Esztergom

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Rövid tanúság (1606) – A Short Testimony

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*Tíz nyilvánvaló bizonyosság / Tíz bizonyosság (1605) – Ten Obvious Pieces
of Evidence*

Vindiciae ecclesiasticae (1620) – Ecclesiastic Defense



Emil Hargittay

PREFACE: THE CAREER AND SIGNIFICANCE OF PÉTER PÁZMÁNY

Péter Pázmány (4 October 1570–19 March 1637), Archbishop of Esztergom, was one of the most important figures in the history of Hungarian Catholicism and culture. It is no coincidence that the Péter Pázmány Catholic University, founded in 1992, takes his name. This is also a reminder that the new university is the legal heir of the university founded in 1635 in Nagyszombat, Hungary, through the *facultas theologica*, which has been in existence since 1635. Pázmány's activities were very diverse: he published more than 50 editions of his works, reorganised the Hungarian Catholic Church, and had wide-ranging ecclesiastical and political contacts in Hungary and Europe. As a priest, he was a leader of the Catholic restoration in Hungary, and through his controversial writings he was also a leader of the intellectual counter-reformation.



After the defeat of the Turks at Mohács (1526), the vast majority of the population in Hungary converted to Protestantism. Within half a century, the Catholic population, which accounted for about 85% of the country's population, had fallen to about 20%, and about 75% had joined the Reformation. At the Battle of Mohács, seven high priests, including the Archbishop of Esztergom, died in addition to the King, leaving their estates vulnerable to the nobles and clergy who had switched to Protestantism. In some dioceses there were no archbishops for decades, and in the largely Protestant

Transylvanian principality there was no Catholic bishop for 160 years, with a brief interruption. In the diocese of Esztergom, the number of parishes had fallen to a tenth by the end of the 16th century. By then, Hungary's two archdioceses and twelve bishoprics had only 300 members, compared with some 2,000 Protestant preachers. By the beginning of the 17th century, there were 50 Benedictine abbeys, 41 Cistercian, 30 Premonastic, 38 Dominican, 142 Franciscan and 68 Pauline monasteries; only some belonging to the last two orders were still in operation. A large part of the clergy, including the Archbishop of Esztergom himself, fled to north-western Hungary, to the environs of Vienna. After the conquest of Esztergom (1543), during the period of Turkish occupation, the Archbishopric of Esztergom was based in the town of Nagyszombat in north-western Hungary. Although he signed his letters in Nagyszombat and Pozsony as "Archiepiscopus Strigoniensis", Pázmány never visited Esztergom and, except for a few weeks, did not live in what is now Hungary. He never again saw his native Transylvania, the place of his youth. In terms of culture and literature, we witness a similar transformation in the second half of the 16th century. There were 134 Protestant secondary schools and only 30 Catholic schools. Of the 270 religious books published in the middle third of the 16th century, only about one-eighth were in Catholic print.¹ It was under these circumstances that Pázmány took action, and during his tenure the proportions described above changed significantly, but it is clear that the Catholic Restoration was not the result of the organizational work of one man. Pázmány operated a network of Catholic clergy and intellectuals, and by converting the nobility through personal labor he put into practice the principle of "*cuius regio, eius religio*".

According to known facts, Pázmány was born in Panasz near Várad (Oradea). He completed his primary education in Várad, after which his father, the Protestant Miklós Pázmány, enrolled him in the Jesuit College founded by István Báthory in Kolozsvár, where he converted to Catholicism and entered the Jesuit Order. Pázmány's studies in Kolozsvár were guided by an international staff of teachers. The first rector of the school was Jakub Wujek, who contributed to the creation of the Polish literary language by

¹ HARGITTAY 2009, 161–162.

translating the *Bible*. Pázmány acquired the foundations of his exceptional erudition at the College of Kolozsvár, studying Latin grammar, humanities (which included Greek language studies) and rhetoric. Pázmány also began his study of logic there.² As the Transylvanian and Polish Jesuit orders were one, Pázmány was sent to Krakow by his superiors, together with some novices from Kolozsvár. The other place where Pázmány stayed in Poland was Jarosław, where he also spent a few months, presumably to escape the plague. After his novitiate years, as prescribed by the Jesuit curriculum, the *Ratio studiorum*, Pázmány began his philosophical studies at the Jesuit college in Vienna in 1590, and on completion of these, his superiors sent him to Rome, the center of theological training. There, in the Basilica of Lateran, he was ordained a priest in 1596, and on completion of his studies, he was considered for a mission in Transylvania,³ but this did not happen. His superiors sent him from Rome to Graz, where he was professor of philosophy and theology at the university for ten years, and the manuscripts of his lectures in Latin are now preserved in the University Library of Budapest. His professorship in Graz was interrupted by a stay of about one and a half years in Upper Hungary, partly under the tutelage of Bishop Ferenc Forgách of Nyitra, at whose encouragement he published his first Hungarian-language treatise, the *Felelet*, a response to the Lutheran István Magyarai, in 1603. In these years he wrote his Latin defence of Roberto Bellarmino's *Disputationes de controversiis christianae fidei adversus huius temporis haereticos* (Ingolstadt, 1586–1593) and William Whitaker's *Praelectiones de Ecclesia contra Bellarminum* (Cambridge, 1599). He finally returned to Hungary in 1607, and immediately became involved in public life, full of religious and political tensions, where he played an active role as Provost of Turóc and then Archbishop of Esztergom from 1616, publishing several books, mainly religious treatises. During his two decades abroad, Pázmány did not forget the Hungarian language, and even in his own time he was referred to as Cicero in connection with his writing.⁴

² ÓRY 1970, 23–26.

³ ÓRY 1970, 144.

⁴ DREXEL 1636, A5v; HARGITTAY 2009.

With Pázmány's appointment as archbishop in 1616, his ecclesiastical and political role and influence increased. In the known historical circumstances, he spent the remaining two decades of his life seeking direct contact with the Reformed Transylvanian princes and took on an active mediating role between Transylvania and the court of Vienna. During the reign of Gábor Bethlen, he had to learn the hard way. The Reformed prince took up arms against the influence of the Habsburgs on three occasions, and on the occasion of the first attack, Pázmány – together with many members of the Catholic clergy – had to flee to Vienna for more than two years. One of the results of his exile in Vienna was that, after lengthy preparations, he founded a Jesuit seminary there in 1623 (“Pázmáneum”), which is still in operation today. Pázmány's behaviour was characterized by the fact that he wrote to Prince Gábor Bethlen immediately after the Treaty of Nikolsburg (1622). He repeatedly urged him to keep the peace. Their correspondence shows that Pázmány was distrustful of Bethlen, but at the same time he urged the prince to remain calm in order to preserve peace, and he tried to maintain direct contact with him.

During the reign of Prince György Rákóczi I, who was also a Reformed monarch, Pázmány made even better use of the opportunity for personal contact. Sándor Sík called this relationship a “friendly relationship”,⁵ and according to the correspondence, Pázmány, in addition to discussing the current political and military situation in Transylvania, repeatedly expressed to Rákóczi the importance of Transylvania for the survival of the whole country.

It is obvious that Pázmány's Transylvanian policy was completely coherent and his correspondence with the princes was in line with all his political statements and aspirations. His political position seems to have transcended his clear denominational position. He tried to convince his Lutheran and Calvinist debating partners with a series of treatises, their supplemented and reprinted editions, and the three publications of his main work, the *Kalauz* (Pozsony 1613, 1623, 1637), always responding promptly to their works of theological debate. In these debates, Pázmány always had the last word. But it is precisely his attitude towards Transylvania that shows

⁵ Sík 1939, 207.

how he considered the interests of the nation as a whole more important than overcoming religious division. In fact, in a work published in 1620, he wrote that he would give up religious disputes if the representatives of the other side did not agitate and incite their masters. The cause of religious disputes was ultimately political.⁶ He sought to preserve the *status quo* of a fragile peace, his ultimate political goal being a country free from Turkish occupation, as his preparations for the 1632 Roman legation show. This was to supplement the instructions he had received from Ferdinand II to Pope Urban VIII, with the Turkish question, a request for aid and the establishment of an anti-Turkish League of Nations.⁷ He also saw that without an international coalition, this was a hopeless undertaking. Although this idea seemed illusory in 1632, his notion of a confederation of peoples was vindicated by history. The military events of the late 17th century, including the successful international war to expel the Turks from Hungary, indicate Pázmány's foresight.

Pázmány became archbishop in 1616, but this did not mean that he had replaced the pen with the shepherd's crook. His literary output did not diminish after this appointment, and in the two decades that followed he produced, in addition to his treatises, such enduring works as the translation of Kempis (Vienna, 1624), the *Prédikációk* (Pozsony, 1636) and the third and fourth editions of his *Imádságos könyv*. The most spectacular area in which he continued to produce most of his work was the literature of debate.⁸ After 1613, Pázmány published eleven more treatises, some of which drew on the material of the *Kalauz* and others which were responses to attacks on the *Kalauz*. The most significant of these, written in response to the Lutheran Fridericus Balduinus of Wittenberg, *Setét hajnalcsillag után bujdosó lutheristák vezetője* (Vienna, 1627), marked Pázmány's second entry into the field of international controversy after the *Diatriba theologica*. In the meantime, he continued to improve the text of the *Kalauz*. Balduinus was still writing a refutation of the first edition of the *Kalauz*,

⁶ PPÖM V, 273.

⁷ Letter of Péter Pázmány to Ferdinand II, 10 February 1632, Bratislava. PPÖL II, 245–246; BECKER–TUSOR, 2019.

⁸ AJKAY 2006, AJKAY 2013, AJKAY 2018, AJKAY 2020, AJKAY 2022. For more, see AJKAY 2016.

but by the time it was published (1626), the second edition of the *Kalauz* had already appeared, in 1623. In his reply to Balduinus, Pázmány had already referred several times to this second edition, which was not a mere redaction of the first edition, but an expansion by about a third, including the appendices, and a meticulous rewriting of the text.

The two great periods of Pázmány's literary activity are clearly discernible: the period up to the first edition of the *Kalauz* (1613) and the subsequent period up to the last editions of the *Prédikációk* (1636) and the *Kalauz* (1637). These two periods cannot, of course, be sharply separated, and the editing and rewriting of the texts after 1613 make this clear. Already in his early period in Graz, Pázmány had planned to produce a comprehensive anti-Protestant polemic. This work was the *Tíz nyilvánvaló bizonyság*, which he published in 1605. In the meantime, he had to prepare the *Felelet* against István Magyari. Here, too, Pázmány wanted to give a comprehensive refutation of the disputed issues, yet he put his opponent's arguments on a theological plane. In 1608, after his move to Hungary, he quickly reacted to the questions raised by becoming involved in everyday political and ecclesiastical affairs. His works of this period and their contents were published almost in their entirety in the first edition of the *Kalauz*, either in one of the fourteen books published there or as an appendix to the great work.

Pázmány's literary, ecclesiastical and political role left a legacy of great importance and magnitude. Together with his correspondence, his writings were published in fifteen volumes in the earlier complete edition between 1894 and 1911,⁹ which contains all his works that were known up to the beginning of the 20th century. His correspondence makes him the first Hungarian writer whose biography is known in detail. Almost half of this very extensive *oeuvre* was written in Latin, since his philosophical and theological lectures as a professor at the University of Graz were exclusively in Latin. In addition to the almost complete edition of his works, which dates from about a hundred years ago, several new editions of some of his works have also appeared. His critical edition was launched in 2000 and 12 volumes

⁹ PPOO 1894–1904; PPÖL 1910–1911; PPÖM 1894–1904.

have been published so far.¹⁰ Pázmány's works reveal the life and culture of the time in encyclopaedic completeness, and his successors, mainly 18th century sermon writers (sometimes Protestant), copied long passages from his writings *verbatim*.¹¹

Two recent Pázmány bibliographies published before 2011 provide a comprehensive and useful overview of the entire history of Pázmány's publications and research.¹² A good opportunity for further exploration of the text of the *oeuvre* has been created by the *Pázmány Péter Elektronikus Könyvtár (Pázmány Péter Electronic Library)*,¹³ containing a searchable collection of all the editions of his *oeuvre*.

The elements of Pázmány's multi-directional activity cannot be contrasted or separated. The Jesuit monk and professor, the priest who created devotional works, the spiritual father who sought and offered a quiet and intimate faith, the endlessly patient preacher, the orator and sermon writer who preached the Word continuously for three decades, all appear in one synthesis. Pázmány was a tough-tongued debater, arguing with rigorous and unyielding syllogisms, the archbishop who entered into European, papal, Transylvanian and Turkish diplomacy. He was a person, who endured all personal intrigues, who wrote more than a thousand letters, and who founded institutions and universities with an eye to the future. Pázmány's life's work reveals something of incredible tenacity, consistency and perseverance, the figure of a man of extraordinary inner strength. As he put it at one point: "while God holds a patch of my disabled life, I will spare no labour and no effort for the sake of truth."¹⁴

¹⁰ PÁZMÁNY 1603/2000; PÁZMÁNY 1603/2014; PÁZMÁNY 1605/2001; PÁZMÁNY 1605/2012; PÁZMÁNY 1606/2006; PÁZMÁNY 1607/2016; PÁZMÁNY 1609/2017; PÁZMÁNY 1609/1613/2019; PÁZMÁNY 1609/2021; PÁZMÁNY 1610/1636/2020; PÁZMÁNY 1631/2001; PÁZMÁNY 1631/2013.

¹¹ MACZÁK 2010; TURI 2011; HARGITTAY 2013b; JUHÁSZ 2013.

¹² ADONYI–MACZÁK 2005; HARGITTAY–MACZÁK 2011.

¹³ <http://www.ppek.hu/>

¹⁴ PPÖM V, 485.

Pázmány's activity and his literary references to the works of almost the entire European cultural history, extended beyond the borders of Hungary. The fact that we are now publishing a book in English gives us the opportunity to place his personality and work back into the European context that provided the background for his multifaceted activities. The present volume explores Pázmány's work with a monographic approach and on the basis of the latest research in Hungary and abroad. At the beginning of the book we have included a chronology of the most important events in his life, and the reader will find a selection of the most important literature of the last decade.



Péter Tusor

PÁZMÁNY, EUROPE AND THE HABSBURG EMPIRE

When examining Hungary's history from the 17th century to the beginning of the 21st century, the enduring rule of the House of Habsburg until 1918 stands as an established historical fact. While the *Casa Austriaca* gained control of the Hungarian throne in 1526, the dynasty faced one of its closest challenges in retaining its position during the latter half of the 1610s. The period between 1618 and 1620 posed a graver threat to the Habsburgs than significant conflicts subsequently such as the Rákóczi's War of Independence (1703–1711), the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), and the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence in 1848/49. Péter Pázmány¹ played a pivotal role in ensuring that the prolonged warfare defining early modern Europe, spanning 30 years, did not lead to the immediate downfall of the dynasty in its initial phase and did not end in 1620. Conversely, the struggle for European hegemony, initially a religious conflict, evolved into a more openly aggressive phase by the 1630s, significantly impacting Pázmány's career trajectory. His ascent from an unassuming Jesuit to the Archbishop of Esztergom, the paramount ecclesiastical figure in the Kingdom of Hungary, was propelled by the acute and increasingly intricate succession crisis within the dynasty. It was a result of a series of meticulous political maneuvers, constituting a micro-political chain aimed at resolving this crisis.²

¹ FRANKL 1868–1872; SÍK 1939; BITSKEY 1986; ÖRY–SZABÓ 1983, 11–107.

² MAŤA 2020, 53–74; BIRELEY 2003.

STARTING A POLITICAL CAREER

Between 1608 and 1612, Archduke Matthias II, who succeeded to the Hungarian, Czech, and later imperial thrones following tensions with his brother Rudolph II, faced a significant issue due to his lack of children. Running the Habsburg power structure on his behalf was Melchior Klesl, Bishop of Vienna, appointed Chief Minister and later Cardinal. Klesl's policy of seeking compromises, known as the Composition, aimed to reconcile diverse religious and political factions, presenting a challenge for succession. As all three crowns were only attainable through election and with no suitable direct heir, these elections held genuine significance rather than being mere formalities. Klesl had to negotiate separately with Hungarian, Czech, and imperial orders, all of which were eligible to vote. Complicating matters further was the tense Protestant-Catholic conflict. In Hungary, confessional tensions led to a Protestant victory in a religious war between 1604–1606. Meanwhile, within the Habsburg Empire, the formation of opposing fronts through the Protestant Union and Catholic League heightened tensions by 1608–1609. A comprehensive settlement with Protestants living under Habsburg dynastic rule, which could have solidified Bishop Klesl's influence, was unfeasible. Even Ferdinand, Archduke of Graz faced resistance, particularly from the Czechs, despite being perceived as somewhat more moderate than other claimants, including the Spanish branch vying for dynastic succession or the staunchly conservative Archduke Maximilian, Matthias II's younger brother. Significantly, Klesl wasn't keen on promoting the acceptance of Ferdinand's person, fearing the transfer of power to Ferdinand's court, which was increasingly adversarial.³

In the intricate European political landscape under Klesl's strategy of avoiding conflict and adopting a wait-and-see approach, Péter Pázmány played a decisive role. Pázmány's political stance closely mirrored that of the Bishop of Vienna. As a Hungarian Jesuit and as Ferenc Forgách's father confessor and political advisor (Forgách served as Archbishop of Esztergom from 1607 to 1615), Pázmány openly supported Klesl's pragmatic approach during the 1608 Diet of Pozsony (Bratislava). This stance advocated

³ KOLLER 2008, 101–121.

granting victorious Protestants the legal freedom to practice their religion, despite the prohibition within Catholic canon law.⁴ Following the sudden death of Ferenc Forgách in 1615–1616, the Cardinal Archbishop believed that appointing Pázmány as archbishop would align one of Hungary’s most influential leaders with his own political vision. It was expected that Pázmány, with his talents and background, would continue supporting Klesl’s approach. Moreover, considering the circumstances of his appointment and his pivotal role in it, Pázmány was seen as someone who would offer unwavering loyalty as the new religious leader in Hungary with a decisive political influence.⁵

Wolfgang Reinhard’s research in early modern micro-politics highlights loyalty as a paramount factor in contemporary political appointments. Reinhard’s work underscores that these appointments were primarily aimed at securing allegiance. Such actions are best understood within the context of the prevailing social structure within the Habsburg Empire of the time, namely the patron-client system.⁶ This perspective sheds light on Péter Pázmány’s career trajectory, particularly his appointment to the Archbishopric of Esztergom. Pázmány’s ascent can be comprehended through his client-relationship to Cardinal Melchior Klesl, who held considerable influence as the imperial chief minister, controlling Habsburg decisions and presiding over the Privy Council. This appointment elevated Pázmány into one of Hungary’s prominent religious and constitutional/political figures.⁷

In Rome, resolving the Habsburg succession was deemed crucial, hailed as ‘the most significant cause of all Christendom’. Around 1614–1615, Péter Pázmány visited the Eternal City and met with Pope Paul V (1605–1621), providing detailed oral and written briefings about Hungary’s internal

⁴ BENDA 1979; BITSKEY 2009.

⁵ On the tension between Forgách and Klesl, see for example Archivio Apostolico Vaticano (AAV), Segreteria di Stato, Principi, vol. 56 I, fol. 397r-398v; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), Boncomagni e Ludovisi, vol. E 12, foll. 255r-256v. Nuncio de Mara raised the suspicion of poisoning in his report of 26 October 1616. ASV Segr. Stato, Germania, vol. 114K, fol. 365v; TUSOR 2016, p. 31, n. 46.

⁶ REINHARD 2004, 1–20; THIESSEN 2008, 67–69sq.

⁷ TUSOR 2016, 278 sq.

political and religious landscape. Within the Roman *Curia*, during the final years of the Borghese pontificate, Pázmány gained recognition as a confidant, someone upon whom Holy See diplomacy could depend, especially if Matthias II's succession yielded favorable results.

Pázmány's pivotal role as in securing the Hungarian Crown during the election process of Orders was acknowledged, whether through his influence on Klesl or his direct involvement. Consequently, the Pope extended comprehensive canonical assistance to facilitate Pázmány's appointment to the Archbishopric of Esztergom, Hungary's most prominent both ecclesiastical and constitutional post. This move faced staunch opposition from the Society of Jesus and Hungarian legal restrictions. Jesuit regulations barred acceptance of higher ecclesiastical positions, and Act 8 of 1608 specifically disqualified Jesuits in Hungary from holding such prestigious offices. Despite these obstacles, the Pope, employing a solution devised by himself as a canon lawyer, enabled Pázmány to assume his archbishopric temporarily under the auspices of the Somascan novitiate, a move that temporarily made him lose his Jesuit character.⁸

Besides Cardinal Klesl and Pope Paul V, Pázmány's third allegiance, which could be better described as subject loyalty, was primarily tied to the dynasty that he considered throughout his life as the foremost protector and guarantor of his country and religion. This commitment was deeply ingrained and personalized during his extensive tenure as a teacher in Graz, under the patronage of Archduke Ferdinand, the probable heir to the Habsburg throne.⁹

Due to the fragmented nature of available sources, it is difficult to reconstruct Pázmány's navigation of the complex web of relationships and circumstances leading to his appointment during the initial phase of his archbishopship. The political tussle between the 'Archdukes (and the Society of Jesus) versus Klesl' escalated, with ongoing papal mediation. This struggle increasingly favored the former faction, aided by Spanish diplomacy. In March 1617, Archduke Maximilian and Archduke Ferdinand reached an agreement with the extraordinary Spanish envoy sent to settle

⁸ TUSOR 2016, 47 sqq and 217 sqq.

⁹ KASTNER 1935; FRANKÓI 1873, n. 15. FRANKL 1868, 239–240; FRANKÓI 1886, 83–84.

the issue of succession. Count Oñate renounced, in favor of Ferdinand, the Spanish branch's claim to the throne in a treaty named after him – kept secret from both Klesl and others for many years – known as the *Pactum de Successione Regnorum Hungariae et Bohemiae*, in exchange for Alsace and Northern Italian compensations. Consequently, the Cardinal High Minister began to lose control of events. In June 1617, Ferdinand unilaterally proclaimed himself Czech king, and preparations commenced for the Hungarian king's election by Autumn.¹⁰

Péter Pázmány, known for his adept political skills, managed to secure the legal election of the Catholic Archduke of Graz at the Protestant-majority Hungarian Diet of 1618. This Archduke was then crowned in Pozsony on 1 July, thereby ensuring the continuity of the succession of the Habsburg dynasty to the Hungarian throne. Remarkably, this achievement was attained without any notable conflict between Pázmány and his patron. By securing one of the three crowns – the Hungarian crown – for the dynasty, Pázmány (elevated to the highest ecclesiastical and constitutional position in the kingdom) accomplished an immensely significant political feat.¹¹

However, it's important to note that in the case of the Czechs, the situation was different. The consequences of the defenestration of Prague, which had occurred on 23 May 1618, were prolonged, extending until the peace treaty of 1648 at Westphalia.

In the first third of the 17th century, Peter Pázmány served not only as a pillar for the centuries-long consolidation of the Habsburg establishment in Hungary, extending until 1918, as previously understood, but his appointment was also associated with and orchestrated for this purpose on the eve of the Thirty Years' War.¹² It was in specific relation to the Habsburg succession, the deficiencies in its settlement directly led to the outbreak of the last major religious war and simultaneously ignited the first struggle for hegemony across the continent in Europe. Pázmány's emergence from the confines of monastic and theological writings onto the tumultuous stage of

¹⁰ KOLLER 2008, 104.

¹¹ FRANKNÓI 2005², 189–203. The relevant papal diplomatic file: AAV Fondo Borghese, Serie II, vol. A.B. Borghese, vol. 340 and 947, *passim* and BAV Barb. Lat., vol. 6924, *passim*.

¹² HÓMAN–SZEKFŰ 1941–1943⁷ IV, 25.

Theatrum Europaeum occurred from the outset within the realm of high politics, during the most critical and pivotal period of the Central European Habsburg rule, which had lasted just nine decades, as early as 1616.¹³

AS AN ARCHBISHOP

Péter Pázmány, a Jesuit who assumed the position of Primate of Hungary in 1616 under unusual circumstances, wielded significant influence in the emerging Habsburg monarchy on the Danube until his passing in 1637. His influence at the Viennese court was evident through his authentication as one of the signatories of the foundational document, Ferdinand II's will, in 1621. Similar to Klesl, Pázmány's strong religious identity was marked by a flexible political approach, reflected in his involvement in imperial decision-making and governance in Hungary.

As Archbishop of Esztergom, he was the head of the first state-making order, the *status ecclesiasticus*, which played a key role not only in dioceses, but the county assemblies and the royal council (*Consilium Hungaricum*). Amid the Ottoman threat, Pázmány navigated compromises with Protestants, leading to a period from 1606 to 1663 without major Turkish campaigns in Hungary under his archbishopric. He served as a representative of the dynasty's rule in Hungary, especially functioning as a member of the Locumtenens Council during the vacancy of the Palatine of the Kingdom (*Palatinus Regni*) i.e. the secular order's leading position (*status saecularis*), essentially acting as a *Locumtenens Regius*. The Royal Council frequently convened in his palace, and Ferdinand II sought his counsel on various matters. Conflicts occasionally arose between the Habsburg monarch and the Jesuit archbishop. For example, Pázmány sought the support of Pope Gregory XV (1621–1623) in an exceptional situation, contemplating resignation, to intercede with King Ferdinand II for the reduction of the immense expenses allocated for maintaining Érsekújvár. Pázmány, like his predecessors and successors, did his part in running the anti-Ottoman defensive fortifications that divided Hungary. However, the

¹³ TUSOR 2016, 235sqq.

substantial burden he bore in this role likely hindered his effectiveness as a high priest.¹⁴

Simultaneously, as the leader of the ecclesiastical order, Péter Pázmány found himself increasingly in conflict with both the Palatines, including the Protestant Szaniszló Thurzó (1622–1625) and the Catholic Miklós Esterházy (1625–1645). Their disputes, often heated, were less focused on religious or conceptual differences and more on matters of precedence, particularly crucial during the Baroque era. The term ‘precedent’ encompassed not just questions of representation but also the assertion of interests and the quest for decision-making primacy.

Pázmány aimed to expand the ecclesiastical and secular rights of the Archbishops of Esztergom, viewing himself as the foremost public figure in the country after the king. In his efforts, he even laid claim to the title of prince for the Archbishop of Esztergom, drawing reference to King Sigismund’s donation. This claim became the foundation for subsequent archbishops’ assertions of a quasi-feudal autonomy, eventually recognized by the Emperor in 1714 through the conferral of the title of Prince of the Holy Roman Empire. The princely rank of the Archbishops of Esztergom persisted until the mid-20th century when Pius XII (1939–1958) abolished secular aristocratic titles held by Catholic prelates.¹⁵

This whole time, Pázmány managed to uphold the Habsburgs’ absolutist ambitions within the framework of strong Hungarian institutional autonomy. As a continuation of the previous statement, the successful ‘orchestration’ of the royal election during the 1625 Diet of Sopron stands as the most conspicuous evidence, alongside the 1618 Diet of Pozsony, of his ability to balance the Habsburgs’ absolutist aspirations within the strong framework of Hungarian institutions.¹⁶ His endeavors played a crucial role in stabilizing the Habsburg dynasty’s position within Hungary. Ferdinand III, whom Pázmány crowned, succeeded his deceased father on the Hungarian throne in February 1637. However, Pázmány could no longer partake in occasional

¹⁴ See biographical literature cited in the first note, and PPÖL, *passim*.

¹⁵ TUSOR 2022a.

¹⁶ DOMINKOVITS–KATONA–PÁLFFY 2020.

meetings of Ferdinand III's Privy Council, having died on 19 March 1637, following Ferdinand II to the grave.

Nonetheless, in the preceding year, Pázmány had already accomplished his most significant domestic political task. For György Rákóczy I, who had received the publication of his sermons as a gift in 1636, Pázmány managed to grant imperial confirmation as the Prince of Transylvania. In this way he consolidated the position of the Hungarian statehood in Transylvania, a region he consistently deemed strategically vital for maintaining the Habsburg-Hungarian balance of power.¹⁷

THE AGE OF CARDINALITY

The Hungarian prelate's role in the imperial court and broader European politics was greatly enhanced when Urban VIII (1623–1644) conferred Cardinal dignity upon Pázmány on 19 November, 1629. The thirteen-year gap since his appointment as archbishop in 1616 can be explained by the absence of any intrinsic link between Archbishopric of Esztergom and the Cardinalate. Emperor Ferdinand II's formal imperial recommendation was included in the list of candidates. Only after the appointment of Ernst Adalbert Harrach (1598–1667), Archbishop of Prague, as cardinal in 1626, did Pázmány obtain the Habsburg nomination, the official imperial recommendation, and was included among Ferdinand II's candidates. Pázmány imperial nomination for the purple towards the Pope was a gesture of gratitude from the Emperor Ferdinand II to the Hungarian prelate for the successful election of his son, the Crown Prince Ferdinand III, as King of Hungary at the Diet of Sopron. Miklós Esterházy, who also played a key role in the event that was crucial to the maintenance of the dynasty's rule in the Kingdom of Hungary, was awarded the Golden Fleece for the same.

Similar to the dynamic nature of his appointment as archbishop in 1615–1616, Pázmány's Cardinalate was shaped by the complex power relations across Europe. Within the Viennese court, alongside Papal Nuncios Carlo Caraffa (1621–1628) and Giovanni Battista Pallotto (1628–1630), and the

¹⁷ SZILÁGYI 1870; cf. n. 1.

imperial confessor Wilhelm Lamormain (1624–1637), Pázmány notably opposed Ferdinand II's deployment of troops to Italy to prevent the French Gonzaga-Nevers dynasty from ascending to the throne after the Mantua succession. The cardinalitial appointment of the Archbishop of Esztergom by Urban VIII on 19th November, 1629, which placed the Hungarian prelate on equal footing with the archdukes and involved him in European relations, aimed primarily at reinforcing the 'papal lobby' at the imperial court. In this political context, Pázmány received the Cardinal's hat ahead of other competing imperial candidates. He was even chosen before a last-minute contender, Anton Wolfradt, Abbot of Kremsmünster and future Bishop of Vienna, who was to be suddenly preferred by the Viennese court and held a significant position as the increasingly influential president of the Imperial Court Chamber.¹⁸

The Imperial troops, however, devastated Mantua, and Vatican politics failed to keep the war away from Italy. This development placed the newly appointed Cardinal in direct conflict with the increasingly French-oriented papal court. Pázmány, as a Hungarian cardinal, held a steadfast political belief: the liberation of Hungary's central and southern regions from centuries-long Ottoman rule was central to his convictions, alongside the endeavor to propagate the Catholic faith. As the Archbishop of Esztergom, Pázmány opposed Ferdinand II's campaign in Mantua, recognizing that opening a new front in Western Europe would divert and constrain the Habsburg forces. The issuance of the Imperial Edict of Restitution in 1629 seemed to mark a triumph for the Catholic League in the imperial war within the Holy Roman Empire. Pázmány, along with the entire Hungarian elite, had genuine hope that the emerging forces of the dynasty would be strategically directed toward their primary cause, i.e. halting and repelling the expanding Turkish dominance, a cause for which the Habsburgs had been summoned – following the Battle of Mohács – to the Hungarian throne: to protect whole Kingdom of Hungary.¹⁹ (The conquering Ottoman army defeated the Hungarian forces at Mohács in 1526.)

¹⁸ TUSOR 2005, 77–105.

¹⁹ EXTERNBRINK 1999, 133–239; ALDEA 1968.

The Swedish military intervention, coupled with King Gustavus Adolphus's (1611–1632) consecutive victories, reversed the course of the war in the Holy Roman Empire that had been ongoing since 1618, posing a serious threat of defeat to the House of Austria. The potential loss of hereditary provinces and the Empire's resources implied the impending collapse of anti-Turkish defenses, which would have inevitably led to Hungary's surrender. To safeguard his life's work, Cardinal Pázmány embarked on an imperial embassy to Rome. In the spring of 1632, the Hungarian prelate, appointed cardinal by Urban VIII to endorse papal policy in Vienna, arrived in Rome as Ferdinand II's envoy. His mission aimed to persuade the Pope to abandon the French-aligned stance and join forces with the Emperor and the King of Spain. This alliance would offer substantial financial support to counter the growing influence of the Swedes, supported by Cardinal Richelieu. Although Pázmány achieved this goal through resolute action, it came at a considerable cost. His efforts resulted in ceremonial humiliation, attempts by the Holy See's diplomacy to undermine his credibility in Vienna, and strained relations with the ruling papal Barberini dynasty, who viewed him as an ungrateful 'creature' and a personal adversary. Subsequently, there was no possibility of him returning to Rome, whether as a permanent ambassador or as a cardinal protector. Pázmány's actions in 1632 opposed the papal policy of prioritizing geostrategic interests over religious concerns. Alongside Cardinal Gaspare Borgia's protests to the Consistory on 8 March, 1632, this marked a pivotal moment in the thirty-year war. The conflict no longer centered solely on religious exclusivity but extended to the quest for European hegemony. These events underscore Pázmány's work within an international sphere. Notably, his anti-papal stance, coupled with Borgia's actions, significantly reduced the representation of non-Italian Cardinals in the Sacred College, further consolidating the Italianization of the papacy.²⁰

The Hungarian Cardinal remained closely attuned to events in Rome throughout his life, staying informed of sensitive matters through his trusted agent, Cornelius Heinrich Motmann (1598–1638), who served as the judge of the *Sacra Romana Rota*.²¹ However, his active influence on Ferdinand II's

²⁰ BECKER, 2012; BECKER–TUSOR 2019; BÜCHEL–KARSTEN 2003; VISCEGLIA, 2003.

²¹ TUSOR 2002.

Italian policy ceased after 1632. Aligning with the anti-Barberini Spanish faction at the imperial court, he received a year's pension from Madrid. Spanish diplomats continually advocated for his return to the Eternal City, proposing his appointment either as a permanent imperial envoy or as a cardinal protector of the Habsburg-lands in the Roman Curia. Nevertheless, these attempts proved futile due to staunch opposition from the Roman Curia. Despite Pázmány's willingness to spend his remaining years at the papal court, the resistance from the Roman Curia prevailed.²²

The Cardinal's political discord with the Curia strained the Hungarian catholic hierarchy's relations with the Holy See for an extended period. Drawing on the establishment of the dioceses of St. Stephen, Pázmány argued through several memoirs for the apostolic nature and quasi-ecclesiasticism of the Hungarian kings, thereby formalizing and ideologically reinforcing the Hungarian Catholic state church. In cases not explicitly governed by royal supremacy or local tradition, he emphasized compliance with universal canon law. An instance of this was his pursuit and reception of prior papal authorization for the establishment of the University of Nagyszombat in 1635, which asked and received at the end of his envoy to Rome.²³

Despite the tense diplomatic conflicts during the spring legation of 1632, the censures from the papal Secretariat of State, and the Hungarian Church's marginalization from Italian politics, the Hungarian Church leader's position at the imperial court remained steadfast. Toward the end of his career, he held a position within the esteemed *Consilium Conscientiae*, a council comprising cardinals and theologians who argued that Emperor Ferdinand II, as a Catholic monarch, should negotiate a specific peace with the Lutheran Saxon Electorate. The resulting Treaty of Prague in 1635, which encompassed religious concessions, disregarded vehement protests from the Holy See. Thus, the most prominent figure of early modern Hungarian

²² TUSOR 2011.

²³ TUSOR 2014; TUSOR 2023.

Catholicism not only comprehended but actively engaged in the secularization trends prevailing in Europe.²⁴

IMPACT AND SIGNIFICANCE

Péter Pázmány was not only a role model for his successors through his writings, foundations, and activities as a denominational organizer. The same applies to its governmental, constitutional, and domestic political roles, the state-church ideology rooted in the establishments of Saint Stephen, as well as its position within the imperial court and in European politics. In domestic politics, he was highly successful: either György Lippay (1642–1666) or György Szelephényi (1666–1685) – especially during the latter’s lengthy tenure - managed the country’s government based on the principles established by Pázmány, even more effectively than their predecessor. It was primarily Lippay who heightened to the utmost the ecclesiology of St. Stephen systematized by the Cardinal, asserting that everything in the establishment of the Hungarian Church originated from the holy king, while regarding the role of Rome as merely ancillary in this context. However, none of his successors could match the level of influence that Pázmány had in Vienna and Europe. The fact that, unlike their esteemed predecessor, they were not elevated to Cardinalate by the Popes in Rome, clearly indicates this.²⁵



²⁴ BIRELEY 1976; BIRELEY 1981; BIRELEY 2003. Resolution of Pázmány issued in the Privy Council: PPÖL II, 574–578, n. 951. („*In secreto consilio coram Sua Majestate ex scripto lecta. Viennae 10. Maii 1635. De pace cum Electore Saxone ineunda deque capitulationibus factis*”).

²⁵ TUSOR 2022b.

Emil Hargittay

PÉTER PÁZMÁNY AND TRANSYLVANIA

When examining the relationship between Pázmány and Transylvania, it is obvious that in Pázmány's thought there is no sharp distinction between Transylvania and Partium, between Kolozsvár and Várad. In the following, we will shed light on the question from three points of view: Pázmány's background, the archbishop's direct relationship with the Transylvanian princes, and Pázmány's subjective attitude to the question of Transylvania.

BIOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT

Pázmány was a Hungarian writer who never lived in what is now Hungary. If we look at the dating of more than a thousand of his letters, we see that, given the territory of present-day Hungary, he dated his letters for a longer period (about three months) from Sopron in western Hungary, where he attended the Diet of 1625. According to the known facts, he was born in Panasz near Várad in a Calvinist family, completed his primary education in Várad, and then studied at the Jesuit College in Kolozsvár. There he converted to Catholicism and entered the Jesuit order. It was at the College of Kolozsvár that Pázmány acquired the foundations of his exceptionally great erudition, studying Latin grammar, humanities (which included Greek language studies) and rhetoric. Pázmány also began his studies in Logic

there.¹ As the Transylvanian and Polish Jesuit orders were one, his superiors sent Pázmány to Krakow together with some novices from Kolozsvár.

CONTACT WITH THE TRANSYLVANIAN PRINCES

Following Pázmány's appointment as archbishop in 1616, his ecclesiastical and political role and influence increased. He sought direct contact with the Transylvanian princes and took on an active mediating role between Transylvania and the royal court in Vienna. During the reign of Gábor Bethlen (1613–1629), he had to acquire considerable experience. The Protestant Prince took up arms against the influence of the Habsburgs on three occasions, and at the time of the first attack Pázmány – together with many members of the Catholic clergy – had to flee to Vienna for more than two years. Pázmány's behaviour was characterised by the fact that he wrote to the Prince immediately after the Treaty of Nikolsburg (1622). He repeatedly urged him to keep the peace. As he wrote to him in 1623: „I am very afraid that if things do not settle peacefully, [...] Germany and Turkey will end up fighting each other for Hungary. The outcome of this situation, and the danger it poses to our country and nation, is something anyone can judge.”² Their correspondence shows that Pázmány was distrustful of Bethlen, but at the same time he urged the Prince to remain calm in order to preserve peace, and he tried to maintain direct contact with him throughout. In 1626, he wrote to the orders of Upper Hungary in Bethlen's camp: “Like the finger between the threshold and the door, we are positioned among mighty emperors, and we are susceptible to both protection and harm. We must deteriorate if we do not remain in peace.”³ A characteristic document of the relationship with Bethlen is that, at the prince's request, Pázmány willingly supported the visit to Rome of the prince's cousin Péter Bethlen to Pope Urban VIII. This took place at the end of a European tour, during which Péter Bethlen visited Belgium, the royal courts of England

¹ ÖRY 1970, 23–26.

² PPÖL I, 362–363.

³ PPÖL I, 546.

and France, as well as Spain, Venice and Vienna to see King Ferdinand II. This was a series of diplomatic visits prepared by the Prince rather than a study peregrination.⁴

From 1630, during the reign of György I Rákóczi in Transylvania, Pázmány made even better use of the possibility of personal contacts. Sándor Sík called this a “friendly relationship”.⁵ According to the correspondence, in addition to discussing the political and military situation in Transylvania, Pázmány repeatedly expressed to György I Rákóczi the importance of Transylvania for the survival of the whole country. There is no doubt that Pázmány did not tolerate Rákóczi’s clearly stated reformism, but he was able to rise above it. Later, in 1636, when István Bethlen, as pretender to the throne, went against the Prince and sided with the Turks, Pázmány’s pro-Rákóczi stance was particularly strong, even against the reigning Prince Miklós Eszterházy. In October 1636, he wrote to Rákóczi: “My Lord, there is no need to leave such a beautiful bastion of Christianity as Transylvania to the heathen”.⁶ He wrote some of his letters to the Prince in cipher. On several occasions, he also stated that the interests of Transylvania and the country as a whole, demanded that peace be maintained, just as Pázmány had not given up his main goal to expel the Turks, though he did not see the time as yet ripe for this. In Christmas 1636, he sent his newly published volume of sermons to Prince Rákóczi with a friendly recommendation.

In addition to correspondence, direct contact was ensured by the envoy service. In this respect, the envoy of János Kemény, who was sent to Vienna by both princes on several occasions, was of particular importance, and on these occasions he met several times with Pázmány. In his autobiography, Kemény recorded his memories of the archbishop, and in some places even the sentences he uttered to Pázmány. In these confidential statements Pázmány expresses his belief that a strong Transylvanian principality would secure the prestige of Hungary as a whole against the Habsburg Empire.⁷ At the beginning of 1636, Prince György I Rákóczi sent András

⁴ R. VÁRKONYI 1994, 57; HELTAI 1984, 411–422; HÁMORI NAGY 2020, 15–25.

⁵ Sík 1939, 207.

⁶ PPÖL II, 709.

⁷ TÓTH 2006, 219–231; HARGITTAY 2009, 87–93.

Klobusiczky as an envoy to Pázmány and Ferdinand. In his later memoirs, Klobusiczky described Pázmány's attitude to political conditions in Transylvania in a similar way. It is clear that Pázmány's policy towards Transylvania was fully coherent and his correspondence with the princes was consistent with all his political statements and aspirations. His political position seems to have transcended his clear denominational position. He tried to convince his Lutheran and Calvinist debating partners through a series of discussion papers, their reprinted editions, and the publication of the *Kalauz* three times, always replying immediately. In these debates Pázmány always had the last word. But it is precisely his attitude towards Transylvania that shows that he considered the interests of the nation as a whole more important than working against religious division.⁸ Pázmány "played a balancing role in the political relations between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Principality of Transylvania during the first third of the century."⁹ Indeed, in a work published in 1620, he wrote that he would give up religious disputes if the representatives of the other side did not agitate and incite the masters of their opponents. The reason for the disputes of faith was ultimately political, as Pázmány puts it.¹⁰ He sought to maintain the *status quo* of a fragile peace, his ultimate political goal being a country freed from Turkish occupation, as shown by his preparations for the 1632 envoy to Rome, where he would have supplemented the instructions he had received from Ferdinand II from Pope Urban VIII with the Turkish question, a request for aid, and the establishment of an anti-Turkish League of Nations.¹¹ He also saw that without an international coalition this was a hopeless undertaking. Although this idea seemed illusory in 1632, his idea of a confederation of peoples was vindicated by history, as the military events of the end of the century and the successful international war to expel the Turks show.

⁸ R. VÁRKONYI 1994, 46–47; BITSKEY 2015, 15–23.

⁹ SZABÓ 2010, 146.

¹⁰ PPÖM V, 273.

¹¹ PPÖL II, 245–246; BECKER–TUSOR 2019.

SUBJECTIVE APPROACH

The credibility of Pázmány's views on his birthplace and on Transylvania can be understood by the subjective, personal motivations behind them. He sought to acquire the memories of the past he had inevitably left behind from a geographically distant place. In 1617, he received part of his family papers from Boldizsár Kemény, who had kept them in Transylvania, and the papers were brought to him by the chancellor Simon Péchy.¹²

The bishopric in Transylvania remained vacant for a century and a half. Pázmány also thought of Transylvania when he was Archbishop of Esztergom. "He recognised how the monastery of Csíksomlyó could play a central role for Transylvanian Catholicism."¹³ In the 1620s, Pázmány visited the Holy See and the nuncio in Vienna to develop the monastery, and in 1625 he sent a gift copy of the second edition of the *Kalauz* to Csíksomlyó.¹⁴ Pázmány did not forget his Transylvanian relative, János Kemény, and a few months before his death he sent him his volume of sermons, with a dedication in his own hand.¹⁵

Observing the life of Pázmány, who was born in Várad and later studied in Kolozsvár, we can witness a peculiar phenomenon. From his youth until his death, he gave numerous testimonies of his attachment to the place of his youth. In his works, his old memories of his youth repeatedly resurface. Perhaps it is the memory of his trips to Kolozsvár that is preserved in the references to Transylvanian towns and cities in his works.¹⁶ In 1610, Pázmány claimed to have known János Tordai, a former schoolmate of his, and that he had known him for 29 years, perhaps from Várad, since Pázmány was only 11 years old at the time. Tordai had entered the Jesuit order two years before him. This may have been the reason for the attention that he gave to Tordai and for writing a sermon in Pozsony in 1610, in which he harshly criticised Tordai's religious "aberrations".¹⁷ Pázmány's most

¹² TUSOR 2017, 253.

¹³ GORDÁN 2012, 195.

¹⁴ GORDÁN 2012, 195–200.

¹⁵ BERNÁD–MUCKENHAUPT 2019, 13–17; BERNÁD–MUCKENHAUPT 2020, 36–39.

¹⁶ ÖRY 1970, 33.

¹⁷ PÁZMÁNY 1610/1636/2020, 87–88.

famous debating opponent was Péter Alvinczi. In his 18th-century lexicon, Péter Bod traces the later controversies back to the almost contemporaneous schoolmate relationship between Pázmány and Alvinczi in Várad, referring to Pázmány's abandonment of the Reformed religion.¹⁸

Pázmány himself always spoke fondly of his “beloved homeland”. He dedicated his work, *A Szentírásról és az Anyaszentegyházról*, published in 1626, to the Bihar County, with these words: “It will be forty full years since the Lord graciously called me away from my homeland, from the company of acquaintances, from the society of my kinsmen, and chose me for an ecclesiastical state. Since then, my dear foster country, your forgetfulness has not been before me; rather, I have desired and sought a way to express my gratitude for your nurturing care towards me with humble service, and to show kindness to your sons as a token of my meager worth dwelling within you, dear fatherland.”¹⁹ In 1630, in the preface to his treatise *Jó nemes Váradnak gyenge orvoslása*, we read, writing of himself in the singular third person, that he “Várad is cherished and pitied for three reasons: Firstly, because it nursed the milk of his silent childhood, and cradled his burgeoning youth in its bosom; and the pledge of his kinship through shared blood still resides within it. Secondly: because King Saint Ladislaus built that city in the year one thousand and eighty, five hundred and fifty years before the present divine manifestation, and at the same time informed Saint Ladislaus by divine revelation that His special providence extended over that city [...]. Above all worldly states, Várad is loved for being dear to the Mother of God. Thirdly: Because, considering its current condition as the city of the Virgin Mary, he finds it worthy of lamentation.”²⁰

And about half a year before his death (5 October 1636), he mentioned Transylvania to Rákóczi as “such a beautiful bastion of Christianity”, and two and a half years earlier he had said: “I feared Transylvania almost as much as I feared Győr”.²¹ On hearing the news of the archbishop's death from Bishop György Lippay, Prince Rákóczi appreciated Pázmány's views

¹⁸ BOD 1982, 252–253; PÁZMÁNY 1609/1613/2019, 46, 189.

¹⁹ PPÖM V, 349.

²⁰ PÁZMÁNY 1630, B2f–v.; ÖRY 1970, 12.

²¹ R. VÁRKONYI 1994, 46.

on Transylvania.²² Finally, an enigmatic fact: István Báthory founded a university in Kolozsvár in 1581, the charter of foundation was signed on 12 May. Pázmány also dated the founding charter of the University of Nagyszombat (Trnava) on 12 May 1635. Perhaps this is no coincidence.

Above we have summarised the most important facts about Pázmány's relationship with Transylvania. Pázmány's statements on the Transylvanian principality show complete coherence and consistency of content, based on his correspondence with the princes. If we combine what has been said above with the entire political practice of the archbishop, who was notoriously loyal to the Habsburgs, there is no contradiction in his personal ideas about the situation in Hungary and Transylvania and the survival of the unified nation, still less any hint of a dissension. As István Bitskey has put it, "Pázmány pursued his chosen path with complete sincerity, determined activity, and a sense of responsibility towards Hungarians. [...] Pázmány was in many respects superior to his contemporaries, but perhaps most of all because he was able to embed the narrow denominational interests in a broader context, and the ecclesiastical and national aspects appeared in his world of ideas complementing each other, in harmony with each other."²³



²² R. VÁRKONYI 1994, 61; SZABÓ 2010, 145.

²³ BITSKEY 1986, 215–216.

Viktor Kanász

PÉTER PÁZMÁNY, THE JESUIT AND THE PRIMATE

“Péter Pázmány, the present archbishop, is of Hungarian origin and about fifty years old; he was already a Jesuit of great reputation as a scholar of theology and orator. He was a pious and worthy prelate, who during his short archbishopric laid the foundations of several institutions which promoted the glory of God and the flourishing of the Catholic religion, though the intervening war, which turned him from everything, prevented him from developing them as he had intended.”¹ These were the words used by the Viennese nuncio Carlo Caraffa in October 1621 to describe one of the most important figures of early modern Hungarian Catholicism, whose activities, not only as a writer and politician, but also as a church organiser, fundamentally changed the religious relations of the Kingdom of Hungary and thus of the whole Carpathian Basin.

His conversion, his youth, his vocation, his thought, and, as the quotation shows, the impressions of his contemporaries, were profoundly influenced by the Jesuit order. Additionally, as Archbishop of Esztergom, he played an important role in the spread of the Society of Jesus in Hungary. It is therefore worth discussing his function as archbishop and his Jesuit identity together. The focus of his work as archbishop was to strengthen Catholicism in Hungary, which was then in crisis. After a description of his early relationship with the Jesuit order, we will examine the most important points of this internal denomination-building activity.

¹ GALLA 1935, 6.

THE JESUIT MONK

Born in 1570 in the village of Panasz, Bihar County, to Protestant parents, Péter Pázmány's youth was greatly influenced by the Jesuit College of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), founded by the Prince of Transylvania István Báthory, where the young Protestant nobleman began his studies in 1582.² The young Pázmány's conversion was also inspired by the Jesuits who served there, and dates from 1583–1584. He entered the Jesuit order on 8 September 1588. He spent his novitiate in Krakow and Jarosław in Poland, then studied philosophy in Vienna (1590–1593), where he became friends with Wilhelm Lamormain, later confessor to King Ferdinand II. He studied theology at the Gregorian University in Rome.³ After his successful studies, he taught philosophy from 1597 to 1600 at the University of Graz, one of the most important educational institutions of his time and central to the Jesuits. Between 1601 and 1603 he worked as a gymnasium teacher and prefect in Vágsellye (Šafa), Nitra county, where he came into close contact with Bishop Ferenc Forgách of Nitra. Afterwards he worked as a missionary in Kassa (Košice), and was present at the infamous occupation of the church in Kassa.⁴

Pázmány taught theology in Graz between 1603 and 1607, during the Bocskai rebellion of 1604–1606. (The Calvinist István Bocskai, Prince of Transylvania, rebelled against the Habsburgs.) He obtained his doctorate in theology in 1606 and took his fourth solemn Jesuit vows and their additions in Graz in 1607. Only afterwards did he return home, where he became confessor to Ferenc Forgách, the newly-appointed Archbishop of Esztergom, until 1615.⁵ In the meantime, through his sermons, documents of faith and conversions, he became more and more active in missionary activities, which earned him a national reputation. In addition, Pázmány became one of the leaders of Hungarian Catholicism, alongside Forgách.

² On Pázmány's family and his youth, most recently in TUSOR 2016; KANÁSZ 2019.

³ On his studies and his years in Vienna and Rome: ÖRY 1970.

⁴ BITSKEY 2001. Pázmány often appeared on public occasions at the side of Cardinal Forgách, who "entrusted him with all his secrets", TUSOR 2017, 316.

⁵ SHORE–TUSOR 2020, 532–533.

However, this also brought with it the jealousy of some of his fellow Jesuit clerics, which had serious consequences.

Accused by his fellow clerics of having a secret relationship with a noblewoman, he had to defend himself in person in Rome in the winter of 1614–1615 against unfounded accusations.⁶ He defended himself so well effectively that subsequent accusations that he may have fathered a child, accusations also made by his fellow clerics, presented no problem for Pázmány. He was helped by the fact that a medical commission also issued a certificate of innocence.

By this time, Pázmány was already seen as a possible successor to archbishop Forgách both in Rome and at the Viennese court led by Melchior Klesl. It was this exceptional moment – the unanimous will of Rome and Vienna – that led to the unusual and complicated procedure by which the young Jesuit was able to take up the Archbishopric of Esztergom. This was preceded by problems of canon law and Hungarian law: on the one hand, the fact that the Jesuit could not, according to the canonical oath, hold ecclesiastical dignity, and on the other, the fact that the Protestant-majority Hungarian nobility had passed an article of law in 1608 which prohibited Jesuits from holding property in the Kingdom, including ecclesiastical estates. For this reason, Pázmány's "Jesuit character" had to be abolished. In April 1616, with the Pope's approval, King Matthias II appointed him Provost of Turóc, and he was briefly novice prior of the Order of the Somasca, unknown outside Italy. However, since, for various reasons beyond his control, he did not take the habit of the Order, did not take the vows, did not actually begin his novitiate, and was not encouraged to do so by the Pope, he can still be considered a Jesuit.⁷ However, when he was appointed Archbishop of Esztergom on 28 September 1616, he was still temporarily considered a candidate for the novitiate of Somasca, as was his confirmation by the Pope, which came quickly. His patron, Cardinal Melchior Klesl, Bishop of Vienna, consecrated him Bishop of Esztergom in Prague on 12 March 1617.

⁶ TUSOR 2001, 154–157.

⁷ For more details, see TUSOR 2016.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF THE DENOMINATION

As Archbishop of Esztergom, Pázmány had to face a very difficult situation. Most of the country, and Esztergom itself, was under Ottoman rule, and a Protestant Prince headed the Ottoman-vacant Principality of Transylvania. By this time, most of the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary had become Protestant, and within it, mainly Calvinist. The Catholic institutional system in Hungary was in disarray, the Church's financial foundations were shaken, and the number of monks and monasteries radically reduced. There was a huge shortage of priests, and serious disciplinary and educational problems arose among the clergy, who were loyal to Rome. This was compounded by the Fifteen Years' War (Long Turkish War, 1591–1606) and the ravages of the Bocskai movement of 1604–1606.

It was under these circumstances that Pázmány became the head of the archdiocese and developed his denominational programme for the radical renewal of Catholicism in Hungary. The model for this renewal was Baroque Rome. In addition to his ordination in 1596, he visited the Eternal City twice more, from mid-December 1614 to the end of January 1615, and in the spring of 1632. During these visits, he was able to see the spirit of the Council of Trent put into practice.

The focus of his activities as archbishop was to strengthen the Catholic Church in Hungary. Pázmány, who was deeply religious, carried this mission out not only as a writer, but also as a church (and political) organiser after he put on the shepherd's ring. His activity as a party organiser was characterised by great perseverance and tenacity, as well as a great desire to work, combined with a practical attitude, a good knowledge of human nature and the ability to think in the long term.

DEVELOPING MULTI-STAGE CATHOLIC EDUCATION

One of the biggest problems of Hungarian Catholicism at that time was the lack of priests and the poor level of education of the clergy and the Catholic lay intellectuals. This was particularly true in the territory occupied by the Ottomans and in Transylvania, where the pastoral care of the

Hungarian Catholic Church was not adequately provided. To remedy the situation, two very different responses were received from Rome and from Nagyszombat. The newly established Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith sent Italian monks and Bosnian Franciscans to the occupied territory of the Kingdom of Hungary and to Transylvania, which led to numerous conflicts with the Jesuits and Hungarian Franciscans in the area. Pázmány had already indicated to Rome in 1622 that foreign missionaries who could not speak Hungarian were not suitable for this task, but that the development of Hungarian Catholicism would be more suitable.⁸ From the time of his appointment as archbishop, Pázmány attached exceptional importance to the proper development of multi-level Catholic education. In a letter to Ferdinand II, he wrote: “I think day and night,” – Pázmány wrote to King Ferdinand II – “about how to seriously advance the Catholic religion, but I see no more suitable way than to educate the youth.”⁹

Pázmány was also concerned with the network of schools in villages and rural towns, and their proper maintenance and development were given great emphasis at the diocesan synods, that he convened.¹⁰ The archbishop also sought to strengthen Catholic lower education on his own estates. In one of his manorial instructions, for example, he wrote that the Lord of the Manor should forbid the sons of serfs to attend Lutheran schools, but should provide Catholic teachers to teach literacy and piety.¹¹

He was also concerned with the development of secondary education: as early as 1616 he moved the Jesuit gymnasium from Vágsellye to the centre of the archdiocese, in Nagyszombat (Trnava), which had nearly 300 students in its first year. He also founded a seminary and a convent for poor and wealthy students in the town. He did not only focus on the schools of Nagyszombat, but also founded or supported Jesuit schools in Győr, Pozsony (Bratislava) and Szatmár (Satu Mare).¹² Nevertheless, it is his work in higher education that is better known and more lasting.

⁸ TÓTH 2000; BITSKEY 2015, 170, 173.

⁹ PPÖL I, 479.

¹⁰ BUTCHER 1987.

¹¹ PÉTER 1995, 184–185.

¹² BITSKEY 2015, 185–187.

As archbishop, he paid special attention to promoting the study abroad of the Hungarian clergy. One important step in this direction was the founding of the seminary named after him, the Pázmáneum, in Vienna in 1623, which served to ensure the university studies of Hungarian clergy students in Vienna. Run by Jesuits, the seminary initially started with sixteen students, and the archbishop continued to provide the institution with endowments and regular food and other supplies.¹³

The Pázmáneum also provided the most talented students with an even more prestigious training place, sending them to the *Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum* in Rome. Even before his archbishopric, Pázmány had already tried to send as many students as possible to Rome, and after 1616, he provided the Jesuit-run institution with substantial financial support to enable an increasing number of Hungarian alumni to go to the Eternal City, for whom he also paid the travel expenses. This re-establishment of a regular Hungarian presence in Rome contributed significantly to the emergence of a new generation of bishops influenced by the ideas of the Council of Trent, as many of the later Hungarian prelates emerged from the Collegium. Pázmány's work was recognised by the papacy, and he was appointed one of the institution's cardinal protectors.¹⁴

However, Pázmány's most significant foundation was the University of Nagyszombat, which, according to its founding letter, was modelled on the University of Graz and was established at his own expense "for the purpose of promoting the Catholic faith in Hungary and supporting the dignity of the noble Hungarian nation", and provided with appropriate foundations, a teaching staff and a library. On 12 May 1635, in Pozsony, he issued the charter that established the oldest university in Hungary, the University of Nagyszombat, the predecessor of today's Pázmány Péter Catholic University and Eötvös Loránd University, which has had such a great influence on Hungarian history and has been in continuous operation ever since. Founded in the spring of 1632 in Rome with a preliminary papal authorisation and confirmed by the Emperor and King, the university opened its doors with a splendid ceremony on 13 November 1635. Another

¹³ BITSKEY 2015, 169, 187–188.

¹⁴ BITSKEY 1996, 66–77; TÓTH 2018, 94–106.

prominent Jesuit, György Dobronoki, was chosen as Rector. Initially it consisted of a faculty of philosophy and theology, the latter opened in the autumn of 1638.¹⁵

BUILDING CATHOLIC INFRASTRUCTURE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

His work in organising education is impressive in itself, yet it was only one, albeit very significant, part of his denominational organising. His attention also extended to the funding, management and control of church building projects.¹⁶ In doing so, he encouraged the construction or restoration of many churches, monasteries and other ecclesiastical buildings. In his letters, he often dealt with the employment of craftsmen, architects and artists, the procurement of suitable materials, and in more than one case he personally inspected the work.

From the very beginning of his archdiocese, he placed great emphasis on creating a baroque archbishop court worthy of his rank. At the same time, there was both a strong need for aristocratic representation and a desire for frugality. Since the seat city, Esztergom, had been occupied by the Ottomans, the archbishop's headquarters were in Nagyszombat, which became the administrative centre, and the chaplaincy was also active there. For this reason, he was particularly concerned with the development of the city, and was instrumental in shaping its Baroque appearance. In 1623, he founded an archbishop's printing press in Pozsony in the Jesuit residence, under the leadership of Jakab Némethi. He was a constant supporter of the printing house, and also took care to ensure the quality of the paper. In addition to publishing his own works, he supported the writing and publishing of many books, both morally and financially, such as the history of Hungary by Miklós Istvánffy, the Catholic *Bible* translation by György

¹⁵ BÁTHORY 2001, 387–394; HARGITTAY 2010.

¹⁶ See BÁTHORY 2001, 380.

Káldi, or the history of the Catholicisation of Mihály Veresmarti.¹⁷ His patronage extended to the whole multicultural region. For example, he supported local Slavonic sermons in Nagyszombat and completed a translation of his *Kalauz*.

On Pázmány's initiative, many new parishes were opened during his lifetime. Between 1631 and 1633 he had eleven new churches built in the archdiocese of Pozsony alone and he also gave considerable support to the monastic orders, especially the Jesuits and Franciscans. As we have seen, he also entrusted the management of the University and the Basilica to the Society of Jesus, and founded a Jesuit college in Pozsony. He also supported the rebuilding of the Franciscan monastery in Nagyszombat, the Franciscan churches and monasteries in Érsekújvár (Nové Zámky) and Körmöcbánya (Kremnica), the Franciscan churches in Szombathely and Komárom, the Franciscan monasteries in Pozsony and Zágráb (Zagreb), and he composed the first Hungarian monasterology.¹⁸

His elevation to the position of Cardinal in 1629 gave him another building task: he restored his titular church in Rome, the Church of St Jerome (Chiesa di San Girolamo dei Schiavoni), at his own expense.¹⁹ His fellow bishops followed his example. Bishop Miklós Dallos of Győr, for example, founded a Jesuit college in his seat with Pázmány's help.²⁰ However, the idea of founding the bishoprics of Szepes (Spiš) and Rozsnyó, an idea that he had repeatedly advocated in Rome, did not occur until the 18th century. He created the financial basis for this multifaceted and extensive construction by putting the management of the archbishop's estates in order. In doing so, he not only rationalised the operation of the archdiocesan estates, but he also constantly held on to the rights and revenues of the archdiocese.

¹⁷ BITSKEY 2015, 178–181.

¹⁸ BITSKEY 2015, 172–17; SHORE–TUSOR 2020, 536–537.

¹⁹ SÁRKÓZY 2010, 160; TUSOR 2001, 157–161; TUSOR 2014b, 292–296.

²⁰ FEHÉR–KANÁSZ 2015; KÁDÁR 2020, 70–75.

SYNODS, VISITATIONS AND LITURGY

In addition to supporting the Jesuits and Franciscans, he was also responsible for the reform of the Pauline order, as he chose János Marnavich Tomkó, the titular Bishop of Bosnia, to renew their rule, and Urban VIII appointed him apostolic visitor to the Pauline monks.²¹ He sought to strengthen the discipline of the Church by convening diocesan and provincial synods, as provided for by the Council of Trent. He convened a diocesan synod in Pozsony in 1628, a provincial synod in 1629 in Nagyszombat, and national synods in 1630 and 1633. These synods were of fundamental importance for the establishment of the provisions of the Council of Trent in Hungary.

At the Synod of Kolozsvár in 1629, he dealt with the redefinition of the *canonica visitatio*. He also paid great attention to the control of his entire diocese, the lower clergy and the chaplaincies (Pozsony, Szepes) during the visitations, which were mainly carried out by his archdeacons. At that time, the state of the diocesan lower clergy was not yet very encouraging: many of them were married, many had converted from Catholicism to Calvinism, Lutheranism and Anabaptism, and in many places, licensed clergy were employed to replace them. The financial situation was not favourable either: the churches and villages suffered not only from the Ottoman destruction but also from the campaigns of István Bocskai and Gábor Bethlen. Despite this, reforms slowly became noticeable, and well-educated, worldly-minded priests began to appear in rural parishes.²² He also tried to change the situation by severely punishing priests who clung to the concubinage.

The archbishop also worked to unify the liturgy. At the National Synod of Nagyszombat in 1630, it was voted to adopt the Roman Missal and Breviary, ordered by the Council of Trent, supplemented with the feasts of the saints of Hungary, instead of the local liturgies of medieval origin. To this end, in 1625 he published the *Rituale Strigoniense*, which had been revised in accordance with the decisions of the Council of Trent and whose compulsory use was prescribed by the diocesan council of 1629.²³

²¹ SHORE–TUSOR 2020, 537; GALLA 2015, 5–13.

²² These church visitation records were published in BEKE 1994.

²³ TUSOR 1999, 34–38; FÜZES 2010–2011, 230–237.

RELATIONS WITH PROTESTANTS

The archbishop took a pragmatic approach to Protestant denominations. He deeply believed that there was no salvation outside the Catholic Church, so he made every effort to push back Protestantism and bring as many souls as possible back into the Church. At the same time, he saw Protestantism as a reality with which Catholicism in Hungary would have to live. He therefore took a pragmatic approach to the question of religious freedom for Protestants in Hungary as early as 1608, and saw compromise as inevitable. He clearly saw that no lasting success could be achieved by force alone, by the power of arms and by laws. He considered verbal and written persuasion much more useful, and saw that it was primarily through the organization of the Catholic denomination, the building up of institutions, education and well-trained priests, as well as the categorical refutation of Protestant doctrines, that the *ecclesia Catholica* could be strengthened. At the same time, when he had the opportunity, he also hindered Protestant construction and foundations.²⁴

After Pázmány's appointment as archbishop, he continued to place great emphasis on personal pastoral care, as well as on the development of the ecclesiastical framework of Catholicism renewed by the Council of Trent. This strong pastoral line from the very beginning was also decisive for his contemporaries. Its effectiveness is well illustrated by the fact that he converted many Protestant nobles and noblemen, such as Ádám Batthyány the famous Baron of Transdanubia, to Catholicism and remained in contact with them in later years.²⁵

²⁴ BITSKEY 2015, 15–23; BÁTHORY 2001, 381–382.

²⁵ PÉTER 1995, 183–185; IVÁNYI–FAZEKAS–KOLTAI 2008, 15–19; TUSOR 2016, 316; SHORE–TUSOR 2020, 540.

SUCCESSION

Pázmány died on 19 March 1637, aged 67. He was buried in the Basilica of the Coronation in Pozsony on 3 April.²⁶ Yet his church-organising activities did not go to his grave. During his lifetime, he succeeded in changing the Kingdom's religious relations, and his foundations were maintained and his ideals continued to be lived by his chosen successors, such as Imre Lósy (1637) and György Lippay (1642–1666), who studied in the educational institutions he built, and later by György Szelepcsényi (1666–1685) and György Széchényi (1685–1695), who contributed substantially to the eighteenth century blossoming of Hungarian Catholicism.



²⁶ Cf. HARGITTAY–KÁFER–KRÁNITZ 2007.

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PÁZMÁNY, THE THEOLOGIAN

PÁZMÁNY AND HIS TIME

The age of Péter Pázmány is the dawn of the birth of the modern world. At the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, the spirit of humanism and the Renaissance and the incipient Reformation characterised the university environment of Rome and then Graz, where Péter Pázmány, a young Hungarian Jesuit, began his teaching career after completing his studies. Humanism was a return to classical Latin-Greek culture (which had played an important role in Jesuit education): it focused on the human being, on the intellectual and moral value of the human person, on knowledge and creativity (Marsilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola). Humanism and the Renaissance (culture, arts, science), which flourished afterwards, were linked: their origins and content were partly common. Of course, there are shifts over time and according to the specific situation of each country.

The two outstanding figures of the Italian Renaissance are Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) and Galileo Galilei (1564–1642). Experience and rationality (science) would be decisive in the new world that was born. The “double truth” is established, i.e. the separation of faith and reason. Galileo, like another of Pázmány’s contemporaries, Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), introduces the new scientific method: the rational method of observation, experiment, measurement, and thus verification. Galileo is still a sincere believer, however much he relies on rationality.

The Thomist philosopher Jacques Maritain (1882–1973) describes the modern turn in somewhat schematical terms: with the dissolution of the

Middle Ages, theocentric (Godcentred) humanism is replaced by anthropocentric (human-centred) humanism. The balance between nature and grace is broken. “With the Renaissance, man cries to heaven his own greatness and the beauty of the world; with the Reformation, he cries his misery and his despair.”¹

THE DOCTRINE OF GRACE FROM SAINT AUGUSTINE

In medieval thought, man is not merely an *animal rationale* (intelligent ‘animal’), but a person. This concept was developed by theology: the person is a universe of spiritual nature, with freedom of choice, independent of the world: neither nature nor the state can rule over him against his will. God himself, working within him by grace, respects the freedom of the person. As regards the theological relationship between grace and freedom, the whole of medieval thought is marked by the understanding of St Augustine, especially in his works against Pelagius (d. 418), who denied the sin of transgression. At the end of the 3rd century, a secular ascetic, Pelagius, arrived in Rome from the British Isles and gained prestige in high circles for his spiritual teachings. His great opponent became St Augustine. Pelagius emphasised moral action and human freedom. He believed that man could keep God’s commandments, even the most difficult one, the prohibition of adultery. Pelagius therefore had a much more positive view of human nature than the bishop of Hippo, who exaggerated the impact of original sin. Later Protestants and Jansenists appealed to this teaching of Augustine with their pessimistic views. St Thomas, whom Pázmány and his contemporary teachers had to follow, also elaborates Augustine’s great intuitions in his doctrine of grace. Pázmány, a theologian, expounded the theological *Summa* of St Thomas at the University of Graz.² More recent scholars – Marie-Dominique Chenu and Yves Congar, Dominicans, and Étienne Gilson, a French philosopher, have shown that St Thomas not only “baptised” Aristotle, but also went back in his theology – outside

¹ MARITAIN 1996, 35.

² SZABÓ 1990, 18–22.

the Scriptures – to the Church Fathers, especially to St Augustine, who was also inspired by Platonism.

THEOLOGIA SCHOLASTICA IN THE LIFE WORK OF PÉTER PÁZMÁNY

During his time in Graz (1597–1607), Jesuit Péter Pázmány taught philosophy for three years. After a short apostolic activity in Northern Hungary (October 1600–September 1603), he was called back to Graz by his superiors, as he could not return to his “sweet foster home”, Transylvania, mainly for political reasons. At the university he taught scholastic theology for four years (1603–1607). During his time in Graz, the young Jesuit also engaged in literary activities in addition to his academic teaching. Among other things, already during his first work in Graz, he composed a *Diatribes* on the ‘visible church’ (1605), in defence of one of his masters, archbishop Roberto Bellarmino. Bellarmino’s *Disputatio* was well known to him. Even in Kassa (Košice), at the time of the first controversies, Pázmány had written down some of the issues disputed by the innovators: the Eucharist, the veneration of the saints and the indulgences, purgatory, and the theological question of justification, which was at the heart of the controversies. (To the latter he later devoted the whole of Book XII of the *Kalauz*.) The introduction to the *Tíz Bizonyosság* (1605) already raises the idea of a systematic summing up.

On 7 November 1603, Pázmány began teaching scholastic theology at the Jesuit University of Graz. He expounded selected questions (*quaestiones*) from the *Summa Theologica* of St Thomas according to the order’s prescription.³ From his *Summa Theologica*, he dealt with certain questions of the *Secunda Secundae* (*Ia–IIae*) and the *Tertia* (*pars IIIa*). He also elaborated some of the questions of the *Prima Secundae* (*I–IIae*): these concern man’s purpose, moral action, sin and, in part, grace. Pázmány never taught this elaborated material in its entirety. Of the 611 questions in the *Summa*

³ See SZABÓ 1990; SZABÓ 2012.

Theologica, he elaborated only 84, but actually presented only 74 of the elaborated ones.⁴ As required by the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*, the material was distributed to another professor. Four years of four major treatises remain: the three divine virtues (faith, hope, charity), of which the most elaborate are *De Fide* (On faith) and *De Verbo incarnato* (On the Incarnation).

THE METHOD OF PÁZMÁNY IN THE TREATISE *DE FIDE*

The most elaborate and original of Pázmány's treatises concerns faith.⁵ This is how Pázmány began teaching theology in the autumn of 1603, when he returned to Graz after his mission in Upper Hungary. On faith he commented on the first 16 questions of St Thomas' *Summa Theologica II-II*. The first two questions, on the object of faith and the supernatural nature of the act of faith, are discussed at disproportionate length. The others are increasingly condensed, referring primarily to the work of St Thomas. Pázmány has written about almost every contemporary author. He clearly sees that St Thomas can be interpreted in many different ways, and that some of his passages have in fact been interpreted in many different, often contradictory ways by the "Thomists". The Hungarian professor thus tends to go his own way on 'free' questions, guided not so much by the opinions of contemporary theologians as by the internal logic of the problem.

If we read Pázmány's treatise *De fide* carefully, we can see that he constantly quotes his Spanish colleague Gregorius de Valentia, following his commentary on St Thomas in his analysis of faith. In the summary (*resolutio fidei*) he practically adopts Valentia's conclusion. Pázmány's main authorities and masters in *Theologia scholastica* are Valentia (especially in the analysis of faith), Suárez (grace, the Incarnation and ecclesiology), Bellarmino and Stapleton (ecclesiology and controversies). In fact, he does not follow his 'masters' blindly; he sometimes contradicts them, often going back to the Church Fathers, especially St Augustine, or quoting other works or places of St Thomas to refute them.

⁴ PPOO IV–VI.

⁵ PPOO IV, 379–635. (*De Fide*)

Péter Pázmány was therefore an eclectic teacher and writer. But in his time, almost all scholasticism was eclectic: in the “free” opinions, not only “schools” (Thomism, Molinism, Scotism) but also persons clash. We can by no means say, for example, that the Jesuits were all Molinists. It is precisely Pázmány who often opposes the Jesuit Molina. Nor did the Molinist’s fellow teacher in Graz, the Flemish Decker, like the fact that Pázmány sometimes ridiculed Molina. He denounced Pázmány at the Jesuit headquarters in Rome, removing certain items from the Hungarian teacher’s course.⁶

St Thomas Aquinas addressed the problem of faith in three periods: his *Sententia* commentaries, his *De Veritate* and his *Summa Theologica* II–II. This explains why authors of the Pázmány era, including Pázmány himself, often seek justification for the question of the grace in the act of faith in the various works of St Thomas (the difference of opinion between the juvenile *De Veritate* and the more recent *Summa*) to prove their contrary opinions. Work on medieval intellectual and theological history over the last half century has shown that, as Pázmány observed as early as 1611, Thomas’s theology has evolved a great deal through the ages to the *Summa*.⁷

THE ORIGINALITY OF THE THEOLOGIAN PÁZMÁNY IN FOLLOWING ST THOMAS

Pázmány already had a sense of historical development. This is shown by the opinion he expressed in 1611 (by which time he was already working on the *Kalauz*) at the request of the Austrian provincial on the succession of St Thomas.⁸ He noticed that there was also a development in the work of St Thomas; moreover, unlike the theologians of his day, he was already attentive to the context when interpreting a thesis of St Thomas or even of St

⁶ SZABÓ 1990.

⁷ For the difference of opinion between *De Veritate* and *Summa* on the grace of the beginning of faith, see the judgment of the Second Council of Orange (529) on semi-Pelagianism. SZABÓ 1990, 109–113, 125–128.

⁸ Text by ARSI Instit. 213 F. 103. Full Hungarian translation by SZABÓ 1998, 51–52.

Augustine. He is also careful to distinguish the ‘Thomists’ from St Thomas, for whom he always speaks with great respect. This does not, however, prevent him from sometimes departing from St Thomas on free questions. He is aware that theology has developed since the Middle Ages, and that he adds something to St Thomas.

Of course, the teaching of the Council of Trent (and the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*) set certain limits to its “freedom”. For every Catholic theologian, the Councils are authoritative. Pázmány, especially in the *Kalauz*, constantly refers to the decisions of the Council of Trent in refuting Protestant theses and in presenting Catholic doctrine. Pázmány’s method, like Suárez’s, thus demonstrates a certain historical-critical sense. He also takes into account the fact that there is a development in Catholic doctrine from the 13th century to the Council of Trent, so that on certain controversial issues it is not St Thomas but the Tridentine who has the last word.

DE VERBO INCARNATO (ON THE INCARNATION)

In the treatise *De Verbo incarnato*, Pázmány also essentially follows St. Thomas, keeping in mind the commentaries of the scholastics of his time, upon whom he has been commenting. Most of the time he adopts the opinion of the Jesuit Francisco Suárez, and always aligns himself with the teaching of the Council of Trent.⁹ It is noteworthy that later in the *Kalauz* he avoids the complicated discussions of the scholastics of the time; the majority of his references then refer to the works and views of the Reformers, Luther and Calvin. He must refute and correct these, and the teaching of the Council of Trent is now the point of reference. However, the fact remains that he sometimes continues to refer back to ‘scholastic theology’, not only in his main work, the *Kalauz*, but also – to put the matter simply – in some of his sermons (on faith and the Eucharist). The so-called “second scholasticism”, especially the theologians who emerged from the University of Salamanca (Suárez, Vitoria, Soto, Vasquez, Molina), who were partly Pázmány’s masters, wanted to remain faithful to St Thomas,

⁹ SZABÓ 2012.

but - in the process of interpreting and reinterpreting, commenting on commentaries and discussing views – they increasingly departed from St Thomas’ original teaching.

Here it is also necessary to highlight Pázmány’s original and modern view of the purpose of the Incarnation (*Cur Deus homo?*) and the creation-incarnation-redemption connection. Where is the place of Jesus Christ in God’s eternal plan of salvation, in human history and in cosmic evolution? Péter Pázmány, largely following Thomas Suárez’s commentary, sympathised on this point with the Christological view of the Scottish Franciscan Duns Scotus (d. 1308). In discussing the predestination of Christ and the purpose of the Incarnation, Pázmány refers to Col 1:16: “All things were created by him and for him.” Christ, therefore, is the end-cause of all created things.¹⁰ Like St. Ambrose, he sees the two creations as an integral whole. Finally, a kinship can be observed – based on Pauline Christology – between the views of Péter Pázmány and Teilhard de Chardin. Christianity is the religion of one Person, Jesus Christ. Christ is at the centre of our faith and of world history. St Paul’s theology makes this clear. He places in God’s eternal plan the mystery of Christ (Eph 1:3–14 and 3:5–7; Col 1:15–20 and 26–27; 2:2; 1Tim 2:4 and 3:9): the mystery is the person of Christ himself, who is the only mediator, the universal saviour (cf. Jn 3:17; Acts 10:44–48; 17:24–31). The Church Fathers and the universal councils testify that the uniqueness of Jesus Christ has not been the subject of theological controversy. This fact had universal and cosmic implications.¹¹

Most akin to Teilhard’s vision is Pázmány’s beautiful Latin “Christ Hymn”, the long introduction to *De Verbo incarnato*.¹² I quote from it in my translation:

“In Christ not only all the treasures of God’s wisdom and knowledge are hidden (Col 2:3), as with Him we have received grace upon grace, so that we may all draw from His fullness (Jn 1:16), but in Him dwells bodily all the fullness of the Godhead (Col 2:9). In Him, therefore, all the perfections

¹⁰ SZABÓ 2012, 85–88; PPOO V, 355–359: “Christ-hymn”; PPOO V, 446–447.

¹¹ Here we can refer to the Christ-centredness of Vatican II, as expressed in *Gaudium et Spes* 22, 32, 45. See also MARTELET 1966, 207–220.

¹² PPOO V, 355–359.

of the divine nature shine as in a mirror, so that it is not in vain that the Lord Christ is called in Scripture the Face of God (Num 6:25; Kgs 33:13; Is 64:1; Ps 61:3; 68:18; 79:4, etc.). For as man is known by his face, so God is known by the Lord Christ. For he who sees me sees my Father also, says Christ (Jn 14:19), as being the image of his essence (Heb 1:3), the image of the invisible God (Col 1:15), whom, though we may know from other created things, we see so much more clearly from this image that, comparing other things with him, we may say that God is invisible in them. For in Christ, as in the spotless mirror of the majesty of God (Wis 7:26), in Christ, who is accepted by the divine Word, as in the radiance and radiance of eternal light, in the spotless mirror of humanity, the face of God appears, or, as the Apostle says (2Cor 4:6 and 3:18), the knowledge of the glory of God shines out in the face of Jesus Christ, so that we behold the glory of God in a mirror, with unveiled face. This is why St Augustine rightly concludes (*De praed. sanctorum*, c. 15): through the Incarnation, humanity has been exalted to such a height that it was impossible to rise any higher. Therefore it pleased the Father that in Him should dwell all fullness (Col 1:19), and the Apocalypse (Rev 1:8 and 22:13) rightly calls the Lord Christ Alpha and Omega.”

In Christ, the perfect image of God, revelation is revealed, Christ is the Alpha and the Omega; the offspring of the Lord and the fruit of the earth, and at the same time the end of all things. It is noteworthy that the professor at the University of Graz, in this long introduction, has clothed the abstract theological theorems to be discussed in the splendour of the love song of the beloved in the Song of Songs. Here the influence of St Bernard is evident.¹³

THE THEOLOGICAL SUM: THE *KALAUZ*

Pázmány's *oeuvre* is essentially characterised by continuity, the use of earlier works, the clarification of his ideas and the simplification of his apostolic aims. He used the treatises of the *Theologia Scholastica* of Graz in his Hungarian works, first of all in the *Kalauz*, and then, in a simplified form, in the *Prédikációk*. In his Hungarian works he quotes the dogmas

¹³ SZABÓ 2018, 168–186; SZABÓ 2013, 375–383.

and decisions of the Council of Trent more extensively, in disagreement with Protestants.

At the end of August 1607, Pázmány is finally sent back to Hungary from Graz. While writing a series of occasional treatises,¹⁴ works on his main summing-up work, the *Isteni igazságra vezérlő kalauz*. He stated its main aim as “to lead the wayward of faith into paths of salvation”¹⁵ He incorporated his earlier occasional discussion papers into this summary: he deliberately edited it as an apologetic-polemic-dogmatic summary. The *Isteni igazságra vezérlő kalauz* (*Hodoegus*) was first published in Pozsony in 1613; two further, thoroughly revised editions were published during Pázmány’s lifetime, in 1623 and 1637.¹⁶ Pázmány himself wrote in the introduction to the *Kalauz* that, following the example of St Augustine, he had arranged parts of his earlier books in a suitable place in his present writings.¹⁷

THE PRÉDIKÁCIÓK

The Archpastor (from 1616 Archbishop of Esztergom), Péter Pázmány’s energies were occupied by the wide-ranging apostolic activity: the founding of schools, seminaries, the preparations for the foundation of the university in 1635, diocesan synods, and therefore he essentially only responded to attacks on his main work. In the meantime, he was expanding and polishing the fruit of more than thirty years of preaching: a collection of *Prédikációk*.¹⁸

The huge folio was published in December 1636, a good quarter of a year before the Cardinal’s death (19 March 1637). At the age of sixty-seven, Pázmány crowned his life’s work. It is his most mature and enduring work, his Hungarian style is also his most polished, and it has been the most analysed by literary scholars and republished in anthologies. Most often,

¹⁴ PÁZMÁNY 1983, I, 37–40.

¹⁵ PPÖM III, 5.

¹⁶ PPÖM III–IV. (Text of the 3rd edition.) The original facsimile is published in PÁZMÁNY 1637/2000.

¹⁷ HARGITTAY 2019.

¹⁸ PÁZMÁNY 1983, I, 58, 78–80; PPÖM VI, XXX.: (*Exhortation to the Christian Predecessors*)

those sermons have been selected which are good examples of the language of Pázmány, “the father of Hungarian prose” (Dezső Kosztolányi)¹⁹ and which are mostly about the betterment of morals.²⁰

Together with Miklós Öry we emphasize the theological significance of the *Prédikációk*. We firmly refute the opinion of Vilmos Fraknoi and Sándor Sík, who argued that Pázmány only occasionally dealt with dogmatic questions in his speeches. In his search for traces of the humanistic erudition and baroque worldview in the sermons, István Bitskey²¹ also held this opinion, mainly considering speeches aimed at the improvement of morals.

Although Pázmány did not give dogmatic treatises in the pulpit, he usually referred his students and readers to the *Kalauz* for deeper theological discussions and proofs.²² Sometimes, however, he would transfer certain questions from the *Theologia scholastica*, translated into Hungarian, to the “preaching pulpit”. For example, what he had amply expounded on faith in his treatise *De Fide* in Graz, he summarized succinctly in one of his sermons.²³ Archbishop Pázmány, especially in his sermons on the great feasts of the ecclesiastical year, engaged in profound and often soaring dogmatic reflections. If we compare his treatise *De Verbo incarnato*, on the Incarnation, with his sermons on the miraculous Christmas and New Year’s Day, for example, we can see that in these he clearly summarises, in beautiful Hungarian, the Latin Christology which had been expertly developed and presented at the university.

Again, it must be stressed: there is continuity and development in Pázmány’s *oeuvre*. For example, if we compare the introduction to *De Verbo incarnato* (the “Christ Hymn”)²⁴ with the Christmas sermons, we can see that the young professor of the Graz years and the Cardinal, reflecting

¹⁹ KOSZTOLÁNYI 1920.

²⁰ PÁZMÁNY 1983, II–III (Selection of sermons.)

²¹ BITSKEY 1979, 103 k.

²² PPÖM VII, 135, 378, 518.

²³ PPÖM VII, 510–524, with reference to Book II of the *Kalauz*: PPÖM IV, 394–405; SZABÓ 1998, 124–126. It is true that in his speeches on “the improvement of morals” Pázmány refers more to the Stoics than to the Church Fathers. Cf. SZABÓ 2001.

²⁴ PPÖM V, 355–359.

on the twilight of his life, express the same admiring love: the devotion of the son of St Ignatius to the mystery of Jesus Christ, to His unique Person.²⁵

THE TIMELINESS OF PÁZMÁNY'S THEOLOGY

The long introduction to the aforementioned Christ-hymn, the treatise *De Verbo incarnato*, summarizes the essence of Pázmány's Christology. Analysing the still controversial question of *Cur Deus homo?*, on the purpose of the Incarnation, I mentioned the similarities between Duns Scotus, and his sympathizer Suárez, and his successor Pázmány. But what is surprising is the similarity between the Christology of Pázmány and that of Teilhard de Chardin. Following two of Teilhard's learned colleagues – H. de Lubac and G. Martelet²⁶ – I claim a striking similarity between the vision of Pázmány and that of Teilhard. Of course, the cosmic role of Christ has already been transposed by Teilhard into the register of the modern evolutionary worldview. Most closely akin to Teilhard's vision is Pázmány's already quoted Latin "Christ-hymn", the introduction to *De Verbo incarnato*: revelation is revealed in Christ, the perfect image of God.

The Jesuit Péter Pázmány was not only a master of prayer, but also a teacher of spirituality in his *Imádságos könyv*, when he teaches the Christian believer to examine his conscience, to pray (most often to the Holy Trinity), to prepare for Mass and to give thanks. Not only his quoted Christmas and New Year's sermons, but also some of his paraphrases of the Psalms and the prayers he edited for his prayer book, recall the mystical flights of the saints. As in the *Imádságos könyv*, in the Kempis translation, the praying Pázmány reveals his own soul and spirituality. It is no coincidence that he translated into Hungarian Kempis's book, representing the *devotio moderna*,²⁷ *De imitatione Christi*, which was one of St Ignatius's favourite books on spirituality. In the prayers and some sermons

²⁵ SZABÓ 2018.

²⁶ My study in *Távlatok* 67, 31sq and *Távlatok* 80, 23sq (St Paul and Teilhard I)

²⁷ SZABÓ 2014.

of Péter Pázmány, Jesuit teacher and Archbishop of Esztergom, the medieval *Amor Sanctus* continues to resound.



Rita Bajáki

THE PASTOR, AUTHOR OF THE *IMÁDSÁGOS KÖNYV* AND THE KEMPIS TRANSLATION¹

In order to understand why the work of Péter Pázmány (1570–1637) was so significant, we need to see how the situation of the Church and the country evolved in the 16th century.² In parallel with the development and spread of the Reformation in Europe, the fate of Hungary was also shaped by events and processes that determined its destiny. After the defeat of the Ottomans at Mohács (1526), the country was divided into three parts, and in addition to the territories occupied by the Ottoman armils (Buda was taken in 1541), the Habsburg and Transylvanian courts took control of the country, which was divided into two more parts, a situation which led to a transformation that was decisive not only in political terms but also in terms of the history of the Church.

The position of the Catholic Church was shaken. Six of the twelve bishops of the country fell at Mohács, and in the following period, the bishops continued to be engaged mainly in political and diplomatic activities, less focused on the religious situation of the inhabitants of their dioceses, and typically living not in the dioceses but in Vienna or Pozsony. At the same time, the European trends of the Reformation were spreading in Hungary. Both Luther's and Calvin's doctrines reached Hungarian

¹ The study was written during the funding period of the NKFIH/OTKA K 137815 grant, the author is a senior research fellow of the HUN–REN–PPKE Baroque Literature and Spirituality Research Group.

² Bibliography PÁZMÁNY 1983; MOLNÁR 1999; BITSKEY 1986; BAJÁKI 2019.

villages and farming towns thanks to peregrinated preachers and converted Catholic priests who embraced the new doctrines, but also landlords who embraced the new teachings also played a major role in the rapid spread of the Reformation. In addition to Lutheran and Reformed beliefs, anti-Trinitarian ideas also gained ground, especially in Transylvania, and in 1568 the Diet of Torda finally allowed the free practice of four religions.

In the 16th century, there were several attempts to improve the situation of the Catholic Church both in Royal Hungary and in Transylvania. One of the most significant was that of Miklós Oláh (1493–1568), Archbishop of Esztergom, who moved to Nagyszombat to escape the Turkish threat and held five diocesan synods in the 1560s, with decrees to make up for the shortcomings. He also tried to found a school, a seminary and to establish a Jesuit order, but these attempts did not yield lasting results. The humanistically educated archpriest and the bishops in his circle also tried to alleviate the lack of spiritual literature. For example, a prayer book translation was produced with the support of György Draskovich (1515–1587), Bishop of Zagreb,³ which has the peculiarity of being based on an English prayer book, the work of John Fisher (1469–1535),⁴ and also published a work on the protection of the faith,⁵ András Monoszlói (1552–1601), who died as Bishop of Veszprém, wrote several treatises. However, the most prolific writer of this period was undoubtedly Miklós Telegdi (1535–1586), Bishop of Pécs, whose wide-ranging activities were always focused on the defence of the Catholic faith. He translated Catechisms, commented on the Gospel and wrote several treatises. The events of this decade were an important precursor to the later reforms of the Pázmány era.

In the Principality of Transylvania there was also a desire to renew the Catholic Church. Prince István Báthory (1533–1586) sought to strengthen the position of the Catholic Church by settling the Jesuits and founding the school in Kolozsvár, thus providing opportunities for young people such as Péter Pázmány, who was Catholicised there.

³ RMNy 1971, 308A.

⁴ FISHER 1544.

⁵ RMNy 1971, 164.

However, his efforts did not prove to be lasting, and after Báthory's death the Jesuits were banned for a time.

Péter Pázmány's youth coincided with perhaps the most difficult period of the Catholic Church in Hungary. By then, 90% of the country's population belonged to a Protestant church. The two Catholic archdioceses and 12 bishoprics had barely 300 priests compared to 2,000 Protestant clergy. The *ratio* was similar for schools, with 134 Protestant secondary schools for every 30 Catholic schools. Literature and book production was even more difficult, with more than 20 Protestant printing presses, while only the printing press in Nagyszombat was Catholic. About 500 books were printed in the 16th century, of which about nine-tenths were published by Protestants. This proportion is also true for the type of publication we are examining: up to 1606, including the first edition of Pázmány's *Imádságos könyv*, a total of 18 prayer books were published in Hungary, of which only three were Catholic and the rest Protestant.

We can see, then, that at the beginning of Pázmány's ministry the Catholic Church was in a difficult situation. Ferenc Forgách (1560–1615), Archbishop of Esztergom, took him on as his colleague in the summer of 1607 to work on the renewal of the Catholic Church. By then, Pázmány had already completed his studies and Jesuit training, had been ordained a priest, had already taught, had already been on mission, and had already published his first works of devotion and devotional literature. Alongside Forgách, who was initially convinced that the only way to deal effectively with Protestants was to make no concessions, the young Jesuit had a very different view. Pázmány's conception was not based on struggle and rigid positions, but on renewal within the church, on personal persuasion of Protestant families, and on a willingness to compromise on national religious policy. A milestone on this road was the Synod of Nagyszombat in 1611, convened by Forgách with the aim of implementing the decisions of the Council of Trent in Hungary. Pázmány was not only Forgách's collaborator in this work, but also his successor in the archbishopric from 1616, and he made a lasting contribution in many areas.

Thus, Pázmány believed in the power of words, arguments, rhetoric and persuasion, and this is confirmed by all his works published in print, most of which are of the defensive, argumentative genre. These writings have

provoked louder, more spectacular reactions from readers than his devotional works, although their impact has been no less powerful, just different.

Pázmány's *Imádságos könyv* was first published in Graz in 1606, then in Pozsony (Bratislava) in 1610, 1625, and the fourth edition in 1631, the Kempis translation in Vienna in 1624. One of his sermons was published in Pozsony in 1610, and towards the end of his life, he collected and published his sermons in print in 1636, his largest work in terms of volume. "The aim and end of this Society is this, that it may not only care for the salvation and perfection of its own soul by the grace of God, but that it may also work diligently for the salvation and perfection of its neighbours by the grace of the same God."⁶ The recommendation of the *Imádságos könyv* presents just such a situation. As the recommendation reveals, Anna Kapi, to whom the recommendation is addressed, a Catholic woman of high rank, when she was last in Graz and met with Pázmány, asked him to compile a prayer book, because there are so few in Hungary that it was hard to find one. To make up for the shortage, Pázmány complied with the request, compiled and published his *Imádságos könyv* in Graz in 1606.

Is it true or just a rhetorical device on Pázmány's part, that prayer books were very rarely published before 1606? If we look at the prayer books published up to that time, we see that after the first printed prayer book in Hungarian – a Unitarian one, published in Kolozsvár around 1571 – Pázmány's prayer book is the eighteenth. One publication every two years does not seem a small number, but as already mentioned, only two of these were Catholic before Pázmány. In addition, the fifteen Protestant prayer books actually cover only seven different works because of reprints. Several of these works were published as Hungarian translations of a specific foreign prayer book, even if unmarked, with the translator listed as the author. The other editorial method is to include paraphrases from Scripture, even from *the Book of Psalms*, as prayer texts, and already in the 16th century we find several instances of the later very frequent phenomenon of individual prayer book editors taking texts from earlier publications without marking. One of the two Catholic editions was published in 1572 as a translation

⁶ *Summarium*, (manuscript), Budapest University Library, reference 74. (Hungarian translation of The Rule of Jesuit Order)

of the English-language prayer book already mentioned, and contains mainly paraphrases of psalms. The other edition has not survived and its contents are unknown.

The reason for the compilation of the *Imádságos könyv*, which was also supported by Anna Kapi's request, was indeed the lack of Catholic spiritual literature in the country. It was vital to curb the spread of the Reformation and to promote Catholic renewal that, in addition to works of faith discussion, spiritual reading materials for the cultivation and building up of faith should also be available to those who could read. What was needed were works in a language that was understandable and suitable for private use. The *Imádságos könyv* and the Kempis translation were produced in this spirit.

The significance of Pázmány's prayer book can only be truly understood, therefore, if we place it in the context of the times. Its publication was a solution to the lack of spiritual literature, and after its publication it was so popular and so much needed that Pázmány himself published it three more times, and even after that, until the end of the 19th century, about thirty new editions appeared, keeping Pázmány's name on the title page. Even more numerous were publications containing longer or shorter excerpts from Pázmány's *Imádságos könyv*, not infrequently by editors of other denominations, typically with their sources suppressed. In this way the circulation of Pázmány's prayers can, with little exaggeration, be said to be limitless. It is characteristic of his later life that even in the prayer books in use today we find prayers that were originally from Pázmány's *Imádságos könyv*.

What is it that makes this prayer book so successful? Compared to the prayer books published in the Hungarian language in the 16th century, it breaks with the earlier (Protestant) prayer book structure. The days of the week and the seasons of the day do not determine the structure of the prayer book, nor does a single type of prayer, such as the Psalms, dominate the volume. What is new is not that Pázmány collects his prayers exclusively himself, but that he selects and rewrites the best of the prayer literature available to him, according to his own logic, structure and, in essence, his own intention. Just as prayers can be of various kinds: supplicatory, thanksgiving, atonement, or praise, these intentions can be discerned in the various chapters of the *Imádságos könyv*. The most striking innovation is that

a quarter of the prayer book contains teachings and explanations, rather than prayers. This is linked to the renewal within the Catholic Church, not simply teaching how to pray, but also explaining the practice of religion, its mode and meaning, bringing the Church and the liturgy much closer to the individual. A subtle but peculiar method of conveying this intention, typical of Pázmány, is the use of typography in the *Imádságos könyv*, with prayers in upright type and explanations and teachings in italics for attention and illustration. In the first edition, the prayers and teachings even have a separate table of contents, emphasising their importance, but this is no longer the case in later editions. Likewise, the first edition only includes as an appendix the defensive writing of the *Rövid tanúság*, which, however, was also omitted from the second edition of the Prayer Book, but was included in the large synthesis of the *Kalauz*.⁷ We can see that in the first edition, the intention to strengthen the faith and to defend it are present in parallel; in the three subsequent editions published during his lifetime, this slides towards strengthening the practice of religion.

The *Imádságos könyv*⁸ consists of ten parts. The first two contain the Church's bound prayers, with a line-by-line prayer paraphrase for the *Lord's Prayer* and the *Hail Mary*, followed by versions of the *Creed*, morning and evening prayers, the *Lord's Prayer* and the *Te Deum*. This editing principle, which is still used today, according to which the prayer book begins with the bound prayers, is found for the first time in Hungarian-language publications in Pázmány's *Imádságos könyv*. As I have mentioned, prayers and teachings form a whole, the first teaching of the Prayer Book tells us the meaning of the baptism and the significance of the motions.

There is no explanation in the third part, perhaps because this chapter is dominated by praise and thanksgiving, which does not require liturgical interpretation. God is at the centre, and the most beautifully worded phrases are to be found here, as the very title of the first prayer indicates. We are witnessing the juxtaposition of human smallness, insufficiency and fragmentation with the greatness, fullness and love of God. In these prayers, the focus is not on deeds, but on the divinity of God.

⁷ PÁZMÁNY 1613.

⁸ PÁZMÁNY 1631/2001; PÁZMÁNY 1631/2013.

In the fourth part, the opposite happens; God looks down, even comes down to earth, as the prayers of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass follow. Every important part is accompanied by a prayer of supplication, but in proportion to the transubstantiation, most of the prayers are connected with it, and we find prayers for all the essential acts of the priest. This is almost necessarily accompanied by an explanation, entitled *A Brief Explanation of the Ceremonies in the Mass*, which is intended to help the reader of the *Imádságos könyv*, whether Protestant or Catholic, to understand the theological and liturgical background to the Mass. Chapter Five also includes an explanation of the origins, types and uses of the rosary, and what each of the grains can refer to and express in the life of Jesus and Mary.

The prayers of the sixth, seventh and eighth parts, with a similar structure, form the middle third of the prayer book. These are mainly ecumenical in character, being prayers that can be said by members of any community, regardless of denominational affiliation. The sixth section contains prayers mainly for spiritual goods⁹ and for divine death, forgiveness of sins and endurance of illness, and concludes with the penitential prayers of St. Bridget. In this section, a teaching on the prayers of the terminally ill is linked to a *Rövid tanúság* on practical things to do, such as writing a will and informing the terminally ill person of his or her condition so that he or she can prepare for death. The Chapter Seven contains prayers for ordinary good, not for the spiritual life of the individual, but for social needs, such as peace, triumph over the heathen, the Mother Church, princes, officials, plague, the crops of the earth, rain, and since such evils afflict us as a consequence of our sins, the last prayer in this chapter is for the repentance of sinners. Chapter Eight contains prayers for those in our personal environment, applicable to different states of life.¹⁰ These prayers are the most personal, yet the most universal, since denominational affiliation is the least dominant when prayers are for family relationships.

⁹ Among other things, it contains prayers for true faith, hope, love, humility, purity of life, and against the main sins of pride, miserliness, gluttony, lewdness, envy, anger, and slothfulness.

¹⁰ For parents, for married couples, for children, for the barren, pregnant women, widows, orphans, those on the move, prisoners, and deceased relatives.

This cannot be said of chapter Nine, which contains the prayers for two sacraments, Penance and the Blessed Sacrament, which are the most divisive among the different denominations. In many prayer books, we find that the prayers of penance are linked to the prayers of Holy Communion, and in many cases there are prayer books, as in the case of St. Paul, but he supplements the prayers with the teaching on *How we should prepare ourselves for confession*, followed by a spiritual mirror based on the Ten Commandments, and then the Five Commandments of the Mother Church. This also includes an explanation. The prayers in this chapter help the penitent, step by step, to repent and then to take communion. The elements of the prayer book are not about the same thing in different wording, but the apparently similar prayers are in fact a spiritual process, leading very sensitively and gently to a mystical union with Christ in the reception of the Blessed Sacrament. When we dissect the mystery of Pázmány's *Imádságos könyv*, we must also bear in mind that not only does it offer, in its themes and through the variety of prayers, a prayer of supplication, thanksgiving and praise appropriate to every person. It also runs the gamut of spiritual contemplation, including both simple, practical prayers and prayers that are barely expressible in words, describing a mystical state of mind that borders on the transcendent.

In the Tenth Chapter, the main role is again given to the bound texts, the seven penitential psalms, hymns and litanies. Teaching is also included, with explanations of the litanies to help us to understand this type of prayer. In this section, there is one more teaching, which in fact is the conclusion of the whole prayer book. It is also unusual from the point of view of the earlier teachings in that, whereas in those Pázmány uses the rhetoric typical of his sermons, in this case he compiles the exhortations and advice exclusively from quotations from Scripture, addressing the various social strata¹¹ although it is more apt to say that it is addressed to everyone. The last sentence of the prayer book is the concluding sentence of *The Book of Ecclesiastes*: “[...] Fear God and keep his commandments,

¹¹ To the pastors, the believers, the princes, the prefects, the people of the kingdom, the married men, women, children, parents, servants, virgins, the poor, the rich.

[...] And all our deeds shall be brought to the judgment of God.”¹² What else can be the main goal of a pastor than to lead and keep his followers on the path to salvation? That is why the explanations and teachings are so important, because they help the praying person to understand why he or she is praying: to keep God’s commandments, to become a conscious religious, and to remain in the Catholic Church. Comparing Pázmány’s devotional works with his controversial writings, the most striking difference is that he is addressing the faithful of his own Church, and thus he argues pro rather than contra, and his explanations are not intended to convince but to confirm.

The desire to strengthen the faith may have motivated Pázmány’s translation of *De imitatione Christi* into Hungarian. The author of the original Latin is Thomas Hemerken a Kempis, a German canon of the Old Order of the Low Countries, one of the first representatives of the medieval movement for the renewal of religious life, the *devotio moderna*. In his work, Kempis gives spiritual and moral advice, and rules to follow to help people reach union with God through self-knowledge. It was not by chance that Pázmány translated this work. Firstly, it was extremely popular.¹³ Secondly, it had an influence on the Jesuit spirituality,¹⁴ so that Pázmány himself was familiar with it. Thirdly, it fitted perfectly into Pázmány’s pastoral work. By translating *De imitatione Christi*¹⁵ he gave the faithful a spiritual reading which could be used profitably by all those who used the *Imádságos könyv*. While the *Book of Common Prayer* (especially the first edition) is the starting point for religious practice, the first reading, the *Imitatio Christi* is a publication that builds on and deepens a solid faith. Originally intended for monastic novices, it consists of four books, each book in numbered sections. These passages are usually very short, simply worded advice, but they are not easy reading, because they make

¹² PÁZMÁNY 1606, 225[r]. Ecc, 12:13. in Vulgate: “finem loquendi omnes pariter audiamus Deum time et mandata eius observa hoc est enim omnis homo, et cuncta quae fiunt adducet Deus in iudicium pro omni errato sive bonum sive malum sit.” Pázmány does not quote the last half sentence in his translation.

¹³ BECKER 2002, 15–49.

¹⁴ TAILOR 2018.

¹⁵ HARGITTAY 2013a.

the reader reflect, introspect, and require more and deeper ‘work’ than the prayers of the *Imádságos könyv*.

Pázmány’s translation of Kempis occupies the same dominant place in Hungarian devotional literature as the *Imádságos könyv*. The dedicatory address of the translation, published in Vienna in 1624 under the title *Krisztus követése*, is in line with the last sentence of the *Imádságos könyv*: “To the Christians in Hungary I wish all good things from God”. So it is addressed to everyone. In it, Pázmány stresses that the pledge of perfect morality and perfect life is to follow the life of Christ, whose example shows the way to God. He also refers to his source and in the margins, the source of the quoted lines.¹⁶

The indication of the source in the margins is also characteristic of Pázmány’s work as a writer. In the case of the *Imádságos könyv*, he gives his source in most cases in the first edition, the text of his supplications being most often taken from Scripture or from the writings of church fathers such as St Augustine. In many cases, he also uses prayers from the *Missale Romanum* or the *Breviarium Romanum*.¹⁷ The Kempis translation, however, very rarely includes a reference in the margin, the reason being that, unlike the *Imádságos könyv*, it does not draw on several sources, but translates a single work. In the preface, he also points out that he hopes that the reader will not feel that he has taken a work originally written in Latin into his hands, because he has endeavoured to make the text of the *Imitatio Christi* flow as sweetly as if it had been first written in Hungarian by a Hungarian man.¹⁸

What remains of Pázmány’s pastoral activity in writing is the *Imádságos könyv*, the Kempis translation and his volume of sermons, but his surviving letters also testify to the fact that he guided, taught and watched over his followers not only in writing, but also personally, so that they would not stray from the path to salvation. It was also thanks to his pastoral work that so many noble families became Catholic that it is no coincidence that

¹⁶ “Henricus Somalius refert in fine authographi hunc annum notari ab autore.” KEMPIS 1624, [*3v].

¹⁷ BOGÁR 2006.

¹⁸ Pázmány’s translation was so successful that even in 1943 Kempis’ work was published in his translation in Latin and Hungarian, bringing the two versions in parallel. KEMPIS 1943.

it became almost a proverb that Pázmány was born in a Protestant country but died in a Catholic one.



Alinka Ajkay

PÁZMÁNY, THE DEBATER

Polemical works make up a very significant part of Péter Pázmány's *oeuvre*. Almost forty of his writings have been published, which means twenty-six different works, since there are several of them that he himself published several times. The *Kalauz*, which is regarded as his masterpiece, was revised several times, and published three times during the life of Pázmány, each new edition being updated and restyled. The rest of his works are intertextually related to it, both by the fact that he incorporated his earlier treatises into the first edition of 1613 and that the later treatises were derived from the edition of the *Kalauz*, Pázmány's response to each attack of his opponents.¹

WRITINGS FROM GRAZ

Chronologically, the first group of his polemical works is known as the Graz writings, referring to the place of publication.² Pázmány's public writings date from the years of his teaching in Graz, and the works between 1603

¹ For more, see HARGITTAY 2019; AJKAY 2022.

² They are, in order of date of publication, the *Felelet* (Nagyszombat, 1603), the *Diatriba theologica* (Graz, 1605), the *Tíz bizonyság* (Graz, 1605), the *Rövid tanúság* (Graz, 1606), and the *Keresztyéni felelet* (Graz, 1607).

and 1607 belong to this group. It was during his stay in Graz that³ he began to write polemical works, and it has become clear from studying these works – according to our recent research – that they were written at about the same time, and so we will discuss them as a group, even though they are addressed to different debaters and address different problems. The cross-references in each volume show that he began working on several of his works at about the same time, or, to be precise, on all the polemical writings of the period. The works were then published sporadically, one after the other, over a period of four years, presumably in the order of their importance at the time. For example, the publication of the *Felelet* or the *Tíz bizonyosság* was much more important and urgent than, say, the *Keresztyéni felelet*, since in this latter case, there was no specific controversial partner to be convinced. Rather the task was to clarify the theological terminology in the emerging Hungarian language and to make the Catholic understanding of what generally known. Of these disputations, the *Tíz bizonyosság* is of particular importance, as it is the only one of Pázmány's many polemical writings that was not written against a specific debating partner, but summarises the errors of Protestantism in general, in a thoughtful, edited form, thus becoming a forerunner of the *Kalauz*.

He worked on each of the different works until publication, refining and updating them. Thus, Pázmány's working method can be outlined: he worked on several different writings at the same time. These were published one after the other, up to five years apart. Or else he could have prepared a kind of *florilegium*, a note from his own works, i.e. he collected the references he used and wrote on a given topic. These treatises are not written by the same person, but we tend to refer to them as a group because it is very difficult – almost impossible – to establish the exact chronology of their writing.

In the analysis and deduction of Pázmány's working method, we can see that when he is discussing a specific work by a specific debating partner, he follows the writing of the debating partner, adopts the order of content,

³ From September 1597 to October 1600, and from September 1603 to September 1607. He spent the three intervening years in Hungary, in Nyitra, Kassa, Vágsellye and then Radosnya.

the vocabulary, the argumentations – obviously, since he is responding to them – possibly shortens or merges the longer chapters, or omits the parts that are of no interest to him. But presumably this is the reason for Pázmány’s speed, so that he could write and publish a polemical essay in a few months, because he “only” had to add his own opinion to the existing line of thought taken over from his debate partner: he did not have to think up a new theme, to formulate it. And he supported his ideas and opinions with the notes he had presumably also compiled himself.

AGAINST ALVINCZI

Pázmány’s next group of disputations, the disputes written against Péter Alvinczi, fall into two time periods. The polemics of the first period were written before the *Kalauz* was published (*Öt szép levél*, 1609, *Megrostálás* 1609). These works are interesting in several respects. On the one hand, since the corresponding writing of the debating partner (Péter Alvinczi) has not survived, only as much of this text as Pázmány quotes from it in his own works has been preserved. On the other hand, these controversial writings are fascinating because they have a different tone from the others. Pázmány speaks in a much more personal voice, which suggests that he is not as calm and arrogantly sarcastic as in his other treatises because of the personal involvement. Alvinczi’s background and origins are similar to Pázmány’s. They were about the same age, and presumably began their studies together in Várad, although there is no concrete evidence of this.⁴ The tone of his writings against Peter Alvinczi is perhaps the most personal. Of all of his polemical works, the ones directed against Alvinczi, are his most viciously satirical. He departs from the structural formula described above in the case of the *Öt szép levél*, which is not a reply, but an attack. In contrast, in *Megrostálás* he adopts the practice he had followed before, i.e. in his response he faithfully follows the structure of Alvinczi’s writing.

The disputations of the other period were written five years later, in defence of the *Kalauz*, in response to the writings attacking it

⁴ HARGITTAY 2019, 102.

(*Az calvinista prédikátorok tüköre* 1614, *Az igazságnak győzedelme* 1614). The *Az calvinista prédikátorok tüköre* was published under the name István Lethenyi,⁵ and is the first of Pázmány's Hungarian-language disputations to be published under a pseudonym. Although Pázmány had a disciple with this name, the authorship is not in question in this case. Lethenyi's young age excludes him, and the belief that Pázmány is the author, is strengthened by the content and the fact that he acknowledges its authorship in the second work (*Az igazságnak győzedelme*). No work by Alvinczi of this polemic has survived. The content can be inferred from quotations from Pázmány. Alvinczi's work, to which Pázmány responded, was published anonymously, seeking to refute the veneration and invocation of the saints.⁶ Pázmány had already explained this question several times. He had already gone into detail on the matter in the Christian reply, and in the *Kalauz* there is a separate book on the subject (XIII). He is not reacting to the question of the veneration of saints, but to Alvinczi's foreword attacking the *Kalauz*. Alvinczi was quick to respond to this writing.⁷ This discussion paper has also not survived, only Pázmány's more recent response, *Az igazságnak győzedelme*.⁸ Pázmány clearly refers to Alvinczi's harsh insults,⁹ which may explain the xenia cycle mocking Alvinczi at the end of the work. Pázmány could no longer be present at the time of the printing and final proofreading of the work, as he was travelling to Rome at the end of the year, and therefore entrusted the final revision of the volume to Tamás Balásfi.¹⁰

⁵ [PÁZMÁNY] 1614a.

⁶ [ALVINCZI] 1614. For more details, see HARGITTAY 2019, 111–112.

⁷ RMNy 1983, 1064.

⁸ PÁZMÁNY 1614b.

⁹ “Did I ever call you a pig, Alvinczi, a whore? A hangman? A fornicator? The latrine of the world? A gelded pig? A scoundrel? A liar? A fool? Hell-bound? And thou, with thy insolent prattle (as if thou wert now among the mischief-makers of Alvinci), dost fling all these and more foul things fit for thee at me; nay, callest these (foul-mouthed) swine things. Yet thy mirror clothes thee in a mask of Christian meekness.” PPÖM V, 55.

¹⁰ For more, see HARGITTAY 2019, 112–115.

AGAINST CALVIN

Written in the year 1609, *Az nagi Calvinus Ianosnac hiszec egi Istene*¹¹ was published between the two Alvinczi treatises. In this case, he was not writing against a man, but against Calvin's main work, the *Institutio Christianae religionis*. In the *Tíz bizonyság*, the first of the two works about great church reformers, he examined and sought to refute the life and work of Luther. A few years later, however, it became clear that in Hungary and Transylvania – from a Catholic point of view – the Calvinist reformist tendency was perhaps even more dangerous, since it had gained a much larger following than Lutheranism, which justified the writing against Calvin's main work. Pázmány's work also caused a stir among his contemporaries because he chose an unusual, new narrative solution compared to his earlier works. He did not follow the structure of the contested work he wanted to refute – in which case he would have had to write several volumes – but considered it more effective and more attention-grabbing to create a text that addressed both the teacher and the teaching by placing the Creed at the centre of the work. One of the most important prayer texts in Christianity is the Creed, by which the believer declares his or her allegiance to a particular denomination. Pázmány divided his treatise based on this text into fifteen parts. Of these, the first twelve he calls the branches of the *Credo*, i.e. he divides the Apostles' Creed into twelve parts, statements, sentences, and each chapter is devoted to the explanation of a sentence or branch accordingly. The first branch is the first sentence of the Creed. Pázmány does not use the longer version of the Credo as formulated at the Council of Nicea-Constantinople, but the shorter Apostles' Creed. Both creeds are in the modern sense tripartite, i.e. they confess faith in the three persons of the Trinity in three branches of faith (= *articulus fidei*). The twisting of the Creed in opposition to Protestant doctrine is not the invention of Pázmány. A similar procedure can be found, for example, in a publication in Münster in 1607 by Bernard Dörhoff, containing the works of the poetry class of the local Jesuit grammar school, entitled

¹¹ PÁZMÁNY 1609.

Credo Calvinisequarum.¹² It may have been this little booklet that gave Pázmány the idea of building his message on the branches of the Creed, or of using rhetoric to reverse Calvin's Creed.

Almost every page of Pázmány's work quotes a part of Calvin's *Institutio*, i.e. it consists mostly of references, which are typographically separated from the other texts, italicized. Pázmány uses a large number of quotations in which he takes Calvin's text verbatim. In addition to these, the category of exact quotations also includes those in which Pázmány abbreviates Calvin's original sentences, omits words, but he does not change the meaning of the text, and quotes only the concise gist of the sentence. This is perhaps the most striking feature of Pázmány's citation technique in the case of Calvin's texts: he primarily abbreviates, as if he were making an extract from a long statement, summarising only the main point. This characterization applies even to cases in which, at first sight, it seems that Pázmány is assembling his sentence from astonishingly distant words, but if we compare the final result with the longer original, we find in most cases that the actual content of the statement has not been changed by the condensation or abridgement of the sentence. Pázmány had not previously employed the citation method of extracting not only sentences, but sometimes only a few words, from the context of the original to form a quotation. Yet even with this technique he does not significantly transform – but for a few cases – Calvin's original text.¹³

AGAINST THE LUTHERANS OF WESTERN TRANSDANUBIA

In 1613, Pázmány published the first edition of his masterpiece, the *Kalauz* (*Guide to Divine Truth*), which ran to almost a thousand pages. He incorporated almost all of his earlier works into the first edition of the *Kalauz*, making it Pázmány's largest-ever polytheme. And after the *Kalauz* was published, he debated those who challenged it. These can also be grouped together, the first of which were the so-called Csepreg writings (*Csepregi*

¹² For more information see BATHORY 2020.

¹³ For more information, see the critical edition of PÁZMÁNY 1609/2021.

mesterség 1614, Csepregi szegényvállás 1616). The publication of the *Kalauz* prompted scholars of Protestant denominations to write a refutation of the *Kalauz* and to formulate their own beliefs and principles in detail and clarity, which initially meant translations of existing foreign works. In 1614, the Lutheran preacher Imre Zvonarits of Csepreg translated Matthias Hafenreffer's (Tübingen theologian) *Loci theologici, certo methodo ac ratione in tres libros tributi* (Jena, 1601).¹⁴ The dedication is addressed to Pál Nádasdy, to whom the translator himself had given the original work four years earlier. Benedek Sármeleki Nagy, a schoolmaster from Kőszeg, wrote the *Praefatio* that followed the dedication, and in it he attacked Pázmány's *Kalauz*, since Pázmány had also written against Hafenreffer. Only the first half page of the six-page essay is about the usefulness of the book and the painstaking work of the translator, while the remaining five and a half pages are written against Pázmány. The *Praefatio* is followed by a ten-page *Protestatio* in which the Lutherans of Western Transdanubia, above all, declare their separation from both Catholics and Calvinists.

In the same year 1614, Pázmány published his reply under the pseudonym Miklós Szyl.¹⁵ In the letter of the preface, he dedicates his work to the same Pál Nádasdy as Zvonarits' translation, thus thoroughly papering over his opponents. Pázmány divides his reply into four parts in the same way as Benedek Nagy summarised his accusations in four points, so in this disputation he follows the structure of the earlier polemical reply. But he is not only replying to Benedek Nagy, he is also refuting point by point the allegations of Zvonarits' letter of recommendation. Then he begins a theological explanation of the origin of the immortal soul, thus refuting Hafenreffer. In the *Kalauz*, Pázmány dealt with it only for a single sentence; here he analyses the Tübingen theologian's sentences in more detail, referring to Zvonarits' Hungarian translation throughout.

The answer was not long in coming. A year later, in 1615, the joint work of Benedek Nagy and Imre Zvonarits, the *Pázmán Péter Pironásági*, was published.¹⁶ This is a much heavier volume, 333 pages long and no

¹⁴ HAFENREFFER 1614.

¹⁵ PÁZMÁNY 1614c.

¹⁶ ZVONARITS–NAGY 1615.

longer the size of a prayer book, but in quarter-volume format. Once again, they try to refute Pázmány's principles and sentences, and at the end of the volume we can read three mocking poems about Pázmány and one about the *Kalauz*.¹⁷

The following year, in 1616, Pázmány printed his reply in Prague under the title *Csepregi szégyenvallás*.¹⁸ He published this 283-page booklet, a small eight-centimetre booklet, under his own name. Pázmány admits that the book entitled *Pázmán Péter Pironásági*, written by Imre Zvonarits and Benedek Nagy, is an answer to the *Kalauz*. It is another matter whether it is true or false, worthy or obscene, valiant or just chirping, for the people think little of it, so it is enough to say that his opponents have an answer. Of course, he adds: "That it may be clear to all that the Growlings' language is not a lion's roar, but a wind-starting rant".¹⁹ It is very noticeable in the whole text of the volume that Pázmány was very angry: there is no longer any talk of the somewhat condescending, but still jovial, sarcastic tone, which still characterized the *Csepregi mesterség*. Here he beats back the attacks of his opponents point by point with theological arguments and significant annotations. From all this we can see that the Lutherans were the first to respond to the *Kalauz* in two ways: on the one hand, the first refutation was written by Benedek Nagy, and on the other, they were the first to prepare the Latin translation to be sent to the scholars of Wittenberg. There were probably several translators, one of whom may have been Benedek Nagy. It was with the help of this Latin translation that the Wittenberg scholar Fridericus Balduinus would write his own *Kalauz* refutation, *Phosphorus veri catholicismi*, in 1626.

AGAINST BALDUINUS

Pázmány republished the *Kalauz* after ten years – in 1623 – after revising it considerably, including the use of the newer polemics. This was

¹⁷ For more on the bush of faith, see AJKAY 2020.

¹⁸ PÁZMÁNY 1616.

¹⁹ Ibid.

to be the final version; the last edition of 1637 made no significant changes in scope. So in the first edition of the *Kalauz* (1613) he incorporates all his earlier treatises, then responds to the attacks on them, and in the second he incorporates the documents that appear in the meantime and revises the earlier ones, updating the whole text.

The 1613 edition of the *Kalauz* also includes the 1627 discussion paper *A setét hajnalcsillag után bujdosó lutheristák vezetője*, published in 1627. This is a response to Balduinus' refutation of the *Kalauz* (*Phosphorus veri catholicismi*, 1626), published a year earlier. The Lutheran professor Fridericus Balduinus (Friedrich Balduin) of Wittenberg responded thirteen years after the *Kalauz* was published, after Lutherans in the Western Danube had translated Pázmány's work into Latin and sent it to Wittenberg. The quarter-sized reply is over 1200 pages long and in Latin.²⁰ Pázmány responded with his own book of almost five hundred pages in Hungarian.²¹ It refers to Balduin's work in its title (*phosphorus* = morning star), and the length of both the original work and the reply shows that both authors considered the disputation important. The *A setét hajnalcsillag után bujdosó lutheristák vezetője* occupies a special place in the series of controversial writings by Pázmány, not least because it is Pázmány's response to the most serious criticism of him, since Balduin tries to refute the whole *Kalauz* in a categorical manner, thus confirming that Protestants regarded this work as a disputation. It is noteworthy that Pázmány deliberately responded to the Latin work in Hungarian.²² When quoting Balduinus, he translates the quotations and refers to the original in the margin. The tone of this polemic is much more objective than that of the writings against his domestic debate partners, although Pázmány does not spare his debate partner ironic, sarcastic remarks. His point-by-point reply to Balduin, as he was responding to the *Kalauz* of 1613, is structurally followed by Pázmány's reply, but already takes into account the expanded version of 1623.

²⁰ BALDUINUS 1626.

²¹ PÁZMÁNY 1627.

²² PPÖM V, 480.

AGAINST PÉCSVÁRADI

One of Pázmány's main methods of debate was that he must always have the last word, leaving nothing unanswered. This is illustrated by the two disputations written against Pécsváradi: *Jó nemes Váradnak gyenge orvoslása* (1630) and *Okok, nem okok* (1631). Péter Pécsváradi was a Calvinist preacher in Várad from 1625. In 1629, Pécsváradi responded to Pázmány's work *A Sz. Irásról és az Anyaszentegyházról két rövid könyvecskék* published in Vienna in 1626, with a book of more than nine hundred pages.²³ In response, Pázmány published his treatise *Jó nemes Váradnak gyenge orvoslása* a year later. The interesting thing about the volume is that he did not publish it under his own name, but under the name and guise of the parish priest István Sallai.²⁴

The use of pseudonyms is not alien to Pázmány, the probable reason for which was formulated by Vilmos Fraknói, namely that Pázmány wanted to demonstrate that he was not alone in this struggle, that there were a whole army of Catholic polemicists fighting for the just cause.²⁵ The two replies to Péter Pécsváradi cannot or should not be discussed separately, the second reply (*Okok, nem okok*, 1631) being closely connected with the first.²⁶ The pseudonymous narrative used here is very interesting, as throughout both disputations the narrator consistently refers to himself as István Sallai and the defended Pázmány as archbishop (Érsek), speaking of him in the third person singular. In the second rejoinder, he does not step out of this role, although Pécsváradi addresses the archbishop, i.e. Pázmány, throughout, and addresses both his opening and his rejoinder to him, despite the fact that it was published under Sallai's name.

The comparison of this bunch of disputes with the Csepreg documents has many lessons, the most important being that it confirms even more in the reader the authorship of Pázmány's disputes against Pécsváradi, because stylistically, in their turns of phrase, they are most similar to the

²³ PÉCSVÁRADI 1629.

²⁴ [PÁZMÁNY] 1630.

²⁵ Cited in PPÖM V, 4.

²⁶ On the use of pseudonyms in these controversies, see PÁZMÁNY 1631/1937; and THIMÁR 1999.

Csepreg disputes. In both cases, the starting point is a work by Pázmány (the *Kalauz* in the case of the Csepreg writings, and the case of Pécsváradi *A Sz. Irásrúl és az Anyaszentegyházrúl két rövid könyvecskék*), which is attacked in writing by a Protestant preacher. Pázmány's reply, published under a pseudonym, is not left unanswered by those addressed, and Pázmány replies to these new polemics again. Thus, after the initial work by Pázmány, there are replies from both sides, for both sets of controversies. The difference is that, while the second polemic of Pázmány is the longer and more specific one, the first one is the real answer against Pécsváradi. The West-Transdanubian bundle of panegyrics is supplemented by two works by Tamás Balásfi (a polemical work and a collection of *pasquilli*) and the late bundle of panegyrics also contains other works, although here the content of the other documents is not related to the works against Pécsváradi, but there is a coincidence in time: the year 1631 was as prolific a year for Pázmány's panegyrics as 1614. In the same year, two other of his polemics were published, the Latin *Dissertatio* against Gáspár Illésházy²⁷ and the *Bizonyos okok* to Éva Lobkovitz Poppel wife of Ferenc Batthyány.²⁸

In his treatise *Jó nemes Váradnak gyenge orvoslása*, Pázmány follows the tried and tested method of taking his opponent's argument and adding his own response, following the content and order of his own defended opening argument of 1626. However, the most frequently cited own work in his references are the relevant passages from the 1623 edition of the *Kalauz*.²⁹ His reply to Pécsváradi's well over 900 pages is reduced to about a third of its length, which is also typical of Pázmány's method: he does not deal with chapters he considers to be unnecessary verbiage, and only replies to the passages he considers important. The reader seems to be particularly annoyed by the length of Pécsváradi's book, and he makes a number of epic remarks about it. Pázmány perhaps shows the most caustic mockery in the fact that he declares of his interlocutor at the beginning of the book that "the name which Christ gave to the false Teacher I will only call him by, and call him Wolf." From then on, he consistently refers

²⁷ PÁZMÁNY 1631a.

²⁸ PÁZMÁNY 1631b.

²⁹ HARGITTAY 2019, 150.

to Pécsváradi as Farkas until the end of the polemic, even in the margin, in references to his book on Pécsváradi (e.g. ‘Farkas, fol. 682.’, 314). In the naming, he also resembles the Csepreg debates, in which he calls his debating partners “growlers” (Morgók).

The late treatises are even more characterised by the exuberant baroque language, with an accumulation of adjectives and adverbs. Stylistically, Pázmány adapts his words to this chosen name, the Wolf, one of the main characteristics of which is that the dehumanised, animalised debating partner is somewhat stupid, and violent, since this predatory lifestyle is typical of wolves. The image of the wolf tearing the lambs apart will be one of the main *topos* of the discussion in the *Jó nemes Váradnak gyenge orvoslása*. Pázmány’s use of verbs to describe the Wolf’s speech and movements is also very plastic, since the words used to describe the diction are animalistic and violent (howls, growls, snarls, barks).

The work *Okok, nem okok* is probably Pázmány’s last treatise.³⁰ As far as we know at present, only one copy of this work survives, preserved in Pannonhalma, published in 1937 in a copy edition by Híador Stripsky.³¹ This is a rejoinder: the text’s direct predecessor is Pécsváradi’s *Kilencz okok*,³² which he also wrote in response to Pázmány’s *Jó nemes Váradnak gyenge orvoslása*. No copy of this polemic by Pécsváradi has survived, and all we know of it is what Pázmány quotes, just as in the case of Alvinczi’s *Megrostálás*. The *Okok, nem okok* is a rather short debate, only fifteen pages long, and its publication was presumably intended to give Pázmány the last word in the debate. It is, of course, adequate to Pécsváradi’s nine reasons, somewhat condensed and divided into five parts. It is clear from Pázmány’s work that Pécsváradi explained in nine reasons why he did not reply to *Jó nemes Váradnak gyenge orvoslása*. It was to this non-answer that Pázmány replied.

³⁰ HARGITTAY 2019, 158.

³¹ PÁZMÁNY 1631/1937. The original work is [PÁZMÁNY] 1631c.

³² RMNy 1983, 1460.

TO ÉVA LOBKOVITZ POPPEL WIFE OF FERENC BATTHYÁNY

The third Hungarian-language polemic of 1631 is *Bizonyos okok*.³³ Although Pázmány's name does not appear on the title page, it does appear in the first line of the dedication, addressed to Ferenc Batthyány's wife Éva Lobkovitz Poppel. In a sense, this work can be regarded as unusual, since its main feature is not controversy but persuasion. She speaks on behalf of a former Protestant lord who has recently converted to Catholicism (apparently the son of Éva Lobkovitz Poppel, Ádám Batthyány, who was recatholized by Pázmány), who explains the reasons for his conversion to Catholicism to the person who questions him. In this document, there is no mockery or irony. Pázmány is being gentle in explaining the reasons for the change of religion; the more important thing for him is to convince the person addressed in the dedication and other potential readers. It is noteworthy that of all Pázmány's works on the doctrine of the faith, *Bizonyos okok* has been published the most. According to the Pázmány bibliography, ten editions were published up to 1772.³⁴

To sum up, Pázmány's writings in Hungarian are closely related to each other. The earliest works from Graz were written at about the same time, but recent research has shown that the most important of these works is the generally valid *Tíz bizonyosság*. This is confirmed by the fact that this work makes up about forty per cent of the *Kalauz*, which is considered the main work, and was considerably expanded by Pázmány in the third book. The other works on the subject of the creeds can also be found in the creedal bundles, mostly classified according to the person to whom they are addressed (e.g., the documents against Alvinczi, the documents against the preachers of Csepreg, the documents against Pécsváradi, etc.). Thus, most of the polemics are closely related to each other and to several other controversial documents, most notably the *Kalauz*.



³³ PÁZMÁNY 1631b.

³⁴ ADONYI-MACZÁK 2005, 27–29. items 101 (1640), 108 (1671), 122 (1725), 124 (1734), 125 (1735), 126 (1736), 129 (1738), 133 (1753), 138 (1764), 145 (1772).

Emil Hargittay

**THE *KALAUZ* (A GUIDE TO DIVINE TRUTH)
AT THE HEART OF THE WRITER'S *OEUVRE***

THE CENTRAL ROLE OF THE *KALAUZ*

The *Kalauz* is a synthesis of Pázmány's earlier works, first published in 1613. He revised and published the work on two further occasions, in 1623 and 1637.¹ The significance of the *Kalauz* to the development of the author's work lies above all in the fact that in this publication of approximately one thousand pages, Pázmány summarised in Hungarian all the knowledge that had already been scattered in his earlier writings. His later works on the doctrine of the faith, composed after 1613, were largely written in defence of the *Kalauz*, and they stem from this *opus*. Only his devotional works (the *Imádságos könyv* (Graz, 1606), followed by the Kempis translation (Vienna, 1624) and the *Prédikációk* (Pozsony, 1636), and some of his topical political writings) represent a literary intention that separates the above-mentioned works from the *Kalauz*. His many thousands of pages of philosophical and theological lectures in Latin, and the arguments and locutions discussed therein, have also been incorporated into the *Kalauz* system, now in Hungarian, in a significant way and to a considerable extent.

¹ The facsimile of the 1637 edition is PÁZMÁNY 1637/2000.

The famous comparison of the *Kalauz* to a baroque cathedral in Sándor Sík's book on Pázmány² gives readers a basic level of understanding only. For a deeper understanding, we should address the question: what is a baroque cathedral? This question is no easier to answer than the question of the structure of the *Kalauz*. In the first edition, Pázmány divided the entire work into three tomes, and these three parts are divided into further parts, or 'books', fourteen total in the first edition, and fifteen-fifteen in the subsequent editions. Each book is subdivided into further parts, within which are further numbered chapters. The *Preface* justifies the threefold division. Accordingly, in the first part (Books I–V), '*From the guidance of reason grafted into nature*', the arguments of God and the justification of the Christian faith are set out. The second part (Books VI–X) summarises the arguments for the existence and veneration of the Roman Church and the Papacy. The third part (Books XI–XV) refutes the arguments of the 'innovators' on the basis of Scripture. The arguments of *ratio*, *ecclesia*, and *scriptura* form the backbone of Pázmány's Pauline thought. However, the controversial character of the argumentation accompanies and determines the course of discussion at certain points, and Pázmány confronts the opinions of the innovators in detail not only in Books XI–XV, but from Book III onwards. At the time of the publication of the *Kalauz*, of course, there were dozens of products of literature of Catholic-Protestant controversy, and we are in "the century of the controversies". Pázmány could not deny himself and his time, the *Kalauz* was strongly influenced by the genre of the controversy. At the same time: the *Kalauz* is distinct from all his earlier and later controversies: here Pázmány attempts to go beyond the controversies, to synthesise them, to approach the issues of controversy from the point of view of the whole theological doctrine, to move from the general to the particular according to the logic developed in the structure. In the elaboration of the structure, he succeeds in synthesising, but in the discussion of the details he constantly returns to a debating style that is not without personal attacks, irony and *ad hominem* arguments. Throughout his life's work, especially when considering the content of the debates after the *Kalauz* (1613), Pázmány considered the clarification of two things to be

² Sík 1939, 116.

the most important for understanding the Catholic position among the many issues of concerning debates with Protestants, and he wanted to convince his opponents on these two issues. Firstly, besides the *Holy Scripture*, the *Holy Tradition* which explains the Holy Scripture, is also a source for religion, and, secondly, because of succession, the Church understands and explains the letter of Scripture faithfully. Pázmány took this line of thought further, and to another place, going beyond the whole scope of the controversy. He considered the question: what is the cause of the controversy? His answer convinces us that he was thinking in a broader context, and that he identified differing political views as the cause of the disputes.³

The *Kalauz's* own “novelty” within Pázmány’s *oeuvre* is quite relative: almost everywhere within the great work, readers get the feeling that they have read the text somewhere before, that they can recognize it from a work (previously written) by Pázmány. The earlier texts were not unchanged in the later editions, and thousands of minor and major corrections were made, but in this new structure of the *Kalauz* the presence of the earlier works are clearly recognisable. The unity of the new synthesis is now determined by the extent to which the author himself had a uniform approach and method in writing the earlier books. In the case of Pázmány, we can say that this unity is achieved by turning it into a series of theological discussions of faith, grounded and supplemented by the theology of the *Kalauz*. In the *Kalauz*, dogmatic and apologetic theology and polymeme are combined, and in a relatively precisely separable way, quantitatively in favour of polymeme. The proportions, in the order of the individual books, are as follows (in brackets is the approximate page count, which refers to the amount of purely *theological*, non-polemical discussion): Book XI: On the Sacrament of the Altar (twenty), Book XII: On Salvation (fourty), Book XIII: On the Saints (twenty), Book XIV: On Purgatory (fifteen). The numbers in brackets add up to three hundred and five pages, so we can say – the whole work is one thousand and seventy five pages – that one third of the *Kalauz* is non-debatable in style and method, and the remaining two thirds is a polemic, namely a borrowing from earlier works. Of the

³ PÁZMÁNY 1637/2000, 1059; PPÖM II, 273.

earlier works incorporated, the *Tíz nyilvánvaló bizonyság* (1605) is the most important, certainly in terms of scope. It forms the main body of Book III, which is the most extensive of the fifteen, accounting for about thirty percent of the whole *Kalauz*. However, as one third of the new structure was expanded by the addition of theological discourses, a new type was created, which Pázmány himself defines in the title, and even more emphatically in the new, expanded title of the third edition: the genre is ‘kalauz’, ‘hodoegus’, i.e. ‘guide’. It is not a theological treatise (like his lectures in Graz), nor a manual for teaching (like Bellarmino’s *Disputationes*), but a practical guide for those who seek the truths of the Catholic faith in the polemical world of the age. The new genre created by the structure did not eliminate the stylistic dichotomy between theology and disputation. In the theological sections, Pázmány made an effort to renew and explain the still living and still used Latin terminology, while in the argumentative sections he retained the lively, vigorous, sometimes harsh and unrelenting style of the disputes around the question concerning faith, backed up by the depth of his ecclesiastical learning. The secret of its effectiveness lies in its composition and linguistic power.

When analysing the genre and approach of the *Kalauz*, besides considering the scholarly theology, the unrelenting debate and the ecumenism that can be detected in places, one should also refer to the idea of the *Regnum Marianum*, which can also be detected. The engravings on the title pages of the 1613 and 1623 editions show the difference. The *Patrona Hungariae* depiction of the saints of Hungary (Saint Stephen, Saint Emeric, Saint Ladislaus, Saint Elisabeth) on the frontispieces clearly indicates that Mary is the main helper of a country under foreign rule. In the engraving of the 1623 edition by Tobias Bidenharter, the gallery of the saints was enlarged with the converts Saint Adalbert and Saint Martin of Pannonian origin. A more ornate, moving and monumental look was added to the picture as a whole, together with the modification of the Jesuit emblem of the order of Jesus placed above Mary.⁴

⁴ GALAVICS 1973; SZILÁGYI 2013.

REWRITING AND SELF-COMPILATION⁵

Pázmány's works are not a series of independent writings following one after another in a linear sequence, but a strong cohesive body of writing holding different pieces of his literary *oeuvre* together. This cohesive force stems from the fact that Pázmány created each of his later works by reworking, rewriting and compiling his earlier writings to varying degrees. He did not compile earlier writings together in an unchanging way, but always made detailed revisions of his earlier texts. This also applied to the ways in which he formulated the texts, the structure, the often considerable expansion and revision of the source base cited, the inclusion and citation of new localities and groups of quotations, and the modernisation of spelling. He also used the method of rewriting in cases where he published a new edition of a work in its own right. In this way, his entire *oeuvre* is in motion, not a series of isolated, unconnected writings. A deeper exploration of this method of compilation and rewriting goes beyond the mechanical literary-historical approach and descriptive approach of the past, which discussed the works in a sequential but non-reflective manner, and points to the most essential creative element of Pázmány's method of writing, the rewriting, the genesis of the *oeuvre*.

A key interpretative and explanatory part of the description of the compilational creative method is an analysis of the three surviving examples of the work (*Felelet* 1603, *Tíz nyilvánvaló bizonyság* 1605, *A setét hajnalcsillag után bujdosó lutheristák vezetője* 1627). These working copies are printed editions published by Pázmány, copies of which are still available for study today, including inscribed supplementary pages, considerably enlarged by the author himself. A close analysis of these documents will make it possible to trace the author's intentions, which can be separated from the interventions of the printers, and the author's method of creating new works.

Published in three editions, the *Kalauz* was a collection of his earlier works and the starting point for Pázmány's later works. The *oeuvre*, consisting mainly of discussion papers, is organised around the first and second

⁵ Details: HARGITTAY 2019.

editions of the *Kalauz*. Pázmány had already attempted to summarise the basic issues of controversy in his *Tíz nyilvánvaló bizonyosság*, published during his time in Graz, and this rewritten work formed the most important part of the first edition of the *Kalauz*. At the same time, all of Pázmány's treatises written before 1613 were included in some form in the 1613 edition of the *Kalauz*, almost always rewritten. Pázmány always made sure that the new editions of his otherwise unrevised works were as clean as possible from typographical errors during the reprints. At the same time, he also endeavoured to make at least some stylistic changes to the new editions. The most notable achievement in this respect is the third edition of the *Kalauz* (1637), which contains a large number of minor changes compared with the second edition (1623). At the same time, this third edition was also expanded in some places in terms of content. The significant changes to the contents of the *Kalauz* were already included in the second edition, which was enlarged to fifteen books, and this revision also resulted in an increase in the volume. As Pázmány defended his work in new treatises after the first edition of 1613 and the second edition of 1623, the impact of the *Kalauz* on his other works can be observed through to the end of his life.

Further research is still needed concerning to show the exact impact of Pázmány's theological and philosophical works and lectures in Graz on his later writing. He used the *Diatriba theologica* (1605), which can only partly be regarded as a discussion paper because of its occasionality, in the *Kalauz*, and there are also textual connections between the *Felelet*, written between the two periods in Graz, and the *Diatriba* written in Graz. The connection with theological works also includes the fact that he incorporated excerpts from the *Kalauz* into his treatise *De Fide* (1603), which he revised at the end of his life.⁶

As a result of the compilational revision technique, there is no polemic in Pázmány's *oeuvre* that stands alone, in isolation. The argumentative material in the pamphlets on current political events, published in Latin, German and Hungarian in 1620, also contains many links with the disputes on faith. It follows from the above that Pázmány's further works, which appeared in more than one edition, are not without the peculiarities

⁶ SZABÓ 1998, 117–120.

of compilation-editing. Worthy of mention are the four – revised – editions of the *Imádságos könyv* (1606, 1610, 1625, 1631) or even the sermon that was adapted for the 1636 collection of sermons, based on the text of the *Pozsonyban lött prédikáció* already published in 1610. In this work, in accordance with the principles set out in the sermon collection, he no longer argues or mentions the name of János Tordai, against whom the *Pozsonyban lött prédikáció* had previously been directed.⁷

Pázmány's *oeuvre* is not a fixed and unchanging text, but a dynamic one. If we pick up any of his books, we read almost the same texts, though possibly in a different formulation, with a different citation system and a different function. Similar phenomena, albeit to different degrees, can be observed in the large body of late medieval and early modern works (Erasmus, Luther, Gretser, Balduinus, Contzen, Drexel, Kircher, János Nádasí and others). Pázmány's method and technique of compilation and rewriting not unique or isolated.

TWO LITERARY ERAS

The two great periods of Pázmány's literary activity are clearly discernible: the years preceding the first edition of the *Kalauz* (1613) and the subsequent years leading up to the last editions of the *Prédikációk* (1636) and the *Kalauz* (1637). These two periods cannot be sharply distinguished from one another, and the editing and rewriting of the texts after 1613 makes this clear. Already in his early period in Graz, Pázmány had planned to produce a comprehensive anti-Protestant polemic. This work was the *Tíz nyilvánvaló bizonyosság*, which he published in 1605. In the meantime, he had to prepare the *Felelet* against István Magyarí (1603). Here again, Pázmány wanted to give a comprehensive refutation of the controversial issues, yet he put the arguments of his opponents on a theological plane. In 1608, after his move to Hungary, he quickly reacted to the questions that Protestants had raised by becoming involved in everyday political and ecclesiastical affairs. His works of this period and their

⁷ BITSKEY 1979, 35; PÁZMÁNY 1610/1636/2020.

contents were published almost in their entirety in the first edition of the *Kalauz*, either in one of the fourteen books published there or as an appendix to the great work.

In all three editions of the *Kalauz*, only two appendices appeared: the *A Mahomet vallása hamisságáról* and *A görögök szakadásáról*. The second edition of the *Kalauz* expanded the first edition of fourteen books to fifteen. It compiled one of the appendices of the first edition (*Őt levél*) into the fifteenth book by making very significant changes to the text by eliminating the epistolary form.⁸ The second edition of the *Kalauz* was followed by a new set of controversies, including such major works as *A setét hajnalcsillag után bujdosó lutheristák vezetője* and a synthesis of the *A Szentírásról és az Anyaszentegyházról* (1626), which abstracted the essence of the controversy, shortly after Albert Molnár Szenci's Hungarian translation of Calvin's *Institutio* (1624). In the 1630s, Pázmány was already working on the third edition of the *Kalauz*. Apart from a few paragraphs of new text, we do not now see any major compilation, but there are many minor textual changes. These changes, which are not merely those of, spelling but also of style and rhetoric, along with the addition of new paragraphs, were certainly not the responsibility of the printers alone. In this way, when scholars talk about the *Kalauz*, not always they may be talking about the same edition.

ALIASES AND AUTHORSHIP

It is striking that Pázmány often used a hidden name or pseudonym (Joannes Jemicius, Miklós Szyl, István Sallai, István Lethenyi, S. T. D. P. P.), or did not indicate the author's name at all on the title page of some of his books (*Falsae originis, Dissertatio, Certain Reasons*).⁹ For the names indicated, previous research has attempted to identify the bearers of the names and to identify them as authors. In none of these cases have these identifications been proven, and it is precisely the textual

⁸ BALÁZS 2006; LIPA 2002.

⁹ HARGITTAY 2019, 209–214.

versions of the *Kalauz* that show that Pázmány incorporated these writings into his own work, thus declaring his own authorship. From this point on, one can only speculate as to which of the actual living persons, his fellow priests, Pázmány had agreed to use in some of his writings. It seems that Pázmány, in all his completeness and diversity, explored the communicative space that was open to him. Irony, satire and playfulness are not only manifested in a single word, phrase, sentence or epigram, but very often also in the choice of genre and narrative. In this respect, a special group includes *Az nagy Calvinus Jánosnak Hiszekegy Istene* (1609),¹⁰ the *Őt szép levél*, rewritten twice,¹¹ the *Bizonyos okok* (1631), which uses multiple translations, and in other cases the almost comic clarification of misunderstandings arising from the use of pseudonyms. Pázmány's rhetorical-stylistic register is highly polymorphous. This is also evident in his large work, the *Kalauz*, which Pázmány edited as a unified whole. In so doing, he used the devices of simulation and dissimulation to create a specific literary environment in which his opponents were disconcerted, only to find himself even more superior in the reply, all the more so since he was always capable of an immediate response (however extensive), to the extent that in every debate he had the last word.

We cannot accurately assess the Pázmány's plans for the archbishop in the last years of his life due to a lack of detailed data. It is logical to assume that he would have planned to publish a complete life's work from his earlier writings, from some of the entries in the working copies. However, his works, reworked for this purpose, have not survived with the determination of the *ultima manus*.¹² This raises the question: how could a monk, a politician, a clergyman, a church organiser, an institution founder, have devoted the time to this philological painstaking work in the modern sense of the word, to creating and rewriting thousands of printed pages?



¹⁰ PÁZMÁNY 1609/2021.

¹¹ PÁZMÁNY 1609/1613/2019.

¹² PÁZMÁNY 1983, I, 97–98.

Orsolya Báthory

WORKS OF PÉTER PÁZMÁNY IN LATIN

The only collected edition of Péter Pázmány's works in Latin is the six-volume *Petri Cardinalis Pázmány Opera Omnia*, published between 1894 and 1904.¹ The series contains the manuscript and printed writings known and available at the end of the 19th century, which are attributed with sufficient certainty to Pázmány. These were notes and publications used in the teaching of philosophy and theology at university level; religious, political and religious-political treatises; writings on liturgy and church organisation. However, the *oeuvre* published in *Opera Omnia* is not complete; for one reason or another several writings have been omitted, and these are briefly described in the following review of Pázmány's works in Latin.

After completing his studies in Rome, the Jesuit Pázmány lectured in philosophy at the University of Graz, also run by the Society of Jesus, after being awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy on 26 October 1597. The course in philosophy with the Jesuits lasted three years. The first was logic, the second physics (natural philosophy) and the third metaphysics.² The course was based on the books of Aristotle, which the students read in Greek, and the teacher explained them in the lectures according to the method laid down by the Jesuit order of study, the *Ratio Studiorum*.³ Pázmány taught philosophy to his students from November 1597 to September 1600, and some of his lecture notes have been preserved

¹ PPOO I–VI.

² PÁZMÁNY 1983, 16.

³ ÓRY 1970, 79.

in manuscript form in the collection of the Budapest University Library (references A 6, A 7).⁴ The manuscripts include autograph notes, which Pázmány himself donated to the University of Nagyszombat, and copies. The material is incomplete: it lacks commentaries on Aristotle's treatise on the soul (*De animo*) and on the complete course on metaphysics. The manuscripts, entitled *Dialectica* and *Physica* (obviously with the appropriate additions), were intended by Pázmány to be published as printed textbooks for the prospective students of the University of Nagyszombat (Trnava), which he founded in 1635.⁵ The notes were published in the first three volumes of *Opera Omnia* (1894, 1895, 1897). In the first volume, the notes for the course in logic given by Pázmány were published under the original title *Dialectica* (the humanistic name for logic) by István Bognár.⁶ The notes published in Volumes 2 and 3 were also published under the title given in the manuscript, *Physica*.⁷ The *Dialectica* contains commentaries on Porphyry's *Isagoge* and parts of Aristotle's *Organon* (*Categories, On Interpretation, Analytica Prior/Prior Analytics and Analytica Posterior/Posterior Analytics*). The *Physica*, divided into two volumes, is a collection of commentaries on Aristotle's works on natural philosophy (*Physics, On the Heaven, On Generation and Corruption, Meteorology*). The six thesis booklets that Pázmány compiled for his students as examination material are also among the Latin-language writings relating to the philosophy courses at Graz.⁸ In essence, Pázmány's lecture notes give a scholastic philosophy of the Jesuits, which, being sufficiently open to other philosophical systems and schools, is generally characterised by a peculiar eclecticism. This eclecticism is also reflected in the great diversity of the authors cited by Pázmány, who, for example, used, in addition to the most important Jesuit commentators (Francisco de Toledo, Pedro da Fonseca, Benedict Pereira, Francisco

⁴ PÁZMÁNY 1983, 22.

⁵ PPOO I, Prologus, XIX. Pázmány's philosophical views and methodology are discussed in GERENCSÉR 1937; FÉLEGYHÁZY 1937; BLUM 2012, 51–65.

⁶ BLUM 2012, 62.

⁷ PPOO, I–III.

⁸ Duplicate editions of the theses are available in BLUM 2003.

Suárez), also modern Averroist and Renaissance philosophers (Giovanni Giacomo Pavese, Agostino Nifo, Jacopo Zabarella, etc.).⁹

During his second stay in Graz, Pázmány taught theology at the university for four years (1603–1607). In his courses, he presented the so-called “scholastic theology” (*Theologia Scholastica*),¹⁰ i.e. he commented on certain *quaestiones* (questions) of St. Thomas Aquinas’ *Summa Theologiae* according to the Jesuit order.¹¹ The notes also survive in the Budapest University Library (reference A 33), and this too may have been intended by Pázmány as a textbook for the University of Nagyszombat. The material is divided into three types of manuscript: Pázmány’s own handwritten writings; student notes based on dictation; and copies prepared for printing and completed and corrected by the elder Pázmány.¹² The editors, Béla Breznay and Dezső Bitá, compiled a coherent text from the three manuscript bases, which was published under the title *Theologia Scholastica* in the last three volumes of the *Opera Omnia* (1899, 1901, 1904). From the point of view of content, the notes show that the commentary on the first part of the Summa (*Prima pars* [First Part]; I) is completely missing. Pázmány wrote commentaries on selected *quaestiones* from the first part (*Prima Secundae* [First Part of the Second Part]; I–II) and the second part (*Secunda Secundae* [Second Part of the Second Part]; II–II) of the second part, as well as from the third part (*Tertia pars* [Third Part]). The commentaries were prepared as separate treatises (*tractatus*) and formed the material for the oral lectures.¹³

Also in the notes of the *Theologia Scholastica*, wedged between explanations of two *quaestiones*, we find Pázmány’s only independent work

⁹ For a list of the authorities used by Pázmány, see FÉLEGYHÁZY 1937, 219–222; GERENCSÉR 1937, 60–68; ROKAY 2013.

¹⁰ LUKÁCS–SZABÓ 1987, 16.

¹¹ LUKÁCS–SZABÓ 1987, 19.

¹² LUKÁCS–SZABÓ 1987, 16–17.

¹³ Such treatises with separate titles for the lectures are for example *De Peccatis* [On Mistakes]; *De Spe* [On Hope]; *De Charitate* [On Charity] etc. The lectures *De Iustitia et Iure* [On Justice and Right] and *De incarnatione Verbi* [On Incarnation of the Verb] were also published separately by Miklós Öry, supplemented with the so-called Götzweig manuscript. ÖRY 1984; LUKÁCS–SZABÓ 1987, 17–18.

of political theory, entitled *De ecclesiastica libertate circa causam Veneti interdicti*.¹⁴ The work, which remains in manuscript, was published once in print, in volume IV of the *Opera Omnia*.¹⁵ The editor Béla Breznay published the work following the manuscript order after the commentary on the quaestion of *Summa* II–II, XXXIII, with a *parergon* (*appendix*) on the inside title page. The reason for writing this short treatise in 1606 was the conflict between the papal authority and the Venetian Republic. In the early 1600s, the Venetian government had enacted or renewed laws that were detrimental to the interests of the papacy, as its authority over Venice was fundamentally challenged.¹⁶ Pope Paul V placed the city under *interdictum* (ecclesiastical interdict) in April 1606. The majority of the Venetian clergy, accepting the arguments of the Republic, did not obey the interdict, but three orders (the Jesuits, the Capuchins and the Theatines) supported the interdict. As a result, they were expelled from Venice. After the interdict had been issued, Pázmány drafted a document reflecting the official (papal and Jesuit) position and refuting the legitimacy of the Venetian laws.¹⁷

It was also during his second stay in Graz, in 1605, that Pázmány published his first religious treatise in Latin, the *Diatriba theologica de visibili Christi in terris Ecclesia*.¹⁸ Theological polemic was a treatise in the form of a theological treatise, a so-called *libellus*, for a university debate. In it, Pázmány refuted a 1599 work by the English Puritan theologian William Whitaker, which in turn criticized the Jesuit controversialist Roberto Bellarmino's conception of ecclesiology.¹⁹ The rhetorical structure of the *Diatriba* is based on the quotation and collision of sentences from the opposing sides (Whitaker and Bellarmino), and thus contains an extraordinary number of quotations and marginal notes.²⁰ No publication of the work is found in *Opera Omnia*, although

¹⁴ In manuscript: A 33, 327–336. HARGITTAY 2006, 105–112; HARGITTAY 2009, 153–160.

¹⁵ PPOO V, 789–808.

¹⁶ HARGITTAY 2006, 105; HARGITTAY 2009, 153.

¹⁷ HARGITTAY 2006, 106; HARGITTAY 2009, 154.

¹⁸ Facsimile edition of PÁZMÁNY 1605/1975.

¹⁹ WHITAKER 1599.

²⁰ BITSKEY 2015, 41.

the biography at the beginning of the first volume lists it as a work by Pázmány.²¹ The reason for this omission was presumably that the scholars who have studied the *Diatriba* (Vilmos Fraknói, Árpád Hellebrant, Rajmond Rapaics) did not unanimously attribute the work to Pázmány, since the title page of the publication does not mention his name as the author, but as *praeses*, that is, as the president of the examinations. In a paper written before the facsimile edition of the work, Miklós Óry argued convincingly for Pázmány's authorship.²² His arguments are mainly of a substantive and stylistic nature. The Latin of the treatise shows a rhetorical intensity typical of Hungarian works. According to Miklós Óry, the manuscript of the work was already completed by 1602, so the *Diatriba* can be regarded as Pázmány's first work in which the rhetoric that would later become his trademark, is already evident in its "full armoury".

From 1602, Pázmány worked as a theological advisor to Ferenc Forgách (1560–1615), Bishop of Nyitra (Nitra). He also began his political career with Forgách, Archbishop and Cardinal of Esztergom from 1607, although his success was due to the fact that he took a position opposed to that of the Primate on the methods of the Catholic Restoration.²³ In the autumn of 1608, Pázmány attracted the attention of the participants of the Diet in Pressburg and the Habsburg government with two Latin-language letters.²⁴ A few months earlier, Archduke Matthias, as the designated king, had asked several theologians for their opinions on the question of whether Protestants should be allowed to practice their religion freely in preparation for the royal Diet.²⁵ The Estates had made the enactment of the Peace of Vienna of 1606, with its first article guaranteeing the free exercise of religion, a condition for being crowned king.²⁶ In a short memoir, Pázmány wrote about the arguments for and against the free exercise of religion.²⁷ His reflections were

²¹ PPOO I, *Vita Petri Cardinalis Pázmány*, VI.

²² PÁZMÁNY 1605/1975, 12–21.

²³ BENDA 1978, 227–228.

²⁴ PÁZMÁNY 1983, 35.

²⁵ BENDA 1978, 228.

²⁶ ACSÁDY 1897, 639

²⁷ PPÖL I, 26–29.

based on realpolitik, in so far as he considered it more expedient to make concessions in the prevailing situation.

Also on the basis of the Peace of Vienna, the same Diet of 1608 planned to deprive the Jesuits of their possessions and order their exile. It was at this time that Pázmány wrote his petition defending the interests of the Society of Jesus, mainly addressed to the Catholic nobles and magnates, which appeared in 20th century editions under the title *Libellus apologeticus Petri Pazmani pro Societate Iesu Hungarica, ad proceres regni Hungariae*.²⁸ In his argument, Pázmány invoked the very article of the Peace of Vienna, which guaranteed religious freedom, and demanded that the decrees against the Jesuit order be changed, since they guaranteed Protestants the free exercise of their religion “without prejudice to the Catholic religion”.²⁹

Also related to the 1608 Diet is Pázmány’s Latin-language welcome speech, with which Bálint Lépes, represented by Cardinal Forgách, greeted Archduke Matthias on his arrival at the king-electing and coronation Diet.³⁰ The speech is in keeping with the traditional idea of apostolic kingship and with Pázmány’s views on the free exercise of religion as expressed in his *Memorandum on the Free Exercise of Religion*. According to this, the future King Matthias II should also excel in the spread of “vera religio” (true religion) and “verus cultus” (true worship), thus serving the glory of God.³¹

Pázmány’s speech, written in classical Latin, is not the only official document he edited on Forgách’s behalf. He is also probably the author of the archbishop’s protest against the synod of the Lutherans of ten „Cis-Danubian” counties which met in March 1610 in Zsolna and its decisions. The Lutherans, under the patronage of the Primate, György Thurzó, did not leave the Primate’s resolution unchallenged. Their brief, clearly worded response, the *Apologia*, resulted in a minor pamphlet battle in which Pázmány came up with two unusual Latin-language writings.³² The *Peniculus Papporum* and *Logi alogi* are, according to Sándor Sík, “two

²⁸ PPOO VI, 189–193; PPÖL I, 22–26.

²⁹ BENDA 1978, 228.

³⁰ PPÖL I, 29–35.

³¹ PÁZMÁNY 1983, 37.

³² PÁZMÁNY 1610/1611, PPOO VI, 197–271; PÁZMÁNY 1612, PPOO VI, 287–468, PÁZMÁNY 1613, App., 1–118.

of Pázmány's most enigmatic works".³³ Published under the pseudonym of Johannes Jemicus, the Latin, which cannot be called classical, is rather demanding, complicated and difficult to understand; the style is excessively rhetorical, the tone is often coarse and even obscene. Alongside the reasoned argumentation, the work often contains mannerist digressions (*egressus*, *digressio*), which seek to impress the reader with surprising sensory effects, strange associations and startling images. The pamphlet *Anonymi sycophantae glomeratae criminationes*, published as an appendix to *Peniculus papporum*, which refutes the anti-papal mockery of an unknown buckwheat preacher, is also characterised by a highly mocking and obscene tone.³⁴

Pázmány's pamphlets of a political nature written during the civil war (1619–1621) led by the Prince of Transylvania Gábor Bethlen (1613–1629) are characterised by a much more simplified rhetoric and a Latinate style approaching the standard language. The Archbishop of Esztergom was forced to flee from Bethlen and his allies to Vienna, together with the bishop's staff. There he wrote a treatise entitled *Falsae originis motuum Hungaricorum succincta refutatio*, in which he refuted the grievances of the Protestant orders, collected and printed at the Diet of November 1619.³⁵ Although the subject matter was Hungarian, it was published first in Latin and later in German, and Pázmány eventually translated his own work into Hungarian.³⁶ He published it with the Latin text in 1620. The bilingual publication is interesting for us because a joint examination of the Latin and the Hungarian versions reveals how Pázmány understood his own Latin text.

Away from his diocese, Pázmány sought to influence matters affecting the Catholic Church as a prominent participant in court politics. As a confidential adviser to King Ferdinand II, he was probably the author and compiler of many official Latin-language treatises and documents.³⁷ From his forced emigration to Vienna, we know of two writings of hitherto

³³ SIK 1939, 410. For more on the works, see BÁTHORY 2018; BÁTHORY 2019a.

³⁴ PPOO VI, 272–286. The *Anonymi sycophantae glomeratae criminationes*, like the *Logi alogi*, was published as an appendix to the first edition of the *Kalauz*. PÁZMÁNY 1613, *Appendix*, 118–126.

³⁵ PÁZMÁNY 1619. On the work, KÁRMÁN 2019, 164–175.

³⁶ PÁZMÁNY 1620a, PPOO VI, 469–519.

³⁷ FRANKL 1868, 544.

unknown authorship which we can identify with a high degree of probability as the works of Pázmány. One is the anonymous discussion paper *Calvino-Praedicantium Ungarorum genius malus*, written in response to a pamphlet by Pázmány's main political and denominational opponent, the Calvinist Péter Alvinci, entitled *Machiavellizatio*.³⁸ The literature has rejected Pázmány's authorship in the absence of a more thorough examination, although there are many arguments, mainly based on its subject, in favour of it.³⁹ There are also content-related arguments, mostly parallels with other Pázmány writings, that the imperial decree issued after the fall of Bethlen's campaign, which annulled the decrees of the Diet of Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica, June–August 1620) and the election of the reformed Gábor Bethlen as king, may also have been partly or partly the work of Pázmány.⁴⁰ The *Edictalis Cassatio* then served as a convenient legitimating background for Pázmány's final, politically motivated treatise, entitled *Vindiciae ecclesiasticae*.⁴¹ The work clearly held Bethlen and his party members responsible for the outbreak of the civil war, and argued convincingly that since the Diet of Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica) was illegitimate, the decisions taken there could indeed be considered null and void.⁴²

Pázmány was able to return to his homeland in 1622, where he could finally work directly on church affairs. An important aspect of his efforts in church government was to conform to the ideals and decisions of the Council of Trent. In 1630, in order to unify the liturgy, he succeeded in persuading the Hungarian episcopate to abandon the most widespread version of the Roman rite in Hungary, the Esztergom rite. Before that (in 1625), however, he published the *Rituale Strigoniense*, which covered rituals other than the Mass and the canonical hours, which could be performed not only by the bishop.⁴³ To ensure transparent governance, Pázmány held an annual diocesan synod from 1629. The first of these was the Synod of Great Saturday

³⁸ PÁZMÁNY 1620b.

³⁹ ALMÁSI 2014, 116.

⁴⁰ About the editions of PÁZMÁNY 1620c: KÁRMÁN 2020, 171.

⁴¹ PÁZMÁNY 1620d, PPOO, 521–565.

⁴² For more on *Vindiciae*, see BÁTHORY 2019b. BÁTHORY 2019c.

⁴³ PÁZMÁNY 1625.

in 1629, which gave directives on, for example, the liturgy, apostolic activity and spiritual life. The minutes and decisions of the synod, with Pázmány as the author, were also published in Pozsony (Bratislava) (*Acta et decreta synodi dioeceseanae Strigoniensis* [...]).⁴⁴ The three appendices to the publication are an important source of Hungarian church history. In the first one, we find a description of the state of the diocese of Esztergom and a list of its parishes. The second appendix gives a list of the former monasteries in Hungary, and the third enumerates the archbishop's privileges.

Pázmány published one last Latin-language religious treatise, anonymously, in Pozsony (Bratislava) in 1631. However, *Dissertatio an unum aliquid ex omnibus Lutheranis dogmatibus Romanae Ecclesiae adversantibus Scriptura Sacra contineat* did not leave the press without precedent.⁴⁵ The *Dissertatio* was the fifth in a series of disputes between Pázmány and the Lutheran superintendent Jan Hodik of Trencsén (Trenčín).⁴⁶ The dispute began when the Catholics sent a handwritten Latin-language discussion paper (*Thema papisticum provocatorium, anno 1630 die 23. Januarii transmissum*) to Trencsén on 23 January 1630 with provocative intent.⁴⁷ To this, Hodik wrote a reply (*Consideratio [...] propositionis papisticae*),⁴⁸ to which Pázmány responded anonymously with his manuscript work *Breve responsum ad Considerationem*.⁴⁹ This was refuted by Hodik's *Hyperaspistes*, for which Pázmány then wrote the *Dissertatio*.⁵⁰ Surprisingly, however, unlike usual, Pázmány did not have the last word: as far as we know, Hodik closed the debate with his *Statera Dissertationis*.⁵¹ Thanks to Hodik, *Breve responsum ad Considerationem* was published in print in 1632, after the superintendent of Trencsén had collected the entire course of the controversy in one volume, with the exception of the already printed *Dissertatio*.

⁴⁴ PÁZMÁNY 1629, PPOO VI, 567–671.

⁴⁵ PÁZMÁNY 1631; PPOO VI, 673–697; HELTAI 2005, 130.

⁴⁶ Hodik has published the complete series of debates, with the exception of Pázmány's *Dissertatio*. HODIK 1632.

⁴⁷ HODIK 1632, [11].

⁴⁸ HODIK 1632, 12–33.

⁴⁹ HODIK 1632, 34–40.

⁵⁰ HODIK 1632, 41–84.

⁵¹ HODIK 1632, 85–240.

Both the *Breve responsum* and the *Dissertatio* were written by Pázmány to persuade an unnamed young Hungarian nobleman, presumably Ádám Batthyány, who had been converted to Catholicism by him.⁵² The works, in a moderate tone, emphasising rational persuasion, address three general questions. Does Scripture teach that the Pope is not the head of the Church? Can we be convinced from Scripture that faith alone saves? Does the Word of God assure man of his own salvation?⁵³

The final piece of the last volume of the *Opera Omnia* is the *Cardinalis Pasmanni ad Pontificem Urbanum VIII Anno M. DC. XXXII Legati Caesarii Oratio*, i.e. the speech of Pázmány addressed to Pope Urban VIII, delivered in Rome on 6 April 1632.⁵⁴ The purpose of the journey to Rome was for Pázmány, as Emperor Ferdinand II's legate extraordinary, to inform the Pope of the situation of the Thirty Years' War, which threatened Catholicism as a whole, and to persuade him to join a later Catholic league and contribute to the costs of the war.⁵⁵ Pázmány wrote a detailed final report of his trip to Rome in the form of a letter, which appeared in several editions *Relatio legationis Romanae, quam obiit Card. Petrus Pázmány jussu Caesariae Majestatis apud Suam Sanctitatem anno 1632*.⁵⁶ More recently, Péter Tusor has drawn attention to the fact that Pázmány himself compiled the most important documents (notes, letters) of his legation for later publication in a volume.⁵⁷

At the end of the outline of the Latin works, we must also mention Pázmány's correspondence. This is justified by the fact that several of his writings of a non-missile epistolary nature – for example, his political petition and memoir of 1608, already mentioned, and his subsequent account of 1632 – were published in two volumes of his *Collected Letters*. A collection of letters written exclusively by Pázmány, intended to be complete, was published by Ferenc Hanuy in 1910–1911, preceded by the publication of parts of the correspondence by Jakab Ferdinand Miller and Vilmos

⁵² RMNy 1983, 517, no. 1512.

⁵³ FRANKL 1869, 423; SIK 1939, 422.

⁵⁴ PPOO VI, 699–710; PPÖL II, 256–261.

⁵⁵ BECKER–TUSOR 2019, 178–179.

⁵⁶ PPÖL II, 315–328.

⁵⁷ BECKER–TUSOR 2019, 306–308.

Fraknoi⁵⁸ and several additional publications of letters. In the Hanuy edition, more than seventy percent of the letters were written in Latin, a proportion that reflects the prominence of the classical language in the period: in addition to being a language of scholarship, it was also the *lingua franca* of official and international communication.



⁵⁸ PPÖL I–II; MILLER 1822; FRANKL 1869, 187.

István Bitskey

PIETAS, ERUDITIO, ELOQUENTIA: THE *PRÉDIKÁCIÓK*

Towards the end of his life, after three decades of preaching, Péter Pázmány decided to publish his sermons in a single volume. In 1636, a representative collection of sermons was published in Pozsony (Bratislava) by the archbishop's printing house, with the full title, *A római anyaszentegyház szokásából minden vasárnapokra és egynéhány ünnepekre rendelt evangéliumokrul prédikációk*.¹ The full text of about a hundred sermons is contained in the 1300-page volume, which took three years to print. Sermons for every Sunday of the church year and for the major feasts are included, and some are even accompanied by conclusions. This impressive collection of sermons was also intended by the author to serve as a model for the Catholic clergy. For some Sundays, he wrote two sermons, giving the speakers of the faith the opportunity to choose and vary the sermons they used. Among the Sunday sermons (*de tempore*), six solemn sermons (*de sanctis*) are included in the volume, these being typical of the revival of the cult of the saints at the time.

In the Catholic Church in Hungary, which was reorganized after the *Concilium Tridentinum* (Council of Trent), such a work was a missing piece, since with the spread of Protestantism, the training of priests was also in a period of crisis, and the number of speakers loyal to Rome was greatly reduced.² This is why the archbishop saw the need to publish his

¹ RMNy 2000, 1659; Modern edition: PPÖM VI, PPÖM VII.

² BITSKEY 1979, 44–48; BITSKEY 2019, 229–231.

collection of sermons in print, following his writings on the faith, which were intended to serve spiritual edification, to transmit moral norms and to guide the Catholic way of life. His declared aim was moral education, to promote the practice of piety (*pietas*), for which he considered it essential to mobilise a high level of education, erudition (*eruditio*) and the rhetorical tools and possibilities of eloquence (*eloquentia*). It is the simultaneous presence of all these elements and their organising power that made the collection of sermons a representative literary work.

PIETAS: “IMPROVEMENT OF MORALS”

Three dedications introduce the volume. The first is “to the Trinity of God”, and already here the author declares the essence of the *ars praedicandi* he follows, the focus on moral utility (*utilitas*). The second recommendation is addressed to Christian readers, the third to preachers. In these, the author explains that it is not pleasure (*delectare*) but teaching (*docere*) and spiritual profit, the formation of conviction (*movere, flectere*), that should guide the activity of the faithful speaker, and that the communities of the faithful, the communities of the recipients, should also strive to obtain moral profit. Since the systematic, scholarly exposition of Catholic doctrines of faith has been previously set out in depth in his “polemical writings” and in his theological synthesis, the *Kalauz*, he refers to them here only briefly, deliberately avoiding interdenominational disputes of faith. He has also always explained the fundamental doctrines of the faith in a clear and accessible way, a striking example being his exposition of the Trinity. Explaining the dogma of the Trinity in a rhetorical, popular way was understandably one of the most difficult tasks, and Pázmány achieved this to a high standard in his discourse on the mystery of the Trinity. He illuminates the doctrine with natural imagery: just as water has three states of matter, yet its matrix is one, so the *trinitas* is the same substance in the three persons.

It goes without saying that some of the sermons deal with the story of the Passion of Christ, in which Pázmány always expresses a moral theme, lessons and admonitions, in connection with the Gospel, starting

from the biblical story. Many of the sermons are of a pastoral nature, linked to the spirit of St. Ignatius, and offer support for a pious life. The rhetorical forms of the texts achieved this aim: frequent questions, exclamations, metaphors, proverbs, images of nature, evoked the visuality of the style. But Pázmány was far from seeking to dazzle and delight the receptive community, he sought to give a total world view, to give a vision of existence.

The *propositio* of many of these speeches promises a discussion of a sin or virtue, and shows this by illustrating a craft or occupation in connection with a segment of everyday life. Some speeches are addressed to people on the margins of society, such as widows, orphans, the destitute and the sick, and seek to comfort them. Special sermons are devoted to mercy, charity, love of neighbour, humility, moderation and many other virtues. In many cases the author speaks of the importance of self-knowledge, the essence of human nature. He argues that man, compared with other creatures, is weak, sinful, ignorant, a toy of fate and fortune, a creature of anxiety and fear. On the other hand, however, he also describes the paths to happiness, discussing the horrors of hell and the joys of heaven, offering the Christian man a way of response.

The ideal of a consolidated, peaceful, hierarchically ordered society unfolds in the pages of the book. This has been discussed at length in the literature, but we can illustrate it here by mentioning just a few typical themes. These include, for example, the discussion of judges and the just administration of justice.³ According to this, society needs them to maintain order and public safety, to punish the guilty, but only a just verdict can be final, and there is no place for revenge in the Christian community. Justice in this country is like the government in the ship, it must administer public affairs. Pázmány also senses that the misfortunes suffered by the innocent are a source of much doubt among Christian believers. His response is expressed in metaphors: just as the grater cleans the iron from rust, so too the sufferings purify and ennoble human morals.

It is well known that one of the main aims of the Council of Trent was to consolidate ecclesiastical discipline, and it is understandable that one

³ PPÖM VI, 803.

of Pázmány's speeches is based on this idea in his teaching on the position of bishops. He sets St. Adalbert as a role model for them, and stresses their responsibility towards their parishioners. He condemns the accumulation of wealth and the sale of ecclesiastical offices, and recognises only vocation as a legitimate basis for the occupation of the archpastoral chair. The idealised episcopal personality is presented as possessing many virtues, and the need for conversion is emphasised. The post-Tridentine archpriesthood, working for his parishioners, living with them and, if necessary, fighting for them, thus emerges from the discussion.

In the Carpathian Basin, which was plagued by battles, it was particularly important to clarify the forms of warfare in the Christian way and to explain the possibilities of moral warfare. The social role of the military virtues required reassessment after the Council of Trent, and it became questionable whether the extinction of human life in defence of the religion of love could be justified. The story of St Martin of Tours (who was born in Savaria of Pannonia), a soldier turned bishop, provided an excellent opportunity to develop this theme, and the speech dedicated to him discusses it in detail.⁴ The soldier who fights against the heathen, who prays and fasts before battle, who does not plunder or pillage, who cares for women and children, and who gives thanks to God for his victory at the end of the battle, is the ideal of the soldier of St. Paul. The sermon is a Christian adaptation of the *virtus militaris*, a *virtus* which is particularly valued in Hungarian society, and the sermon is an imagination of the figure of *athleta Christi*. In this context, the issue of the Turkish conquest could not go unmentioned, either the archbishop had to brief the faithful on the calamity caused by the Turkish expansion. It was "God's scourge" for the sins of Christianity, writes Pázmány, but he still considers defensive warfare to be justified and warranted. As he explains, God is testing the Hungarians in this way, but at the same time giving them the opportunity to defend their homeland, their families, their religion and the whole Christianity.

The issue of child-rearing was also a major social issue of the period. There are several sermons on the subject, one dedicated by Pázmány to the

⁴ PPÖM VII, 679–693.

moral education of girls and one to that of boys. Pázmány describes in detail the situation of girls, their dress, their occupations, and the need for schooling. He denounces parents who consider only wealth as the sole criterion for the marriage of girls, and emphasises instead the importance of moral considerations.⁵ In the education of sons, he also takes loyalty to the Church and to the country as the yardstick.⁶

A significant contribution to the success of the collection of speeches was that it dealt with topical issues, explored the current issues and dilemmas of contemporary society, and was highly adaptable to the intellectual needs of its adherents. Lords and subjects, burghers/citizens and serfs, industrialists and farmers, merchants and soldiers, mercenaries and ‘Christian soldiers’, monks and priests, parents and children, sons and daughters, old and young, widows and orphans, the sick and the healthy, could find in his texts the admonitions, advice and moral standards that were tailored to their needs. People from different backgrounds could feel that the teachings were addressed to them and that they could be edified by them. The speeches reveal a knowledge of general human frailties, spiritual processes and moral dilemmas. The texts reveal a unified, complete world-view and a system of values, and their community of recipients could gain a sense of security from them. In them, he does not argue with Protestants, does not speak of heretics, and seeks to provide his own denomination with moral teaching. These are constructive reflections, obviously driven by the author’s desire to develop a model of post-Tridentine Catholic society in Hungary.

Everything in Pázmány’s style of lecturing was intended to convert the broadest possible circles of society. He wanted to address the Hungarian society as a whole, so it is understandable that the author of the sermons was honoured by posterity with the names “the father of Hungarian prose” and “the Hungarian Cardinal Cicero”. The extraordinary impact of the sermons, mostly delivered in Pozsony (Bratislava) and Nagyszombat (Trnava), was acknowledged even by Protestants, and the sermon book was regarded as a model by the Catholic clergy for the next century and a half, and some of his

⁵ PPÖM VII, 614–633.

⁶ PPÖM VI, 250.

speeches were even used by Protestants. His success was undoubtedly due to the fact that all the experience Pázmány had acquired in his earlier teaching, ecclesiastical and political activities about human qualities, the problems of everyday life and the structure of society was summarised in his speeches.

ERUDITIO: “WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS”

Another feature of the sermons is the extraordinary diversity of the sources used. “I am not a servant, but an equal to the ancients”, he declares in the introduction, and follows this principle in his citation practice. Even though he had at his disposal several collections of quotations of the period (*florilegium*, *thesaurus*, *concordancia*), he largely used the original works, as the precise page references show.⁷

It goes without saying that the *Bible* is at the top of his list of quotations. He uses almost all of its books, mostly the Psalms, which sometimes gives his text a lyrical tone. On the one hand, this was a response to Protestantism’s *Bible*-centred approach, indicating a Catholic commitment to Scripture. On the other hand, it reinforced the figurative nature of the style, with a wealth of parables to reinforce the impact of his teaching, most often using the Gospel of Matthew as an example. Among the Church Fathers, he draws most of his inspiration from Augustine, quoting from one of his works in more than 350 instances, and the more important ones (*De doctrina christiana*, *Confessiones*, *De civitate Dei*, *Sermones*) very frequently. Since the Bishop of Hippo was also highly respected by Protestantism. Catholicism, which sought to convert, win converts and regain ground and position, could also turn to his works for a common ground between the two polemical denominations. In the historical context, many of Augustine’s moral counsels and instructions could be updated, and Pázmány exploited them with good sense. In addition to the *Bible*, Augustine’s texts can be shown to have almost permeated Pázmány’s style of discourse, and he renders the Latin quotations with the stylistic turns of the spoken Hungarian language.

⁷ RAJHONA 2006, 113–124.

St Jerome (Hieronymus) is quoted much less often in the sermons, but he also quotes a lot, mainly from his *Bible* commentaries and his epistles on the Holy Scriptures. For Pázmány, St Jerome was the “vir trilinguis”, the learned exegete who interpreted the text of the *Bible* with philological reliability. In addition to them, the sermons also include the voices of almost all the great ancient Christian authorities. This is a clear indication of the Tridentine position that, alongside the *Bible*, the literary achievements of the post-biblical tradition, patristics, are also a cherished heritage of the Roman Church.

The biblical commitment was by no means an obstacle to Pázmány’s taking from classical Greco-Roman literature all that could strengthen his moral arguments in a Christianized context. Among the ‘pagan authors’ of antiquity, he drew most often from the works of Aristotle, and the *Nicomachean Ethics* offered a particularly rich source of learning and proved to be well suited to Catholic teaching on morality. A good example is the sermon on moderation, which condemns extreme manifestations of human qualities and recommends a life guided by prudence (*prudencia*). He also often cites Seneca, whose maxims on Stoic morality, his parable stories, formulated ethical norms applicable to all ages, which Pázmány exploited with good sense. In addition to the Latin quotations, he always provides the Hungarian translation, often enlivening the presentation with Hungarian turns of phrase, idioms or proverbs. He even renders the Latin sentences of the *Bible* in his own translation, although he had already had György Káldi’s translation at his disposal since 1626, but he still interpreted the words of Scripture independently, which is a striking sign of his demanding language skills.

In addition to this, the sermons were obviously influenced by St Ignatius of Loyola’s *Exercitia spiritualia*, a book of spiritual exercises, to which he does not refer specifically, but the thematic and spiritual similarities are evident. The book of the founder of the Society of Jesus was the guiding thread of Jesuit education, and Pázmány had already completed the one-month spiritual training prescribed by the book in the novitiate in Krakow, and later completed it again. In his sermons, the influence of Loyola’s spirituality is particularly evident in his discourses on the ultimate goal of human life, the path to salvation, the nature of sin and the themes of eschatology

(death, last judgement, hell, the afterlife). The *Exercitia* placed great emphasis on the emotional deepening of faith and the visualisation of the story of Christ's Passion, which in turn reinforced the pictorial, expressive and baroque character of the performance. The pastoral exercises were intended to give an experiential understanding of faith, and this sensual surplus was visibly transmitted to the texts of the sermons, all of which together took on representative rhetorical forms in the text-organising procedure of the speeches.

Among the medieval authors, he is most influenced by the mysticism of St Bernard and the logical argumentation of St Thomas of Aquinas, whom he quotes several times. There are also less frequent references to the works of contemporary humanist authors, including Erasmus of Rotterdam, Ludovicus Vives, Jean Bodin and Justus Lipsius, which is a sign of the archbishop's wide knowledge. References to Jesuits are rare, in an attempt to soften the polemical tone.

ELOQUENTIA: "FLATTERING WORDS"

Pázmány had already mastered the basics of rhetoric at a young age, at the Jesuit gymnasium in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), and his philosophical and Roman theological studies in Vienna deepened his knowledge of *eloquentia sacra*.⁸ Everywhere, Jesuit rhetoric sought to adapt the results of ancient rhetoric, using the manuals of Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian in a Christianised spirit.⁹ The linguistic forms of the post-Tridentine ecclesiastical rhetorical manuals (including the works of Ludovicus Granatensis, Carolus Regius and others), which were elaborated in detail in Latin, were adapted by Pázmány with a high degree of linguistic invention into the Hungarian spoken language, thus making his style a linguistic force. The structure of his speeches also followed a strict logical order, and the overly decorative, sometimes exuberant style of his contemporaries, both in Latin and in Hungarian, was as alien to him. Although he was fond

⁸ ÖRY 1970, 22–26, 76–81, 114–116.

⁹ BARNER 1970, 321–331; BAUER 1986, 233–242.

of circular sentences, Pázmány's rendering of them always remained well structured, proportionate and clear, always keeping in mind the needs and expectations of his audience. Although he himself did not write a theory of preaching, the *ars praedicandi* he followed is clearly evident from his discourses. The Gospel passage was followed by a short introduction (*exordium*), then an explanation (*narratio*), and the proposition (*propositio*) clearly stated the subject to be expounded. Subsequent elaboration mostly took the form of *argumentatio* and *confutatio*, and finally the conclusion (*conclusio*) concluded the speech with a moral lesson.¹⁰

An important component of his preaching mentality was that he attributed extraordinary power to the expressive power of language. His discourse on the fifth Sunday after Pentecost, on “the vices of the tongue”, is ostensibly a moral treatise, but in fact it can be considered a treatise on the philosophy of language.¹¹ Its *Leitmotiv* is a quotation from Plutarch: *Lingua fortuna, lingua daemon*, i.e.: language is good luck, but it can also be a devil. These words accurately characterise the duality of the understanding of language: human language can be a means of salvation or damnation, and words spoken can be the cause of all good and all sin. According to him, the development of language was the main feature of human existence, the turning point in the history of civilisation. In his hymn-like eulogy on language, he wrote: “Language, if it instructs, frees from ignorance; if it sings, delights; if it rebukes, improves; if it encourages, chastises; if it encourages, comforts; if it threatens, arrests. It is to language that we owe the wild and unwise ways of men that they have gone to cities and learned to live human lives. It is because of language that the wise sciences have spread”.¹² These lines speak with full awareness of the manifold functions of language and its role in determining human life. The rest of this discourse also refers to the tongue as the most important part of the human body in an anatomical sense, and here he refers to the chronicles of various saints who speak of tongues remaining intact in the bodies of the dead (e.g. in the case of St Anthony of Padua and St Bonaventure). Beyond this, he attributed to the human

¹⁰ BARTÓK 2001, 322–337.

¹¹ PPÖM VII, 215–231.

¹² PPÖM VI, 218–219.

word a decisive importance in the history of salvation, proclaiming the status of *eloquentia sacra*, and all his utterances, in Latin and in Hungarian, proclaim the power of language. Although he denounced over-ornamented speech, self-serving linguistic ‘flourishes’ and the unnecessary search for ‘sweetened words’, he himself made ample use of the linguistic effects of rhetorical figures. The majority of his speeches can therefore be classified as deliberative in the classical rhetorical sense (*genus deliberativum*), while the ceremonial orations belong to the praising, demonstrative type (*genus demonstrativum*). All the major forms of ancient rhetoric are included in the texts, and the rules are followed to make the discourse clear.

THE AFTERMATH OF THE SERMONS

In the century and a half following its publication, the collection of sermons had a strikingly significant impact on the practice of the Hungarian-language homiletics – and, beyond that, on the mentality of the Catholic population. The topicality of the themes, the comprehensibility of the style, the logical structure, the imaginative use of language, but also the cardinal archbishop’s authority as author, all contributed to this. According to research on the history of the book, it was found in the collection of many ecclesiastical institutions and monastic libraries, but a lot of parishes also kept copies, and research currently records 66 original copies, a high number for the time.¹³ Protestant libraries also acquired copies, and aristocratic families received them, including the author himself, who sent a signed copy to György I Rákóczi, the Protestant Prince of Transylvania. Catholic preachers not only used the texts as a model, but often also as a source, incorporating certain passages into their own texts, and in many cases philological research has shown that the texts were compilations, rewritings, adaptations, and sometimes only a mere adherence to the ideas of the Pázmány text. Such renowned religious scholars as the Franciscan Kelemen Didák, the Pauline Zsigmond Csúzy and many others have also exploited

¹³ RMNy 2000, 1659.

Pázmány's texts.¹⁴ Pázmány's influence can even be detected in the Slovak-language preaching practice in Upper Hungary, with manuscripts of Slovak translations of several of his sermons.¹⁵

The ethics of the post-Tridentine sermons and the guidance for life can thus show a rich afterlife, influencing the most diverse strata of society for generations and contributing to the process of Catholic renewal in the Catholic regions of the Carpathian Basin. The collection of sermons is part of the Central European context that brought about the renewal of the genre of the homily in the mother tongue. In the German-speaking world, Peter Canisius, Georg Scherer (later Abraham of Sancta Clara), in Poland Piotr Skarga, the royal court of Krakow, and in Croatia Juraj Habelić, rector of the Jesuit College of Zagreb, were well-known exponents of this tradition.¹⁶ Through rivalry with Protestant preachers, they all helped to develop the national language and reorganise Catholic institutions and culture.



¹⁴ MACZÁK 2003, 261–266, MACZÁK 2010, 33sqq., OCSKAY 1982, 436–448, HARGITTAY 2013b, 246–256.

¹⁵ HAJTMAN 2013, 238–245.

¹⁶ BITSKEY 1979, 161–167.

Alinka Ajkay, Emil Hargittay

THE HUNGARIAN CARDINAL CICERO

FIGURATIVE EXPRESSION

In the text of his sermon on the testimony of married women, a neighbour offers a bottle of water to a woman whose abusive husband, when he is in a bad mood, should sip from the bottle and not swallow.¹ So Pázmány is not telling the woman to talk less, to stop nagging, but to use an exemplum to make his point. The figurative expression is more specific and characteristic of Pázmány's idiom than that of any of his contemporaries. The Reformed contemporary Péter Alvinczi spoke out against drunkenness: "Look at the healthy old man among us. Where is the fine old council? Where are the strong men? There are none, they have all been devoured by wine!"² Alvinczi's text is classically elaborate, based on the piling up of questions. But note Pázmány on the same subject: "If the strength of the Turkish emperor were brought into a great valley and the wine, which they drank in much drunkenness for the deliverance of Hungary, were poured upon it, there would be no need of any deluge for the Turkish peril; they would all die in wine."³ Here the text acquires more than one meaning, Pázmány both condemns drunkenness and condemns doing nothing to save

¹ PÁZMÁNY 1983, II, 125.

² *A magyar irodalom története* 1964, 136.

³ PÁZMÁNY 2010, 103.

the country, but at the same time the imagery makes the wording memorable. Many other examples could be cited.

Previous scholarship has tried to describe and explain the mystery of Pázmány's linguistic influence. Already from the second half of the 18th century onwards, a series of collections and studies on the subject appeared. They selected sayings, expressions, proverbs and passages from two of his most extensive works, the *Kalauz* and the *Prédikációk*, and also argued that Pázmány had incorporated the turns of the spoken language of the time into his own written language. In the past, this was considered to be a kind of "survival of a kind of indigenous Hungarianism". However, if we look at the question more closely, it is clear that some of the source of the language can be found, partly in the ancient tradition and partly in the texts inspired by the *Bible*. A few examples illustrate this. Pázmány translated from Latin into Hungarian the second most popular (and most published) book after the *Bible* for centuries, Thomas Kempis' collection of meditations on the following of Christ. By comparing the translation with the original, it can be seen that Pázmány's text contains some expressions that are missing in the Latin original, and others that are already there. Some examples: in Kempis, the criticism of bursting: *magis eligunt magni esse, quam humiles*; in Pázmány, "they would rather be very humpbacked than remain humble". So Pázmány's invention is the expression "to hump", which is also a means of irony through its imagery. In other cases, the image used by Pázmány is already in Kempis' Latin, e.g. "who has even a spark of true love", in Kempis' Latin: *qui scintillam haberet verae charitatis*. Or: "I am sitting like a sparrow alone upon the house top", in Kempis: *sede, tamquam passer solitarius in tecto*.⁴ But if we look for the older origins of the passages in the Latin original, we come to the text of the *Bible*. Already in Kempis' Latin the text of the *Bible* functions as a language, Pázmány translates it into Hungarian, and the biblical images are now in the Hungarian language of the 17th century. The last of the three examples quoted, the simile of the "sparrow on the roof of the house", is already in Psalm 101, verse 8: "Sleep flies away and I complain like a forsaken bird on the housetop".

⁴ LUKÁCSY 1994; HARGITTAY 2013a.

EDITING METHOD

In all his works, the typical editorial feature of scholastic thinking is evident: the posing of an opening question to prove a statement, the answering of the question, the justification of the answer in crucial points, the refutation of opposing opinions in crucial points. In all this, the use of historical and literary examples and exemplars is typical, as is the concise formulation of the message in syllogisms. In the *Kalauz*, for example, there are some eighty syllogisms, which Pázmány had printed in different fonts. The short, concise form, based on two premises followed by a conclusion, was favoured by Pázmány because his debating opponents disliked it: “I put my testimonies, by which I either besiege the new sciences or assert the old truth, for the most part, according to the law of the dialecticians, in forma, in short bonds and in a certain form, so that their strength may be more clearly shown. Those who have broken the yoke of Christ do not like to fight within such a tight boundary”.⁵ The scholastic, logical hierarchical style of editing was very much in favour of the treatises, for it was in these works that the most consistent argumentation and elaborate confutation and refutation were required. It is also evident that Pázmány had thoroughly mastered the scholastic style of editing during his studies, and that he himself put it into practice in his philosophical and theological writings, which ran to thousands of pages. But the rhetorical elements of ancient oratory are also abundantly evident in the *Prédikációk*. Of the structural elements of the *oratio*, the central part, the *propositio*, the short, concise formulation of the subject of the speech, was always emphasised by Pázmány in his sermons, and the word *propositio* itself was always printed in the appropriate place in the margin. In most cases, Pázmány wrote several sermons on a single passage of Scripture, and – perhaps as a result – he treated the subject more freely, in many cases departing more boldly from the specific Gospel text. In some cases, he sticks to the *postilla* in terms of genre, i.e. he explains the Gospel text, but there are also cases where he speaks quite freely on other topics, even if only referring to the *Bible* as a starting point. Thus the two basic types of sermon, the homily and the *sermo*,

⁵ PÁZMÁNY 1637/2000, viij.

are separated. This can be observed, for example, in the sermons of the 23rd Sunday after Pentecost. In the Gospel passage belonging to this section, there is the miraculous story of two different persons, the resurrection of Jairus' daughter and the healing of the woman with issue of blood (Mt 9:18–27; Mc 5:22–43; Luc 8:41–56). For this section, Pázmány wrote two sermons, the first one on *How to educate a Christian girl*. This is one of the most quoted texts, since he goes far beyond most of his contemporaries on the subject of educating girls by devoting a separate sermon to this topic. The second is *How Death is a Desirable Good*. Both are markedly different from the specific Gospel text.

PHILOLOGICAL AWARENESS

Pázmány did not consider any of his works to be the definitive text, whether in manuscript or in print. He repeatedly revised many thousands of pages of Latin and Hungarian works. Traces of these corrections can be seen, for example, in the manuscripts of the Graz University Lectures that are kept in the University Library (Eötvös Loránd University) in Budapest. Many corrections survive in the first editions of several of his printed works. He had separate blank pages bound into the volumes, on which he recorded his additions and corrections. Pázmány was a conscious philologist. He wrote recommendations and prefaces to his works, and at the end of the books, if necessary, he included a list of *typos*. If someone had taken over a text from him under his own name, he would complain about it. In his discussion papers, he was always correcting his opponents' inaccurate references and quotations, and he himself gave the exact location of his quoted sources, with page-by-page precision, wherever possible. Even in his smaller works there are hundreds of marginal references. His quotations are in italics, and in his sermons he also translated the Latin quotations so that the “common people” could understand exactly what he was trying to say. His sermons, which focused on the utilitarian aspect in the moral sense, were also intended as a model of exhortation for the generations that followed him. His wish was fulfilled, for even in the 18th century long passages from his sermons were still being taken up not only by Catholic

but also by Protestant authors. According to the surviving data and texts, Pázmány was one of the first consciously creative individuals in the history of Hungarian literature in the modern sense.

THE VARIETY OF RHETORICAL FORMS

Generally speaking, the dialogue position of Pázmány's treatises can be said (with the exception of special rhetorical-stylistic solutions of *Őt szép levél* and of *Bizonyos okok*) that, in addition to the recommendations addressed to a specific person, he addresses the Christian reader in general. Thus he targets the widest readership, the Christian man beyond the different denominations. In each case, Pázmány is seeking to address all Christian believers, not just the specific debating partner. Examining the discussion papers, we can say that Pázmány speaks in a double dialogue and discourse.⁶ This means that he has different stylistic features when he is addressing a specific debater and when he is addressing a wider readership. In passages addressed to a specific interlocutor, the opponent is usually addressed in the singular second person, and the style of these passages is much more forceful, if you like: ironic, sarcastic, condescending, but also more colourful and more relaxed. It is here that we find Pázmány's mockingly superior tone, his personal remarks, and often the colouring of these texts with colloquial phrases. The more general passages in the third person singular, addressed to a wide readership, are written in a more restrained, scholarly style, a stage for calm persuasion, in which the message is supported by a rich annotation. These contain logical reasoning, exposition of the doctrines of the faith, and commentary from classical and modern authorities.

If we look at the person of the interlocutors, Pázmány's works can also be classified into several groups. In his supposed first polemic (*Tíz bizonyosság*), he does not yet have a specific opponent, a response to a specific work, and he tries to refute all heresies in general. Of the two great opponents of Protestantism (Luther and Calvin), he speaks here mainly of Luther's

⁶ THIMÁR 1999, 123.

person and teachings, but Calvin is also mentioned. Neither of them is still alive, and both are the subject of untrue exaggerations, with many personal rumours (e.g. Luther's origin, Calvin's being branded by the executioner, etc.), which he of course supports by referring to the works of various authors (for example, he uses the biography of the contemporary Jérôme-Hermès Bolsec for Calvin). He does so as if to defend himself, because when his use of these distasteful allegations of anti-Protestant sectarianism are later thrown at him, he says that he did not say them, he read them and did not claim them, and anyone with sense will know what is true.⁷ However, in these debates, where the persons being addressed is no longer alive, and so cannot respond, what is observed is that the style is not so colourful, not so close to live speech, not so much addressing the opponent, not so ironic or sarcastic. It is mainly a matter of refuting the opponent's views, with more emphasis on theological arguments, even though Pázmány wants to prove his opponent's lack of weight in every case and at every level. He wants both to refute their views, their theological innovations, and to prove that they are not worthy of being followed and respected by the people.

In his responses to some of the authors' works, he speaks in a more direct tone, in which case the interviewee is a concrete interlocutor. Many of his opponents, who Pázmány attacks, are still alive and may even respond to his assertions. He chooses and uses the various rhetorical devices and forms accordingly. There have been several studies on Pázmány's use of rhetorical devices,⁸ but we will now highlight just a few typical examples. Often he colours his sentences with proverbs⁹ (*paroemia*), or with sayings that seem to be proverbs (like "The truth is hard for the frog, and hard for Gyarmathi"¹⁰). These have a colouring function, and sometimes they are a feedback to the original work, because in many cases Pázmány echoes the sentences of his interlocutor, turning them to his own benefit. Folkloric expressions also add colour to the style ("But the thief will avoid the gallows until he finally finds it: the cat will play with the mouse until he finally tears

⁷ PÁZMÁNY 1614c, 35.

⁸ BALÁZS 1998; BITSKEY 1999; DEÁK 2003; EGERER 2013.

⁹ SZAITZ 1788; ERDÉLYI 1851; FULÓP 1887; NIKOLÉNYI 1879; TECHERT 1931; RAJSLI 1998; LIPA 2002.

¹⁰ PÁZMÁNY 1607/2016, 146.

it up.”¹¹), while unexpected, perhaps inappropriate phrases are humorous (“For Mrs Katus, Luther [...] kicked the hood.”¹²). These are ironic, as are the frequent use of imitative words (to chirp, to tweet, to squeal, to shout, to bark – dehumanising the opponent). It uses a number of recurrent degrading devices against its interlocutors, always with the aim of diminishing, reducing or trivialising the person of the interlocutor and, through this, what he or she has to say. The most common types are:

1. Name-calling, nicknames, mocking anagrams, common names e.g. Growles (Csepregians: Imre Zvonarits and Benedek Nagy), Wolf (Péter Pécsváradi), Kid (Benedek Nagy). This category also includes diminutive and practising figurative expressions (írásocska, papírocska – little writing, little paper), which are used to trivialise the works of the interlocutors.

2. Denigrating the external and internal qualities of the opponent – Pázmány criticizes mostly the character and internal qualities of his opponents, especially the fierce, angry insulting tone, as he put it in his *Prédikációk*¹³, what is in the heart of man is also in his mouth, so if someone is constantly dirty, there is also dirt in his heart. Also, quite often Pázmány voices or alludes to the surely diminished intellectual abilities of his interlocutor, on the one hand because he is unable to understand plain speech, and on the other hand because he either went to school late (like Alvinczi) or is simply stupid (“you have a brain like a pumpkin”).

3. The process of travesty, i.e. he follows the thought process and vocabulary of the original work, but twists its meaning, distorts it. One such travesty is the text of Calvin’s *Creed* at the end of “*Calvinus hiszekegy Istene*”, which is completely reversed from its original meaning.¹⁴

¹¹ PÁZMÁNY 1605/2001, 59.

¹² *Ibid.*, 245.

¹³ PÁZMÁNY 1906, 229.

¹⁴ “I. I believe in the devil from hell, the author of all ugly sins, the cruel stepfather, the Powerless, not God. II. and not in Jesus Christ, not in his Son, not in our Lord: III. not the Son of God, but another person conceived of the Holy Ghost, and deprived of wisdom, born of sin, not of the Virgin Mary. IV. who being tormented in vain under Pontius Pilate, was

4. Quoting the opponent's sentence and commenting on it, adding his own sarcastic comment. One example is the following: "In heaven, says Luther, there will be beautiful trees and flowers. The fields will shine like emeralds. The bugs, mice and other smelly animals will have a beautiful smell. There will be beautiful dogs and cats to play with. My Luther will want to go to heaven with the dogs and cats, but he will obviously cry out with the dogs."¹⁵

5. Crude/obscene elements in the text (swill, dung, pig, belch, vomit) - can apply to both people and text; expressions of (sub)corporeality (disease, digestion, birth, death) – ("Luther said, it is fitting to know that the science of the immortality of souls is a matter of opinion in the Papa chamberlain's chair."¹⁶). On the death of Calvin, he writes: "The body of the pubis was consumed with lice, and was so infested with worms that no man could suffer the horrible stench of them."¹⁷; Of Luther's birth, he comments: "His mother was a maid in a bath-house, who, being imprinted by the devil, gave birth to Luther, not by the course of nature, from a man, but by the craft of the devil."¹⁸

crucified, despairing, and murmuring against his Father from his sudden and intemperate impulses, died against his will, and by his death left us nothing but an example of despair: V. He went not to hell, because hell, being nothing else than the thought of man, but judging that he was forsaken of God, and alienated, suffered in his soul the torment of the damned: VI. He went not to a certain place in heaven, but for a time became Vicar of God, but at last this honourable office was taken from him: VII. Thence he comes, but not to judge, a person of discerning judges, to be deprived of his kingdom. VIII I believe in such a holy Spirit, which is not a distinct person from the Father, but a power of his nature, Nor is he of the Father: in him neither ought we to believe, because he neither taught the Apostles well, nor justified the faithful well: IX. I believe that for a few hundred years there was no Mother Church, And that the holiness of it was an abomination, and its doctrine an error, and being invisible, its motherly ministry cannot be to us: and in which every man to himself. X. I believe that the sins of man shall never be forgiven, but by faith alone God will impute to us the forgiveness of sins. XII I believe that in happiness no man goeth to judgment, and that there is no certain place for the blessed, and that it is by faith alone that we must go to happiness."

¹⁵ PÁZMÁNY 2001, 192.

¹⁶ PÁZMÁNY 2021, 93.

¹⁷ PÁZMÁNY 2001, 61.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 40.

6. Antithesis (*antitheton*) – in the sense that it contrasts the views of opponents (“Caluinus often strikes and slaps the Ubiquists who want to spread the body of Christ to the whole world.”¹⁹)

LINGUISTIC-LITERARY IMPACT

Already one of his contemporaries, the Bavarian Jesuit Jeremias Drexel, called him Tullius in a work dedicated to Pázmány, listing his many merits.²⁰ Subsequently, Pázmány was included in famous 17th-century European handbooks, starting with Philippe Alegambe’s lexicon published in 1643. In Hungary, he was given the epithet ornament “Cardinal Cicero”, which is still used to describe his literary and oratorical skills. The writers of later generations (including Protestants) utilized his sermons in their literary works until the end of the eighteenth century.²¹ In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a series of writers raved about Pázmány’s style, setting his linguistic power as an example. In 1920, Dezső Kosztolányi called Pázmány the “father of Hungarian prose”, and wrote: “There is nothing impossible in this language any more.”²²



¹⁹ PÁZMÁNY 2021, 73.

²⁰ HARGITTAY 2009.

²¹ MACZÁK 2010.

²² KOSZTOLÁNYI 1920.

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Rotterdam (NL)	Vágsellye (Šaľa, SK)
Rozsnyó (Rožňava, SK)	Várad (Nagyvárad; Oradea, RO)
Sárvár (H)	Várpalota (H)
Savaria → Szombathely (H)	Venice (Venezia, I)
Segesvár (Sighișoara, RO)	Veszprém (H)
Somoskő (Somoskőújfalu, H)	Vienna (Wien, A)
Sopron (H)	Vizsoly (H)
Szatmár (Szatmárnémeti; Satu Mare, RO)	Wittenberg (D)
Szécsény (H)	Zágráb (Zagreb, HR)
Székesfehérvár (H)	Znióvárалja (Kláštor pod Znievom, SK)
Szepes (Szepesváralja; Spišské Podhradie, SK)	Zsitvatorok (Žitava, SK)
	Zsolna (Žilina, SK)



ILLUSTRATIONS



1. Unknown artist: Péter Pázmány as Provost of Turóc (Turiec), 1616, oil on canvas, 49 x 40 cm, Pannonhalma Abbey Museum, 277/416sk.



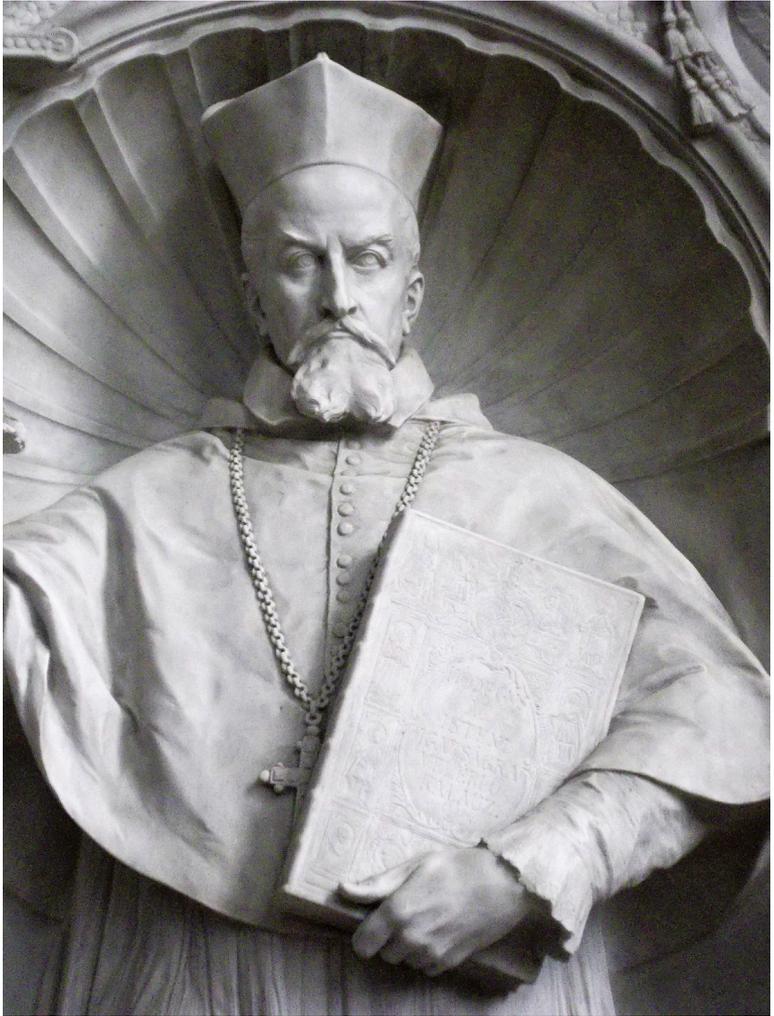
2. Unknown artist: Péter Pázmány, c. 1650, after a portrait painted c. 1610, oil on canvas, 81 x 60 cm, Pannonhalma Abbey Museum, 88sk.



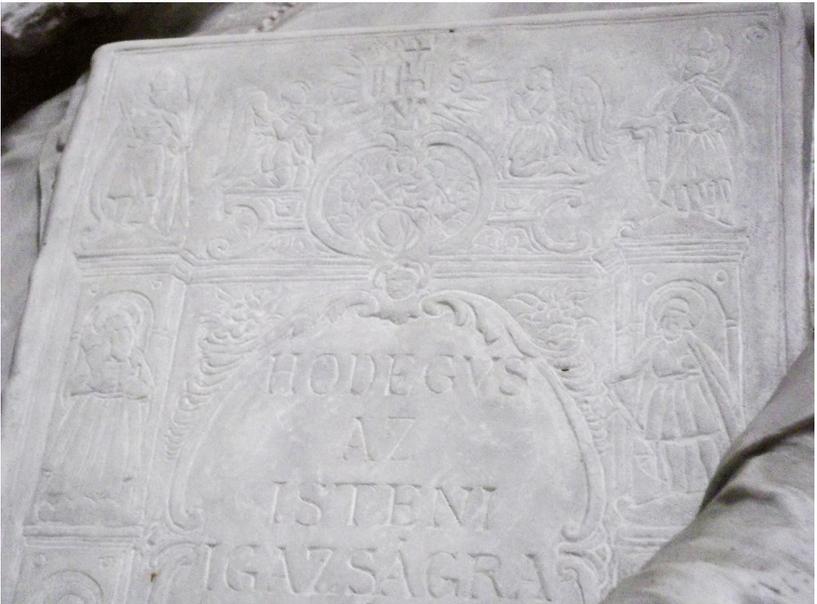
3. Unknown artist: Péter Pázmány, 17th century, oil on canvas, Salamanca, University of Salamanca, Faculty of Theology, Clerecía (claustro). Photo by Péter Bikfalvy.



4. Alajos Rigle: Monument of Péter Pázmány, Pozsony (Bratislava), Cathedral, near the northern wall of the choir, 1914. Photo by Róbert Orbán.









5. The chasuble of Péter Pázmány, Treasury of the Archdiocese of Esztergom. Photo by Attila Mudrák.



6. Pectoral cross of Péter Pázmány, Treasury of the Archdiocese of Esztergom. Photo by Attila Mudrák.



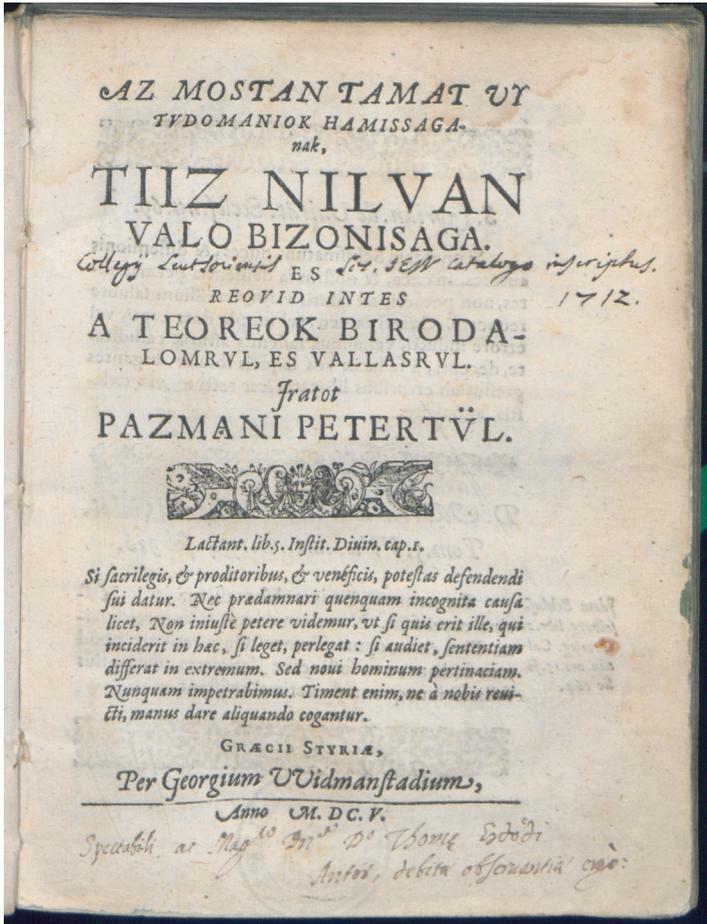
7. Episcopal ring of Péter Pázmány, Hungarian National Museum,
Inventory No. Ann. Jank. 195. Photo by Iván Jaksity.



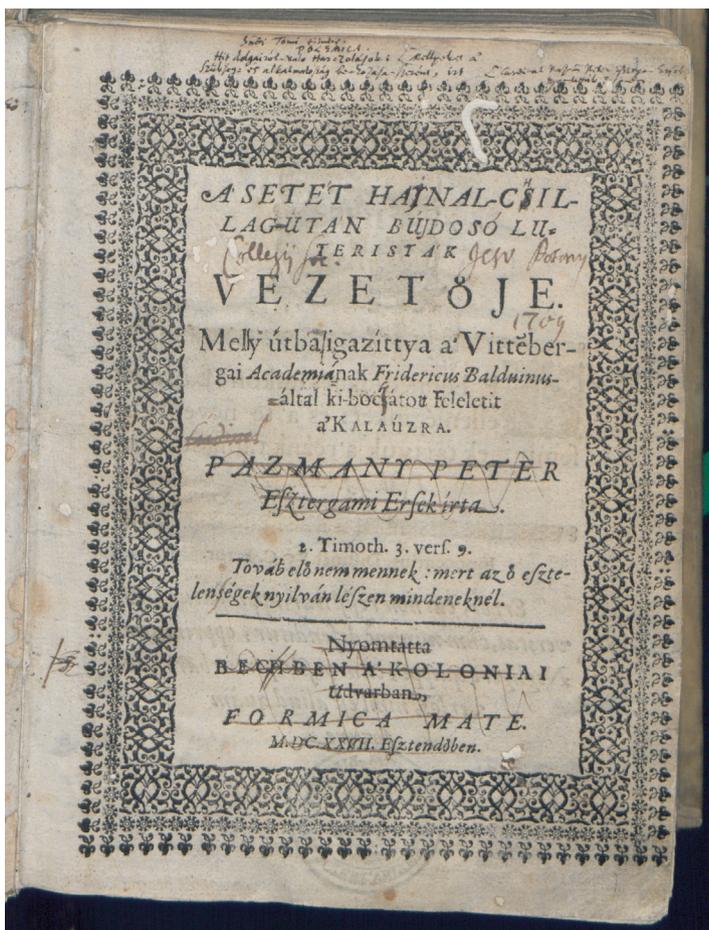
8. Unknown painter after György Szelepcsényi: Péter Pázmány, 18th century, oil on canvas, Esztergom, Primate's Palace.
© Christian Museum. Photo by Attila Mudrák.



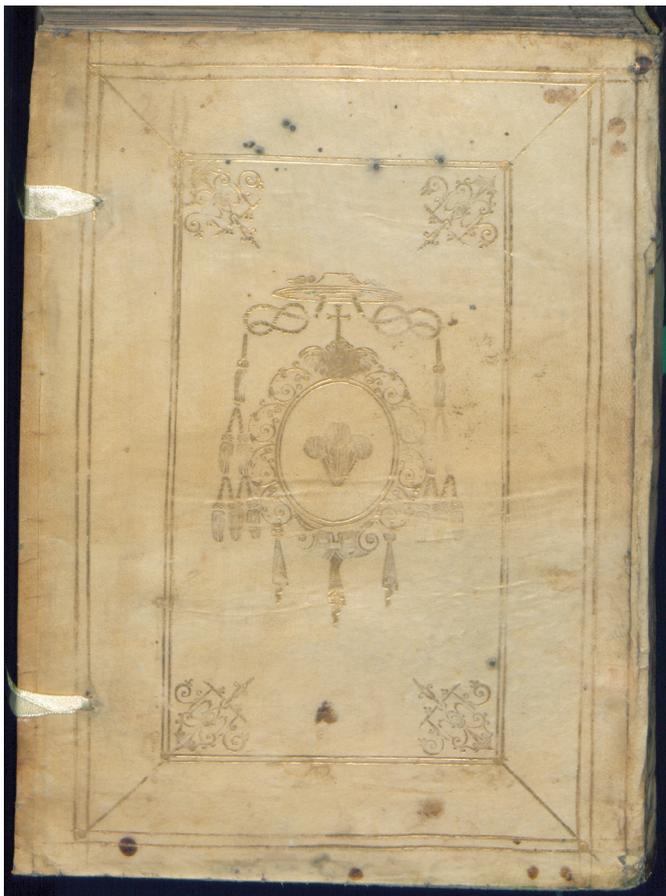
9. Unknown painter: Funerary portrait of Péter Pázmány's death, paper, cephalopod ink, 45 x 28 cm, Budapest, Hungarian National Gallery, Collection of Prints and Drawings, Inventory No. F.K. 4410.



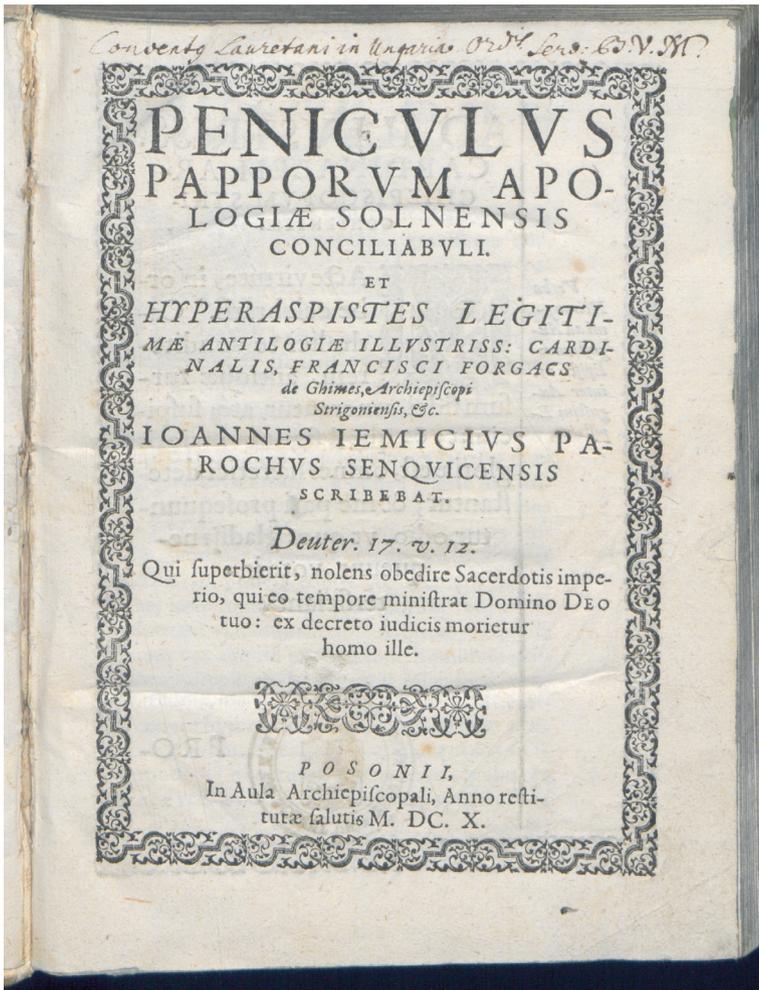
13. Péter Pázmány, Az mostan tamat uy tudomaniok hamissaganak, tiiz nilvan valo bizonisaga [Ten Obvious Pieces of Evidence], (Graecii [Graz], VVidmanstadius, 1605). Donation entry written by Péter Pázmány to Tamás Erdődy on the title page. Budapest, ELTE University Library, RMK I 48, Inventory No. 268494.



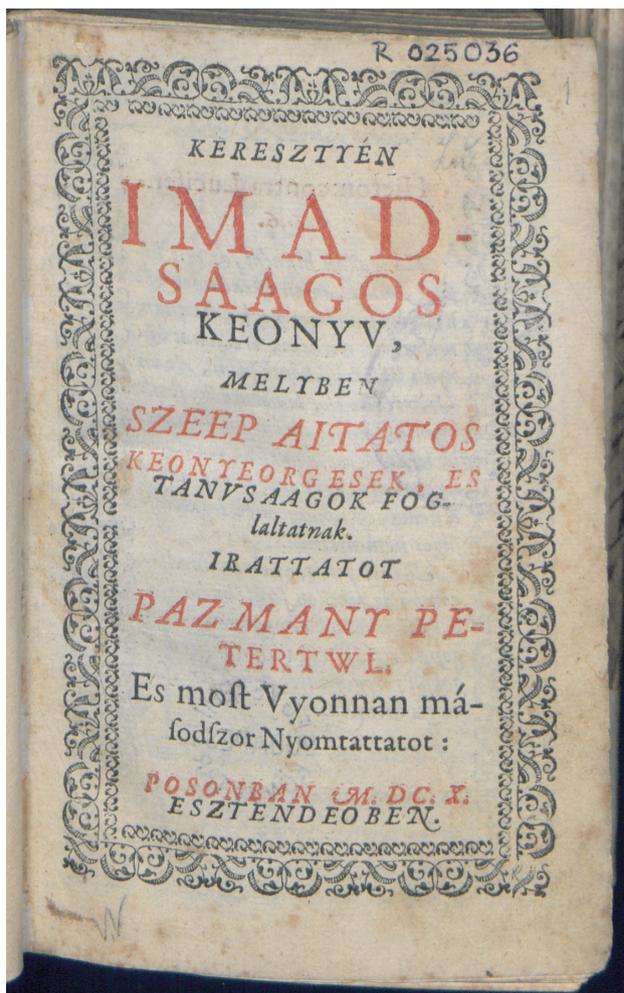
14. Péter Pázmány, A setet haynal-csillag-utan budoso Luteristák vezetője [A Guide of Lutherans going after the Dark Morning Star], (Bécs [Wien], Formica Máté, 1627). With Péter Pázmány's own corrections and notes, c. 1629. Budapest, ELTE University Library, RMK I 95:1, Inventory No. 270414.



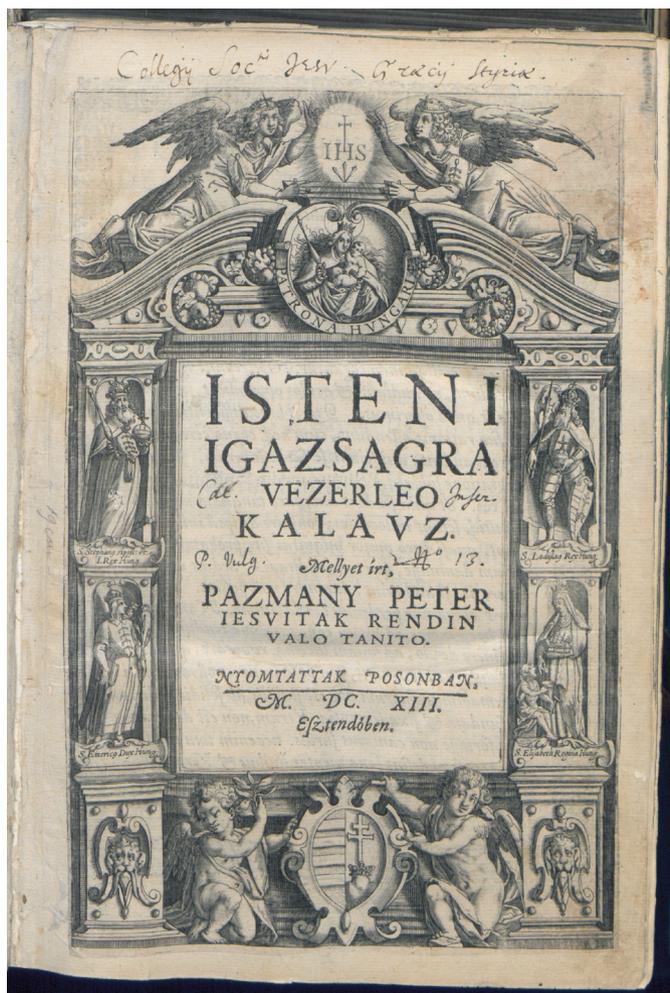
15. Bernardino Castori, *Institutione civile [...]*, (Roma, appresso Alesandro Zanetti, 1622). Blind-stamped and gilt-decorated back cover with the coat of arms of Cardinal Péter Pázmány in the centre. Budapest, ELTE University Library, Bar. 03254.



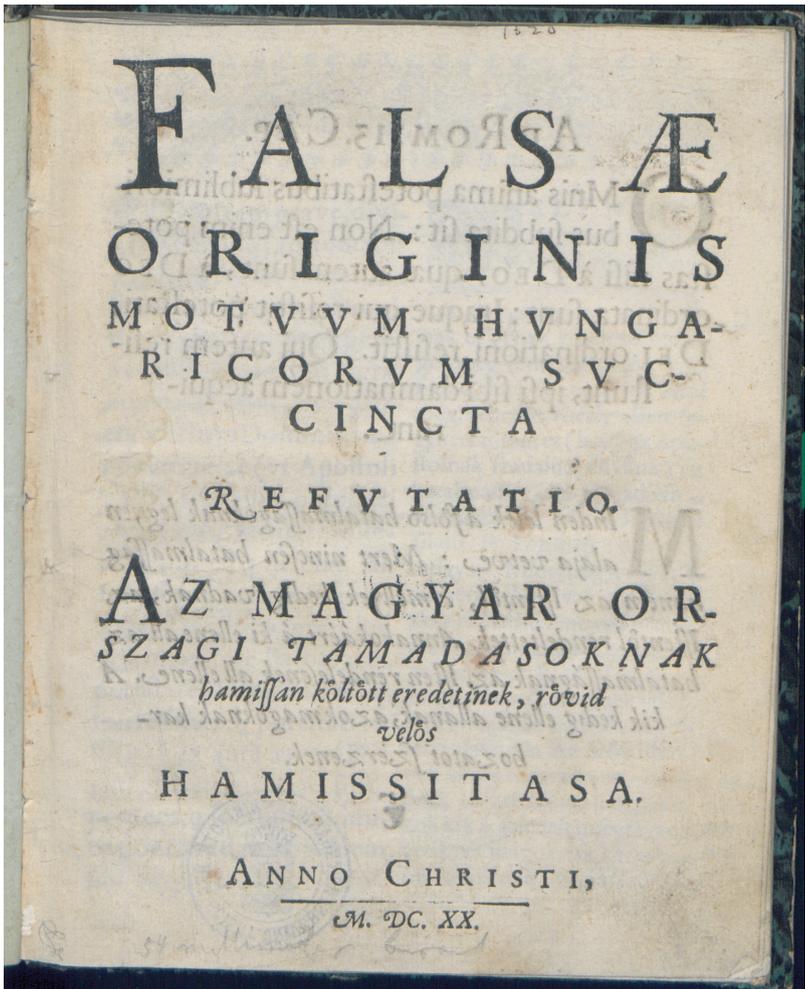
17. Péter Pázmány, *Peniculus papporum apologiae Solnensis conciliabuli*, (Pozsony [Bratislava], 1610), title page, Budapest, ELTE University Library, RMK II 45.



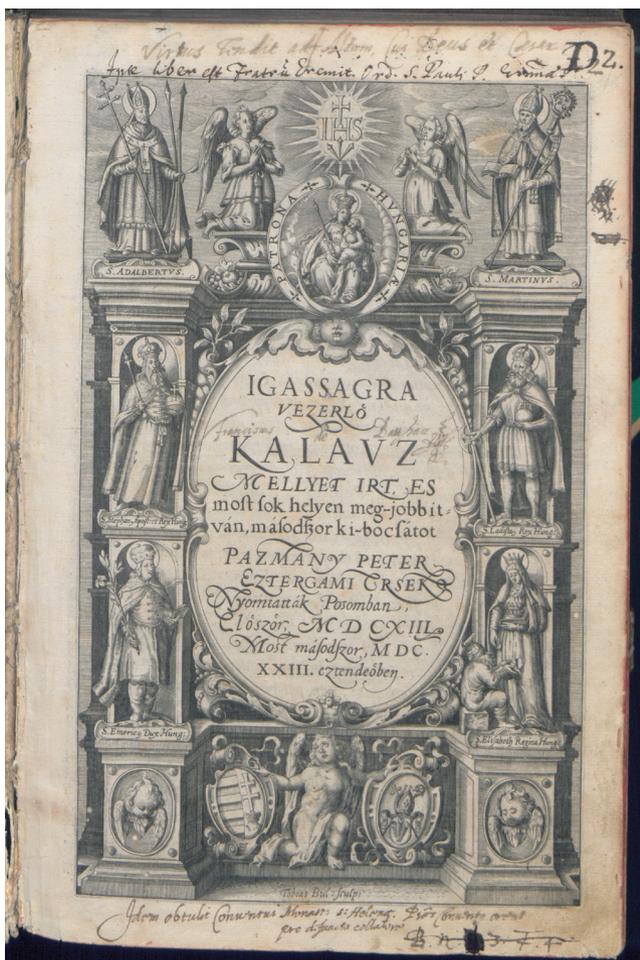
18. Péter Pázmány, Keresztyen imadsaagos keonyv [Christian Prayer Book], (Pozsony [Bratislava], typ. archiepiscopalis, 1610), title page, Budapest, ELTE University Library, RMK I 57, Inventory No. R025036.



19. Péter Pázmány, Isteni igazsagra vezzerleo kalauz [A Guide to Divine Truth], (Pozsony [Bratislava], typ. archiepiscopalis, 1613), title page, Budapest, ELTE University Library, RMK I 64, Inventory No. 907453.



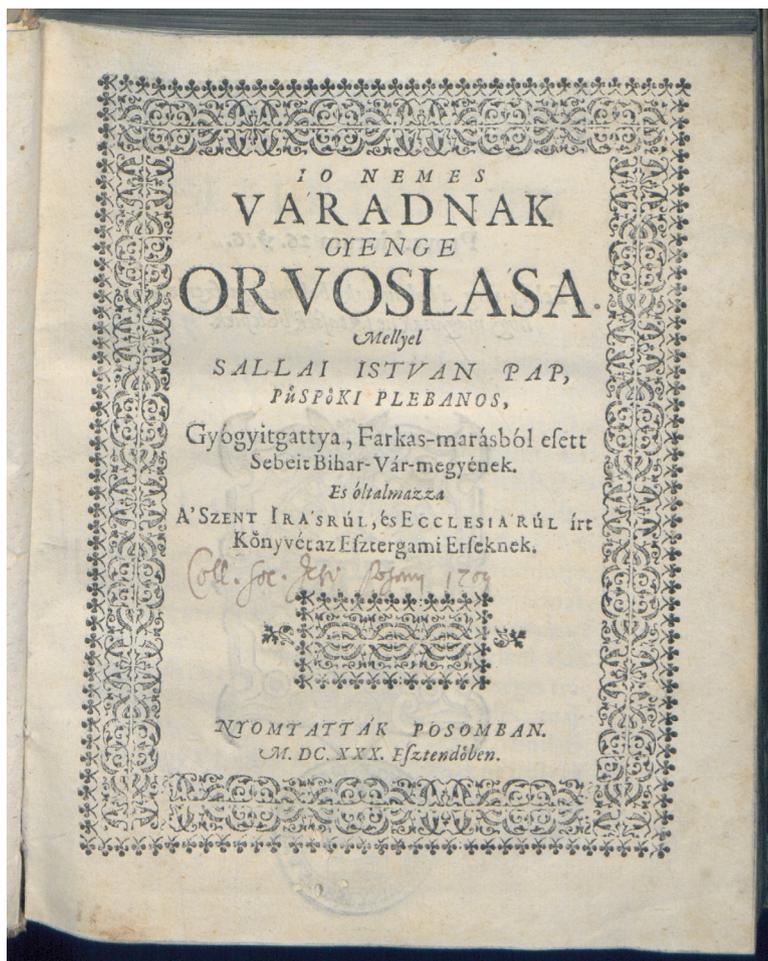
20. Péter Pázmány, *Falsae originis motuum Hungaricorum succincta refutatio*, (Vienna [Wien], Gelbhaar, 1620), title page, Budapest, ELTE University Library, RMK I 84, Inventory No. 269025.



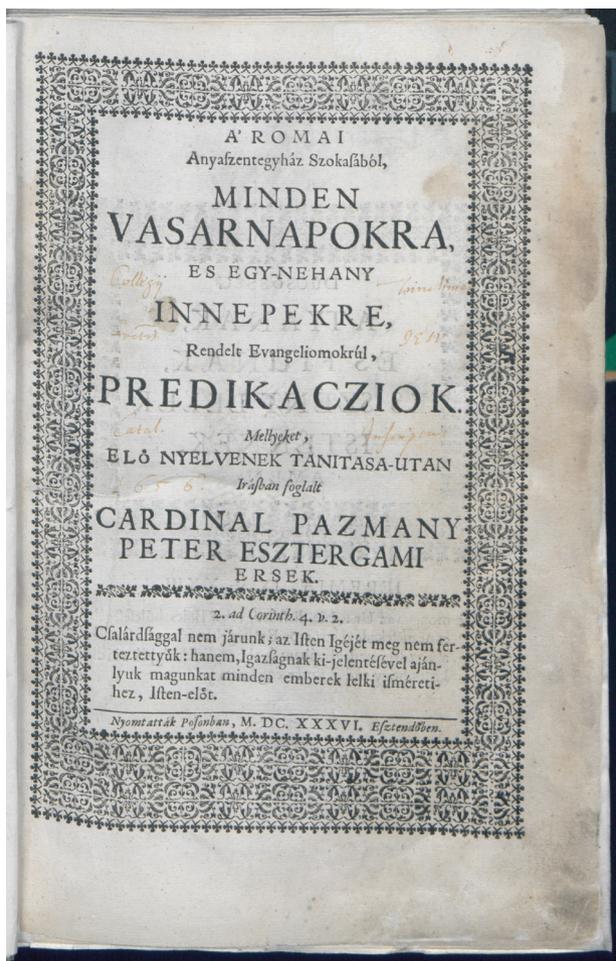
21. Péter Pázmány, *Igassagra vezérő Kalauz* [A Guide to Truth], (Pozsony [Bratislava], typ. Societatis Jesu, 1623), title page, Budapest, ELTE University Library, RMK I 86:1, Inventory No. 735316.



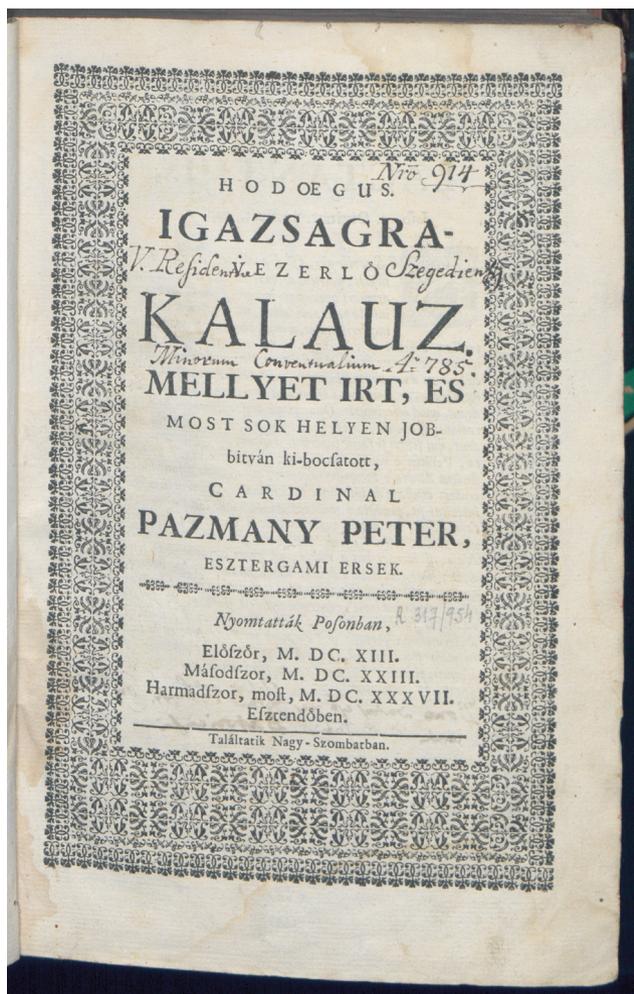
22. Péter Pázmány, Kempis Tamásnak Christvs követeserül négy könyvei [Four Books by Thomas Kempis on Following Christ], (Vienna [Wien], Matthaeus Formica, 1624), title page, Budapest, National Széchényi Library, RMK I 535.



23. Péter Pázmány, Io nemes Varadnak gyenge orvoslása [A Poor Remedy for Good Noble Várad], (Pozsony [Bratislava], typ. Societatis Jesu, 1630), title page, Budapest, ELTE University Library, RMK I 103:1, Inventory No. 270507.



24. Péter Pázmány, A romai anyaszentegyház szokásából [...] rendelt evangeliomokrúl predikacziok [Homilies], (Pozsony [Bratislava], typ. Societatis Jesu, 1636), title page, Budapest, ELTE University Library, RMK I 113:1, Inventory No. 724029.



25. Péter Pázmány, Hodoegus. Igazsagra-vezerlő kalauz [A Guide to Truth], (Pozsony [Bratislava], typ. Societatis Jesu, 1637), title page, Budapest, ELTE University Library, RMK I 118:2, Inventory No. 735824.



26. Unknown sculptor: Saint Stephen and Péter Pázmány, relief fragment, Trnava, Halenarska 1, facade of Stephaneum, beginning of 18th century. Identified persons from left to right on the relief on the left: Tamás Bakócz, Saint Adalbert, Saint Stephen, Saint Emerich, Saint Ladislaus; on the relief on the right: Miklós Esterházy, Miklós Oláh, Péter Pázmány, Imre Lósy and György Lippay.







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