

THE JESUITS  
AND THE  
EMBLEM TRADITION

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BREPOLS



## **Sources for the Teaching of Emblematics in the Jesuit Colleges in Hungary**

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Examining the history of literary emblematics in Hungary we noted that in contrast to relatively sparse theoretical writings, a surprisingly rich and multifaceted practice emerged.<sup>1</sup> The first emblem books with Hungarian connections and theoretical remarks appeared in the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries. Their impact upon theory and practice was insignificant or nonexistent. Similarly, comments on emblems in works on the theory of literature had only an indirect influence on practice.<sup>2</sup> Other characteristic features of Hungarian emblematics include the increase in the number of publications, which coincided with the consolidation of the Jesuit college system; the practical orientation, educational and occasional nature of a significant number of the prints; reduced formats; moral, didactic and pious intent; and the dominance of verbal elements. This drew attention to the importance of Jesuit education in conveying European trends to Hungary. A relatively rich practice of literary and applied emblematics could emerge besides modest theoretical attempts only if there was someone to import the tradition and the right conditions prevailed that ensured reception and accomplishment.

The slow evolution of Hungarian emblematics in comparison to Southern and Western European developments was due to the country's historical, political, social and economic situation during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This particularly favoured the Jesuit efforts. The following facts should be also taken into consideration:

1. At the turn of the sixteenth to the seventeenth century, emblematic forms of expression were not unknown in Hungary.
2. Delay in regular appearance was due to infrequent and sporadic exposure rather than any lack of sensitivity to emblematics.
3. The Jesuit educational system was consolidated in Hungary at a time when Jesuit emblem theory and practice flourished throughout Europe and the Jesuits placed special emphasis on emblematics in education.
4. In seventeenth-century Hungary there was little opportunity, outside the Jesuit school system, to pursue medium and higher level studies. Even the Protestant nobility schooled their children in Jesuit institutions or abroad.

*Sources*

In Hungary as historically conceived there were about fifty Jesuit houses, colleges and mission stations between 1579 and 1773 (Fig. 1).<sup>3</sup> These institutions were the sites of organized education or were frequented regularly by students and novices. From the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries the Jesuits founded houses continuously, most of them in Northern and North-West Hungary. Fewer were located in the central regions where Turkish occupation was established on a long-term basis, and in Eastern Hungary where the majority of the population was Protestant. The six houses founded in the sixteenth century did not function continuously owing to epidemics, warfare and the anti-Jesuit attitude of the local population. There were twenty houses established in both the first and the second half of the seventeenth century, respectively, and they paved the way to a solid college system. A Jesuit university was opened at Nagyszombat (today's Trnava in Slovakia) in 1635. Most of the five houses that were founded during the eighteenth century were located in Southern and Eastern Hungary.

The geographical distribution of the sources suggests the representative nature of our investigations (Fig. 2). They originate from 37 different places, primarily colleges from all over historical Hungary. The regional distribution conforms to the density of housing throughout the country: most of the sources are from the North and the West. The historical distribution of source material is uneven. This can be explained by the evolution of the Society in Hungary and by the origins of the sources. The source material involved in our analysis is varied, though it lacks spectacular pieces such as, for instance, the hand painted *Affixiones* series of the Brussels college.<sup>4</sup> The main types, mostly in manuscript, are the following: (1) historical library catalogues and book lists of library stock;<sup>5</sup> (2) lists of recommended books for the teaching and learning of the humanities; (3) owners' and users' notes and inscriptions in emblematic imprints of the Budapest University Library; (4) students' notes and (5) didactic poems.

The most valuable sources were catalogues that contained the name of the printing office and the date of entry, and those which had a special category for emblematic imprints. They constitute about 15 percent of the sources. The 150 or so emblematic imprints with notes and inscriptions of their Jesuit owner were of particular interest. Besides emblem books in the broader sense, manuals on rhetoric and poetry relating to emblematics and publications including the most important pictorial and textual sources of emblematics formed part of our investigations.

Of the approximately 110,000 titles in 37 Jesuit libraries, almost 1,700 were identified as emblematic imprints. This means a total of 184 authors and about 370 different works including anonymous ones, in other words, about 1.5 percent of the Jesuit book stock examined was emblematic. This proportion

more or less accords with the general situation of the period. It is also indicated by the fact that in the Nagyszombat (Trnava) university library, the largest Jesuit collection, there were about 15,000 volumes catalogued in 1773, 275 of which were emblematic. Here the proportion is 1.8 percent, somewhat higher than the nationwide average, due probably to the fact that the Nagyszombat College was the principal emblem maker and publisher in Hungary.

### *Library holdings of emblem books*

The libraries of the Hungarian Jesuit colleges used classification systems that followed the same general principles but were adapted individually. This reflected the special needs and ideas of the houses and the internal proportions of the book stock, and also allowed a glimpse into the more general problems libraries encountered in their attempt at a systematic classification of learning at the dawn of the Modern Era. In the catalogues of four colleges in Kassa (Kosice) between 1660-1682 and in Buda, Szokolca (Skalica, Slovakia) and Zagreb during the second half of the eighteenth century a special emblem section was in use. In Kassa, a composite category was applied to publications in the fields of 'Humanistae', 'Rhetores', 'Poetae', 'Grammatici', 'Symbola' and 'Hieroglyphica'.<sup>6</sup> In the Buda college, the sections 'Poetae', 'Poemata', 'Fabulae', 'Apologi' and 'Symbola' included emblematic imprints, while in Szokolca, they were found in the section 'Elogiasti et Symbolici' (Fig. 3).<sup>7</sup> In Zagreb 'Symbolici, Emblematici' was the fourth class within the section 'Poetae',<sup>8</sup> and this is where we found the largest number of emblematic publications (a total of 24), of which Alciato's *Emblematum liber* had two sixteenth century editions.<sup>9</sup>

The variety of sections including emblematic imprints and the varied classification of the works indicates that the place of emblematics within the library system was based on functional considerations (Table 1). The main aspect of classification was: who would use the book and for what purpose. Accordingly, emblematic imprints were classified most frequently as sermons (*concionatores*) and ascetical works. Classification was based on only one attribute rather than the whole of the particular work. Thus in Lőcse (Levoca, Slovakia), three different editions of Saavedra Fajardo's *Idea principis christiano-politici* were classified in three different categories: 'Historici Profani' (Brussels, 1669), 'Varii' (Amsterdam, 1651) and 'Philosophi' (Cologne, 1669).<sup>10</sup>

Today, such a classification seems strange. For instance, Picinelli's *Mundus symbolicus* and Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* were classified in the Komárom (Komarno) library as 'Dictionaria, lexica, polyanthea' because of their encyclopedic character.<sup>11</sup> Emblematic publications were often put into the mixed contents category. For example, Caussin's *De symbolica Aegyptiorum sapientia*, Henricus Kürsch's *Symbologia Heroica*, Pierre L'Abbé's *Elogia sacra*, Ambrogio Marliani's *Theatrum Politicum*, Masen's *Speculum imaginum*,



Pexenfelder's *Apparatus eruditionis*, Picinelli's *Mondo simbolico*, Nicolaus Reusner's *Symbola heroica*, Saavedra Fajardo's *Idea principis*, Georg Stengel's *Ova Paschalia*, Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica*, and Antal Vanossi's *Idea sapientis* were all found in Győr in the 'Miscellani' category.<sup>12</sup> In Győr, *Imago Primi Saeculi* was classified as 'Historici Profani'.<sup>13</sup> This shows, that librarians were not always meticulous in their cataloguing.

In order to have a more precise idea of the time frame of acquisition, we examined the Jesuit owners' inscriptions and the 'annus inscriptionis' column of the Nagyszombat (Trnava) catalogue, which had been kept from 1690 but contained earlier data.<sup>14</sup> It showed the earliest time of emblem book acquisitions to be 1600. From then on, the number of emblematic publications in the Jesuit libraries increased in line with the elaboration of the college system. Acquisitions peaked in the second half of the seventeenth century, then ebbed in the early eighteenth century to drop sharply in the mid-1700s, though they were kept up over a larger geographical area until the dissolution of the Society (Fig. 4-6).

Besides the syllabus set in the *Ratio Studiorum*, emblematics played an increasingly important role in Jesuit education.<sup>15</sup> This is proven by multiple acquisitions of books by Jesuit authors, for example Jacob Masen's manuals on rhetoric. The Nagyszombat (Trnava) library catalogue contains eight entries of *Ars nova argutiarum* between 1674 and 1692 and six copies of *Speculum imaginum veritatis occultae* between 1668 and 1690. The 1622 Cologne edition of Caussin's *De symbolica Aegyptiorum sapientia* was first entered in the catalogue in 1631, the 1635 Munich edition of Stengel's *Ova Paschalia* in the same year, 1635, the 1629 Munich edition of Drexel's *Orbis Phaeton* in 1632, the 1634 Antwerp edition of Pietrasanta's *De symbolis heroicis* in 1634.<sup>16</sup> On the basis of the date of inscription the earliest humanist collections in Jesuit libraries included Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* (Leiden, 1594), Reusner's *Symbolorum Imperatorum* (Frankfurt/M., 1588), Alciato's *Emblematum liber* (Frankfurt/M., 1583), *Horapollo* (Paris, 1574), Becanus' *Opera [...] Hactenus in lucem non edita [...] Hieroglyphica* (Antwerp, 1580), and Zsámboky's *Emblemata* (Antwerp, 1569). They first occur in the catalogues between 1600 and 1632.<sup>17</sup>

The number of imprints was closely related to the functions of individual houses. None of the four 'domus missionis' (Bazin, Belgrade, Leopoldov and Vrbica) kept more than, or even as many as, 30 emblematic titles in the library. The residences and colleges operating educational institutions had a much better stock. In the 15 residences investigated the number of emblematic imprints was between 15 and 45, in the 18 colleges, they vary between 18 and 275 imprints. Besides the date of foundation, political conditions and the European emblematic trends also influenced acquisitions. The stock size of colleges established after 1686 equalled that of the seventeenth-century residences.<sup>18</sup>

There is a connection between the location, role and international contacts of the houses and the number of publications in their keeping. The largest number of publications, 275 to be precise, were kept in the library of the college in Nagyszombat (Trnava), which functioned as a university. There were about 60 to 100 emblematic titles in the other Jesuit colleges and secondary educational institutions with a larger student population (in Kassa [Kosice], Pozsony [Bratislava], Trencsén [Trencin], Szokolca [Skalica], Győr, Sopron and Zagreb). These were the houses where education continued over a long period and which were frequently visited by foreign and Hungarian Jesuits who published emblematic publications<sup>19</sup> or who translated emblematic books of foreign authors into Hungarian.<sup>20</sup> The eight colleges with the best stock of emblematic titles mentioned earlier were located in North-Western, Western and South-Western Hungary in regions which were not threatened by Turkish occupation or attacks and where growth was continuous. These colleges had lively contacts with neighbouring Austrian, Northern Italian, South German and Bohemian regions. Their library stock expanded continuously owing to better lines of contact. As with the exchange of teachers and students, they passed on books to the colleges of other Hungarian regions.

#### *The composition of the book stock*

The 885 emblematic publications identified in the eight major libraries mentioned above constitute 52 percent of the total material examined. The remaining 48 percent originates from 29 other places. The distribution of publications and authors in terms of place shows an average two-thirds dominance of books of Jesuit origin in all the libraries (Table 2). The largest Jesuit proportion was found in Trencsén (Trencin): 82 percent of the publications and 86 percent of the authors were Jesuit, which can be explained by the strong presence of novices. The smallest share of Jesuit publications was found in Zagreb (64 percent), and of Jesuit authors, in Sopron and Kassa (Kosice, 57 percent respectively). This may be due, in the case of Zagreb, to the marked influence of Northern Italian humanist emblematics, while in Sopron and Kassa (Kosice), it was due, presumably, to a strong Protestant environment.

In the eight major libraries emblematic publications were written by a total of 86 Jesuit and 74 non-Jesuit authors. Examination of the remaining 29 libraries revealed another 7 Jesuit and 17 non-Jesuit authors. Thus the entire stock originates from an almost equal number of Jesuit and non-Jesuit authors, 93 and 91 respectively.

In many cases, several copies and editions of publications by Jesuits were kept. At the same time hardly any effort was made to offer different editions or several copies of non-Jesuit authors' books. About one-third of the total number of authors are the 36 Jesuit and 16 non-Jesuit writers who have more than twenty publications in stock. The prominence of Jesuit authors renowned in



Europe whose works had several editions is not surprising (Table 3): Caussin, Drexel, Engelgrave, Hugo, L'Abbé, Masen and Sucquet offered a wide possibility for the reception of Jesuit emblematics. On the other hand it is somewhat surprising that besides the large number of German authors (e.g. Brunner, Pexenfelder, Senftleben and Stengel), there were more works by French authors (e.g. Barry, Le Jay, Musart and Pomey), Italian authors (e.g. Bovio and Giovanni Battista Conti) and Jesuits from the Netherlands (e.g. David, Vincart and Sandt) than by representatives of the Austro-Hungarian Jesuit province (e.g. Bischoff, Maurisperg jr. and Querck).

Added to the names above are the authors who have less than twenty publications in the libraries examined: Étienne Luzvic, Étienne Binet, Jacobus Boschius, Guillaume van Hees and Ignaz Weitenauer. These complete the list of authors who ensured the reception of Jesuit emblematics in Hungary. They are also the ones whose works were published in Hungary or translated into Hungarian. The strong presence of some authors is not primarily due to the emblematic relevance of their works; Le Jay's *Bibliotheca Rhetorum* was a pillar of Jesuit rhetoric teaching and Pomey's *Pantheum mythicum* was a basic text in poetry education.

As to works that have the largest number of copies, Balbin's *Verisimilia humaniorum disciplinarum*, catalogued in three different editions (Prague, 1687, 1701 and Vienna, 1710) and Le Jay's *Bibliotheca Rhetorum* must both have been key works in Jesuit education. For instance, there were 10 copies of Balbin in the Győr, and 12 in the Szakolca (Skalica) catalogues.<sup>21</sup> Le Jay's work was available in several Hungarian editions besides the foreign ones. Drexel's *De aeternitate considerationes* (first edition Munich, 1620) was published in Hungarian in 1643. The popularity of Engelgrave's emblem sermons matched that of Drexel's ascetic works and their frequency was second after the Drexel books.

Caussin and Masen must have had an impact upon Hungarian emblematic theory: of the three Cologne editions (1623, 1631 and 1654) of *De symbolica Aegyptiorum sapientia* 14 copies were entered in the catalogue of Nagyszombat (Trnava). Masen's *Ars nova argutiarum* (Cologne, 1649, 1660 and 1711), *Speculum imaginum* (Cologne, 1650, 1664 and 1681) and *Dux viae ad vitam* (Augsburg, 1686) were available in several copies.<sup>22</sup> Sandt is the second author after Drexel with the largest number of works represented: *Maria Luna mystica* (Cologne, 1634), *Mundus fallax* (Mainz, 1631), *Theologia Symbolica* (Mainz, 1626), *Symbola vitae humanae* (Mainz, 1627), *Aviarum Marianum* (Mainz, 1630) and *Maria flos mysticus* (Mainz, 1624) were found in 12 different libraries.

Sucquet's *Via vitae aeternae* and Hugo's *Pia desideria* should also be singled out because of their frequent occurrence and Hungarian relevance. The abridged version of Sucquet's book was published in Nagyszombat (Trnava) in 1678 with etchings. This Hungarian language edition was the most frequent

one besides the 1625 and 1630 Antwerp editions and the 1660 Augsburg abridged version. An abbreviated German-Latin *Pia desideria* was published in Pest in 1753, translated by the Austrian Jesuit Johann Baptist Huttner.<sup>23</sup>

From among the emblematic works of the Hungarian Jesuits, Antal Vanossi's philosophy book (*Idea sapientis theo-politici*), János Rajcsányi's polemic work (*Itinerarium Athei*), Ferenc Vizsocsányi's sermons (*Hecatomba sacra*) and Gábor Hevenesi's meditations and lives of the saints (*Succus prudentiae, Calendarium Marianum, Academicus Viennensis, Sanctus Ephebus*) were most frequent in terms of the number of editions and copies. Their number exceeded by far that by non-Jesuit authors (Table 4).

The numbers of non-Jesuit authors, works, editions and copies are considerably more modest (Table 5). The most frequent work is Saavedra Fajardo's *Idea Principis*, with a total of 27 copies. The first edition (Munich, 1640) was entered in the Sopron Jesuit library in 1644,<sup>24</sup> and one of the houses had a copy of the 1642 Milan edition, with the author's dedication.<sup>25</sup> Picinelli's *Mundus symbolicus*, Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* and Alciato's *Emblematum liber* were also among the more frequent works. Different Alciato editions could be found in the eight college libraries where the largest number of emblematic books were kept.

Emblematic works by Abraham a Sancta Clara, Aresi, Otto Aicher, Stanislaus Axtelmeister, Benedictus van Haeften and Nicolaus Reusner have at least three copies respectively listed among the source materials. Other libraries show only an occasional knowledge of the best achievements of European emblematics: books by Cesare Ripa, Jacobus Typotius, Claude Paradin, Jan Becan (Goropius), Jean Jacques Boissard, Joachim Camerarius (junior), Daniel Heinsius, Georgette de Montenay, Octavio Scarlatini, Paolo Giovio, Daniel Cramer and others feature only sporadically. Some of the Hungarian non-Jesuit authors are significantly underrepresented, due probably to the fact that their works were published outside Hungary. A few copies of Zsámboky's *Emblemata* were kept in Nagyszombat (Trnava), Szokolca (Skalica) and Ungvár (Uzhorod in Ukraine),<sup>26</sup> and of Kristóf Lackner's works in Sopron, Kassa (Kosice) and the Pázmáneum library in Vienna.<sup>27</sup>

Several houses possessed editions of *Horapollo* and *Tabula Cebetis* and emblematic editions of books by famous Lutheran authors, such as Johann Arndt and Johann Gerhard. A conspicuous feature of the selective reception was the absence or only sporadic presence of English, French and Dutch emblematicists. For instance, none of the catalogues examined contained books by Whitney, Peacham, Cats, Vaenius, Johann Theodor de Bry, Knesebeck, Luyken and Schoonhovius. This clearly indicates the Jesuit tendency to repress profane and erotic emblematic traditions. On the other hand, Hungarian emblematics had primary contact with German speaking areas with additional Italian, Bohemian and Polish ties.



As for the contents of the imprints, there is a dominance of publications related to the prominent areas in Jesuit education (Table 6). The most frequently occurring moral collections or compendia introduce, summarize and convey the basic moral standards of human life. The frequency of publications relating to saints, and particularly to the Virgin Mary, is explained by the needs of the Jesuits.<sup>28</sup> The numerous publications outlining Christian behaviour and way of life which urged and taught contemplation bore reference to the shaping of an orderly everyday life. The emblematic pictures of such works, for instance of Musart's *Adolescens Academicus* (Vienna, 1744) often depict the perfect Jesuit pupil, who, in the dual inducement of *eruditio* and *virtus*, strives at the mastery of a Christian lifestyle inspired by *sapientia* (Fig. 7).

Emblematic sermons helped the work primarily not of the students but of the Jesuit preachers and novices learning *ars predicandi*. The large number of books of guidance for rulers and of collections of learned advice shows, besides the popularity of this genre in Hungary, the fact that these publications were of substantial help in the preparation for life of noble and bourgeois youths educated by the Jesuits.<sup>29</sup> The emblematic formulation of philosophical theses and systems facilitated the mastery of the abstract neo-scholastic syllabus. Their frequency, together with publications that served to intensify Church learning and worship, is average. In contrast, occasional imprints related to family, school and social life were fewer in number.

### *Emblematics in Jesuit education*

All this suggests that emblematics was an important means and communication channel within the Jesuit cultural and educational system. We have to find the place of emblematics in this system and trace its practical implementation. Various lists of recommended books give us a glimpse of the process of emblematic education in the colleges. Such book lists were often prepared during the period after *Ratio Studiorum* for use within the Society, the provinces, and the colleges. The lists prepared for the North German province between 1604 and 1608 recommended *Tabula Cebetis* for study in the second grammar class. The same lists offer Giraldu's *Syntagmata*, Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* and Natale Conti's *Mythologia* as works suitable for extra-curricular study.<sup>30</sup>

Antal Hellmayr, teacher of Latin, compiled a manuscript in 1734 titled *Institutio Humanistica* for the first-year *repetens* of the Jesuit secondary school in Szakolca (Skalica).<sup>31</sup> The list appended to the manual contains titles of books which the author recommended for the teaching of *scientia litteraria*. A fragment of a similar humaniora textbook is the *Catalogus librorum* used in Nagyszombat (Trnava), compiled by several teachers and expanded continuously throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>32</sup> Both lists consist of four major parts: 'litteratura', 'historia', 'geographia' and 'jesuitica'. Emblematic publications can be found under the 'litteratura' and 'jesuitica' headings. Teaching of theory

and practice is separated and the theoretical works are followed by books that facilitate practical implementation (Table 7). According to the lists emblematic forms had an important role mainly in the teaching of grammatica, poetica and rhetorica. The theory and practice of emblematics was a separate discipline within poetry and rhetoric. In Nagyszombat (Trnava) theory was taught on the basis of Masen's *Speculum imaginum*, Picinelli's *Mundus symbolicus* and Gaetano Verani's *Pantheon Argutiae*. Practice, on the other hand, relied upon *Imago Primi Saeculi* and works by Masen, Pietrasanta, Pexenfelder, Boschius, Valeriano, Hees, Bovio, Typotius, Alciato, Zsámboky, Camerarius, Saavedra Fajardo, Picinelli and Caussin.<sup>33</sup>

Apart from the books contained in the Nagyszombat (Trnava) list, Hellmayr taught theory on the basis of Pietrasanta's *De symbolis heroicis*, the Latin version (*Idea argutae dictionis*) of Tesauro's *Il Cannocchiale Aristotelico*, and Camerarius' *Symbolum et emblematum centuriae quatuor*, and of the appropriate parts in Balbin's *Verisimilia* and the *Carmen Didacticum* from Boschius' *Symbolographia*. Hellmayr expanded the scope of the practical teaching of emblematics when he included Michael Pexenfelder's *Ethica Symbolica*, Jacobus von Bruck-Angermundt's *Emblemata* and Alejandro Luzon de Millares' *Idea politica*.<sup>34</sup> These names indicate a balanced knowledge of humanist, mannerist and Jesuit theory and practice.

Thus the sources reveal emblematics to have a syllabus in its own right in Jesuit secondary schools. Practice was more important than theory and the dominance of symbolic forms, a major characteristic feature of seventeenth century Jesuit ideals, prevailed.<sup>35</sup> The authors most favoured by the Jesuit teachers were Valeriano, Caussin, Masen, Pexenfelder and Natale Conti. This list indicates, besides the practice-orientation of the teaching of emblematics, the fact that the entire field of humanities was imbued with this form of expression. It was especially significant in the second part of the secondary school curriculum, in the third class of grammar and in the classes of poetry and rhetoric.

This picture is expanded further by the lists of books stored in the rooms of Jesuit teachers. Such lists were found in three of the houses (Table 8).<sup>36</sup> The books therein served the teachers' individual interests and educational activity. Apparently the Jesuits intended emblematics to play an important role at various levels of secondary education. Most emblematic imprints and manuals of poetry and rhetoric discussing emblematics were found in the room of the poesis master in Nagyszombat (Trnava): books by Alciato, Natale Conti, Pontanus, Balbin, Hugo, Charles de la Rue, Caussin, Masen, Jacob Balde and Le Jay.

In 1707, works by Caussin, Zsámboky, Boschius, Camerarius, Giovo and Pontanus served for the private use of masters at Ungvár (Uzhorod) while the professors' room in the Szepes (Spis, Slovakia) residence contained emblematic books by Engelgrave and Le Jay. In Nagyszombat (Trnava), the *magister parvae* used Reusner's and Balbin's works in the elementary classes while the



teacher of principists relied on books by Balbin, Masen and Caussin. Grammar and syntax masters used Hugo's *Pia desideria*, Balde's *Urania victrix*, Pexenfelder's *Apparatus eruditionis* and Natale Conti's *Mythologia* besides books by the authors mentioned above. Most of these emblematic publications were perused by the poetry master. In addition to the books by Balde and Pexenfelder mentioned above, the teacher of the rhetoric class had an emblematic book titled *Templum gratiarum* (Passau, 1633) compiled by the Passau Jesuits. The owner's notes in emblematic imprints used by Jesuits confirm that Jesuit education contributed fundamentally to the reception of European emblematics in Hungary (Table 9).

Besides the conditions for reception, the efficiency and practical results of education can be measured by the works of Jesuit authors, lay authors who had a Jesuit schooling, and hand-written students' notes and didactic poems. For example, Ferenc Pragner, a student at the Nagyszombat (Trnava) college made excerpts of Reusner's *Symbola Imperatorum* under the same title, omitting the name of the author. The title page and the last page of the manuscript are decorated with emblematic drawings (Fig. 8).<sup>37</sup> Examples of the genre of didactic poems written as part of school practice are the relatively short, partly emblematic metric poems collected under the title *Fasciculus epigramatum* in Nagyszombat (Trnava) from the 1630s. Several of them, for instance the one about Hercules and Mercurius, are titled 'Emblema'.<sup>38</sup> It is to be noted that the tasks of the rhetoric master included preparing of emblematic decorations for various festivities and celebrations. Students were sometimes also involved in this activity.<sup>39</sup>

### Summary

The source material, mostly in manuscript, so far unexplored in the study of the history of emblematics, allowed us to examine the network of relationships between Jesuit education and emblematic practice at a regional level. This network operated as a mobile system and served for the familiarization with, and reception of the various works, the acquisition and passing on of learning, as well as of creative individual achievement. The Jesuits taught theory and practice systematically at various levels over a long period of time and linked them with areas within the *ars litteraria*. The Jesuit practice that gradually reinterpreted humanist emblematics reached Hungary with some delay but developed in line with its full significance in seventeenth century Europe.

Beginning in the 1630s, the Jesuits throughout Europe paid increasing attention to the propagation of emblematic forms. The first results of this attempt appeared at a larger scale during the last decades of the seventeenth century. This delay is the reason why emblematics appeared as a mature separate discipline or an area within the *litteraria*, connected with the teaching of poetry and rhetoric in the Hungarian Jesuit secondary schools in the early eighteenth

century only. No new element appears in education after the first third of the eighteenth century, and the emblematic forms of expression declined rapidly towards the middle of the century.

Educational attempts were implemented in different ways in the houses of various legal standing and in different geographic locations. Our investigations proved that, as in other European countries, rhetoric, didactic and educational use of emblematic publications occurred in Hungary also. Varied classification of the works and the need for their use at various levels indicate a basically functional attitude towards emblematics. This calls for a greater awareness of transformations in European emblematics arising from Jesuit roots. It also gives insight into the educational historical relevance of the evolution of literary allegorization and the subsequent rejection of this form of expression.



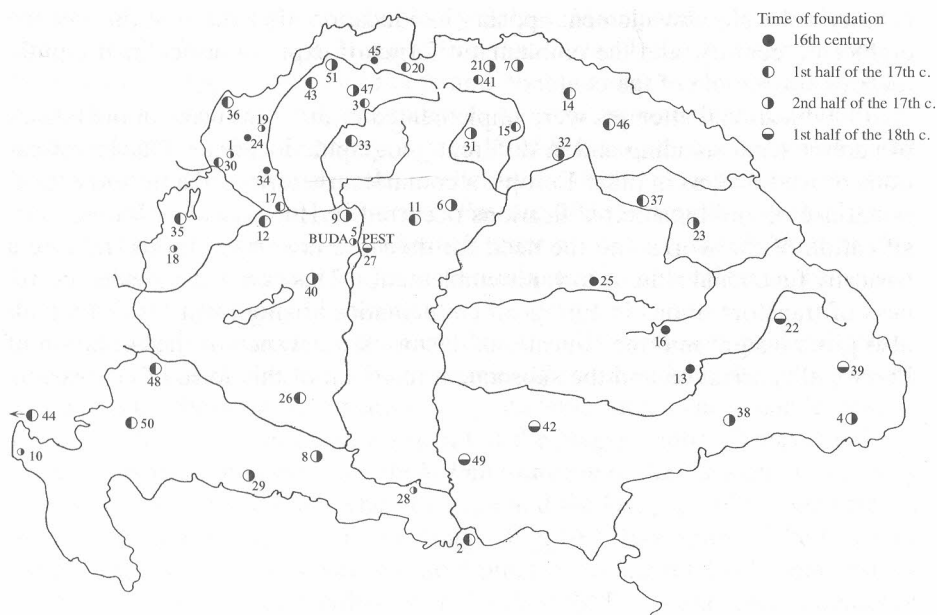


Figure 1  
Jesuit residences in Hungary between 1579 and 1773.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Bazin (Pezinok)                             | 27. Pest: 1703                            |
| 2. Belgrád (Beograd): 1612                     | 28. Pétervárad (Petrovaradin): 1694       |
| 3. Besztercebánya (Banska Bystrica): 1648      | 29. Pozsega (Pozega): 1699                |
| 4. Brassó (Brasov): 1694                       | 30. Pozsony (Bratislava): 1622            |
| 5. Buda: 1687                                  | 31. Rozsnyó (Roznava): 1656               |
| 6. Eger: 1688                                  | 32. Sárospatak: 1663                      |
| 7. Eperjes (Prešov): 1673                      | 33. Selmecebánya (Banská Štiavnica): 1649 |
| 8. Eszék (Osijek): 1688                        | 34. Sellye (Sal'ya): 1586                 |
| 9. Esztergom: 1687                             | 35. Sopron: 1636                          |
| 10. Fiume (Rijeka)                             | 36. Szokolca (Skalica): 1646              |
| 11. Gyöngyös: 1633                             | 37. Szatmár (Satu Mare): 1634             |
| 12. Győr: 1627                                 | 38. Szeben (Sibiu): 1692                  |
| 13. Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia): 1579           | 39. Székelyudvarhely (Odorhei)            |
| 14. Homonna (Humenné): 1613                    | 40. Székesfehérvár: 1688                  |
| 15. Kassa (Kosice): 1631                       | 41. Szepes (Spiška Kapitula): 1622        |
| 16. Kolozsvár (Cluj): 1579                     | 42. Temesvár (Timisoara): 1717            |
| 17. Komárom (Komarno): 1624                    | 43. Trencsén (Trencin): 1647              |
| 18. Kőszeg: 1675                               | 44. Trieszt (Trieste)                     |
| 19. Leopoldov (Leopoldov)                      | 45. Turóc (Turci): 1586                   |
| 20. Liptószentmiklós (Liptovský Mikuláš): 1638 | 46. Ungvár (Uzhorod): 1640                |
| 21. Lőcse (Levoca): 1673                       | 47. Urvölgy (Špania Dolina): 1687         |
| 22. Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures): 1702         | 48. Varasd (Varazdin): 1636               |
| 23. Nagybánya (Baia Mare): 1674                | 49. Vrbica (Vrbica)                       |
| 24. Nagyszombat (Trnava): 1561                 | 50. Zágráb (Zagreb): 1603                 |
| 25. Nagyvárad (Oradea Mare): 1581              | 51. Zsolna (Zilina): 1673                 |
| 26. Pécs: 1634                                 |   |

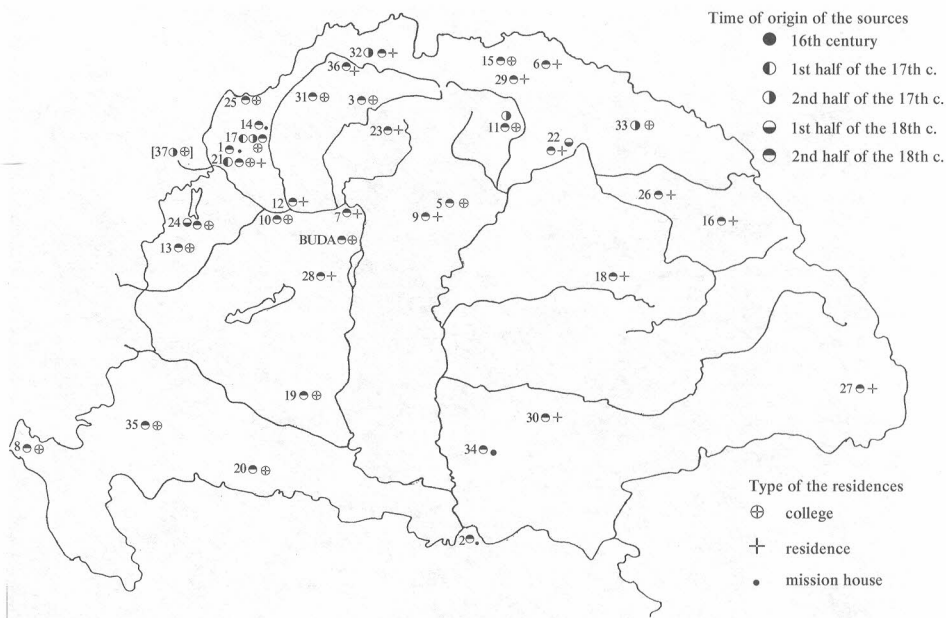


Figure 2  
The regional and temporal distribution of the sources.

1. Bazin
2. Belgrád
2. Besztercebánya
4. Buda
5. Eger
6. Eperjes
7. Esztergom
8. Fiume
9. Gyöngyös
10. Győr
11. Kassa
12. Komárom
13. Kőszeg
14. Leopoldov
15. Lőcse
16. Nagybánya
17. Nagyszombat
18. Nagyvárád
19. Pécs

20. Pozsega
21. Pozsony
22. Sárospatak
23. Selmecbánya
24. Sopron
25. Szakolca
26. Szatmár
27. Székelyudvarhely
28. Székesfehérvár
29. Szepes
30. Temesvár
31. Trencsén
32. Turóc
33. Ungvár
34. Vrba
35. Zágráb
36. Zsolna
- (37. Wien)

Nomen auf dem Marck	Elogiastre & Symbolici	57 Hrus Somat
	Alciati & Sambuci Emblemata in 12 <sup>mo</sup>	
	Avancini Elogia Imperialia in 4 <sup>to</sup>	
2.	Causini Symbolorum in 12 <sup>mo</sup>	
1.	Herensei Symbola Ethica in 8 <sup>vo</sup>	
	Iconologia in 4 <sup>to</sup> Pallii.	
	Ines Lechiars in 4 <sup>to</sup>	
2.	Inglaris Elogia in 8 <sup>vo</sup>	
5.	Kalbe Elogia in 8 <sup>vo</sup>	
	Maseni Speculum Imaginum in 8 <sup>vo</sup>	
	Petradanem de Symbolis Heroicis in 4 <sup>to</sup>	
	Puteani Deumata in 8 <sup>vo</sup>	
	Caavedra Symbola in 12 <sup>mo</sup>	
	Sadelexi Symbola in folio.	
	Sebastiani à Matre Dei Firmamentum Symbolicum in 8 <sup>vo</sup>	
2.	Tarnoczy Elogia S. Ladislaj in 8 <sup>vo</sup>	
	Eusdem Elogia S. Emerici in 12 <sup>mo</sup>	
	Eusdem Elogia S. Stephani in 12 <sup>mo</sup>	
	Thesauri Emanuelis Inscriptiones in 8 <sup>vo</sup>	
	Eusdem mundi etates in 16 <sup>to</sup>	
	Veitij Inscriptiones in 8 <sup>vo</sup> .	

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Figure 3

The section 'Elogiasti et Symbolici' of the *Catalogus Bibliothecae Collegii Szakolczensis S.I.* BEKK J 10/16. 57.

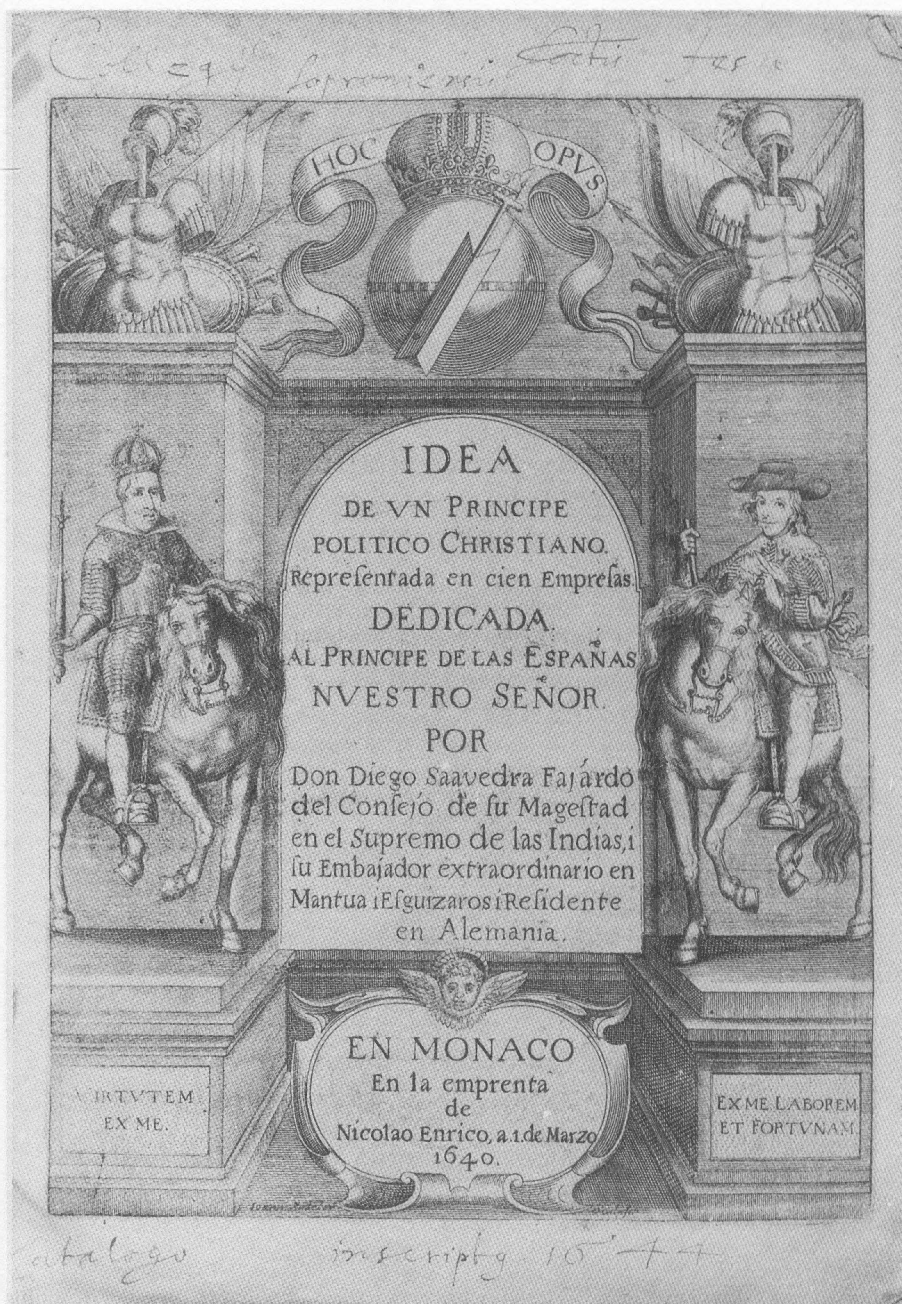


Figure 4  
Title-page of Diego Saavedra Fajardo, *Idea de un Principe politico Christiano* (Munich: Nicolaus Henricus, 1640) with the owners inscription of the Sopron college from 1644.



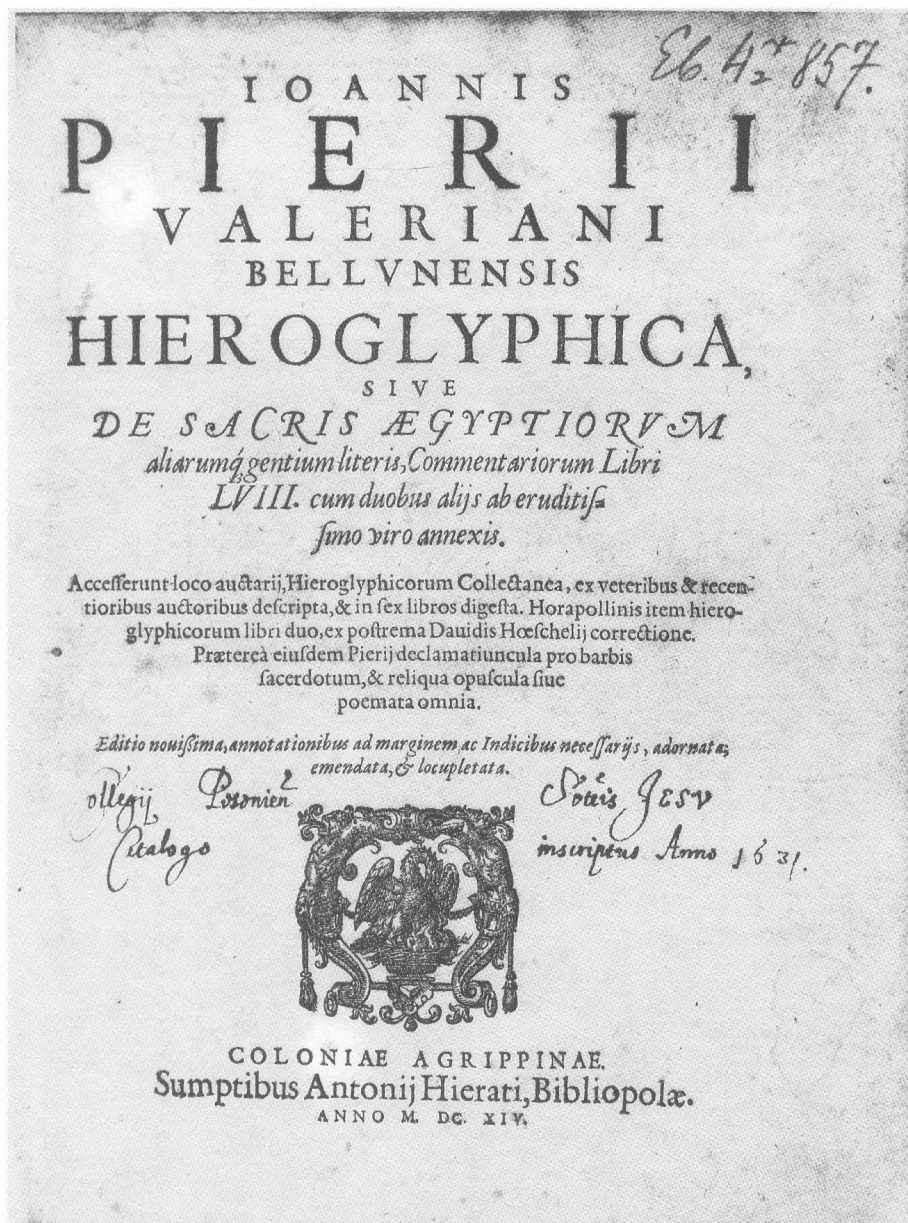


Figure 5

Title-page of Giovanni Pierio Valeriano Bolzani, *Hieroglyphica* (Cologne: Antonius Hieratus, 1614) with the owners inscription of the Pozsony college from 1631.

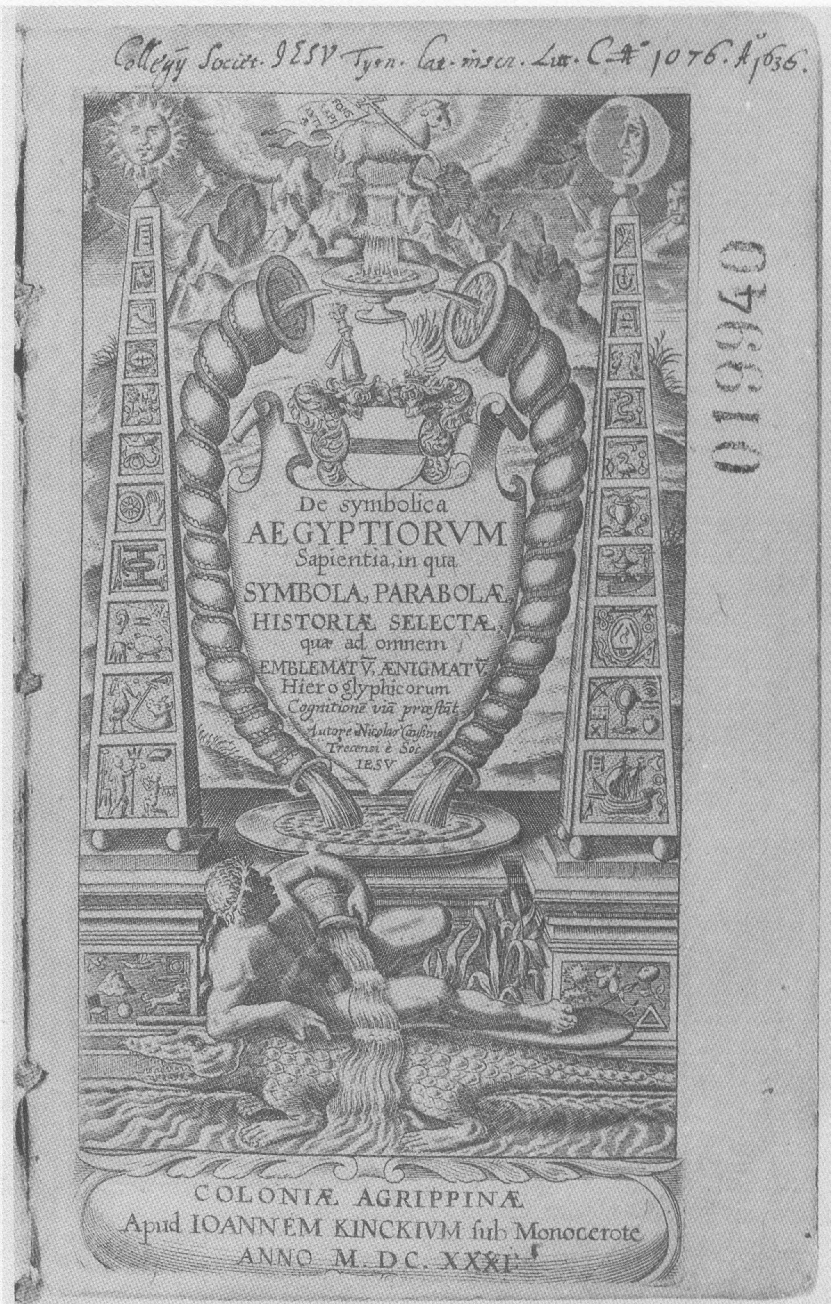


Figure 6  
Title-page of Nicolaus Caussin, *De symbolica Aegyptiorum sapientia* (Cologne: Joannes Kinckius, 1631) with the owners inscription of the Nagyszombat college from 1636.



Figure 7  
 The perfect Jesuit disciple. Charles Musart, *Adolescens Academicus* (Vienna: Joannes Ignatius Heyinger 1744), fig. 9.





Figure 8

Title-page of the manuscript of Ferenc Pragner from 1718, excerpted from Nicolas Reusner, *Symbola imperatorum* (Frankfurt/M.: Joannes Spiess et haered. Romani Beati, 1602). BEKK G 15.



Table 1  
Classes with emblematic publications in the systematic catalogues

<i>Classes</i>	<i>Number of catalogues</i>
Ascetici (Ascetici et spirituales, spirituales)	22
Concionatores (Concionatores et catechistae)	22
Philologi, Philosophi (Philomathi, Philosophi morales)	14
Historici (Historici profani, Historici sacri, Historici sacri et profani)	13
Poetae (Poetae et comici, Poetici cum grammatices)	10
Humanistae	9
Miscellanei (Varii)	9
Politici	7
Interpretes Sacrae Scripturae (Scripturistici)	6
Rhetores	5
Theologi (Theologi morales, Theologi morales et scholastici)	5
Vitae (Vitae sanctorum)	4
Controversistae	3
Oratores	3
Polemici	3
Classici	2
Haeretici	2
Juristae (Juristae, casistae, canonistae)	2
SS. Patres (S. Patres et ascetae)	2
Scholastici	2
Concilia, Patres, Scripturistae, Synodi	1
Dictionaria, lexica, polyanthea	1
Elegiaci	1
Epici	1
Expositores	1
Grammatici	1
Libri privati suppressae Soc. Iesu, statuta et indulgentiae	1
Lyrici	1

Table 2

The proportion of Jesuit and non-Jesuit emblematic publications and authors

a. *Publications*

<i>Place</i>	<i>Jesuit</i>		<i>Non-Jesuit</i>		<i>sum total</i>
	<i>piece</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>piece</i>	<i>%</i>	
Győr	64	65	34	35	98
Kassa	46	71	19	29	65
Nagyszombat	186	68	89	32	275
Pozsony	52	71	21	29	73
Sopron	50	72	19	28	69
Szokolca	88	77	26	23	114
Trencsén	73	82	16	18	89
Zágráb	65	64	37	36	102

b. *Authors*

<i>Place</i>	<i>Jesuit</i>		<i>Non-Jesuit</i>		<i>sum total</i>
	<i>piece</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>piece</i>	<i>%</i>	
Győr	19	59	13	41	32
Kassa	12	57	9	43	21
Nagyszombat	29	69	13	31	42
Pozsony	18	67	9	33	27
Sopron	16	57	12	43	28
Szokolca	24	63	14	37	38
Trencsén	18	86	3	14	21
Zágráb	27	64	15	36	42

Table 3

The most representative Jesuit authors

<i>Author</i>	<i>Number of publications</i>	<i>Number of libraries</i>
Jeremias Drexel	224	25
Henricus Engelgrave	187	23
Herman Hugo	98	12
Gabriel François Le Jay	87	15
Pierre L'Abbe	76	11
Jacob Masen	75	12
Antoine Sucquet	67	13
Nicolaus Caussin	46	14
Paul de Barry	45	9
Maximilian van der Sandt	37	12
Bohuslav Balbin	32	6
Jacob Balde	20	8

Table 4  
Hungarian emblem authors in Jesuit libraries

<i>Jesuit authors</i>	<i>Number of libraries</i>
Vanossi, Antal	13
Rajcsányi, János	9
Viszocsányi, Ferenc	7
Hevenesí, Gábor	5
Gyalogi, János	4
Okolicsányi, Elek	2
<i>Non-Jesuit authors</i>	<i>Number of libraries</i>
Zsámboky, János	4
Lackner, Kristóf	3
Berger, Illés	1

Table 5  
Non-Jesuit authors in Jesuit libraries

<i>Author</i>	<i>Number of libraries</i>
Diego de Saavedra Fajardo	14
Filippo Picinelli	12
Andrea Alciato	8
Abraham a Sancta Clara	7
Giovanni Pierio Valeriano Bolzani	6
Nicolaus Reusner	5
Paolo Aresi	4
Benedictus van Haefthen	3
Claude Paradin	2
Cesare Ripa	2
Jacobus Typotius	2



Table 6

## Main types of emblematic publications in Jesuit libraries

<i>Type of publication</i>	<i>Number of libraries</i>
Moral collections, compendia	29
Publications related to saints	29
Publications outlining Christian behaviour	27
Sermons	26
Guidance for rulership	25
Philosophical theses and systems	15
Church learning and cults	13
Occasional prints (related to family, school and social life, royal and Church representation)	11

Tabel 7

Emblematic publications in two lists of recommended books from the eighteenth century

<i>Subject-matter</i>	<i>Number of publications</i>	
	<i>Nagyszombat</i>	<i>Szakolca</i>
Grammatica	1	1
De copia verborum	1	1
Praecepto: de epistolis	1	1
Poetici: de tota arte poetica, vel in parte scripserunt	1	2
Poetici: de fabulis poeticis	4	5
Poetici: de epigrammate leges scripserunt	1	1
Poetici: Epigrammata scripserunt	1	3
Poetici: Elegiographi	4	6
Poetici: Praeceptores (eclogae)	1	1
Poetici: Praeceptores (satyrae)	1	1
Poetici: Praeceptores (lyrae)	1	1
De vestitu comico	2	2
Emblematum et symbolorum leges	3	8
Symbolographi	16	19
De artificiis poetic.	1	1
Praecepta rhetoricae, et orationis compon. artificium	2	4
Politico morales stylo mixto	2	3
De elogiis Praeceptores	2	4
Elogiorum scriptores	5	7
Historiae praecepta scripsere	2	2
Autores de rebus Societatis	1	1
Series Autorum supelictili eruditae serientium	5	7

Table 8

Emblematic publications in the rooms of Jesuit teachers

<i>Nagyszombat, middle of the 18th century</i>	<i>Number of publications</i>
1. Professor Philosophiae	1
2. Professor Philosophiae	1
Magister Parvae	2
Magister Rhetoricae	4
Magister Poetae	12
Magister Syntaxeos	1
Magister Grammatices	4
Magister Principiorum	4
Professor Matheseos	3
<i>Ungvár, 1707</i>	
Magistri	8
<i>Szepes, 1773</i>	
Professor	3

Table 9  
Jesuit owners' notes in emblematic prints

<i>Author</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Number of publications</i>
Otto Aicher	Theatrum funebre	1
Andrea Alciato	Emblematum liber	2
Bohuslav Balbin	Verisimilia humaniorum disciplinarum	14
Jacob Balde	Poema de vanitate mundi	3
Jacob Balde	Urania victrix	2
Jacobus Boschius	Symbolographia	2
Carlo Bovio	Ignatius insignium	2
Joachim Camerarius (jun.)	Symbola et emblemata	2
Nicolaus Caussin	De symbolica Aegyptiorum sapientia	6
Natale Conti	Mythologia	3
Jeremias Drexel	Opera omnia	2
Henricus Engelgrave	Coelum empyreum	1
Paolo Giovio	Dialogo dell'Imprese	1
Guillaume van Hees	Emblemata sacra	2
Herman Hugo	Pia desideria	3
Imago Primi Saeculi		2
Albert Ines	Acroamatum epigrammaticorum	1
Pierre L'Abbe	Elogia sacra	1
Gabriel François Le Jay	Bibliotheca Rhetorum	2
Carolus Libertinus	Divus Franciscus Xaverius	1
Jacob Masen	Speculum imaginum	8
Jacob Masen	Ars nova argutiarum	4
Michael Pexenfelder	Apparatus eruditionis	6
Michael Pexenfelder	Ethica symbolica	3
Filippo Picinelli	Mundus symbolicus	3
Silvestro Pietrasanta	De symbolis heroicis	1
Joannes de Pineda	Commentariorum in Job	1
François Antoine Pomey	Pantheum mythicum	2
Jacobus Pontanus	Floridorum libri 8	2
Ignatius Querck	Acta S. Ignatii de Loyola	1
Franciscus Reinzer	Meteorologia	1
Nicolaus Reusner	Symbolorum Imperatorum	2
Cesare Ripa	Iconologia	1
Charles de la Rue	Carminum libri 4	1
Diego de Saavedra	Fajardo Idea Principis	3
Joannes Senftleben	Philosophia moralis	1
	Templum gratiarum	1



Emmanuele Tesaro	Il Cannocchiale Aristotelico	2
Jacobus Typotius	Symbola Divina et humana	1
Giovanni Pierio		
Valeriano Bolzani	Hieroglyphica	3
Gaetano Verani	Pantheon argutiae	1
Joannes Vincartius	Sacrarum heroidum epistolae	1
János Zsámboky	Emblemata	2
(Sambucus)		

## NOTES

1. É. Knapp and G. Tüskés, 'Irodalmi emblematika és emblémarecepció Magyarországon 1564-1796', *Magyar Könyvszemle* 112 (1995), 142-63; É. Knapp and G. Tüskés, 'Towards a Corpus of the Hungarian Emblem Tradition (Literary Emblematics and Emblem-Reception in Hungary 1564-1796)' in *European Iconography East and West. Selected papers of the Szeged international conference, June 9-12, 1993*, ed. Gy. E. Szönyi. (Leiden-New York-Cologne, 1996), pp. 190-208.
2. É. Knapp and G. Tüskés, 'Emblem Theories in Hungary in the 16th and 17th centuries' in *Neolatin irodalom Európában és Magyarországon*, ed. L. Jankovits and G. Kecskeméti (Pécs, 1996), pp. 171-87.
3. L. Polgár, *Bibliographia de historia Societatis Iesu in Regnis olim Corona Hungarica unitis (1560-1773)* (Rome, 1957).
4. K. Porteman, 'The Use of the Emblem in Jesuit Colleges. The Affixiones', Paper on the conference 'Emblem Studies. The State of the Art.' Wrocław, 7-11 June, 1995.
5. *Catalogus manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Scientiarum Universitatis Budapestinensis*, vol.2.1: *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum* (Budapest, 1889), pp. 210-20.
6. *Catalogus librorum Collegii Cassoviensis Societatis Iesu ab anni 1660 Junio. (1660-1682)*. Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Kézirattár (OSzKK) Fol. Lat. 23.
7. *Catalogus Bibliothecae Collegii abolitae Societatis Budensis*. Budapesti Egyetemi Könyvtár Kézirattár (BEKK) J 10/2. fol. 119/a; *Catalogus Bibliothecae Collegii Szakolczensis S.I.* BEKK J 10/16. 57.; J 10/17. fol. 72, 72/a.
8. *Catalogus bibliothecae Zagradiensis Coll. S.I.* BEKK J 10/20. fol. 93/a., J10/21. 5.
9. Leyden, 1566; Frankfort, 1567.
10. *Elenchus Librorum abolitae Societatis Collegii Leutschoviensis*. BEKK J 10/5. 30, 45, 34.
11. *Catalogus Librorum abolitae Societatis Iesu Residentiae Comaromiensis*. BEKK J 10/3. 20.
12. *Conscriptio Bibliothecae Collegii abolitae Societatis Jaurinensis*. BEKK J 98/5. 114-125.
13. *Conscriptio Bibliothecae [...] Jaurinensis*. J 98/5. 74.
14. *Catalogus novus librorum Collegii Tirnaviensis Societatis Iesu. Conscriptus Anno Domini MDCXC. (1690-1773)*. BEKK J 2/1-2.
15. *Ratio Studiorum et Institutiones Scholasticae Societatis Iesu per Germaniam olim vigentes collectae concinnatae dilucidatae a G. M. Pachtler S.J.* 4 vols (Berlin, 1887-1894), II, 352, 511, III, 189.

16. *Catalogus novus [...] Tirnaviensis [...] (1690)*. J 2/1-2. 2. 95-96., 1. 247., 250-251., 2. 427., 1. 341., 2. 246.
17. In the catalogues of the libraries of Nagyszombat, Pozsony and Zagreb.
18. E.g. Eger: date of foundation: 1688, number of emblematic imprints: 19. Pozsega: date of foundation: 1699, number of emblematic imprints: 30.
19. E.g. Pál Baranyi, István Bellusi, Gergely Berzeviczy, Wolfgang Bossányi, János Despotovich, János Gyalogi, Ferenc Vizsocsány.
20. E.g. György DereKay, Gergely Szentgyörgyi.
21. *Conscriptio Bibliothecae [...] Jaurinensis*. J 98/5. 7.; *Catalogus [...] Szakolczensis*. J 10/16. 44., J 10/17. 57, 57/a.
22. *Catalogus novus [...] Tirnaviensis [...] (1690)*. J 2/1-2. 1. 247., 250-251.; 2. 95., 101.
23. A. Sucquet, *Az örök életnek uttya*, transl. by P. György DereKay, (Nagyszombat, 1678); H. Hugo, *Gottseliger Begierden*, transl. by Johann Baptist Huttner (Ofen, 1753).
24. *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Collegii Soproniensis*. BEKK J 10/14. Polemici Nr. 16. The owners inscription in the copy from Sopron of the 1640 Munich edition: 'Collegii Soproniensis Societatis Iesu Catalogo inscriptus 1644'. Shelf mark of the copy in BEK: Ca 4r 301.
25. Shelf mark of the copy in BEK: Ca 4r 111.
26. *Catalogus novus [...] Tirnaviensis [...] (1690)*, J 2/1-2. 2. 424.; *Catalogus [...] Szakolczensis*. J 10/16-17. 56.; *Catalogus Librorum Collegii Ungvariensis. (1707)*. Magyar Országos Levéltár (MOL) urbana et Conscriptioes E 156. 107=52. In cubiculo R. Magistri.
27. *Catalogus [...] Soproniensis*. J 10/14. Miscellanei Nr. 47.: Elenchus generalis librorum qui ex bibliothecis, quas abolita S.I. in Regno Hungariae, et Provinciis eidem incorporatis habebat pro Bibliotheca Regiae Universitatis Budensis velut in eadem adhuc desiderati selecti sunt Budae in Bibliothecae Regiae Universitatis MDCCLXXXII. BEKK J 11. 249.; *Catalogus Librorum Collegii Pazmaniani sub cura RRdor. Patrum Societatis Iesu Anno MDCLXXXI. Cura [...] Georgii Daneczy S.I. [...] descriptus*. BEKK J 10/11. 149.
28. É. Knapp and G. Tüskés, 'Emblematische Viten von Jesuitenheiligen im 17./18. Jahrhundert', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 80 (1998), 105-42.
29. E. Hargittay, 'A fejedelmi tükör műfaja a 17. századi Magyarországon és Erdélyben', *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 99 (1995), 441-84.
30. *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu*. VII. Collectanea de Ratione Studiorum Societatis Iesu (1588-1616), ed. L. Lukács (Romae, 1992), pp. 634-43.

31. A. Hellmayr, *Institutio ad litteras humaniores [...] 1734*. BEKK F 33.; Cf. F. Szabó, 'A költészet tanításának elmélete és gyakorlata a jezsuiták győri tanárképzőjében (1742-1773)', *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 84 (1980), 469-85.
32. *Catalogus librorum, qui ad scientiam literarum humaniorum comparandum prae reliquis utiles sunt*. BEKK G 114. I. 9.
33. *Ib.* In the sections 'Emblematum et Symbolorum Leges' and 'Symbolographi'.
34. A. Hellmayr, *Institutio ad litteras humaniores*, pp. 489-90.
35. Cf. É. Knapp, 'A jezsuita emblémaelmélet humanista kapcsolatai', *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 99 (1995), 595-611.
36. *Catalogus [...] Ungvariensis (1707)*.; *Catalogus Librorum in Cubiculis Religiosorum (Tyrnaviae)*. BEKK J 3.; *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Residentiae Scepusiensis*. BEKK J 98/13a.
37. F. Pragner, *Symbola Imperatorum* BEKK G 15.
38. *Fasciculus Epigrammatum*. BEKK H 48. 87-95., 159-75.
39. Cf. e.g. G. Staud, *A magyarországi jezsuita iskolai színjátékok forrásai, III, 1561-1773*, (Budapest, 1988), p. 98.