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JANSENIST AND JANSENISM-RELATED BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE PREMONSTRATENSIAN ABBEY OF JASOV^{1*}

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Abstract

On the basis of the data recorded in the two book catalogues of 1787 and 1897, and of the current collection of 17th and 18th century books held by the Premonstratensian provostship in Jasov, it can be stated that the monks, who were well-acquainted with the culture of the age, were not left untouched by the Jansenist current. While in the hitherto unknown inventory of the abolition of 1787 we were able to identify the work of only one prominent Jansenist author, Antoine Arnauld's Logica sive Ars cogitandi, the 1897 catalogue includes several works primarily related to Jansenism: three by Pasquier Quesnel, two by Isaac Le Maistre de Sacy and one by Blaise Pascal. The investigation indicates that Jansenist spirituality, theological Jansenism, the critique of Jansenist views and Jesuit hostility rooted in Jansenism were all present in the books held at Jasov. The active participation of the Premonstratensian monks in the controversy surrounding the doctrine of mercy is remarkable. The basic feature of the library collection according to the 1787 inventory is the dominance of Latin-language works: four-fifths of the works are in Latin, the rest being mainly in German, with a relatively small number of works in Hungarian and French. The linguistic distribution of the books is closely related to the origins and language skills of the monks. The main themes of the works are theology, church history, ecclesiastical law, preaching, meditation, natural sciences and school textbooks, but we also find Fénelon's Telemachus, the literary bestseller of the age, among the books. Works existing in more than one copy show the intensity of monastic use. Due to the abbreviated descriptions, the Bible editions cannot be precisely identified: there were monolingual Hebrew, Latin and Hungarian editions, as well as bilingual Hebrew-Latin and Latin-German editions. The books helped the Premonstratensians to carry out their daily duties in the fields of spiritual care, education and the economic affairs of the monastery. Keywords: Jansenism, Jasov, library, Premonstratensian

I. Introduction

The transmission, presence and influence of Jansenist books, and ideas in the Kingdom of Hungary have been the subject of research for over hundred years. After Béla Zolnai, who treated the subject for several decades from the 1920s, Béla Köpeczi and Lajos Hopp examined the question, mainly in the works of Francis II Rákóczi and in his library in Rodostó (Tekirdağ, Turkey) as well as in the oeuvre of Kelemen Mikes. Over the past thirty years, several studies have been published on the Jansenist holdings of eighteenth-century

^{1*} I thank Abbot Ambróz Martin Štrbák for authorizing the research, librarian Veronika Timuláková and her colleagues for their help in studying the books, and Attila Joachim Banyko for our discussions of the history of the monastery. This is a very shortened version of the original study, for the full text, see the Slovak, French and Hungarian publication.

aristocratic libraries and of some bishops. Important conclusions from these studies² for this research are as follows:

- 1. Jansenist books arrived in Hungary from three directions in the 17th and 18th centuries: Paris, Vienna, Rome and Venice.
- 2. The most important authors have so far been identified in the order of frequency of their works as follows: Pasquier Quesnel, Blaise Pascal, Antoine Arnauld, Claude Fleury, Pierre Nicole, Cornelius Jansen, Pierre Jurieu and Nicolas Fontaine.
- 3. A determining factor was the personal interest of book collectors in acquiring the works of the Jansenists as well as those reflecting or debating the Jansenist ideas. The presence of these themes in a collection does not automatically mean the Jansenist commitment of library founders / owners, but indicates the direction of their interest. The creation and enrichment with important Jansenist books of the two episcopal libraries those, also open to the public, of György Klimo and Károly Eszterházy were mainly motivated by the objectives of higher education and public education. Their collections were supplied by three main sources: a) Vienna, with the help of Giuseppe Garampi; b) books collected by decree from the diocesan clergy and the monasteries; c) from the heritage of deceased priests. The deliberate nature of collecting fundamental works of Jansenist literature can also be seen in the library of Ferenc Herzan, bishop of Szombathely, and that of the Calvinist count, poet, translator and politician Gedeon Ráday.

During research, we examined the presence of Jansenist and Jansenist-related books, published in the 17th and 18th centuries, in the funds of the library of the Premonstratensian monastery of Jasov. Volumes from various sources, some of which are partly unknown today, came to this library in the 18th and 19th centuries. Previously, research had mainly studied the Jansenist holdings of aristocratic book collectors, high priests or small institutions, and the examination of monastic library holdings has barely begun. In this study, we review the existence of Jansenist and Jansenist-related books in the old and current collection of the library using the book catalogues of the hitherto unknown inventory of the 1787 abolitio, the catalogue manuscripts from the end of the 19th century, and the online database under construction. By listing owner's notes and other entries as well as marginalia, I try to present past owners and users in more detail.

II. Jasov's library

In his summary of the history of the Jasov library, Eugen Saból wrote in 1954 that the 18th century library consisted of about one thousand and six hundred volumes, but did not mention any sources in support of this claim.³ László Szelestei Nagy visited the Jasov Library with his group of university students in the early 2000s to assess holdings and future activities. They worked there for a week; Szelestei Nagy took notes but did not

² For an overview of the history of research, see: TÜSKÉS, Gábor. A janzenizmus kutatásának néhány kérdéséhez [To some research questions on Jansenism]. In: *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*. vol. 119, 2015, p. 164 (161-180).

³ SABÓL, Eugen. Býv. premonštrátska knižnica v Jasove. In: Jozef Kuzmíked.). Knižnice na Slovensku: Sborník o vývoji významnejších slovenských knižníc. Martin: Matica slovenská, 1954, pp. 172-175.

publish them, as the purpose at the time was to help and to protect the collection.⁴ They drew attention to the volumes to be restored, and took down and placed on shelves the volumes stored in the church tower. Over the past two decades, Anna Jávor's monograph on Johann Lucas Kracker, author of the wall paintings adorning the Jasov church and library, as well as Barbara Balážová's study dealt with the iconographic program of the frescoes in the library.⁵ Current librarians make assumptions about the collection of 18th century books of which the diocesan library of Eger keeps some pieces, but they have not had the opportunity to explore it so far.

Based on the research conducted so far, the history of the library can be divided into three main periods:

- The history of the current library of the Premonstratensian monastery of Jasov goes 1. back to the mid of the 18th century when, in place of the monastery founded in the 12th century and then depopulated in the 16th century, the provost Andreas Sauberer (1700 - 1779) arrived from the monastery of Louka (Czech Republic) in 1745. He built a late Baroque church and monastery with the support of Maria Theresa and according to plans by Anton Pilgram.6 The library room is located behind the choir of the church, on the first floor of the facade facing the garden in the monumental complex. Its frescoes were painted in 1776 by Johann Lucas Kracker; earlier, between 1762 and 1764, the latter had made the murals and the altars of the church. The decoration of the library hall was completed the same year on the occasion of the mass celebrated for the 50th anniversary of the priestly ordination of Sauberer; however, in the absence of adequate equipment, the room was not used as a library but for performance purposes. At that time, the books were stored in the rooms on the ground floor of the monastery prelature. Between 1772 and 1780 the librarian, lawyer, historian, and archivist József Mallyó (1744 – 1818) directed the operation of the library. The room designed to be used as a library was empty even in 1787 when Joseph II dissolved the monastery.
- 2. Francis I re-established the Premonstratensian order in 1802 on the condition that it would assume educational functions. 90 of the books sent to Buda during the abolitio were returned to Jasov in 1803, then provost András Zásió spent a large sum on the purchase of new books.⁷ In addition to new acquisitions, bequests from deceased members of the order have also steadily expanded the collection. At the beginning

⁴ Oral communication by László Nagy Szelestei. Since the monastery did not receive money for the restoration, the work did not continue.

⁵ JÁVOR, Anna. Johann Lucas Kracker: Ein Maler des spätbarock in Mitteleuropa. Budapest: Enciklopédia, 2005, p. 134-137; BALÁŽOVÁ, Barbara. "Hic Jason novus incola Jasovianae Phoebus adoreae" Einige Bemerkungen zum ikonographischen Programm der Bibliothek von Jasov. In: Ars. vol. 47, nr. 1., 2014, pp. 70-83.

⁶ TIMUĽÁKOVÁ, Veronika. The Library of Jasov Monastery – Thesaurus Scientiae Et Sapientiae. In: Umením a slovomkultúrne: dedičstvo Rádu premonštrátov v Jasove / Through Art And Word: the Cultural Heritage of the Premonstratensian Order in Jasov. Košice: East Slovak Gallery, 2021, pp. 59-62.

⁷ A jászóvári premontrei kanonokrend jubileumi névtára történeti bevezetéssel 1802 – 1902 [Jubilee Directory of the Order of Premonstratensian Canons in Jászóvár with a Historical Introduction 1802 – 1902]. Budapest: Stephaneum, 1902, p. 41.

of the 19th century, József Mallyó, who also wrote the history of the order, and from 1805 Jakab Koritsnyák (1778 – 1846) was the librarian who tried to organize the collection. A printed ex-libris was placed on the first internal binding board of the books.⁸ However, the library was not relocated to the representative hall built for this purpose. After Provost Ferenc Benedek (1893 – 1900) had the frescoes restored in 1895 and made the room usable for library purposes with shelves and two iron spiral staircases, the then collection of around 28,500 volumes has been moved. The first surviving manuscript catalogue describing the entire collection was produced in 1897 under the direction of the chief librarian of the University of Budapest Library, Károly Kudora (1851 – 1916) and, as part of this work, another printed ex-libris was inserted in the books.⁹

3. After the dissolution in 1950, a retirement home and a social care institution for the mentally handicapped operated in the monastery complex until 2000. The historical library and sections of the priestly library from the 20th century survived this period thanks to librarians from the Slovak National Library delegated to Jasov. The 20th century book collection is located in the first-floor corridor on the east side of the church, it is not accessible for research and its catalogue is unknown. The Premonstratensian Order gradually recovered its buildings after 1990. Online cataloguing since 2012 brings new discoveries almost daily.¹⁰

Among the inventories of Hungarian monasteries dissolved by Joseph II kept in the Hungarian National Archives, box No. 35 contains the inventory of the abolitions of the Premonstratensian monastery of Jasov.¹¹ The inventory dated March 26, 1787 cites the winter refectory on the ground floor which also served as a library, however, this room has no separate inventory.¹² There is currently no information on the books that may have been stored there. The inventory of the monks' rooms on the ground floor, after listing the furniture, contains a list of approximately 1950 volumes.¹³ We examined, in the Slovak National Archives in Bratislava, the documents concerning Jasov but we didn't find any catalogue of books there.¹⁴

- ¹¹ Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár C szekció 103 Helytartótanácsi Levéltár. Számvevőség, Alapítványi Ügyosztály [Hungarian National Archives, Section C, 103 Archives of the Government Council. Court of Auditors, Department of Foundations]. A feloszlatott magyarországi kolostorok leltárai, 35. doboz, Premontrei kolostorok, Jászó [Inventories of dissolved Hungarian monasteries, Box 35, Premonstratensian monasteries, Jasov] (abbreviated henceforth: MNL C 103, 35. d.).
- ¹² MNL C 103, 35. d. Inventur Nro 41, 26 März 1787. 495v "In Convent Winter Refectorium Nro XIV [?] als interims Bibliothek [?]".

⁸ A jászóvári..., ref. 6., 1902, pp. 322, 326.

⁹ Proposal of Károly Kudora to arrangement of the library to the provost Ferenc Benedek, January 12, 1897. Manuscript kept at the Slovak National Library, Martin, SNK, JAS 810 R 795. The historic author catalogue is avaiable on this website: https://piwigo.kniznice.eu/

¹⁰ Online catalogue including photos of title page: http://opatstvojasov.kniznice.eu/cgi-bin/koha/ opac-main.

¹³ MNL C 103, 35. d., Inventur Nro 17, 286-320.

¹⁴ SNA Bratislava, B. I. 1. Premonstrátska prepozitúra Jasov.

Regarding the funds of the 18th century library of Jasov, both the librarians of the Jasov monastery and the librarians of the archdiocese of Eger assume that Károly Eszterházy, the founder of the lyceum, delivered books by regulation from the priests and institutions of his diocese – including the library of the Jasov monastery – to his library in Eger.¹⁵ In the 18th century, owners' notes were written by hand, such as "Bibliotheca Jaszoviensis Canon. Reg S. and Ex. Ord. Premon. 1779".¹⁶ In the 19th century, two types of printed bookplates were pasted inside the first binding board. In the first half of the century, the bookplate with the inscription "Inscriptus Bibliothecae Jaszoviensi Canonicorum Regularium Praemonstratensium, Anno 18." was used, in which the last two digits of the year were often left blank. When the library was fitted out in 1897, an ex-libris with the inscription "Inscriptus Bibliothecae Jaszoviensi Canonicorum Regularium Praemonstratensium" was pasted, followed by the classification symbol. Bookplates were often affixed to the previous owner's entry, rendering it unreadable.

Books containing early 19th century or late 19th century bookplates previously belonged to Premonstratensian monks in Jasov. A good example is the copy of the 1739 German edition of Nicolas Le Tourneux's *L'Année chrétienne* [Christian Year], preserved here,¹⁷ the first volume of which contains an ex-libris for the year 1842 and the title page of the sixth volume contains the owner's note "Carl Waczek" of the Premonstratensian monk Károly Vatzek (1747 – 1840). When the Jasov monastery was re-established in 1802, Vatzek was first the administrator of the Premonstratensian monastery of Leles (dependent on the Jasov Abbey), then instructor of the novices from 1803 and then retired in Jasov. The book was therefore taken over by the library after his death.

III. The library in the abolition inventory of 1787

The library, established in the third quarter of the 18th century, served mainly for the daily scientific, educational and pastoral work of the monks. The continued use of books was closely tied to the Premonstratensian way of life. In addition to forestry and mining, the Premonstratensians of Jasov were also actively involved in public education: From 1778, the grammar school in Rožňava was taken over from the Franciscans, to whom they gave the entire teaching staff.

The inventory of the abolition reveals that in the spring of 1787 eleven monks lived in the Jasov monastery, and each of them had books in his cell. After listing the furniture, the inventory for the eleven rooms contains the books per monk, usually grouped by size. For eight of the eleven monks – Domonkos Meszessy, Elias Gampé, Pál Bednarics, József Jancsik, Károly Vaczek, Leopold Stöhr, Augustinus Stanzel and Gábor Fehér – the books were inventoried in this way. In the case of Ludolf Gedeon, neither size nor thematic grouping can be discovered in his list of books. In the list of books by Adalbert Torkos, works are divided into two groups according to language: "Lateinische und Hungar. Bücher" and "Deutsche Bücher". Vencel Stepanek's book register includes thematic groupings. Each monk had books: the subprior Domonkos Meszessy had the most (154 works in 271 vo-

¹⁵ The list of owners of the books of the Archdiocesan Library of Eger is being compiled. I thank director Ferenc Balogh for the oral information.

¹⁶ Shelfmark: A 123.

¹⁷ Shelfmark: A 119.

lumes), and the prior emeritus Leopold Stöhr and Adalbert Torkos had the least (21 works in 34 volumes and 36 works in 47 volumes respectively). According to the inventory, the total number of books is approximately 1067 works in 1947 volumes.

The books reflect the studies, the spiritual readings of the monks, the publications necessary for their function in the order and, where appropriate, their own works. In general, in each monk's room there was at least a Bible and a four-volume Premonstratensian breviary, a Premonstratensian diurnal and various works of Church and order history. Five monks each had a copy of Thomas a Kempis' *Imitatio Christi* and Fénelon's *Télémaque*. Roberto Bellarmino is a frequent author, whose works *Epistolae familiares* and *De gemitu columbae* have been inventoried in two copies and *De primatu Romani Pontificis* in one copy. Other recurring works are *Theologia* by Pietro Maria Gazzaniga and Agostino Gervasio (seven copies), and *Bohemia Docta* by Bohuslav Balbin (three copies). The list also contains two journals: *Magyar könyv-ház* [Hungarian Book House], edited by János Mihály Molnár and published from 1783, representing the transition from encyclopaedias to periodicals, and an unspecified *Religions Journal*.¹⁸

The inventory lists the works in abbreviated form, piece by piece: it provides the number of volumes, the author, the abbreviated title, and possibly the place of publication. Based on this data, the works are broadly identifiable, but the specific edition often cannot be precisely determined. At the end of the lists there is sometimes a summary description which does not allow the specific work to be deduced: for example, "19 tomi Auctores classici Amstelodami aediti".¹⁹ Two types of entry were used in the inventory: the Latin and Hungarian works were recorded in the Latin alphabet, and the German works in Gothic. The inventory of each cell was signed by the monk who lived there.

Domonkos Meszessy (1748 - 1811),²⁰ member of the convent and subprior, taught humanities at the Lyceum in Rožňava. His books included ten works in 19 folio volumes, 21 works in 30 volumes in-4°, 95 works in 169 volumes in-8°, 17 works in 28 volumes in-12° and eleven works in 25 volumes in-16°. Most of the books are theological works, works of ecclesiastical law, ecclesiastical history and poetry of the 17th and 18th centuries. In addition to the works of several Jesuit authors, there is also a book by a Reform pastor: *Lakodalmi köntös* [Wedding Dress, 1777] by György Palóczy (1733 – 1805).²¹ The teaching activities of Meszessy are indicated by the editions of works by ancient authors, but textbooks of mathematics can also be found in the list. Among his books, he kept four copies of his own work, the ode written on the occasion of the mass celebrated for the 50th anniversary of the priestly ordination of Father Sauberer and published in Kosice.²² A very significant Jansenist work can be identified in his list of books: the work *Logica sive ars cogitandi* by Antoine Arnauld.²³

Elias Gampé, or Illés Gampe (1742 – 1793), ordinarius, member of the convent and administrator of the monastery. His books included nine works in 22 folio volumes,

¹⁸ MNL C 103, 35. d., 17, 289r: "4 tomi Magyar könyv Ház I. Szabó", 309r: "6 Religions Journal".

¹⁹ MNL C 103, 35. d., 17, 289v.

²⁰ A jászóvári..., ref. 6., 1902, p. 323.

²¹ MNL C 103, 35. d., 17, 289r: "1 tomo Lakadalmi Köntös".

²² MNL C 103, 35. d., 17, 287v: "4 tomi Odae impressae Dominici Meszessy".

²³ MNL C 103, 35. d., 17, 288r: "1 tomo Ars cogitandi".

18 works in 28 volumes in-4° and 50 works in 101 volumes in-8°. Most of the books are 17th and 18th century theological, sermon, historical and church history works, as well as French and German language books. Among them are the ecclesiastical history of Lorenzo Berti, accused of Jansenism, the biblical history of Augustin Calmet, participant in the quarrel between Jansenists and Jesuits, François Genet's *Theologia moralis* condemned by the Pope, and the emblematic encyclopedia, of more than a thousand pages, of Filippo Picinelli.²⁴

Gedeon Ludolf (1751 – 1806)25 was the superintendent of mines and forests belonging to the Jasov monastery. His books include seven works in thirteen folio volumes, thirteen works in 17 volumes in-4°, 30 works in 43 volumes in-8° and three works in nine volumes in-12°. Most of the works consist of theological works, preaching, ecclesiastical history, ecclesiastical law in Latin from the 18th century, as well as works on geometry, practical mathematics, geography, mineralogy, on mines and metallurgy, in Latin and German.26 Among the monks, the second youngest and who spent the shortest time in the Premonstratensian order was the thirty-one years old Pál Bednarics (1756 - [1803?]). His books include: a work in two folio volumes, twelve works in 18 volumes in-4°, 89 works in 130 volumes in-8° and 23 works in 34 volumes in-12°. Among his books are theological works and works on the history of the Church (for example the Theologia of Pietro Maria Gazzaniga), the works of authors of antiquity (Ovid, Horace, Titus Livius, Tacitus, Cornelius Nepos, Herodotus), books of poetry and sermons (e.g. Jacob Balde's Opera poetica oratoria, books of canon law and philosophical readings; there are also learning manuals for Hebrew, Greek and Latin. Among the authors linked to Jansenism are Claude Fleury's Institutiones Juris Ecclesiastici, published in 1687 and blacklisted, and Felice Potesta's Theologia Moralis.27 Unlike his confreres, Bednarics did not return to the order after the restoration, but continued to work as a parish priest in Subotica.28

Jenő Jantsik²⁹ (Joseph / Eugenio Jancsik, 1752 – 1808) served as a cantor and choirmaster in the monastery. Among his books, one work is in one folio volume, 18 works in 33 volumes in-4° and 38 works in 76 volumes in-8°. Among them are works of Church history, theological (e.g. Pietro Maria Gazzaniga's *Theologia*)³⁰ and works of ancient authors (Plutarch), as well as Fénelon's *Télémaque*.³¹

²⁴ MNL C 103, 35. d., 17, 291r: "2 tomi Picinellus mundus symbolicus", "1 tomi R. V. Calmet Biblischer historie", "1 tomo Berti dissertationes in historiam Ecclesiasticam". 292r: "7 tomi Francisci Genetto Theologia Moralis".

²⁵ A jászóvári premontrei kanonokrend..., ref. 9., 1902, p. 323.

²⁶ MNL C 103, 35. d., 17, 293v: "1 tomo Penter Praxis Geometriae", "1 tomo Cramer: Anfangs Gründe der Metallurgie", "1 tomo Über das Anquicken Gold und Silber Born", "1 tomo Liesganig Tabulae memoriales arithmetico et Matheseos", "1 tomo Beitners de Subterranea Geographia", "1 tomo Korabinsky: Geographisch-historisches Lexikon von Ungarn". 294r: "4 tomi Anfangs Gründe der Mathematik und Phisik und Artillerie", "1 tomo Gottschalg Mineralogie", "1 tomo Bergmännisches Wörterbuch".

²⁷ MNL C 103, 35. d., 17, 295r: "1 tomo Felix Potestatis Theologia Moralis". 296r: "1 Claudii Fleury institutiones juris Ecclesiastic".

²⁸ TORMÁSY, Gábor. A szabadkai római kath. főplebánia története [The history of the Roman Catholic main parish in Subotica]. Szabadka, 1883, p. 130.

²⁹ A jászóvári..., ref. 6., 1902, pp. 323-324.

³⁰ MNL C 103, 35. d., 17, 299v: "4 Petri Mariae Mazanigae de praelectionibus Theologico".

³¹ MNL C 103, 35. d., 17, 300r: "1 Thelemachus".

Károly Vatzek (Carolus Waczek, 1747 – 1840),³² a native of České Budějovice, was a member of the Jasov convent. His books include 23 works in 51 folio volumes, 23 works in 36 volumes in-4°, 148 works in 270 volumes in-8°, and seven works in 61 volumes in-12°. Among his books are historical works (e.g. *De Rebus Gestis Friderici Wilhelmi Magni Electoris Brandenburgici* by Samuel von Pufendorf),³³ church history, theological works (e.g. *Dictionarium Manuale Biblicum*³⁴ et *Commentarius litteralis historico-moralis in Regulam S. Benedicti* by Augustin Calmet,³⁵ Theologia de Pietro Maria Gazzaniga),³⁶ Latin editions of ancient works (Ovid, Virgil, Cicero, Plutarch, Seneca, Titus Livius) and humanists (Erasmus). In addition, there are several German works (eg. Andreas Ulrich Mayer and Gerard van Swieten's thesis on the existence of ghosts and vampirism, 1768),³⁷ as well as Hungarian, French, Italian, German and Latin.

Lipót Stöhr (Leopold Stöhr, 1740 – 1789) was prior emeritus and he had the fewest works in his room. His books included two works in two folio volumes, five works in five volumes in-4°, thirteen works in 26 volumes in-8° and one work in one volume in-12°. In addition to the most common books probably in daily use – the Premonstratensian Breviary and Diurnal, Thomas a Kempis' *Imitatio Christi* and the already mentioned Fénelon novel – a German two-volume edition of Voltaire's work is worth mentioning.

August Stanzel (Augustinus Stanzel, 1747 – 1809),³⁸ of an Austrian origin, was a doctor of theology and philosophy and professor of theology at Jasov. His books include eleven works in 31 folio volumes, 32 works in 46 volumes in-4°, 65 works in 172 volumes in-8°, six works in six volumes in-12° and six works in six volumes in-24°. In addition to church history, theology, poetry and rhetorical works, there are also architectural, mathematical, horticultural readings and French-language textbooks. Forty volumes of Claude Fleury's *Ecclesiastical History* published in 1691 and François Genet's *Theologia Moralis* are among the authors related to Jansenism.³⁹

Béla Torkos (Adalbert Torkos, 1755 – 1806),⁴⁰ born in Eger, was a member of the Jasov monastery. His library included 27 Latin and Hungarian works in 36 volumes and nine German works in eleven volumes. Among them are several Hungarian works, such as the unspecified works of Péter Pázmány and György Káldi, a biography of Saint Stephen, and Josephus Sancta Maria's *Festivale Tyrnaviense* sermon book for religious festivals in Hungary.⁴¹ An unspecified work by John Barclay is also on the list.⁴²

³² A jászóvári..., ref. 6., 1902, p. 323.

³³ MNL C 103, 35. d., 17, 301v: "4 Puffendorf de rebus Svevicis et Brandenburg".

³⁴ MNL C 103, 35. d., 17, 301v: "3 Calmet Dictionarium Biblicum".

³⁵ MNL C 103, 35. d., 17, 302r: "1 Calmet in Regulam S. Benedicti".

³⁶ MNL C 103, 35. d., 17, 302r: "1 Gazzaniga Theologia Spec. Doct.".

³⁷ MNL C 103, 35. d., 17, 302r: "1 Abhandlung der Daseyns der Gespenster und Vampiriis".

³⁸ A jászóvári..., ref. 6., 1902, p. 323.

³⁹ MNL C 103, 35. d., 17, 308r: "24 Genett Theologia Thomistica", "40 Fleuri Historia Ecclesiastica, insuper apud compactorem tomi 5, nondum Compacti".

⁴⁰ A jászóvári..., ref. 6., 1902, p. 324.

⁴¹ MNL C 103, 35. d., 17, 311r: "2 Petrus Pázmány Concionator Hungaricus", "1 Káldi Concionator Hungaricus". 311v: "1 Vita Sanct Stephani Regis Hungariae", "1 Festivale Tyrnaviense".

⁴² MNL C 103, 35. d., 17, 311v: "1 Joannis Barclaj".

Gábor Fehér (Gabriel Fehér, 1743 – 1820),⁴³ a native of the Háromszék region, was a member of the Jasov convent, then headmaster of a high school in Rožňava. His books include 23 works in 58 folio volumes, 22 works in 34 volumes in-4°, 51 works in 80 volumes in-8°, ten works in twelve volumes in-12° and seven works in fourteen volumes in-16°. He listed several Hungarian and Hungarian-related works, such as the *Igazságra vezérlő Kalauz* [Guide to Truth] by Péter Pázmány, *Annales és Hierarchia Hungarica* by György Pray, the collection of Hungarian historical sources by Johann Georg Schwandtner with a preface by Mátyás Bél, the summary of Hungarian history by István Katona and the aesthetic collection by György Alajos Szerdahely published in 1778.⁴⁴ He was the only one who had a Bible in Hungarian and he had the Church History of János Molnár.⁴⁵ Among authors connected with Jansenism, the collected works of Zeger Bernhard van Espen are on his list of books.⁴⁶

Born in Pardubice (Czech Republic), Vencel Stepanek⁴⁷ (Wenceslaus Stieppánek, 1747 – 1803) was a member of the convent and professor of law and church theology in Jasov. In his library, books were unusually listed not by size but by topic, with a total of 111 works in 204 volumes. He is the only monk to include Arabic poetry among his books – Ali Ben Abi Taleb's 1745 volume *Carmina* – and the collected works of Jeremias Drexel.⁴⁸ Authors linked to Jansenism include works by Augustin Calmet, Joannes Opstraet, Gaspard Juénin, Louis Ellies Dupin, François van Ranst, Zeger Bernhard van Espen and Bossuet.⁴⁹

What happened to these books after the order was dissolved? The books were delivered to the Pest University Library according to the desiderata list. It is likely that there are volumes from Jasov's collection of 18th century books in the Budapest University Library. However, auctions of duplicate books entered into the Budapest University Library took place at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. It is not possible to determine the provenance of the books sold at this time from the catalogues

⁴³ A jászóvári..., ref. 6., 1902, p. 322.

⁴⁴ MNL C 103, 35. d., 17, 313r: "1 Kalaóz Pazmány Peter". 313v: "4 Annales Veteres Hunnorum, Avarum, et Hungarorum, Annalisten Hungariae, a Divo Stephano usque ad Maximilianum Secundum", "3 Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum veteres ac genuini ex Bibliotheca Augusta Vindobonensis cum amplissima praefacione Mathiae Belio", "1 Georgii Pray Hierarchia Hungarica". 314r: "4 Historia Critica primae Hungariae Domesticorum et Regum", "1 Aestetica seu doctrina boni gustus Geograf. Szerdahelyi".

⁴⁵ MNL C 103, 35. d., 17, 313r: "1 Hungarica Biblia". 314r: "1 Az Anya Stegyház Történeti Molnár János áltál".

⁴⁶ MNL C 103, 35. d., 17, 313v: "3 Zegeri Bernardi Van-Espen opera omnia Cannonica".

⁴⁷ A jászóvári..., ref. 6., 1902, p. 323.

⁴⁸ MNL C 103, 35. d., 17, 319r: "1 Ali-Ben AbiTaleb Carmina Arabica et Latina in 8 M", "2 Jeremiae Drexelii Opera in 4to M".

⁴⁹ MNL C 103, 35. d., 17, 317r: "2 Dissertationes in omnes sacrae Scripturae libros August. Calmet in fol.". 317v: "1 De Locis Theologicis Dissertationes Joannis Opraet in 4to M", "7 Institutiones Theolgiae Caspari Juenin in 12mo", "1 Historia Haeresum Franc. Van-Ranst in 8vo m.". 318r: "2 De Antiqua Ecclesiae Disciplina Ludov. Dupin in 8vo". 318v: "9 Opera omnia Cannonica Zegeri Van-Espen in fol M.", "2 Defensio declarationis Conc. Gallic. Jac. Bossuet in 4to M", "1 Tractatus super reum Potest. cum Eccles. Cathol. ejusdem".

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of the auctions. When the provostship of Jasov was restored, about ninety volumes not yet catalogued in the university library were returned to the library. Several works related to Jansenism listed at the time of the dissolution can be identified in today's "historical" library holdings, for example works by Augustin Calmet, Zeger Bernhard van Espen and François van Ranst.

From the analysis of the lists of 1787, we can see that several of the monks had books in their rooms related to Jansenism. Most of these publications (seven) can be related to Stepanek Vencel, but one or two volumes related to Jansenism were also on the shelves of Domonkos Meszessy, Elias Gampé, Pál Bednarics, August Stantzel and Gábor Fehér.

IV. Conclusion

From the catalogue of books of 1787, the catalogue of the end of the 19th century, and the current collection, it is possible to affirm that the monks of the provostship of Premonstratensians of Jasov, for the most part were well acquainted with the culture of the time, and were not spared by the Jansenist current. While only one prominent Jansenist author, Antoine Arnauld and his work *Logica sive Ars cogitandi* could be identified in the 1787 inventory, the 1897 catalogue contains several primarily Jansenist and Jansenist-related works: three by Pasquier Quesnel, two by Isaac Le Maistre de Sacy and one by Blaise Pascal.

By comparing this overview with the holdings of ecclesiastical and secular libraries of the 17th and 18th centuries examined by Ágnes Berecz, it can be seen that according to the testimonies of book catalogues and our current knowledge, the works of several important Jansenist authors were missing from Jasov's library, including Cornelius Jansen, Pierre Nicole, François Boyer, Pierre Jurieu, Nicolas Fontaine and Louis Sebastien Le Nain de Tillemont. This study shows that Jansenist spirituality, theological Jansenism, criticism of Jansenist views and anti-Jesuitism rooted in Jansenism were present among Jasov's books. The active participation of Premonstratensian monks in the controversy around grace is remarkable.

The fundamental characteristic of the book collection in the monastic cells of the 1787 inventory is the predominance of Latin works: four-fifths of the works are Latin, the rest are mainly German, and there are relatively small amounts of Hungarian and French works. The linguistic distribution of the books is closely linked to the origins and linguistic skills of the monks. Several of the authors also appear with more than one work. The main themes of the works are theology, church history, ecclesiastical law, preaching, meditation, scientific works and school textbooks, but among them is also the literary bestseller of the time, Fenelon's *Télémaque*. The works existing in more than one copy show the intensity of monastic use.

Due to the succinct nature of the descriptions, the Bible editions cannot be accurately identified: among them there were monolingual editions in Hebrew, Latin and Hungarian, and bilingual ones in Hebrew-Latin and Latin-German. The 18th century library collection contained mostly current 18th century books, but it also contained a number of 17th century publications. The books helped the Premonstratensian monks in their daily tasks in the pastoral, educational and economic affairs of the provostship. The books kept in the cells reflect well the education, interests and duties of the monks. There is a signifi-

cant difference in the number of books counted: most of the books were in the room of subprior Domonkos Meszessy, the least were in the room of the prior emeritus Leopold Stöhr (aged 47).

The contents of the 1897 catalogue are essentially the same as the current "historical" holdings, with only one insignificant gap. In these books related to Jansenism, in addition to the entries of members of the order, notes can be found of Jesuit, Pauline and Reform pastor possessor. The 1787 inventory and current records show some overlap: of the 61 works related to Jansenism kept in the current collection, five can be identified with certainty in the list from the end of the 18th century. The table presented here is, of course, fragmentary and can be completed once the systematic cataloguing of the "historical" collection has been completed.

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JANSENISTIKA A KNIHY SÚVISIACE S JANSENIZMOM V KNIŽNICI PRE-MONŠTRÁTSKÉHO OPÁTSTVA V JASOVE

Na základe údajov zaznamenaných v dvoch knižných katalógoch z rokov 1787 a 1897, ako aj zo súčasnej zbierky kníh zo 17. a 18. storočia, ktoré má v držbe Premonštrátske opátstvo v Jasove, možno konštatovať, že rehoľníci, ktorí boli väčšinou informovaní o tzv. kultúre danej doby, neboli nedotknutí jansenistickým prúdom. Zatiaľ čo v inventári z roku 1787 sa nám podarilo identifikovať dielo iba jedného významného jansenistického autora, Antoina Arnaulda: *Logica sive Ars cogitandi*, katalóg z roku 1897 obsahuje niekoľko diel primárne súvisiacich s jansenizmom. Tri od Pasquiera Quesnela, dve od Isaaca Le Maistre de Sacy a jeden od Blaisea Pascala. Bádanie poukazuje na fakt, že jansenistická spiritualita, teologický jansenizmus, kritika jansenistických názorov a jezuitské nepriateľstvo zakorenené v jansenizme boli prítomné v knihách, ktoré sa nachádzali v Jasove. Pozoruhodná je aktívna účasť premonštrátov v polemike okolo učenia o milosrdenstve.

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