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Theological Prints as a Cultural Particularity of the Aristocratic Library in Voderady with a Focus on Péter Pázmány's Prayer Book and Its Didactic Importance¹

SUCHÁŇOVÁ, Z. – NEMEC, R.: Theological Prints as a Cultural Particularity of the Aristocratic Library in Voderady with a Focus on Péter Pázmány's Prayer Book and Its Didactic Importance. *Slavica Slovaca*, 59, 2024, No 2, pp. 325-334 (Bratislava).

The objective of this contribution is the presentation and analysis of the theological assemblage of the aristocratic library in Voderady, which, from a historical viewpoint, represented an important collection of period prints. According to the period catalogue *Catalogus Vedroniensis* 1894, it initially contained as many as twelve thousand works divided into 19 thematic groups, listed over 532 pages based on the catalogue system common of the time. The aggregate of theological treatises contains several dozen interesting works in multiple languages, which testifies to a considerable degree of open-mindedness from the Zichy family, in religious and confessional issues among others. From the 83 theological works in the Voderady library, we intend to call attention to one of the most published works of Péter Pázmány, published both during his lifetime and after his death: Christian Prayer Book² (Pécs 1853), and analyse its literary and linguistic parameters to reveal interesting didactic and humanistic elements that go back to the ancient rhetorical tradition.

Aristocratic library, Voderady, theological prints, Péter Pázmány's Prayer Book, Augustine of Hippo.

Introduction

The ancient Zichy family (Ziči, Zichy-Vasonkeői) was one of the leading Hungarian noble families with roots that went back to the second half of the 13th century. The Zichys came from the Somogy and Zala Counties (Hungary) and over the course of time the family split into two main branches – one in Várpalota, Hungary, and the other in Rusovce, Slovakia. These further divided into secondary branches, through which the assets of the Zichy family spread across Hungary, Slovakia, Austria and Ukraine. Among their main residences in Slovakia were Rusovce, Voderady, Cífer, Čičov, Divín, Želovce and others.³ It is the handwritten catalogue en-

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¹ Štúdia je výstupom projektu APVV-22-0130 *Šľachtické knižnice na strednom a západnom Slovensku*.

² Due to the number of editions of this work which bear various titles, and to ensure brevity, we shall use the title *Prayer Book* throughout the article.

³ Saktorová, H.: Na margo Zičiovskej šľachtickej knižnice vo Voderadoch. Martin: Slovenská národná knižnica 2018, s. 7.

titled *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Vedrodiensis*, 1894 (Catalogue of Books of the Voderady Library, 1894) that demonstrates the wealth of books owned by the family, stored from 1878 in the early-Empire two-storey three-wing manor house in Voderady near Trnava, originally a late-Baroque building.

In the period that the catalogue was compiled, the manor house was owned by Joseph Zichy (1841–1924), a public official and member of the Diet of Hungary, who is considered to be one of the last important representatives of the Voderady branch of the Zichys. He was born in Bratislava into the family of the diplomat and county dignitary, Franz Zichy (1811–1900) and Countess Maria Clara Demblin (1814–1868). His siblings were the diplomat Theodor (1847–1927), the ecclesiastical dignitary Franz (1852–1883) and the art historian Augustine (1852–1925).⁴

Joseph Zichy studied at the Higher Catholic Grammar School in Trnava and then went on to study law in Bratislava and Vienna.⁵ He worked at the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce in Budapest in 1867–1869, he was the Governor of Rijeka, he held the post of Minister of Agriculture in 1872–1874, and was the Minister of Labour and Transport in Budapest in 1873–1875. Between 1889 and 1893 he was the Head of Bratislava County and in 1891–1893 was the Head of Trenčín County. He was a member of the Diet of Hungary and a member of the Upper Chamber between 1868 and 1870 and again in 1872–1875. After 1893 he withdrew from public life and dedicated himself to farming the Voderady property. In 1878 he married Princess Ilona Odescalchi (1859–1932) in Budapest. They had a son Julius in 1880 (died 1930) and a daughter Clara in 1883 (died 1971). Clara married Count Stephan Keglevich (1880–1962) in Voderady in 1907. In 1895, Joseph Zichy divorced Princess Odescalchi and married Maria, née Posch (1875–1945) in Bratislava. They had a daughter Marta (born 1908). Joseph Zichy died in 1924 in Voderady and is buried in the local family crypt. The last inhabitants of the Voderady manor house were the family of Clara and Stephan Keglevich, who left Voderady in 1945 before the arrival of the Soviet army.⁶

1. Voderady Library and Prints

The library was housed in the Voderady manor and according to period information from the 19th century, it originally held around 12,000 volumes and was a significant cultural-historical collection of prints. We can form an image of the library as it was in 1894 thanks to the 532 page catalogue (not all pages have entries). The coloured title page with the Zichy coat-of-arms is followed by the catalogue contents. Arabic numerals mark the order of the 19 thematic groups with the group title in Hungarian. The first group lists theological works and prayer books (*Vallási Iratok Imakönyvek*), the second linguistic publications, the third dictionaries and handbooks, the fourth periodicals, the fifth works on arts and crafts, the sixth lists Hungarian novels and short stories, the seventh German and Italian novels and short stories, the eighth French novels and short stories, the ninth English novels and short stories and the tenth works of belles-lettres of both European and domestic provenience as well as various editions of ancient classics.

⁴ Saktorová, H.: Na margo Zičiovskej šľachtickej knižnice vo Voderadoch, c. d., s. 8.

⁵ In addition to the family book collection, Joseph Zichy had access to the abundant library of the grammar school, which expanded his breadth of knowledge and education from a young age. At its core were books published by the Academic Printing Works of the historical Trnava University. Juríková, E.: Historická knižnica Arcibiskupského gymnázia v Trnave. In Augustínová, E. (ed.): Knižnice ako fenomén kultúrneho dedičstva Slovenska a Slovákov. Žilina: Žilina University in Žilina, 2017, s. 138-163.

⁶ Saktorová, H.: Zemepisná a cestopisná literatúra v šľachtickej knižnici Zičiovcov vo Voderadoch. In: Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae, 2022, roč. 67, č. 1–2, s. 30-31; Čambálová, D.: Osudy voderadského sídla Zičiovcov, In Bugálová, E. (ed.): Vplyv šľachtických rodov na Európske kultúrne dedičstvo. Bratislava: SNM, 2022, s. 57-77.

The group of theological literature *Vallási Iratok Imakönyvek* (Theological Treatises) lists 83 Hungarian, French, German and Italian titles. They are texts from the Bible, religious hymn-books, theological catechismal treatises, catechisms, ecclesiastical histories, biblical stories, etc. The Zichys owned several German, French and Italian editions of biblical texts pertaining to the Old Testament and the New Testament. Among the German biblical texts listed are 19th-century editions of writings by the German Catholic theologian Joseph Franz von Alloli (1793–1873). The library also includes French translations of the Bible, as well as texts from the New Testament by the French writers Denis Amelote (1606–1678), Isaac-Louis Le Maistre de Sacy (1613–1684), Jean-Frédéric Osterwald (1663–1747), Henri Wallon (1812–1904) and biblical stories for children in French by Jules Raymond Lamé Fleury (1797–1878) and other authors.⁷

2. Pázmány's *Prayer Book* (1606) as a Literary-Theological Reflection of the Time

The structure and composition of this library unequivocally suggests the international character and ideological open-mindedness of Joseph Zichy as the last representative of the Zichy family. Above all, the collection of prints demonstrates both the different and diametrically opposed intellectual – ideological and confessional – movements of the period. Our foremost aim in this section is to highlight a print which, over its lifetime, was released in 30 editions (only taking into account those published up to the beginning of the 19th century).⁸ In the Voderady library, it is found in its 1853 Pécs edition, with the title *Keresztény Imádságos Könyv* (1853, Pécs) – “A Christian's Prayer Book”. The specific nature of this book – albeit not apparent at first sight – comes both from the fact that it was indispensable in the period as one of the chief milestones and pillars of Catholic identity (it was even used in the Protestant milieu in later times as bestseller)⁹ and that it was a didactic and catechismal aid¹⁰ for Catholic believers.¹¹

Thus, Pázmány's prayer book is the first Catholic prayer book to be published and the first that is available as a whole and whose content arouses the interest of researchers, philologists

⁷ Catalogus Vedrosiensis, s. 24-27. Dostupné z: https://www.snk.sk/images/Edicna_cinnost/E-publikacie/Katalog_ZiCi.pdf (16.8.2024).

⁸ Already during Cardinal Péter Pázmány's life (1637), it boasted four editions, the first edition was published in 1606, while he was the Professor of Theology in Graz, the second in 1610, with the support of Archbishop F. Forgách, the third in 1625, when he became the Archbishop of Esztergom, and the fourth in 1631 when he was a Cardinal.

⁹ Špániová, M.: Katolícke bestsellery v literatúre 17. storočia. Z vydavateľskej produkcie bratislavských typografův. In Poriežová, M. (ed.): *Studia Bibliographica Posoniensia*, 1/2009. Bratislava: University Library in Bratislava, 2009, s. 40-44.

¹⁰ Bitskey, I.: *Petrus Cardinalis Pazmany, Archiepiscopus Strigoniensis*. Trnava: Institute of History of Trnava University in Trnava, 2010, s. 71-72. Jesuit education in Trnava and later the Trnava University itself were intended to increase the level of education and recatholisation of the country. See Juríková, E.: *Columba laureata. Panegyrické tlače z produkcie trnavskej univerzitetnej tlačiarne*. Trnava: FF TU, 2014, s. 17.

¹¹ There are currently only two known printed Catholic prayer books that preceded Pázmány's Prayer Book. One of them is a prayer book published in Prague in 1594, a copy of which, unfortunately, is not extant. That it indeed existed in the past is only known from István Katona's History, who named István Fejérvölgy as its author. See Borsa, G.: *Régi magyarországi nyomtatványok (=RMNY)*, 1473–1600. Volume I. Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, p. 751. István Fejérvölgy (†1596), Bishop of Nitra, was appointed Archbishop of Esztergom by Emperor Rudolf in 1596. Palugyai, I.: *Magyarország történetiföldirata s állami legujabb leírása; hivatalos uton nyert adatokból*. Volume 2. Pest Heckenast Gusztáv, 1853, p. 66. Supposedly the second Catholic prayer book that originated two decades earlier. It is the work of the Bishop of Rochester, John Fisher, *Psalmi seu preces* published by Steinhof in Vienna, but the translator of this prayer book is unknown. It is from this RMNY (old Hungarian printed matter) from between 1570 and 1606, ergo from the prayer book of Gáspár Heltai, that Pázmány's first edition is the eighteenth in line. Thus from the Catholic prayer books only three came from the above mentioned eighteen prayer books: See *Psalmi seu preces* dr. Ioanni Fisher, episcopi Roffensis, Lugduni 1598 and the work of Fejérvölgy's. A namesake of this author is known as the owner of a period publishing house in Košice, but it is a different person. Lichnerová, L.: *Nemecká tlačaná kniha na slovenskom území do konca 17. storočia (1477–1699): vydavateľsko-funkčný konštrukt*. Bratislava: Stimul, 2017, s. 35.

and archivists to this day.¹² It is likewise apparent that it inspired the emergence of other prayer books, approximately 50 of them originated after the *Prayer Book*, and it was this literary genre which was used by the Jesuits to promote the national language.¹³

Before this work, Pázmány had translated *Imitatio Christi*¹⁴ from Latin into Hungarian – a groundbreaking translation which is referenced by all translations into Hungarian to this day. Pázmány's *Prayer Book* was undoubtedly his most attractive and most sought-after literary work (and it remains so to this day).¹⁵ From all of the works by Péter Pázmány only the *Prayer Book* had its fourth edition released during his lifetime. Pázmány's modifications to this work, in these four editions, also reflected the feedback he received. Initially, it was very complicated,¹⁶ giving the impression that it was only intended for clerics; with each new edition it gradually became a Christian manual with answers related to faith.

3. Many editions and Introductory Pages of the *Prayer Book*

Péter Pázmány's *Prayer Book* was released in various versions. Each of these editions differs from the others in both their external and internal specificities. It is especially within the historical prints that the unity of content and form is strengthened and intensified through expressive and visual means. Among the external means are the graphics and issue (jacket, seal, binding); the internal means include dedications, heraldic symbols and the forewords. In particular the internal means in the work include many elements with a representative value: topoi, symbols, typographic changes, coats-of-arms, engravings. However, it seems that these editions differ above all in their dedications and forewords, rather than modified/updated content or changes to graphics.

Most of these editions contain a dedication¹⁷ or a foreword. Each of these elements has its own irreplaceable value. For example, the 1st edition: 1606, published in Graz, recipient: Anna Kapi, recommendation written by Péter Pázmány, 2nd edition: 1610, published in Bratislava, recipient: Anna Kapi, recommendation written by Péter Pázmány etc. But, on the other hand, the 5th edition: 1853, published in Pest, recipient was "Christian reader" and the recommendation was written by Mihály Forgasary (this edition is identical to the 1851 edition).

From the above it follows that nearly every edition, until the mid-19th century, contains dedications or at least a foreword (the Voderady editions of 1851 and 1853 had both). It is interesting that in these editions the focus of the dedications gradually shifts from a specific person (donor)

¹² Let us list several studies on the topic: Bogár, J.: Pázmány Péter Imádságos könyvének ökumenizmusa = A magyar jezsuiták küldetése a kezdetektől napjainkig, szerk. Budapest: ELHK PPKE, 2006, pp. 252-259, or Báthory, O.: Imádkozás a régi magyarországon (szemle). ELHK PPKE. Barokk Irodalom és lelkiség kutatócsoport, Budapest, 2023. In: Vigilia, 2023, vol. 88, nm. 7, pp. 668-669, and many other resources.

¹³ Perleczká, Z.: Peter Pázmaň a začiatky vzdelávania žien v Uhorsku. In Poriežová, M. (ed.): Studia Bibliographica Posoniensia 2016. Bratislava: University Library in Bratislava, 2016, p. 74: "A positive change was brought about by the 17th century in which, unlike the previous one, nearly 50 prayer books were produced. The enthusiastic Jesuits quickly understood and followed the example of the preachers, and by preferring the specific national language, strove to address a wider public ..."

¹⁴ Pázmány, P.: Kempis Tamasnak Christvs követeservl négy könyuei. Viennae Austriae, 1624.

¹⁵ Perleczká, Z.: Peter Pázmaň a začiatky vzdelávania žien, c. d., p. 74.

¹⁶ Bajáki, R. – Szádóczki, V. (ed.): Imádkozás a Régi Magyarországon. Budapest: MTA – PPKE, 2022, pp. 15-25.

¹⁷ See Pesti, B.: Dedikáció és mecénatúra Magyarországon a 17. század első felében. Budapest – Eger: Kossuth Kiadó Eszterházy Károly Főiskola, 2013, p. 38. Each dedication takes into account the cultural-historical context, the office of the church authority or the donor, but at the same time these changes vary the intended message. Dedications and forewords in the individual editions of the prayer book are as following (we only provide a selection). This data, albeit in a shortened and condensed form, were taken from the study Bogár, J.: Pázmány Péter Imádságos könyvének kiadásai és a reprezentáció. In: Egyház és reprezentáció a régi Magyarországon. Pázmány Irodalmi Műhely. Lelkiségtörténeti tanulmányok (12). MTA – PPKE Barokk Irodalom és Lelkiség Kutatócsoport. Budapest, 2016, pp. 59-77.

to the general “Christian reader”. The so-called recommendation, provided by a church authority, also gradually disappeared.¹⁸

Until the mid-18th century editions of Pázmány’s *Prayer Book* contained recommendations addressed to a specific person, but from then onwards it was rather pious Christians or Christian readers who were addressed. A specific person was named as the patron or recipient of the dedication in eleven editions of Pázmány’s *Prayer Book*, out of whom two were mentioned twice, ergo six women and three men were mentioned nine times altogether. Pázmány himself dedicated the first two editions during his life to Anna Kapi, wife of László P. Hetési. She was probably behind the idea of writing the *Prayer Book* for common believers¹⁹ and had presented this urgent plea to Pázmány in Graz.²⁰

Most editions were sponsored by monarchs, who were then mentioned in the dedication, often with some metaphorical figurative expression and laudatory reference.²¹

It seems that there were several reasons behind the gradual disappearance of dedications in the 18th century: the general historical-political background, replaced step by step by more revolutionary ideas directed towards the fall of constitutional and absolutist monarchies in Europe, and therefore a gradual withdrawal from aristocratic authority. Nevertheless, it may also have been caused by efforts to use the *Prayer Book* in the Protestant environment, financial reasons or streamlining of the process of publication. It may also have been due to the intellectual milieu influenced by the Enlightenment, which emphasised the mistrust of general authority and promoted individual preferences. However, in my opinion, the most important factor was a general tendency in theology towards an emphasis on and selection of quietist theological concepts, something that appears in these dedications when they are viewed one after another. It was not authority that quietism placed in the foreground, but the believer; their internal world of piety and prayer was raised above the structures of temple rites and the liturgy. Therefore, the “Christian reader” comes to the foreground rather than “Christian society”. In its way, the development of quietism may also have been facilitated by the transfer of the Trnava University to Buda, as it was Trnava University that made a significant contribution and influenced the education and recatholisation, or catechisation of Catholic believers in what is today Slovakia.²²

4. Reasons and Motives for Writing the “Prayer Book”

The chief reason that the *Prayer Book* was written/compiled was the lack of Catholic spiritual literature in the country.²³ Effective activity directed against the Reformation assumed that mat-

¹⁸ This is absolutely the case for the following editions: Pest 1869, Budapest 1886, Budapest 1890, Budapest 1892, Budapest 1915, Budapest 1923, Kolozsvár 1924 and Budapest 1932.

¹⁹ This historical reference is found in Frankl, V.: Pázmány Péter és kora. 2nd volume. Pest, 1868, p. 55.

²⁰ Bajáki, R. – Szádóczki, V. (eds.): Imádkozás a Régi Magyarországon, c. d., p. 58; Perleczká, Z.: Peter Pázmán a začiatky vzdelávania žien, c. d., p. 75.

²¹ A specificity of the Trnava 1689 edition is the dedication to the noblewoman Julianna Rákóczi (daughter of Franz I Rákóczi). It is not just the donor who is praised through the dedication, though. One of its chief motifs is the image of a bird, a frequent motif in amorous poetry. Cf. Pázmány, P.: Imádságos könyv. Trnava: Academia, 1689, Dedication: 2r-3r. There is even an allusion to the image of a dove from the *Song of Songs* and in some people’s opinion this dedication by the Jesuit monk János Kecskeméti, who published this reprint, was a declaration of love for Julianna Rákóczi. The edition is available in digital form at <https://library.hungaricana.hu/>. This may be the Johann Kecskeméti (1633–1712) referred to in Kankoffer’s biography of Pázmány (Kankoffer, I.: Peter Pazman, Cardinal. Wien: Verlag von Mayer & Compagnie, 1856, p. 55), who states that he was dubbed the “Hungarian Cicero” and worked in Bratislava, Trnava, Rožňava, and was the director of Pázmáneum in Vienna for 14 years.

²² Dolinský, J. – Šimončík, J. – Hološová, A. (eds.): Dejiny Trnavskej univerzity: 1635–1777, 1992–2010. Trnava: Typi Universitatis Tyrnaviensis, 2010, s. 12-43.

²³ This was also stated by Frankl, V.: Pázmány Péter és kora, c. d., p. 62.

ters of faith should not only be exclusively discussed by “church shepherds”, but that the “Christian flock” should also have access to a manual for private use, written in a language that all could understand, to encourage growth and building up faith. The desire, the request of the *Doce nos orare* is addressed to God, but the gift of knowledge also brings responsibility; the believer must pass it on, must teach other believers the correct manner and form of prayer.

The book has ten chapters. These especially reflect the need to further the education of a common Catholic believer: the first contains everyday prayers, while the Lord’s Prayer, Hail Mary and Apostles’ Creed,²⁴ related to spiritual growth, are also found in chapter two.²⁵ The third section²⁶ entitled “Thanksgiving for God’s Benefactions” contains prayers used to give thanks for creation, redemption and sanctification. At the end of the chapter, we can find thanksgiving by Saint Ambrose and Saint Augustine, a prayer which begins with the words “Praise God ...”. In the post-Tridentine era, it was common the first critical editions of the early Church Fathers’ texts appeared because of the Catholic-Protestant controversy. They were used as confirmation of scholastic theological definitions, while some of the Church Fathers’ spiritual thoughts served as a kind of adornment of the rational theological process.²⁷ The fourth section contains prayers for before and after a sermon, that is prayers related to the Holy Mass, said during Offertory, Sanctus, Elevation, etc. The first half of the chapter contains prayers for the individual sections of the mass and the second half brings explanations of the rites during the mass.²⁸ The fifth chapter contains an explanation of the Holy Rosary with three mysteries and the meaning of the individual numbers.²⁹ Chapters six, seven and eight contain supplications. The sixth chapter is entitled “Supplications for the Garden of the Soul” and includes supplications for faith, charity, awe of God and humility, seven main prayers how to avoid the seven deadly sins and seven prayers to the Lord’s Prayer.³⁰ The ninth chapter is dedicated to the Holy Confession, the examination of one’s conscience (great and small) and the tenth chapter to various prayers which are helpful in the Church as medicines against sin.³¹ Later editions of the collection, especially those post-1853, also contain an eleventh chapter with hymns. It is interesting how strongly this Prayer Book reflects the Tridentine doctrine and the change in the view of marriage. This is demonstrated by the title of the prayer for married couples: “Pious Married Couples for Each Other”. Marriage, as the name implies, is understood here as a good for the spouses themselves, not just as a reproductive tool: “Protect us, Lord, from every physical and spiritual harm at all times, equally with one heart and conjugal will...”³² Equally strong and essential for the formation of faith are prayers for unborn children, for the needy and for the homeless or for the imprisoned.³³

The *Prayer Book* is dominated by a single idea: “As we learn to walk in childhood, not through instruction but through walking, we learn to pray through frequent prayer.” The *Prayer Book* contains a great number of prayers, supplications and thanksgivings and it is not clear whether they were written by Pázmány’s or are a compilation of various folk prayers. However,

²⁴ Pázmány, P.: *Imádságos könyv*, c. d., pp. 3-56.

²⁵ The section is titled “Morning and Evening Prayers”, pp. 57-77.

²⁶ Pázmány, P.: *Imádságos könyv*, c. d., pp. 78-94.

²⁷ Lichner, M.: Some Patristic Inspirations for the Theological Study of Spirituality. In: *Spirituality Studies*, fall 2020, Vol. 6, nm. 2, p. 42.

²⁸ Pázmány, P.: *Imádságos könyv*, c. d., pp. 95-144.

²⁹ Pázmány, P.: *Imádságos könyv*, c. d., pp. 145-154.

³⁰ Pázmány, P.: *Imádságos könyv*, c. d., pp. 155-252.

³¹ Pázmány, P.: *Imádságos könyv*, c. d., pp. 253-479.

³² Pázmány, P.: *Imádságos könyv*, c. d., p. 240.

³³ Pázmány, P.: *Imádságos könyv*, c. d., p. 244.

it is certain that they were intended to serve for every person “who wishes with a humble and pious will to raise their mind towards God, to find a prayer that corresponds to their intent, situation or state in life. But it is an art to know and ripen in this way”.³⁴ Several instructive passages can be found in the *Prayer Book* where Saint Paul explains why, what for and how we should pray.

5. Formative and Educational Aspects of the *Prayer Book*

According to the book, education as a guide towards a pious life has to start as early as childhood because a good upbringing is the source and root of the perfection of man. As it is not through birth, but through education that we acquire good or bad morals.

In Pázmány's opinion the role models we see are exceptionally important in all areas, but especially for small children, because education in our virtues and stimulation of our will are not even due to the power of teaching of the ear but rather through the model of the eye. In this context he emphasises the responsibility of the parents, who, in addition to providing a good example, have other tasks: “They who wish to fulfil their office and bring up their child well, let them not be satisfied with providing a good example and not being indignant but let them educate their child early in the service of God, in piety, in spiritual matters.” In the following manner: Instil in the child's mind divine reverence and love, put piety in their heart, make them pray in the evening and at breakfast, get used their stuttering tongue, go to church, want sweet things, tell celestial things, make them happy. Influencing a child's mind is a natural part of a parent's role: “Let therefore the mother not praise anything other than what God praises, only for our salvation so that the child, who is small and too young, desires and seeks that which they hear being praised and that they desire sweet motherhood.”

Pázmány, incidentally, speaks about girls' education³⁵ and considers it important that they, too, can read, because “it is very desirable that they take example and education from reading holy and salvational books in all matters”. In this, Pázmány's *Prayer Book* is not only a manual of prayers, but also an educational-instructional aid for the growth of faith. In addition, as we shall see, in Pázmány's writings the essential truth is Saint Augustine's definition of prayer as a conversation with God. And man, due to his sinfulness, is not worthy to directly communicate with God, and therefore needs a mediator.

6. Didactic Elements of the *Prayer Book*: Prayers and Explanations in the Spirit of the Augustinian Tradition

The *Prayer Book* is, so to speak, made up of prayers divided according to the time of day (morning and evening), the place, state and position. Here are the prayers for spouses, for pregnant women, by parents for their children, to withstand in the battle against the seven mortal sins, etc. Saint Paul here clearly differentiates between prayer to God and lessons for man. In the prayers the reader, with the help of Pázmány's prayer texts, is a speaker and leads a dialogue with God. Before prayer preparation is especially important. Here, too, Saint Paul breaks down the tasks and says that a person preparing for prayer has to do three things: cleanse their soul of mortal sin, do penance with a contrite heart, and finally strive for healing. After many quotations and examples, again he summarises the things which have to be done when we want to pray, but instead of just repeating the same things over again, he takes a step further: a person preparing

³⁴ Bajáki, R. – Szádóczki, V. (eds.): *Imádkozás a Régi Magyarországon*, c. d., p. 19n.

³⁵ Perleczká, Z.: *Peter Pázmán a začiatky vzdelávania žien*, c. d., p. 75.

for prayer blames themselves for their ungratefulness in having sinned (after liberating themselves from mortal sin), asks to be pardoned (after they have paid their penance for their fall) and promises to perform their penance (just an effort is no longer enough).

Another interesting point of the *Prayer Book* is its “classical-humanist” didactic plane based on ancient traditions. The manner in which Pázmány explicates the individual topics (prayers or truths of the faith) is definitely based on the rhetorical-hermeneutical tradition of Quintilian, Cicero and (especially) St. Augustine. To this corresponds the structure of the texts which Pázmány, educated using examples of ancient rhetorical models, also preserved in other genres. It is likewise possible to observe it in his rhetorical speeches; it can be found in his speech given in defence of the Jesuits at the Diet of Hungary in 1608.³⁶

The typical structure of explanations in the *Prayer Book* is the same: after the introduction (*exordium*), which states the topic (*narratio*), follows the discussion, which explains the topic stated in the introduction and which is divided into logical sub-chapters, such as causes, advantages, arguments in favour (*confirmatio*), counter-arguments and their disproof (*confutatio*) during which a number of quotations and beautiful stories are provided (*exemplum*) and finally the conclusion – (*exhortatio*), which is the end of what needs to be said. The objective of this explanation, is the catechetical and didactic aspect of strengthening and defending the faith. The *Prayer Book* was thus not only intended for a “clerical” learned person but was intended to educate the wide mass of believers who, through this lesson structure, are supposed to instil in themselves the natural foundations of faith and further develop them.

Let us use the explication of the rosary (*rosarium*) as an example. After the introduction (*exordium*), wherein he explains what type of prayer the rosary is, he suggests the topic (*propositio*), why we should delve into it, followed by the discussion (*tractatio*): some object that the rosary is merely a repetition of the same prayer, but Pázmány uses quotations from the Scriptures and Church Fathers to defend its use, noting other areas where the same prayers are repeated. He puts forward several arguments in favour (*confirmatio*) from the patristic tradition, explains why it is good to pray repeatedly and the significance of numerology in the rosary (3, 5, 10, 50, 150 etc.), and provides a number of quotations and stories from the lives of saints (*exemplum*). And finally, an encouragement to pray the rosary (*exhortatio*).

This structure has its basis – as we have mentioned – in the oldest rhetorical traditions. In antiquity, rhetoric aimed to help understand the text read or heard. It had clear methods to reach that goal, and she understands these steps as a gradual method of understanding. Later, especially in St. Augustine’s works *De Doctrina Christiana* (IV) and *De Catechizandis rudibus*,³⁷ it became an instrument of successful catechesis. In other words, a way to bring the listener to the truths of faith.

Augustine proposes the rules of his catechesis (*De Catechizandis Rudibus* 1) to Deogratias with the words: “You say, however, that you are at great perplexity as to how it would be easiest to inculcate the very truths of which we are Christians; where the interpretation is to begin and how far it is to be continued; and whether we should add some encouragement after the interpretation, or whether it should end only with those commandments, the observance of which is considered the basis of Christian life and confession.”³⁸

³⁶ Juríková, E.: Peter Pázmaň na Uhorskom sneme roku 1608. In Sedlák, V. (ed.): Zborník príspevkov k slovenským dejinám: k životnému jubileu univ. prof. PhDr. Richarda Marsinu, DrSc. Trnava: Trnava University, 1998, pp. 294-297.

³⁷ Aurelius Augustinus: *De Catechizandis Rudibus* 1.1. Series Latina XLVI. Pars XII, 2. Brepols: Editores Pontifici, 1969, pp. 121-122.

³⁸ Aurelius Augustinus: *De Catechizandis Rudibus* 1: transl. M. Lichner. Trnava: Dobrá kniha, 2015, p. 49.

Augustine and his structure of catechesis, which he uses, for example, in his work *De catechizandis rudibus* 1.3.17 (exordium-narratio-confirmatio-exemplum-exhortatio)³⁹ goes back to Cicero (in his *Oratio* 69). However, we have two motives why Pázmány was probably more influenced by Augustine. What points to the difference compared to Cicero is the fact that Augustine sees in the text an important instrument of the so-called “exhortation”, which is supposed to lead to encouragement to the Christian life. To take up the truth that has been preached and put it into practice. The second motive why Pázmány probably follows Augustine more is that Cicero often uses the term “probare” (to prove) in connection with interpretation, while Cardinal Pázmány does not want to prove Christian teaching to the believer (*probare*), but rather, like Augustine to present, to teach them (*docere*), while this “docere” after St. Augustine will still be developed in tradition (Aquinas e.g. in the analysis of *docilitas*).

Finally, This Augustinian structure of catechesis also had an impact on the *Studia humanitatis* at the University of Trnava, where many lectures were provided by this proven method, which was heavily infiltrated by Jesuit studies.⁴⁰ And it has to be noted that this structure, also due to the use of the *Prayer Book* in the Protestant environment, may possibly have been preserved and used by some great national figures and authors such as Ján Kollár⁴¹ and many others.

7. Conclusion

The perception of Pázmány’s *Prayer Book* by those who came later constantly changed. For a long time it was “just” a pious work for the Catholics, but it later transpired that it was not only used by Catholics but – due to the lack of similar catechistic literature – also by Protestants. The Voderady edition of Pázmány’s *Prayer Book* (1853 Pécs) is unique for several reasons. It is the last edition to contain a dedication and foreword. In addition, it is an edition which, as far as the content is concerned, does not change too much in the following decades after 1892, which cannot be said about the four editions of the *Prayer Book* which came out during Pázmány’s life; Pázmány systematically simplified them, but also expanded them. In addition to presenting prayers and pious supplications for believers, this voluminous work of several hundred pages also provides over its ten chapters a solid catechistic manual (some kind of catechism) thanks to the collection of “catechesis” –which are supposed to lead the believer to a deeper understanding of their faith and a rational defence of it. I believe that in the context of the aristocratic library in Voderady this work is truly a valuable gem, which has recently been reconfirmed (in 2001, based on the 1631 edition) by a critical edition with elaborate notes published by one of our foreign colleagues.⁴²

³⁹ Aurelius Augustinus: *De Catechizandis Rudibus*, c. d., p. 121: „...(Deo)gratias te autem pene semper angustias pati, idipsum quod credendo Christiani sumus, quo pacto commode intimandum sit; unde exordienda, quo usque sit perducenda narratio; utrum exhortationem aliquam terro minata narratione adhibere debeamus, an praecepta sola, quibus observandis cui loquimur nouerit christianam uitam professionemque retineri....”

⁴⁰ Nemec, R.: The Idea of „Depth” in Ignatian Pedagogy in Face of some Tendencies of Digital Education. In: *Horyzonty Wychowania*, 2021, vol. 20, No 56, pp.75-76. <https://doi.org/10.35765/hw.2186>

⁴¹ For more details on this *exordium-propositio...* structure, see the study Miháľková, G.: Kázne Jána Kollára z kompozičného hľadiska. In Széman, R. K. (ed.): *JINÝ Kollár – Kollár versus JINÍ*. Budapest: Elte BTK, 2021, pp. 107-116.

⁴² Pázmány P.: *Imádságos könyv*. Kiad. Sz R. Bajáki, E. Hargittay. Budapest: Pázmány P. Művei, 2001.

Teologické tlače ako kultúrne špecifikum šľachtickej knižnice vo Voderadoch so zameraním na Modlitebník Petra Pázmaňa a jeho didaktický význam

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Knižnica rodu Zičovcov vo Voderadoch ukrývala aj podľa pôvodného *Catalogus Vedroniensis* z roku 1894 veľmi významné teologické tlače, ktoré sa zachovali – žiaľ – len v reziduálnej podobe. Jednou z nich bol aj *Kresťanský modlitebník* od P. Pázmaňa (1606), ktorý sa už za života biskupa Pázmaňa tešil štyrom vydaniam, dokonca do konca 19. storočia bol vydaný vo vyše tridsiatich vydaniach. Voderadské vydanie Pázmányovej modlitebnej knižky (1853 Pécs) je jedinečné z viacerých dôvodov. Malo veľký súdobý význam a prínos pre katolícku identitu vtedajších veriacich katolíkov, nakoľko šlo o hutné pedagogické a didaktické dielo so známkami fundovaného katechizmu otvorene čerpajúcim z učenia cirkevných otcov. V poreformačných časoch dokonca používali tento *Modlitebník* nielen katolíci, ale aj protestantské veriaci. Toto rozsiahle niekoľko stostranové dielo prináša nielen vysvetlenie sviatostí a najčastejších oficiálnych obrádov Cirkvi v rámci verejnej bohoslužby, ale dôraz kladie na rozvíjanie súkromnej pobožnosti a modlitieb a zvlášť prosieb, čím jednoznačne ovplyvnilo potridentskú prax. Naša štúdia sa zameriava na špecifiká tohto diela a obzvlášť na tzv. „inštrukcie“ – poučenia, ktoré sa v diele vynímajú a typograficky odlišujú a ktoré mali viesť veriaceho k hlbšiemu, autentickému uchopeniu svojej viery aj pomocou hlbšej erudície a poznania tradície.