

Between School Exercise and Self-Representation

Student Authorship and Identities in a Graduation Anthology of the 1636/37 *Poetica* Class at the Jesuit *Gymnasium* of Trnava*

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Abstract. This paper investigates the authorship, social status, and national identities within the *Parnassus Bimons*, a 1637 Neo-Latin graduation anthology published by the *poetica* class of the Jesuit *Gymnasium* (i.e., grammar school) of Trnava. The volume celebrates the graduation of the first bachelors of the University of Trnava, while also commemorating the passing of the university's founder, Archbishop Péter Pázmány, and the beginning of the imperial reign of Ferdinand III.

The study argues that the texts were the product of a collaborative writing process supervised by teachers and served both as a platform for the self-representation of the institution and its students. Furthermore, the paper contrasts the makeup of the 1636/37 *poetica* class with the identities of the volume's sixteen authors, specifically regarding the *natio* and the social status of the students as recorded in the matriculation register.

An analysis of matriculation records reveals a highly multiethnic class with roughly equal proportions of *Ungarus* and Slavic students. However, as the examination of the data shows, the selection of students to contribute to the volume was probably not based entirely on the excellence of their texts; rather, it disproportionately favored students of the *Ungara* and *Germana natio*, alongside those of high social status.

Keywords: Neo-Latin student poetry, Jesuit education, University of Trnava, collaborative authorship, Hungarian Kingdom, early modern education

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Introduction

Printed in 1637 by the Jesuit *Gymnasium* of Trnava, the volume titled *Parnassus Bimons* (Two-peaked Parnassus) is one of the first literary collections published under the name of the students¹ and the first to be issued by the *poetica* (*humanitas*) class of the *gymnasium*. It appeared concurrently with the *Agalmation Apargmaticum* (Little Statue of the First Sacrifices), also printed in Bratislava, but in the name of the *retorica* class of 1636/37.² Both publications celebrate the graduation of the first bachelors of the University of Trnava, founded in 1635 by Cardinal Péter Pázmány, archbishop of Esztergom.³ Besides this main theme, the texts within the *Parnassus Bimons* commemorate two additional significant events: the death of Péter Pázmány, and the start of the imperial reign of Habsburg Ferdinand III (king of Hungary between 1625–1657, and emperor of the Holy Roman Empire between 1637–1657). These two events are only briefly mentioned in the *Agalmation Apargmaticum*.⁴

By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the University of Trnava had grown into the educational center of the socio-political elite of the Hungarian Kingdom. The foundation of the Jesuit Gymnasium in 1616, followed by the university in 1635, was part of Péter Pázmány's large-scale project to re-catholicize the country,⁵

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- 1 Cp. *Régi magyarországi nyomtatványok* (Old Hungarian Prints, abbreviated as RMNy), nr. 1696.
 - 2 Cp. RMNy, nr. 1694. The volume was examined recently by Farkas Gábor Kiss focusing on the structure and poetics of the poem collection and one of the poems was analyzed closely by Kristóf Sebestyén. Kiss, "The first Jesuit poem collection"; Sebestyén, "Nagy Sándor és Arisztotelész almája."
 - 3 The bibliography of the prints in relation to the graduation (*Promotionsbücher*) at the Jesuit higher educational institutions of Trnava, Košice and Cluj—including the volumes celebrating the newly graduated students—was compiled by József Horváth: Horváth, "Jezsuita felsőfokú iskolák promóciós könyveinek bibliográfiája." On the details of the founding of the Trnava University, see: Tusor, "Az 1635-ös nagyszombati egyetemalapítás."
 - 4 On the last page of this volume, we find three chronograms: the first commemorating the death of Ferdinand II and the succession to power of Ferdinand III, the second commemorating the decease of Péter Pázmány and the election of Imre Lósy as archbishop of Esztergom, while the third celebrates the graduation of the first twenty-six bachelors of Trnava University. [Nádasi, ed.], *Agalmation Apargmaticum*, 34.
 - 5 The first Jesuit college in the Kingdom of Hungary was founded by Ferdinand I in 1561 as part of the Catholic reform program of Miklós Oláh, archbishop of Esztergom. However, Oláh's attempt to establish a Jesuit *gymnasium* in Trnava failed due to conflicts with the town and the chapter, financial problems, and a lack of qualified Jesuits speaking the vernacular languages, ultimately closing after a fire in 1567. The *gymnasium* was re-established under Jesuit control in 1615–1616 by Ferenc Forgách, archbishop of Esztergom. In 1635, it was elevated to a university by Péter Pázmány, where the *gymnasium* became a faculty of the university called "facultas linguarum." The Jesuit academy of Trnava thus covered the entire spectrum of education: from the

or at least the regions under Habsburg control.⁶ To reinforce the Catholic faith across the realm, Pázmány primarily aimed to convert the nobility and the high aristocracy; in line with this strategy, the highly organized Jesuit educational system was intentionally tailored to meet the needs of the nobility and their children. As Zsolt Kökényesi notes, the percentage of students from the high nobility (barons and counts) enrolled both in the *gymnasium* and the University of Trnava (1.82 per cent) is above average.⁷

From 1637 onwards, after the first class at the University of Trnava gained their bachelor's degree, the students of the *gymnasium* published Neo-Latin poems and orations in praise of the newly graduated students at the Jesuit University in Trnava,⁸ marking one of the main ritual events in student life.⁹ These volumes represent a special type of graduation books (*Promotionsbücher*) that congratulate on the graduation of bachelors, magisters, and doctors.¹⁰

The occasional prints of the Jesuit *gymnasiums* of the Austrian Jesuit Province (Graz, Olomouc, Vienna) can be considered as direct predecessors and models for the

primary schooling of five or six-year-olds to the doctorate in theology. Kádár, "A nagyszombati jezsuita kollégium, gimnázium és tanulói," 10–11. On the objectives of the *gymnasium* in terms of educating the social elite, see: Kökényesi, "Arisztokrata diákok."

- 6 By the end of the sixteenth century, 85–90 per cent of the population of the Kingdom belonged to one or another Protestant church. On the sixteenth and seventeenth-century missions of the Jesuit Order in the Hungarian Kingdom and Transylvania, see Molnár, *Lehetetlen küldetés?*; for the mid-seventeenth-century Jesuit missionary activity in the Austrian Jesuit Province, see Kádár, "Inner Mission."
- 7 Kökényesi, "Arisztokrata diákok," 130. The rate of the high noble students shows an increasing tendency from the opening of the *gymnasium* (1616) until the last two decades of the seventeenth century, with a recession between 1656 and 1665 due to the renewal of the war with the Ottoman Empire. Kökényesi, "Arisztokrata diákok," 134.
- 8 Horváth, "Jezsuita felsőfokú iskolák promóciós könyveinek bibliográfiája," 36–37. The *Parnassus Bimons* is nr. 15, and the *Agalmation Apargmaticum* is nr. 16 in Horváth's bibliography.
- 9 Recent scholarship analyzes occasional poetry in close relationship with the events for which the texts were written, emphasizing their role in the accompanying ritual—e.g., weddings, funerals, or academic ceremonies. As Eeva-Liisa Bastman notes in her examination of early modern occasional poems from the Swedish Kingdom, the occasion is far more than a mere historical context; rather it is "a poetic and rhetorical construct, a central element that shapes the poem's communicative situation, its spatiotemporal settings, and its engagement with addressees and audiences." Bastman, "Occasion and audience," 2. Similarly, the Neo-Latin occasional farewell poems (*propemptica*) of Hungarian students were analyzed by Tünde Móré, who also emphasized the relation between the texts and the occasion, as well as the liminal position of the addressees: Móré, *Utazás és hírnév*, esp. 23–32, 79–82.
- 10 On the different types of texts produced in relation to the graduation, see Horváth, "Jezsuita felsőfokú iskolák promóciós könyveinek bibliográfiája," 11–27.

volumes of the *gymnasium* of Trnava.¹¹ The publications praising the newly graduated students at the universities were part of the educational practice of these institutions. The production of occasional prints cannot, however, be considered a specifically Jesuit educational practice: Publications on various celebrations at universities became widespread in German universities from the 1560s onwards.¹² The material surviving in libraries in Hungary and Transylvania suggests that these publications circulated within the Austrian Jesuit Province.¹³ As Farkas Gábor Kiss notes, these volumes were distributed among the students of the class publishing the occasional prints, the freshly graduated bachelors, magisters, and doctors, as well as the guests.¹⁴

Contents and authors of the *Parnassus Bimons*, and the question of authorship

The volume comprises seventeen texts altogether: two short orations (*Vota Hungariae*, [Macte igitur...]), ten poems, and five chronograms, each entitled *Chronographicum*. The verse forms of the poems are not uniform: As seen in Table 1, among them we find an epigram (*Pulchior accipiat*), two longer poems with epic features in

11 The *Provincia Austriae* gained its independence in 1563, shortly after the foundation of the Viennese College. Initially, the province also included the domiciles belonging to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, as well as Bohemia and Moravia. However, in 1573, the Polish-Lithuanian domiciles were made a separate province, and later, in 1623, the independent Province of Bohemia was also created. The Austrian Jesuit Province subsequently incorporated the hereditary provinces of the Habsburgs (Lower Austria, Upper Austria, and Inner Austria) and the countries of the Hungarian Crown, the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, Transylvania, and the Kingdom of Hungary, which shrank to Upper Hungary due to the ongoing conflict with the Ottomans. In the mid-seventeenth century, the Austrian Jesuit Province undertook extensive missionary activity, aiming to convert the Protestant, Orthodox, and Muslim populations in the area. Kádár, “Inner Mission,” 337. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the Jesuits intended to reform the University of Vienna, and founded the University of Graz. Heiss, “Educational Politics.” On the presence of the Jesuit Order in the Hungarian Kingdom, see Mihalik, *Ever-Reviving Phoenix*.

12 “A fashion for occasional print took hold in universities in the 1560s. This encompassed material produced to celebrate various events in the lives of scholars such the award of degrees and other prizes, appointments, and also social occasions such as weddings. The printing of commemorative texts such as funeral orations or elegiac poetry also became popular in this period. At an institutional level, occasional print was produced to mark important university ceremonies and festivals.” Kirwan, “Function in Form,” 338.

13 E.g., the Biblioteca Academiei Române, filiala Cluj (Cluj), and the University Library and Archives of Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest) preserve multiple occasional volumes published on the graduation of bachelors and magisters of the Jesuit universities in Vienna, Graz, and Olomouc.

14 Kiss, “The first Jesuit poem collection.”

hexameters entitled *Poëma*, and seven odes of which one is composed of Asclepiadic stanzas (*Gratiarum actio Hungariae ad Pazmannum*), one of Sapphic stanzas (*Ad Beatam Virginem*), and the remaining five of Alcaic stanzas (*Hungaria ad Proceres*, *Ad Palladem*, *Poëta*, *Ad Musam*, *Ad Famam*, *Ad Apollinem*), each addressing different entities (individuals, groups, allegorical or mythological figures). It is striking that the two odes with different meters to the others are addressed to two prominent figures of great importance to the self-representation of the students of the University of Trnava: the institution's founder, Péter Pázmány, who had passed away just months before the publication of the *Parnassus Bimons*, and the Virgin Mary, who as a spiritual guide to St Ignatius of Loyola had a foundational place in the Society of Jesus and was regarded as the patron saint of the Hungarian Kingdom.

Table 1 Table of contents and authors of *Parnassus Bimons*

Pages	Title	Author(s)
A2r–A2v	Pulchrior accipiat	Comes Emericus Erdődi, de Monyoro-kerék; Nicolaus Pázmány, L[iber] B[aro] de Panasz; Thomas Pálfi, ab Erdőd
A2v–B2v	Poëma	
B2v	Chronographicum	
B3r–B3v	Vota Hungariae	Matthias Besnak, Nobilis; Michaël Kapitan, Hungarus Nobilis
B3v–D1r	Poëma	
D1v–D2v	[Macte igitur...]	Stephanus Radosoczi, Nobilis Hungarus
D2v–D3v	Gratiarum actio Hungariae ad Pazmannum	Ioannes Mayteni, Nobilis Hungarus; Stephanus Podhragai, Nobilis Hungarus
D3v	Chronographicum	
D3v–D4v	Hungaria ad Proceres	Michaël Zongor, Nobilis Hungarus; Georgius Weber, Nobilis Germanus, Tyrnavien[is]
D4v–E1r	Ad Beatam Virginem	Ioannes Ormandi, Nobilis Hungarus
E1r	Chronographicum	
E1r–E1v	Ad Palladem, Poëta	Franciscus Belusi Hungarus, Nobilis Tyrnavien[is]
E1v	Chronographicum	
E1v–E2r	Ad Musam	Franciscus Lanczmár, Civis Tyrnavien[is]
E2r	Chronographicum	
E2r–E2v	Ad Famam	Stephanus Tatai, Hungarus, Nobilis Tyrnavien[is]
E3r–E4r	Ad Apollinem	Franciscus Viszocháni, Nobilis Hungarus; Michaël Monich, Civis Poseniensis

The authorship of this volume is complicated. Although the texts are attributed to sixteen authors, in nine of the seventeen texts there is more than one author named: Three texts are attributed to three authors, and six to two authors. Furthermore, there is no consensus in bibliographies and the secondary literature regarding the authorship of the occasional volumes published in the name of students at Jesuit

schools in the Hungarian Kingdom. Some bibliographies tend to attribute the volumes to the students and present the teachers of the classes as editors; others argue that the volumes were written by the teachers themselves. The former opinion is supported by the fact that students' names are explicitly included in these occasional volumes, whereas the teachers' names are never given.

However, the volumes do not follow a consistent practice for signalling authorship. Sometimes items are published under the name of a class or the entire university (e.g., "Academia Tyrnaviensis"),¹⁵ without specifying individual authors. In other instances, one or several names are given beneath each poem, or a list of authors is provided at the beginning or end of the volume. In the case of the *Parnassus Bimons* and its "companion volume," the *Agalmation Apargmaticum*, the texts are signed by the students—meaning the publication encourages the reader to attribute the poems, orations, and different wordplays to the pupils of the *poetica* and the *rhetorica* classes.

Despite the attribution suggested by the volumes themselves, the Jesuit bibliographies from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries assign some volumes to the teachers of the classes under whose names they were published.¹⁶ Modern bibliographies also tend to attribute the poems and orations to them, without devoting much analytical attention to this issue.¹⁷ The question could be clarified by examining

15 In the case of the *Affectus Universorum Statuum et Ordinum Regni Hungariae*, edited by Stephanus Csete, published in 1681 to celebrate the election of Pál Esterházy as palatine of the Hungarian Kingdom. Cp. RMNy, nr. 4372.

16 The bibliographies of the De Backers or Carlos Sommervogel in some cases attribute the occasional volumes to the teachers of the classes. On the history of Jesuit bibliographies, see: Volk and Staysniak, "Bringing Jesuit Bibliography."

17 József Horváth mentions that the authorship of these volumes is uncertain; he states nevertheless, that—according to the statutes of the university—in every case, the author was the teacher of the class offering the volume, even if his name never appears on any of the volumes. Horváth, "Jezsuita felsőfokú iskolák promóciós könyveinek bibliográfiája," 18. Horváth, however, does not specify which university statutes he relies on for this claim. He might refer to the *Forma et Ratio Gubernandi Academies et Studia Generalia S. J. in Provincia Austriae*, the detailed regulations for the educational institutions of the Austrian Jesuit Province. These regulations however do not rule out that the students can be considered as authors of the occasional texts. Regarding the responsibilities of the dean of the *facultas linguarum* (i.e., the *gymnasium*), the *Forma et Ratio* states the following: "Quae a nostris et aliis imprimenda sunt carmina et orationes, cum Rhetore et Poëta revidebit, uti et illa, quae publice declamantur, prior ipse studiose leget et emendabit, tum ad Studiorum Praefectum omnia deferet recognoscenda." (Together with the teachers of the *rhetorica* and the *poetica* classes, he must revise the poems and orations composed by our students or others intended for print. Similarly, he is required to read and edit the public speeches beforehand, subsequently reporting everything that needs to be investigated to the prefect of studies.) Pachtler, ed., "Ordnung einer ausschliesslich von Jesuiten geleiteten Universität," 343.

students' study notes, though unfortunately, regarding the education of humanities of Jesuit *gymnasiums*, few seventeenth-century study notes have been discovered.¹⁸ To my knowledge, the only text in an occasional volume that can be proven to have been written by a student himself is a chronogram composed by Pál Esterházy published in the volume *Tributum Eloquentiae* (Trnava, 1651).¹⁹ I have discovered the drafts with different variations of this chronogram among Esterházy's own student notes.²⁰ The publications printed under the name of students as individual authors confirm that we should consider the authorship of the students.²¹ However, as Farkas Gábor Kiss notes, "arguments for and against student authorship must be considered on a case-by-case basis."²²

Consequently, I argue that the texts included in these volumes are the outcome of a collective creative process. To borrow Heather Hirschfeld's term—originally used to analyse authorship regarding the corpus of early modern English dramas—we may call this practice "collaborative writing."²³ This framing prevents us from stripping the students—many of whom were later teachers at Jesuit schools or authors of Neo-Latin treatises, orations and poems themselves—of their writerly agency at a young age. At the same time, we should emphasize that text production was supervised by teachers who were responsible for the structure of the volumes; thus, their authorship should not be discounted either. For this reason, when citing these volumes, I refer to the classroom teacher as the editor. Ultimately, due to this

18 Note-taking and student notes in the Jesuit educational environment in the Austrian Jesuit Province was recently discussed by Gábor Förköli concerning the philosophical studies in the late sixteenth century. See Förköli, "Inside Jesuit Classrooms;" Förköli, "Copia and Historical Note-Taking."

19 Cp. RMNy, nr. 2389.

20 National Archives of Hungary, P 125, 11958/a, 216.

21 For example, Miklós Draskovich as a student of the *poetica* class (Fazekas et al., eds., *A nagyszombati jezsuita gimnázium diáksága*, I, nr. 05733) published a volume entitled *Sacra Honoris Comitiva* in 1649 (Kiss, "Egy ismeretlen nagyszombati nyomtatvány"), and Ferenc Perényi, also as a student of the *poetica* class (Fazekas et al., eds., *A nagyszombati jezsuita gimnázium diáksága*, I, nr. 05895), published the poem collection *Castrum Strigoniense Aureum* in 1655. RMNy, nr. 2596.

Farkas Gábor Kiss mentions two other examples that support the authorship of the students. In the collection of speeches entitled *Decas Orationum sive Decimae e Tyrnaviensis Eloquentiae Campo Collectae* (RMNy, nr. 2425) created for the celebration of the magisters' graduation in 1652 by the *rhetorica* class, the first oration states that the students' best orations were selected to the volume. The other example is the bilingual Latin Hungarian drama of Count Bálint Balassa that remained in manuscript and was written during his school years, in the *poetica* class in 1643. Kiss, "The first Jesuit poem collection."

22 Kiss, "The first Jesuit poem collection."

23 Hirschfeld, "Early Modern Collaboration," 611–15.

collaborative process, these volumes did not primarily serve as a vehicle for individual self-representation, but rather as a means of self-representation for the students of Trnava, providing them with a platform to express their communal identity.

Therefore, in the case of the *Parnassus Bimons*, we consider Franciscus Toposs, the teacher of the *poetica* class,²⁴ as the editor of the volume. Toposs (1613–1683) was born in Klobušice and is identified as a *Hungarus* in the matriculation register of the University of Graz.²⁵ He began his novitiate in 1631 in Vienna and completed his degree of *magister philosophiae* in Graz (1631/32–1633/34). In the 1634/35 academic year, he served as a professor of grammar in Győr, followed by appointments as professor of grammar (1635/36) and poetics (1636/37) in Trnava. After completing his degree of *magister theologiae* (1638/39–1641/42), he pursued a career at universities within the Austrian Jesuit Province in the Kingdom of Hungary, serving as rector of the college in Bratislava, rector of the *gymnasium* in Košice, and chancellor of the University of Trnava.²⁶

The student volumes are normative in two ways. Firstly, they express a well-established literary ideal inspired by classical literature and contemporary Catholic spirituality. Writing Neo-Latin poetry and orations was an integral part of the curriculum in Jesuit *gymnasiums*, as elaborated in the educational program, the *Ratio Studiorum* utilized in all Jesuit educational institutions.²⁷ Besides discussing in detail the ancient authors and works to be taught in the Jesuit *gymnasiums*, the writing assignments are also determined. Students were expected to compose Neo-Latin poems in the *poetica* class, and both poems and orations in the *retorica* class.²⁸

24 Zsoldos, ed., *Matricula Universitatis Tyrnaviensis 1635–1701*, Tab. V.

25 Andritsch, *Studenten*, 64.

26 Lukács, *Catalogi personarum*, II, 773.

27 The *Ratio Studiorum* was finalized in 1599 with minor changes in 1616. The version of the *Ratio Studiorum* published in 1616 remained in force until the official suppression of the order in 1773. Padberg, “The Development of the *Ratio Studiorum*,” 95. On the curriculum for the classes of the *gymnasium* in the 1616 edition, see *Ratio Studiorum*, 98–143. Vera Szádóczki has examined in detail the teaching of poetics in the Jesuit *gymnasiums* of the Austrian province during the eighteenth century, highlighting sources that contain texts written by students. Her findings suggest that students should also be considered the authors of texts produced in the seventeenth century. Szádóczki, “Neolatin elégiaköltészet”; Szádóczki, *Neolatin elégia-költészet*, esp. 26–42.

28 In the *retorica* class the students’ exercises included imitating an excerpt of a poem or an oration, creating a description (e.g., on a garden, a church, or a storm, etc.), rewording of a given phrase, translating a Latin oration to Greek and vice versa, rephrasing poets’ verses (both Latin and Greek) into prose, changing a poem’s form into another verse form, writing epigrams, epigraphs, and epitaphs, collecting phrases from both Latin and Greek authors, adjusting rhetorical figures to given contexts, creating arguments for a given topic using rhetorical commonplaces, and on vacation days the exercises might also include composing for example emblems and hieroglyphs. *Ratio Studiorum*, 115, 119. In the *humanitas (poetica)* class the

Furthermore, the *Ratio Studiorum* prescribes that the students' finest texts should be displayed on the classroom walls every two months, on important celebrations, such as the proclamation of new officials, and on other occasions.²⁹ Ultimately, as Paul Grendler also notes, the transmission of Latinity according to a classical ideal was considered a fundamental objective of Jesuit education.³⁰ Secondly, the volumes published in the name of the *rhetorica* and *poetica* classes define the narrower and wider communities to which the students imagined they belonged. The Trnava *gymnasium* and university channelled these identities on multiple levels: locally, within the university community; regionally, in connection with the “nation” of the Kingdom of Hungary;³¹ and globally, across the broader network of the Jesuit Order.

The operation of these two joint objectives of the volumes can be observed—the showcasing of the rhetorical and poetic material taught in the *gymnasium*, and the self-representation of the university community—on the example of the first text of the *Parnassus Bimons*. In contrast to the *Agalmation Apargmaticum*, which greeted several graduate students by name, the *Parnassus Bimons* only addresses Gabriel Balogh (Gabriel Balog, Balogh Gábor),³² the highest ranked student (“protogramma”) of the year.

exercises assigned for the students included rephrasing the excerpts of previously read texts, reorganizing the mixed parts of an excerpt of Cicero, composing poems, changing a poem's form into another verse form, composing a Greek text. *Ratio Studiorum*, 125–26.

29 “Affigantur carmina scholae parietibus alternis fere mensibus ad aliquem celebriorem diem exornandum, vel Magistratus promulgandos, vel alia quapiam occasione, selectissima queque a discipulis descripta.” *Ratio Studiorum*, 120.

30 Grendler, *Humanities in Jesuit Schools*, 558. Compared to theatre pieces, where prominent roles were typically reserved for students of aristocratic birth, this bias is less obvious in the case of the poetry volumes, given that the *Ratio Studiorum* explicitly states that the selection of the texts should be based upon their merits. On both the pedagogical and representative functions of the school plays, see Pintér, *A történelmi dráma alakzatai*, esp. 29–36.

31 In his paper, Jakub Niedźwiedź examines how the educational institutions organized by the Jesuit Order helped strengthen local, regional, and often national identities in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, while also influencing former students' political engagement: “Jesuit education granted young noblemen access to some kind of public career: they could work as lawyers, officials, or priests. But first of all it gave them the rhetorical tools necessary for the *homines rhetorici*—active participants of political and social life.” Niedźwiedź, “Jesuit Education in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth,” 447. More generally on the relationship between the Jesuit education in the *studia humanitatis* and the spreading of civic values, the development of political culture in the early modernity, see Kainulainen, “Virtue and Civic Values in Early Modern Jesuit Education.”

32 The student called “Gabriel Balog” in the *Parnassus Bimons* is listed in the matriculation register as “Gabriel Balogh Hungarus Nobilis” in the academic years 1635/1636 and 1636/1637. His name in Hungarian must have been Balogh Gábor. Zsoldos, ed., *Matricula Universitatis Tyrnaviensis 1635–1701*, 5, 10. Gábor Balogh is presumably identical with Gábor Balogh de Nebojsza (Nemesnebojsza, today Nebojsa, SK), who was a student of the Győr Jesuit *gymnasium*

This epigram entitled *Pulchrior Accipiat* is the joint work of three authors: Imre Erdődy, Miklós Pázmány, and Tamás Pálffy (“Comes Emericus Erdődy, de Monyorókerék. Nicolaus Pázmány, L[iber] B[aro] de Panasz. Thomas Pálfi, ab Erdőd”).³³ The text praising Balogh can be interpreted through its intertextual allusions to classical authors. The title, “pulchrior accipiat” (let the fairer receive it [the apple]) evokes the inscription on the apple of Eris, goddess of discord, whose throwing of the apple among the goddesses at the wedding feast of Peleus and Thetis may be seen as the first event in the series of events that set off the Trojan War. Accordingly, the poem begins with the image of Peleus’s wedding feast: “Cum salsae Peleus celebrat connubia Nymphae, / Et gaudet tantis hospita terra Diis.”³⁴ The text then takes us through the appearance of Eris, the throwing of the apple, and the development of the dispute between the goddesses. It then turns to the addressee and states that the one in whose breast pure wisdom lives rejects the plant (perhaps a myrtle) that Cypria (i.e., Venus) brings. Through a complex system of ancient mythological allusions, the text suggests that Balogh, who is engaged in philosophical studies (“a lifestyle of Cleanthes”), accepts the laurel given to him by Minerva (this is implied by the Bistonius, or Thracian, signifier of the laurel), and that, together with the laurel, Balogh is the first to be granted the right to judge—placed in the role of Paris, offers the apple of Eris not to Venus but to Minerva.

The mythological framing of the epigram might have been taken from the mythological explanation provided by Natale Conti (Natalis Comes) *Mythologiae* on the story of Paris (Liber Sextus, Cap. XXIII. *De Paride*).³⁵ Furthermore, the inscription “Pulchrior accipiat” on the apple of Eris—originating from Lucian of Samosata’s dialogue between Panope and Galene from the *Dialogues of the Sea-Gods* (Ενάλοιοι Διάλογοι)³⁶—is possibly the translation of Conti, since the early modern Latin edi-

between 1630 and 1635. Fazekas et al., eds., *A győri jezsuita gimnázium diáksága*, I, nr. 00150. I suppose that he later became the register of the Hungarian Chamber and died early in 1651 or 1652. Fallenbüchl, ed., *Állami (királyi és császári) tisztségviselők*, 44; Csiba, Federmayer, and Nagy, “Komorský radca Lukáš Vattay,” 28, 44.

33 The epigram is on the *Parnassus Bimons*, A2r–A3v, but the authors are identified after the chronogram on B2v.

34 *Parnassus Bimons*, A2r.

35 Conti’s *Mythologiae, sive explicationum fabularum libri decem* was first published in Venice, 1567.

36 Conti reflects on the fact that he takes this piece of information from Lucian: “Id illa graviter ferens pomum elegantissimum et pulcherrimum aureum cum inscriptione per hostium immisit; pulchrior accipiat, id suscepit Mercurius at legit, ut testatur Lucianus in dialogo Panopes et Galat [!].” (She was so offended by that [by not being invited] that she threw the finest and most beautiful golden apple through the gates with the inscription: “Let the fairer receive it.” Mercurius took it up and read the inscription, as it is attested by Lucian in the dialogue of Panopes and Galene.) Conti, *Mythologiae*, 198v.

tions of Lucian's work render the words “ἡ καλὴ λαβέτω” as *formosa accipiat* after the translation of Jacob Micyllus.³⁷ As Éva Knapp notes, the *Mythologiae* was widely used in the Jesuit classrooms.³⁸

The poem can be placed within the rhetorical-poetic ideal of complexity and obscurity formulated by Farkas Gábor Kiss.³⁹ The elaborate mythological references create a tight network of allusions, almost a coded message that cannot be deciphered without the knowledge passed on at the *poetica* class of the *gymnasium*. Thus, the application of such dense mythological-allegorical language can also be interpreted as an element of community formation.

Who had the opportunity to speak? The makeup of the class vs. the identities of the authors of the *Parnassus Bimons*

In the following, I aim to analyze the *Parnassus Bimons* as a case study to determine how social status and nationality influenced who was able to contribute as an author to the volume. The results of this examination are not representative on a macro level for all of these publications, but it sheds new light on the process how these student volumes participated in shaping the institutional representation of the University of Trnava. If we compare the *natio* and the social status of the students enrolled in the 1636/37 *poetica* class and those students from the same class who published in the *Parnassus Bimons*, we can outline some tendencies that may reveal the self-fashioning strategies of the Jesuit *gymnasium* and University of Trnava. For categories of social status and *natio*, I adopt the historical terminology found in the primary sources, namely, the labels used in student volumes and matriculation registers. Accordingly, I use “nationality” to denote the specific *natio* (or *nationes*) attributed to each student.

The nationality of the student body was not homogenous in the schools in the Austrian Jesuit Province, especially in the Hungarian parts, where the *gymnasiums* and universities were multiethnic, and this multiethnicity is also attested by the matriculation registers.⁴⁰ The edition of the matriculation records for the Trnava

37 The first edition of Lucian's complete works translated to Latin was published in Frankfurt, 1538 (VD16 L 2926).

38 Knapp, “Az emblematika oktatásának forrásai a magyarországi jezsuita kollégiumokban,” 19–24.

39 Kiss, “The first Jesuit poem collection.”

40 We only have data about a quarter of the students' *natio* in the matriculation register. On the nationalities of the entire student body of the Trnava *gymnasium*, see Kádár, “A nagyszombati jezsuita kollégium, gimnázium és tanulói,” 56–58. The issue of nationalities at the University of Trnava was first tackled by Branislav Varsik in the politicized atmosphere of the 1930s. He already discussed the problem of the different *nationes* assigned to certain students, as in the

gymnasium was published by István Fazekas, Zsófia Kádár, Zsolt Kökényesi, and Bálint Ternovác.⁴¹ This edition organizes the data of the matriculation register by individual students, linking all relevant records to each pupil; consequently, the results may occasionally be uncertain for students with common names. During my research, I have relied upon the identifications established in the edition by Fazekas et al. According to the matriculation list⁴² seventy-two students were enrolled in the *poetica* class, but this is supplemented by two additional students, since there are two authors of the *Parnassus Bimons* who cannot be found in the matriculation list of the 1636/1637 *poetica* class—Stephanus Radosoczi and Michaël Kapitan.⁴³ However, there is data about Stephanus Radosoczi enrolling in the syntaxis class in the academic year 1635/1636.⁴⁴

In the guide for the use of the database, the editors emphasize that the category of the *natio* could indiscriminately refer to a student's mother tongue, to his belonging to a national group, or to a geographic region of origin.⁴⁵ Presumably, this conceptual complexity is one of the primary reasons why the matriculation register lacks consistency regarding the national classification of students. Among the 74 students in the 1636/37 *poetica* class, fourteen are recorded with more than one different nationality across the matriculation registers—that is almost one fifth of the class (18.9 per cent).

Besides the *natio*, there is also controversial data across the matriculation register regarding the social status and religion of students.⁴⁶ The uncertainty about the

case of Joannes Laczkovicz/Laczkowicz (nr. 01180 in Fazekas et al., eds., *A nagyszombati jezsuita gimnázium diáksága*, I, 223). However, Varsik tended to identify anyone registered as *Slavus* as Slovak: "Lackovič bol teda zapísaný 5 ráz ako 'Slavus' (Slovák) a 5 ráz ako 'Ungarus'. Nikto však pochybovať, že bol rodom Slovák." (Lackovič was thus recorded five times as "Slavus" [Slovak] and five times as "Ungarus". No one, however, will doubt that he was Slovak by birth.) Varsik, *Národnostný problém*, 68–69. On the critique of Varsik's methodology, see: Feder Mayer, *Uplatnenie prvých študentov* cited in Šimončíč, "Varsikov národnostný problém." On the content of Šimončíč's paper in Hungarian, see: Hamberger, "A magyar-szlovák középkor," 75–76. The interpretation of these discrepant denominations may depend on several factors (individual choices, changing identities, preferences of the note-takers), and in the following, I do not intend to interpret the exact meaning of "Slavus" or "Ungarus" on a case-by-case basis, let alone identify them with a modern nationality.

41 Fazekas et al., eds., *A nagyszombati jezsuita gimnázium diáksága*, I–III.

42 *Matrica gymnasii tum academiae Tyrnaviensis*, 82v–83v.

43 Fazekas et al., eds., *A nagyszombati jezsuita gimnázium diáksága*, I, *passim*.

44 Fazekas et al., eds., *A nagyszombati jezsuita gimnázium diáksága*, I, nr. 03102.

45 Fazekas et al., eds., *A nagyszombati jezsuita gimnázium diáksága*, I, 126.

46 The social status is only registered in 8 per cent of the students across the matriculation records of the gymnasium of Trnava. Therefore, the case of the 1636/37 *poetica* class is exceptional, as we have data on the social status of sixty-nine of the seventy-three students (94.5 per cent) who were registered in the matriculation records. Zsófia Kádár analyzes the social status of

students' social status is a common phenomenon: in the case of the 1636/37 *poetica* class, thirty-one students out of seventy-four are signaled as belonging to two or more social groups—i.e., 41.9 per cent of the class. I suggest that the overlapping categories used by the register may be one of the main reasons for this confusion; for example, describing the social status of non-noble students, several categories are utilized (*ignobilis*, *plebeius*, *libertinus*, and *civis*). The categories of nobles, burghers, and peasants may also overlap in some cases, which is partially due to the great number of students of noble burgher (“nemespolgár”) origin,⁴⁷ since it is quite frequent among the students of the 1636/37 *poetica* class that some students are described as *nobilis* in some years and *civis* in others: thirteen students are recorded both as *civis* and *nobilis* in the matriculation records. However, there are some cases that are difficult to explain. There are three students registered both as *nobilis* and *plebeius* in different years (nr. 2364. Arvai/Arvay, Joannes; nr. 02372. Bedecz/Bodecz, Joannes; nr. 02449. Gally/Gallus, Georgius), and two students registered both as *nobilis* and *ignobilis* (nr. 02601. Keszi/Kessi/Kessei, Matthias; nr. 03096. Verebkovi/Verebkeőy, Nicolaus). The most striking case is that of Kossik/Kosik, Joannes (nr. 02573), who was registered as *plebeius*, *ignobilis*, *civis*, and *nobilis* as well. The explanation for these inconsistencies is beyond the scope of this paper, but in these cases, we might suggest that the record keeper of the register made a mistake, or the data of more than one student have been mixed up due to erroneous identification in the edition of the matriculation records.⁴⁸

The religious aspect further complicates the matter.⁴⁹ While the vast majority of the 1636/37 *poetica* class are Catholic (fifty-nine out of seventy-four students, or 79.7 per cent) and there are some Protestants: two Calvinist students (Koczinus/Kocsinus, Joannes and Piskolti, Franciscus), and there are also two students whose religion shifts across the matriculation records: Petrus Lölkös/Lölkes/Lelkes/Leölkös (nr. 02492) is registered as Calvinist in 1634/1635, but Catholic in 1636/37, while

the entire student body of the Trnava *gymnasium*: Kádár, “A nagyszombati jezsuita kollégium, gimnázium és tanulói,” 52–54.

47 As István H. Németh puts it, the noble burghers “had led a bourgeois life but had been granted a charter of arms.” However, these students may also be members of urban noble families. Németh, “Beginnings of the Cooperation”, 63. On the emergence of the social group of noble burghers, see Bessenyei, *Menekültek*.

48 On the possible reasons behind these mistakes, see Kádár, “A nagyszombati jezsuita kollégium, gimnázium és tanulói,” 51, 56.

49 The students' religion was almost entirely enregistered in the matriculation records between 1635 and 1643, but after that, the religion was recorded in only nine cases. The vast majority (86.9 per cent) of students whose religion was recorded between 1635 and 1643 were Catholic. On the details of the students' religion, see Kádár, “A nagyszombati jezsuita kollégium, gimnázium és tanulói,” 54–55.

Joannes Porubski/Poraibsky (nr. 02733) is registered as a Lutheran in 1634/35 but, similarly to his classmate, as Catholic in 1636/37. In the case of these students, we cannot rule out the possibility of conversion to Catholicism, which is made probable by the fact that they both appear as Catholic in the academic year 1636/37. However, in these cases, we must not exclude the possibility of mistakes made by the keeper of the matriculation records.

In the first column, the student identifier numbers are provided, based on Fazekas et al. In the second column, the name variants of students are listed as recorded in the matriculation register. Regarding additional data, all information appearing in the matriculation records is indicated—the numbers in brackets show how many times each piece of information appears. The row for Michaël Kapitan is filled in using the data provided by the *Parnassus Bimons*. The authors of this volume are highlighted in grey.

Table 2 Members of the *poetica* class of 1636/1637

Id. nr. ⁵⁰	Name	Natio	Social status	Region of origin	Religion
02364	Arvai/Arvay, Joannes	Slavus	plebeius [1] / nobilis [4]	"Kubiniensis," ⁵¹ Árva County	Catholic
01397	Beber/Weber, Georgius	Germanus [5] / Ungarus [3]	nobilis [6] / civis [1]	Trnava, Pozsony County	Catholic
02372	Bedecz/Bodecz, Joannes	Slavus [4] / Polonus [1]	plebeius [1] / nobilis [4]	Trenčianske Mitice, Trenčsén County	Catholic
02345	Bellusi/Bellusy/Belussi/Bellussi, Franciscus	Ungarus	nobilis [5] / civis [1]	Trnava, Pozsony County	no data
02462	Bencze, Benedictus	Slavus	plebeius [1] / ignobilis [1]	Hronský Beňadík, Bars County	Catholic
03093	Besznyak/Besnyak/Besnak, Matthias	Slavus	nobilis	Nitra, Nyitra County	Catholic
02727	Boczonadi, Georgius	Ungarus	ignobilis [1] / civis [1]	Gyöngyös, Heves and Külső-Szolnok County	no data
02750	Bogyo/Bogio, Paulus	Ungarus	nobilis	Vráble, Bars County	Catholic
02458	Czabai/Czabay, Andreas	Ungarus [2] / Slavus [2]	civis [1] / nobilis [1]	Trenčín, Trenčsén County	Catholic
02700	Deitei/Deythey/Deithei, Joannes	Croata [2] / Slavus [1]	civis [1] / nobilis [1]	Dechtice, Pozsony County	Catholic

50 The identifier number relates to the database of Fazekas et al., eds., *A nagyszombati jezsuita gimnázium diáksága*, I, *passim*.

51 The inscription "Kubiniensis" (Cat. Tyrn. I., p. 55r), given that Johannes Arvai/Arvay originates from Árva County according to the matriculation register ("Arvensis," *Matrica gymnasii tum academiae Tyrnaviensis*, 74r), probably refers to Vyšný Kubín (Felsőkubín) or Dolný Kubín (Alsókubín).

Id. nr.	Name	Natio	Social status	Region of origin	Religion
02453	Diossy/Diosi/Diossi, Michael	Slavus [3] / Ungarus [1]	nobilis	Horné Otrokovce, Nyitra County ⁵²	Catholic
02689	Erdődi/Erdödi/Erdeödi de Monyorokerek, Emericus	Ungarus	comes	Monyorókerék (Eberau), Vas County	Catholic
02449	Gally/Gallus, Georgius	Slavus	plebeius [1] / nobilis [1]	Podhradie [?]	Catholic
02474	Gothar/Gotthar, Joannes	Ungarus	civis [1] / nobilis [3]	Gyöngyös, Heves and Külső-Szolnok County	Catholic
02418	Györi/Győri/Gyiory, Stephanus	Ungarus	civis [3] / nobilis [3]	Trnava, Pozsony County	Catholic
02477	Habdelicz/Habdelits, Michael	Slavus [3] / Croata [3]	nobilis [5] / civis [1]	Skalica, Nyitra County	Catholic
03085	Haraszti/Harasti, Gregorius	Ungarus	nobilis	Gyarmat [?]	no data
02752	Harman/Herman, Paulus	Slavus	ignobilis	Sielnica, Liptó County [1] / Zvolen, Zólyom County [1] / Želenec, Pozsony County [1] ⁵³	Catholic
02716	Herman, Andreas	Slavus	ignobilis	Zvolen, Zólyom County [1] / Sielnica, Liptó County [1] / Želenec, Pozsony County [1] ⁵⁴	Catholic
02250	Horvath/Horvat, Thomas	Ungarus	nobilis	Dvorníky, Nyitra County [2] / “Carponensis” [1] ⁵⁵	Catholic

52 His region of origin was registered twice: in 1633 as “Otrocoviensis” (*Matrica gymnasii tum academiae Tyrnaviensis*, 58r), and in 1636 as “ex Superior Atrak” (*Matrica gymnasii tum academiae Tyrnaviensis*, 74v). While the edition by Fazekas et al. identifies the first entry as referring to Otročok in Gömör County, and the second as referring to Horné Otrokovce in Nyitra County. Fazekas et al., eds., *A nagyszombati jezsuita gimnázium diáksága*, I, 313. However, based on the second entry, it is highly probable that the first record also refers to Horné Otrokovce.

53 The region of origin for Paulus Harman/Herman was registered three times in the matriculation records. While the edition of Fazekas et al. identified three different places based on these entries (Fazekas et al., eds., *A nagyszombati jezsuita gimnázium diáksága*, I, 334–335), the strong resemblance of the inscribed place names suggests that he and his relative, Andreas Herman (nr. 02716)—who enrolled in the same class in the academic year 1636/37—originated from a single location. Unfortunately, I was unable to definitively identify their exact place of origin.

54 Cp. the previous footnote. Fazekas et al., eds., *A nagyszombati jezsuita gimnázium diáksága*, I, 332.

55 The inscription “Carponensis” is identified as Krupina (Korpona), Hont County by Fazekas et al. in the case of Horvath, Joannes (nr. 02145). Fazekas et al., eds., *A nagyszombati jezsuita gimnázium diáksága*, I, 292.

Id. nr.	Name	Natio	Social status	Region of origin	Religion
03100	Horvath/Horwatt, Stephanus	Ungarus [3] / Slavus [1]	civis	Trnava, Pozsony County	Catholic
02351	Huszenecz/Husenecz/Huszenicz, Georgius	Croata	plebeius [1] / civis [3] / ignobilis [1]	Varaždin (Slavonia, Varasd County) ⁵⁶	Catholic
02749	Janczovicz/Janczovits/Janchovicz, Nicolaus	Ungarus	nobilis	Neverice, Nyitra/Bars County ⁵⁷	Catholic
–	Kapitan, Michaël ⁵⁸	Ungarus	nobilis	no data	no data
02601	Keszi/Kessi/Kessei, Matthias	Ungarus	nobilis [2] / ignobilis [1]	Keszi [?]	Catholic
03289	Koczinus/Kocsinus, Joannes	Ungarus	ignobilis	no data	Calvinist
02475	Kóós/Koos, Lucas	Ungarus	civis [3] / nobilis [1]	Gyöngyös, Heves and Külső-Szolnok County	Catholic
02573	Kossik/Kosik, Joannes	Slavus	plebeius [1] / nobilis [1] / ignobilis [1] / civis [2]	Turóc County	Catholic
02760	Kűszegi/Kőszogi/Keőszeghi/Kőszögi, Stephanus	Ungarus	nobilis	Trnava, Pozsony County	Catholic
02515	Lanczmar/Lanczmair, Franciscus	Germanus	nobilis [3] / civis [1]	Trnava, Pozsony County	Catholic
02188	Lani/Lany, Georgius	Slavus	civis [1] / plebeius [1] / ignobilis [1]	Bučany, Nyitra County	Catholic
03287	Lidawsky/Lidawski, Gregorius	Polonus	nobilis	Łuck (Луцьк), Kingdom of Poland	Catholic
02694	Liptai/Liptay, Jacobus	Slavus	nobilis [1] / praenobilis [1]	Liptó County	Catholic
02492	Lölkös/Lölkes/Lelkes/Leölkö, Petrus	Ungarus	civis	Šamorín, Pozsony County	Calvinist [1] / Catholic [1]
03083	Luczani, Emericus	Slavus	civis	Chtelnica, Nyitra County	no data

56 His region of origin is inscribed once, in the academic year 1635/36, as “Varadiensis.” Fazekas et al. identified this entry as referring to Oradea, Bihar County. However, the other five entries recording his region of origin all point to Varaždin (Slavonia, Varasd County), and his *natio* (Croata) also suggests the same origin. Therefore, we assume that the entry of 1635/36 is erroneous and likely a misspelling of *Varasdiensis*. Cp. Fazekas et al., eds., *A nagyszombati jezsuita gimnázium diáksága*, I, 306.

57 He is registered twice as “Neveriensis” and once as “Novoriensis” in the matriculation records. While Fazekas et al. state that the inscription “Novoriensis” cannot be identified, the other records suggest that it is a misspelling of *Neveriensis*, referring to Neverice in Nyitra or Bars County. Cp. Fazekas et al., eds., *A nagyszombati jezsuita gimnázium diáksága*, I, 334.

58 His presence in the class can be reconstructed on the basis of the *Parnassus Bimons*, D1r.

Id. nr.	Name	Natio	Social status	Region of origin	Religion
02205	Maythiny/Majteni/Maythini/Maitheni/Majtheni/Maitheny/Maithény de Kesselőkö, Joannes	Ungarus	nobilis [7] / liber baro [3]	Podhradie (Kesselőkö), Nyitra County	Catholic
03090	Megyureczki/Megyürecz, Joannes	Croata	nobilis	Zajezda, Slavonia, Varasd County	Catholic
03286	Mihalicz, Georgius	no data	civis	Skalica, Nyitra County	no data
02463	Moknacski/Mochnacski/Mocznacski/Mohnacski/Mocsnacski, Bartholomaeus	Slavus [1] / Silesita [4]	civis [1] / ignobilis [1]	Wrocław (Breslau), Silesia	Catholic
03094	Monicz/Monich, Michael	Ungarus [1] / Croata [1]	nobilis [1] / civis [1]	Bratislava, Pozsony County	Catholic
03284	Némethi/Nymeth, Casparus	Slavus	no data	Hronský Beňadík, Bars County	Catholic
02558	Novak/Novaki, Joannes	Slavus	plebeius [1] / ignobilis [2]	Nováky, Nyitra County	Catholic
02560	Ormandi, Joannes	Ungarus [4] / Slavus [1]	nobilis	Velké Úľany, Pozsony County	Catholic
02251	Palffy/Palffi/Palfi/Pálfy de Vereskő/de Erdőd, Thomas	Slavus [1] / Ungarus [3]	liber baro	Skalica, Nyitra County	Catholic
02234	Pazman/Pasman/Pazmani de Panaz, Nicolaus	Ungarus	liber baro	Trnava, Pozsony County	Catholic
01821	Peregovicz/Peregonicz/Perogovicz, Daniel	Slavus	civis	Trnava, Pozsony County	Catholic
02406	Piski/Pisky, Stephanus	Ungarus	nobilis	Trnava, Pozsony County	Catholic
03285	Piskolti, Franciscus	Ungarus	no data	no data	Calvinist
03291	Podhragayai, Stephanus	Ungarus	nobilis	no data	Catholic
02733	Porubski/Poraibsky, Joannes	Slavus	nobilis	Varín, Trenčsén County	Lutheran [1] / Catholic [1]
03089	Pölöski/Peöleskey/Pölöskei, Joannes	Ungarus	nobilis	Pölöske, Zala County	Catholic
02741	Pribila, Joannes	Slavus	ignobilis [1] / libertinus [1]	Svätý Jur, Pozsony County [1] / Kuklov, Pozsony County [1] / "Zkuloviensis" [1]	Catholic
03102	Radosoczi, Stephanus ⁵⁹	Ungarus	nobilis	no data	no data
03087	Rogekius, Georgius	Silesita	nobilis	Bielsko-Biała, Silesia	no data
03097	Rost/Roth, Nicolaus	Slavus	ignobilis [1] / civis [1]	Trnava, Pozsony County	Catholic
02758	Sarközi/Sáárközi, Stephanus	Ungarus	nobilis	Sárköz [?]	Catholic

⁵⁹ His presence in the class can be reconstructed on the basis of *Parnassus Bimons*, D2v.

Id. nr.	Name	Natio	Social status	Region of origin	Religion
02746	Sartoris, Michael	Slavus	nobilis	Sedličná, Trencsén County	Catholic
03101	Skerlecz, Stephanus	Croata	nobilis	Turóc County	Catholic
02754	Soffiensis/Sophiensis, Petrus	Bulgarus [1] / Dalmata [2]	nobilis	Bulgaria, Ottoman Empire	Catholic
03092	Szély/Szili, Martinus	Ungarus	nobilis	Komárno, Komárom County	Catholic
03288	Szentleky/Szentléleki, Joannes	Siculus [1] / Ungarus [1]	no data	Transylvania	Catholic
03086	Szentsimoni/Szentsimony, Georgius	Ungarus	nobilis	Transylvania	no data
02732	Szilagi/Szélagyé/Szilagy, Georgius/Gregorius	Ungarus	nobilis	Transylvania	Calvinist
02403	Szömörödi/Szömörödi/Szömörödi/Sömöreödi/Szemörödi/Szomörödy, Paulus	Ungarus	nobilis [4] / civis [2]	Trnava, Pozsony County	Catholic
02419	Tatai/Tatay/Tattai/Tattay, Stephanus	Ungarus	nobilis [6] / civis [1]	Trnava, Pozsony County	Catholic
02376	Vanko/Wanko, Joannes	Slavus	plebeius [2] / ignobilis [1] / civis [1]	Turóc County	no data
03096	Verebkovi/Verebkeöy, Nicolaus	Slavus	ignobilis [1] / nobilis [1]	Pukanec, Hont County	Catholic
02483	Virag/Viragh/Wiragh/Viragh, Martinus	Ungarus	civis [2] / nobilis [3]	Szécsény, Nógrád County	Catholic
02722	Viszoczani/Wiszoczany, Franciscus	Ungarus	nobilis	Vysočany, Trencsén County	Catholic
02747	Wlkonicz/Wlkovicz/Wlkowicz/Wlkovycz/Wlkovicz, Michael	Slavus	ignobilis	Lopašov, Nitra County	Catholic
03290	Zatureczky, Nicolaus	Slavus	no data	“Novovilensis” ⁶⁰	Catholic
02553	Zalesak/Zelesak/Zalezak, Jacobus/Johannes	Moravus [4] / Slavus [1]	ignobilis [1] / civis [1]	Vizovice, Moravia	Catholic
03084	Zolnai/Zolnay, Franciscus	Slavus	nobilis	Žilina, Trencsén County	Catholic
02231	Zongor/Zöngör de Szent Thamas, Michael	Ungarus	nobilis	Nitra, Nitra County	Catholic

As mentioned above, the nationalities of the students change over the years in the case of nearly one-fifth of the class. For example, Stephanus Horvat is registered three times as *Ungarus* and once as *Slavus*. The nationalities of altogether seventy-three out of the seventy-four class members are identified. Of these

60 There are several “Nová Ves” (“Újfalu”) in the Upper-Hungarian region, thus the place of origin cannot be identified. The surname of the student relates to Záturčie (Zaturcsány), Turóc County.

seventy-three students, thirty-nine are mentioned at least once as *Ungarus* (53.4 per cent), and thirty-one are identified as *Ungarus* exclusively (42.5 per cent). To this group, we may add Joannes Szentléleki, who is once described as *Siculus* (Székely/Szekler, from the *terra Siculorum* in Transylvania, probably from Székelyszentlélek/Bisericani, RO). Together with him, the proportion of students characterized exclusively as *Ungarus* is 43.8 per cent of the student body. There is only one student who is described as *Germanus* exclusively, Franciscus Lanczmar, while the other *Germanus* student, Georgius Weber, appears three times as *Ungarus*, and five times as *Germanus*. Altogether, they make up 2.7 per cent of the student body.

The case of the students described as belonging to other Slavic-speaking nationalities, however, is more complicated. There is only one student described as *Bulgarus*, who on other occasions also appears twice as *Dalmata*. There are six students who are described at least once as *Croata* in the matriculation records (8.2 per cent), but two of them are sometimes described as *Slavus*, and another appears once as *Ungarus*. There is a single *Moravus* student (who is once described as *Slavus*) and one *Polonus* student from Łuck (now in Ukraine), while the other *Polonus* student is registered four times as *Slavus* and comes from the outskirts of the city of Trenčín. In the latter case, his *Polonus* identity might be a mistake or can be related to distant family origins. There are two *Silesita* students (2.7 per cent), one of whom is also characterized as *Slavus* on another occasion, i.e., we may assume that he was Slavic-speaking, while the linguistic identity of the other *Silesita* student, Georgius Rogekius from Bielsko-Biała, is unclear. In total, there are thirty-two students described at least once as *Slavus* (43.8 per cent), and twenty-two students from this group are exclusively characterized this way (30.1 per cent). It seems that all twenty-two students who were exclusively characterized as *Slavus* were born in the northern territories of the Kingdom of Hungary, from which we might conclude that this group consisted of Slovak-speaking students. Consequently, considering single nationalities among the seventy-three students, there are thirty-one *Ungarus* (42.5 per cent), twenty-two *Slavus* (30.1 per cent), three *Croata* students (4.1 per cent), and one student each belonging to the *Germanus*, *Polonus* and *Silesita* groups (1.4 per cent each).

The proportion of mixed identities, calculated by adding up all national identifications from the matriculation records connected to the members of the class, is as follows: of the seventy-three students whose nationalities are registered, there are five *Slavus-Ungarus* (6.8 per cent), two *Croata-Slavus* students (2.7 per cent), one *Bulgarus-Dalmata* (1.4 per cent), one *Croata-Germanus* (1.4 per cent), one *Germanus-Ungarus* (1.4 per cent), one *Moravus-Slavus* (1.4 per cent), one *Polonus-Slavus* (1.4 per cent), and one *Silesita-Slavus* student (1.4 per cent). These data suggest that students speaking Slavic languages were categorized under the general

designation *Slavus*, which in certain cases could serve as an umbrella term for any Slavic-speaking community. Therefore, we might consider all the students who were associated with a Slavic-speaking community as one group. Together with the mixed identities that include a Slavic component—namely *Slavus-Ungarus* (5) and *Croata-Ungarus* (1)—and by adding up the students registered solely as *Croata* (3), *Bulgarus-Dalmata* (1), *Polonus* (1), and *Silesita* (1), we can assume that thirty-eight students of the total number of seventy-three (52.1 per cent) may have been associated with a Slavic identity. This means that the Slavic and *Ungarus* identities within the class are almost equally strong, as thirty-nine out of seventy-three students are associated with a *Ungarus* identity. The Figure 1 diagram illustrates the *natio*s of the 1636/37 *poetica* class represented by proportionally scaled circles.

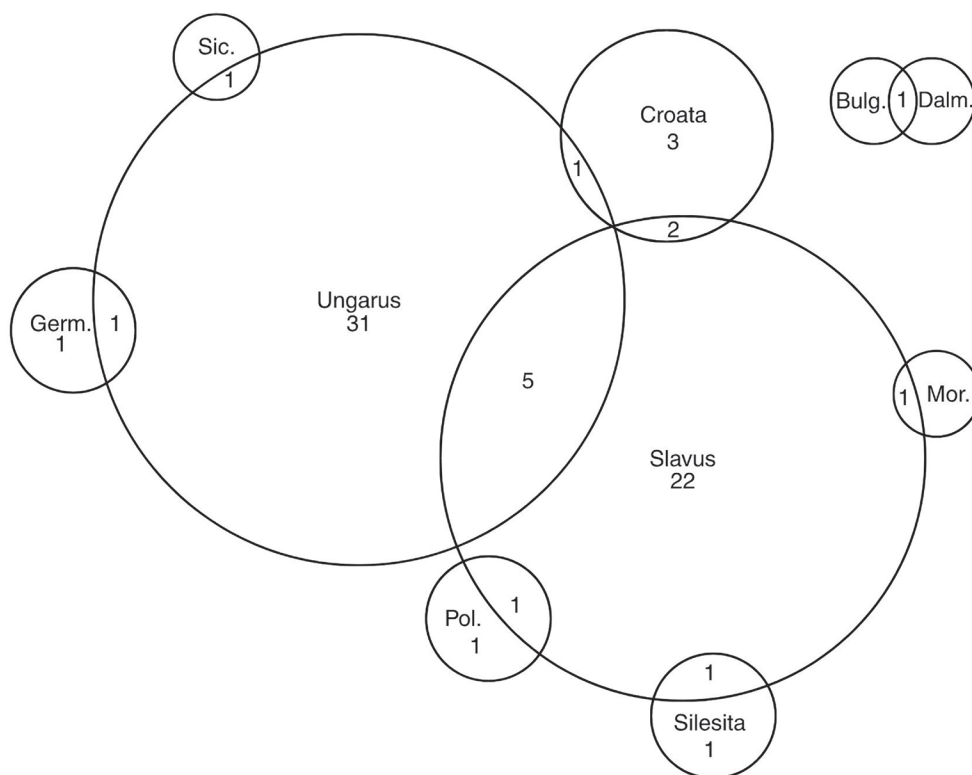


Figure 1 The *natio*s of the 1636/37 *poetica* class, based on Fazekas et al., ed. *A nagyszombati jezsuita gimnázium diáksága, I, passim*

However, the national identity of the authors of the *Parnassus Bimons* is radically different from the national makeup of the entire class. Eight of the sixteen authors were exclusively identified as *Ungarus* in the matriculation register, and the *Parnassus Bimons* identifies Michaël Kapitan as *Hungarus*; therefore, based on these

data, the national identity of nine authors is exclusively *Ungarus*. Two authors were registered both as *Ungarus* and *Slavus* in the matriculation records, one student was recorded as *Croata* and *Ungarus*, and another as *Germanus* and *Ungarus*. Thus, 87.5 per cent of the authors (fourteen out of sixteen students) have an identity associated with the *Ungara natio*.

There are only two students not registered on any occasion as *Ungarus* in the matriculation records: Matthias Besznjak/Besnjak/Besnak (*Slavus*, nr. 03093) and Franciscus Lanczmar/Lanczmair (*Germanus*, nr. 02515). However, neither of them is identified by their nationality in the *Parnassus Bimons*: Matthias Besnak is simply identified as *nobilis*, while Franciscus Lanczmar is identified by his region of origin and social status (“civis Tyrnaviensis”).⁶¹ The only student who appears as a member of a non-Hungarian *natio* in the *Parnassus Bimons* is Georgius Weber, identified as “Nobilis Germanus, Tyrnavien[sis].”⁶² Weber (Beber/Weber, Georgius, nr. 01397) appears five times as *Germanus*, and three times as *Ungarus* in the matriculation register.

Consequently, the students of *Ungarus* and *Germanus* nationalities are significantly overrepresented in the volume compared to their numbers in the class. All students recorded as *Germanus* in the matriculation register appear as authors in the *Parnassus Bimons*. Furthermore, the proportion of students belonging to the *Ungara natio* (87.5 per cent) is far higher than their proportion in the class (53.4 per cent). Conversely, Slavic students are underrepresented (52.1 per cent in the class, 25 per cent in the *Parnassus Bimons*). The diagram in Figure 2 uses proportionally scaled circles to illustrate the *nationes* of the authors of *Parnassus Bimons*.

Similarly, disproportionate distribution can be observed concerning the students’ social backgrounds.⁶³ When examining the social status of the authors of the *Parnassus Bimons*, the high number of students of noble origin is striking. Out of fifteen references to social status in the volume, only two refer to burghers, while all other identifications refer to nobles or aristocrats. The single one student whose social status is not specified in the *Parnassus Bimons* is an aristocrat (*liber baro*), “Thomas Pálfi, ab Erdőd.” Therefore, fourteen of the sixteen authors (87.5 per cent) are identified as members of the nobility or higher nobility, while 12.5 per cent of the authors are named as burghers.

These data are clearly not representative of the social makeup of the entire class. From the matriculation records, we have information about sixty-nine students

61 *Parnassus Bimons*, E2r.

62 *Parnassus Bimons*, D4v.

63 Paul Grendler emphasizes that the preference of the social elite in the Jesuit classrooms was a wide-spread phenomenon. As he notes, students of prominent families received special attention from the teachers, and the students with noble or citizen social background were treated differently from commoners. Grendler, “Culture of the Jesuit Teacher,” 36–39.

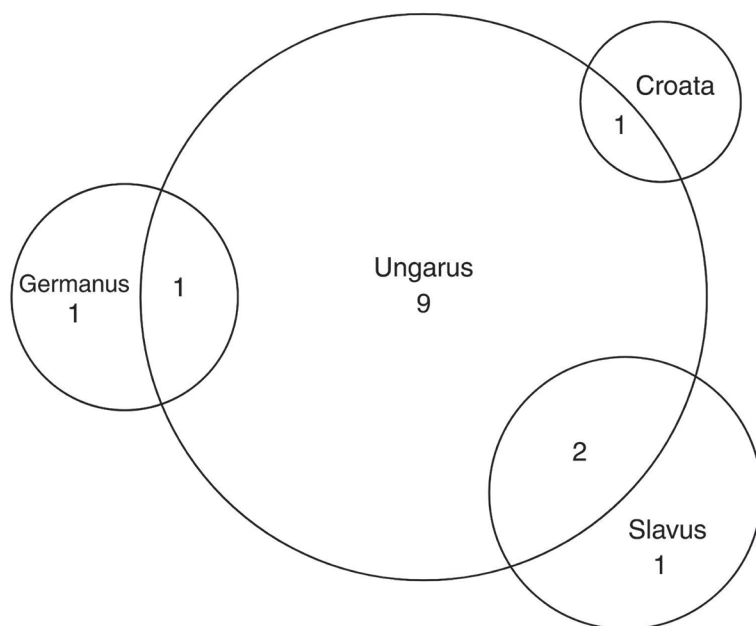


Figure 2 The *nationes* of the authors of *Parnassus Bimons*, based on Fazekas et al., ed. *A nagyszombati jezsuita gimnázium diáksága, I, passim*.

from the class (with no data regarding three students), and we know the social status of Michaël Kapitan (*nobilis*) from the *Parnassus Bimons*. The social makeup of the class aligns with the general tendencies of the Trnava *gymnasium*: the students came from diverse backgrounds, though the proportion of lower-born students decreased progressively in higher classes.⁶⁴ In the 1636/37 *poetica* class, out of the seventy students that we have data for, fifty (71.4 per cent) had been at least once identified as *nobilis* either by the matriculation records or the *Parnassus Bimons*, and thirty-two of them (45.7 per cent) are recorded exclusively as *nobilis*. Both students who appear as *civis* in the *Parnassus Bimons*—Franciscus Lanczmar/Lanczmair (nr. 02515) and Michael Monicz/Monich (nr. 02205)—are occasionally registered as *nobilis* in the matriculation records (see Table 2). Including them, there are five students having published in the *Parnassus Bimons* who were registered as non-*nobilis* in the matriculation register; besides *nobilis* they were all recorded as *civis*. Therefore, we can assume that the *Parnassus Bimons* has five noble burgher authors. It is also striking that all five of these students came from the immediate vicinity of the *gymnasium*:

64 Kádár, “A nagyszombati jezsuita kollégium, gimnázium és tanulói,” 52–54. Frederik Federmayer emphasizes that the Trnava *gymnasium* improved the career opportunities of students of non-noble origin as well. Federmayer, “A jezsuita iskolákban végzett diákok,” 216.

four were from Trnava (Georgius Beber/Weber, Franciscus Bellusi/Bellusy/Belussi/Bellussi, Franciscus Lanczmar/Lanczmair, and Stephanus Tatai/Tatay/Tattai/Tattay), while Michael Monicz/Monich came from Bratislava.

In the matriculation register, twenty-six students appear at least once as *civis*, but only five of them are registered as *civis* in all cases. Furthermore, twenty students were registered at least once as belonging to one of the categories of commoners (*ignobilis*, *libertinus*, or *plebeius* in the case of the 1636/37 *poetica* class), and only seven of them are recorded as commoners on every occasion. Notably, the students identified as commoners and students identified exclusively as *civis* do not appear among the authors in the *Parnassus Bimons*. By contrast, all students of high noble origin—one *comes* and three *liberi barones*, representing 5.4 per cent of the class—published a piece in the volume, thus making up 25 per cent of the authors. The prominence of aristocratic students is also reflected in the structure of the *Parnassus Bimons*: three open the volume and greet the highest-achieving bachelor of the year. It can be concluded, therefore, that the selection of authors for the volume favored *Ungarus* and *Germanus* students of noble birth,⁶⁵ and that the offspring of the high nobility were invariably included as authors.

Conclusion

The analysis of the social and national stratification of students who published in the *Parnassus Bimons* leads to the conclusion that, although the *Ratio Studiorum* and occasionally the published volumes themselves emphasize that the students' texts were selected on the basis of poetic and rhetoric excellence, this was probably not the only factor. Analyzing the social status of the authors of the *Parnassus Bimons* as a case-study helps to validate the hypothesis that contributing to a student volume, or even publishing one's own independent volume was also significant for a student's personal self-representation. However, further research is needed to determine whether these selection patterns applied in all student volumes. The social and national background of the students as it appears in the matriculation registers and in the *Parnassus Bimons* itself makes it clear that the selection favored students of noble descent, and especially those of high noble origin, while clear preference was given to those who were identified as belonging to the *Ungara* or the *Germana natio*.

65 Although it should also be noted that in the 1636/37 *poetica* class, the students at least once registered as *Ungarus* were largely registered at least once as *nobilis* (thirty-three out of thirty-nine students, 84.6 per cent), while of those who were associated with a Slavic-speaking community at least once only 42.1 per cent were registered as *nobilis*. This indicates that the *Ungarus* students were more likely to be of noble birth.

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