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COLLECTANEA VATICANA HUNGARIAE

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MICROBIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES
of Archbishops of Esztergom from the 17th Century
(Imre Lósy, György Lippay, György Szelepchény)

Written by
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(With the Verbals of Enquiry Processes, 1625–1666)

SEPARATUM

Microbiographical Studies of Archbishops of Esztergom from the 17th Century
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INTRODUCTION

This volume intends to continue the publication of the verbals of the canonical examinations' full texts, starting with the period of Péter Pázmány (1616–1637).¹ This enterprise has been launched in order to help to prepare the publication of the other verbals' abridged edition of the 17th century.² Owing to the character of the project, it publishes only the personalia-material. This time, Pázmány's three successors are being presented, Imre Lósy (1637–1642), György Lippay (1642–1666) and György Szelepchény (1666–1685). The crucial importance of the role of the archbishops of Esztergom, the primates of the country in the early modern period – in the church, the public, as well as in the social and cultural history of Hungary – justifies our choice. Furthermore, these sources enrich the history of the primary diocese of Hungary.

This volume serves as a sample for methodology, as well, apart from its role in preparing the abridged edition of the verbals of the 17th century and continuing the consistorial project that was launched almost two decades ago. Based on the paradigm of the publication of the Pázmány-process, this current work explores how and from which angle can the career of a prelate

¹ PÉTER TUSOR, *Kánoni kivizsgálás Pázmány Péterről (Családja, katolizálása, misszionálása). A Pázmány–Tholdy-archívum irataival [Péter Pázmány's Process of Enquiry. His Family, Catholicisation, Missions (With the Papers of the Pázmány–Tholdy Archives)]* (CVH II/6), Budapest–Róma 2017.

² Almost 250 verbals survived from 1612–1711 with their duplicates about the Hungarian bishops. AAV P. Cons.: 64 pc., P. Dat.: 19 pc., P. Vienna: 165 pc., Archivio Aldobrandini, Frascati: 3 pc, Archivio di Stato, Mantova: 1 pc. The archival abbreviations used here are the following: AAV: Archivio Apostolico Vaticano; P. Cons.: Archivio Concistoriale, Processus Consistoriales; P. Dat.: Dataria Apostolica, Processus Datariae; P. Vienna: Archivio della Nunziatura in Vienna, Processi Canonici (its former denomination: Processi dei Vescovi e degli Abbati).

be discovered through the content of the relevant historical documents to be found in Hungary (within the Carpathian Basin), in Vienna and in Italy. In addition, this project also relies on the sources to be found in the Vatican Library, namely; the verbals of the canonical examination which provides valuable and unique information that cannot be found anywhere else. The way that this work attempts to present these pieces of information and complete careers is not through comparative analyses and examples, but through studies of biographical and critical nature.

This part of the volume written in English cannot cover the whole reproduction of the Hungarian micro-biographies – which can be found before the publication of testimonies kept in the Vatican – and the employment of the above outlined method. Its purpose is more restricted. As a booklet in a book, it endeavours to introduce the biographical outline of the volume's protagonists for the international research as “post-apparatus” of the consistorial verbals. This is not a small accomplishment, either. Namely, such biographical texts of the Hungarian history from the early modern period became accessible in English that proved to be relevant guidelines for the Hungarian science in the last two decades.³

³ *Esztergomi érsekek (1001–2003)*, ed. by MARGIT BEKE, Budapest 2003, 291–296 (Lósy); 296–303 (Lippay); 303–310 (Szelepchény).

I.
IMRE LÓSY
(1576–1642)⁴

He was born into a minor noble family in Nagylózs of Sopron county, in 1576. He completed his secondary education in Vienna. Between 1599 and 1606 he studied at the German-Hungarian College (*Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum*) in Rome. His three-year long studies in philosophy and four-year long studies in theology were completed with a 2-year long study of canon law in parallel.⁵ Soon after his return, in 1606, as an already ordained priest he gained benefice in the chapter of Nyitra (Nitra). He followed his bishop, Ferenc Forgách from here to the archdiocese of Esztergom, where he became a member of the collegiate chapter of Pozsony (Bratislava) in the autumn of 1607. From 1611 he was the canon of Esztergom and the archdeacon of Nyitra, then between 1614 and 1619 the prefect of Garamszentbenedek (Hronský Beňadik) and already before 21 February 1620 he became the lector of the chapter of Esztergom. He represented his community with such titles at the diet of Pozsony in 1618, where the monarch was elected, and at the diet of Sopron, where the Peace of Nikolsburg was ordered to be employed. He reached the peak of his

⁴The Lósy related *bibliography* see above on page 27. His larger microbiography in Hungarian with a hugh apparatus *ibid*, pp. 28 *et sequ.* – In his autograph signatures he exclusively used his name as Lossi then Losi. The Lósy form, which became established in historiography, is actually wrong, though, in other contemporary sources the form of Lossy and Losy also occurs.

⁵ ENDRE VERESS, *Matricula et acta alumnorum Collegii Germanici et Hungarici ex regno Hungariae oriundorum 1599–1917* (Fontes Rerum Hungaricarum 2), Budapest 1917, 11; ISTVÁN BITSKEY, *Hungáriából Rómába. A római Collegium Germanicum Hungaricum és a magyarországi barokk művelődés [From Hungary to Rome]* (Italianistica Debreceniensis. Monográfiák 2), Budapest 1996, 56.

capitular career by his appointment as provost in 1631.⁶ He had his dignity as well as his assignment as a vicar and an auditor until his appointment as a bishop of Eger. From 21 February 1620 he became a temporary auxiliary vicar, from 4 February 1622 a permanent auxiliary vicar, whose full authority might have been received at the same year.⁷ Besides his prebends, his standard of living worthy of a bishop was supported by many benefices. Between 1623 and 1625 he was the abbot of Tapolca, from 1624 he was the provost of Óbuda and then from 1628 of Ság. He also had to part with them as the bishop of Eger.⁸

He obtained his first episcopal appointment to Csanád (Cenad) on 7 September 1623. Two months later on 9 December, the Hungarian chancery issued his royal presentation document addressed to Urban VIII, although his consecration was not realised. He was moved to the bishoprics of Várad (Oradea) by Ferdinand II on 24 October 1625. It is likely that he became a member of the Hungarian Council (*Consilium Hungaricum*) only after this. Besides being a member of this crucially important body of the Hungarian feudal self-government and the Upper House of the diets, he could also acquire deeper knowledge in state administration as a Hungarian court pro-chancellor in 1628. All along, he was obliged to countersign the royal documents as an “elected” bishop of Várad. Namely, his papal bulls were only issued on 22 April 1630 due to the debates over his origin and various administrative and organizational problems. After the arrival of the delayed bulls, he was consecrated as a bishop by Péter Pázmány with the assistance of János Telegdy, archbishop of Kalocsa and János Pyber, bishop of Eger, in the Saint Nicholas Cathedral of Nagyszombat (Trnava) on 21 June 1631.⁹

⁶ The often accurate and precise data occurring in the literature based on archival research: The often accurate and precise data occurring in the literature based on archival research: FERENC KOLLÁNYI, *Esztergomi kanonokok 1100–1900 [The Canons of Chapter of Esztergom 1100–1900]*, 213–214; KÁLMÁN JUHÁSZ, *A csanádi püspökség története (1608–1699) [The History of the Bishoprics of Csanád (1608–1699)]* (Csanádvármegyei Könyvtár 29), Makó 1936, 16–23 and 213–214.

⁷ *Pázmány Péter összegyűjtött levelei I–II [Collected Letters of Péter Pázmány I–II]*, ed. by FERENC HANUY, Budapest 1910–1911, 222–223, n. 134 and 273–275, n. 168.

⁸ KOLLÁNYI, 213–214; JUHÁSZ, 16–23.

⁹ KOLLÁNYI, 213–214; JUHÁSZ, 16–23.

He could begin his independent practice as a bishop two years later at the head of the bishoprics of Eger. Ferdinand III appointed him as the bishop of Eger on 24 October 1633. He was installed in his new benefice by a representative of the Chamber of Szepes in Jászó (Jasov), at the residence of the bishoprics on 2 February 1634.¹⁰ Within four brief years, he won his royal nomination to be the archbishop of Esztergom from here on 1 May 1637.¹¹ Partly due to the upcoming coronation of the queen consort, the new primate's appointment was quickly confirmed by Urban VIII, which already took place on the secret consistory of 16 November.¹² The ceremonial handover of his pallium, which was granted exceptionally on the same occasion, happened at Saint Martin Church of Pozsony on 2 February 1638 in the presence of the members of the sitting diet.

Lósy spent only six and a half years in the archiepiscopal see. He died in Nagyszombat on 7 November 1642. He was buried in the same cathedral where he had been ordained as a bishop a decade ago.

Out of the primates Lósy was the only one to owe his appointment “solely” to his church administrative activity, he was the only archbishop who had been the vicar of the archdiocese. Although, two of his predecessors became members of the College of Cardinals, he did not stand a chance due to his lack of inclination towards politics. Out of his contemporaries, his personality and activity might have embodied the bishop-ideal of Trent the most. Already as the representative of the chapter of Pozsony, he took part in the reform council of great historical importance convened by Forgách in 1611.¹³ By occupying his prebend of Esztergom he immediately summoned the clergy of his archdeaconry in Nagytapolcsány (Topoľčany) in order to discuss the current problems of pastorage. It is assumed that he most probably visited his province of Nyitra in the following year.

¹⁰ YJ, *Loósy Imre beiktatása az egri püspökségbe 1634-ben* [*The Installation of Imre Loósy to the Episcopacy of Eger in 1634*], *Századok* 34 (1900), 459–461.

¹¹ The date of 14 May appears in the relevant secondary literature and the latest archontologies. Cf. LÁSZLÓ SZÖGI, *Fejezetek a magyar világi és egyházi archontológiából* [*Chapters out of the Hungarian Secular and Ecclesiastical Archontology*], *A kronológia kézikönyve* (Tudománytár), Budapest 1985, 93–117, 103. However, the notes of the *Királyi Könyvek* (Hungarian Royal Books) are false this time.

¹² On the papal confirmations: HC IV, 168. 359. 323.

¹³ CAROLUS PÉTERFFY, *Sacra concilia ecclesiae Romano-catholicae in regno Hungariae celebrata I–II*, Viennae et Posonii 1742, II, 216.

He continued his personal visitations as a bishop too. The bulky records of the visitations of the chapters of Pozsony and Szepes from 1626 and 1628 are maintained up to the present day. Practically, he led the archdiocese as the vicar of Pázmány. He also consecrated churches, priests and undertook other responsibilities as well, such as disciplining parish priests, chaplains and seminarists.¹⁴ He was one of the main organizers and executors of the councils of 1620–1630s; for instance, he took an active part in the introduction of the Roman ritual in Nagyszombat, which he harmonized with the Hungarian tradition of worshipping saints. The modernization of liturgy, the obligation of residence and visitation, the church benefices, the education and morals of the clergy, the way of administering the sacraments and the question of religious instruction and indulgences were among the central topics of the council of Jászó in 1635 and the council of Nagyszombat in 1638.¹⁵ Last but not least, Lósy directed the work of the archdiocesan tribunal: he heard strict ecclesiastical as well as complicated matrimonial cases and probates. As a primate, he took special notice of keeping his tribunal of particular attention independent from the secular judicial bodies. Moreover, while as a vicar he had accepted the appeals to the nunciature of Vienna (where another Hungarian prelate was entrusted with supervision) in relation to his cases, as an archbishop he argued that one should not file an appeal to the nuncio but directly to the Roman Curia. He also endeavoured to enforce his primatial rights over the rebellious bishop of Zagreb.

Without doubt his education in canon law, which was loudly praised and employed by his contemporaries, and Forgách's attention and support at the beginning of his career contributed to the fact that he could reach the top of the hierarchy by the end of his life. Apart from his conciliar speeches published in the eighteenth century, he did not produce other literary

¹⁴ On his office as a vicar, for example József KARDOS, *Losy Imre [Imre Losy]*, Doctoral dissertation in theology, PPKE Hittudományi Kar könyvtár 25/1948. 33–40.

¹⁵ PÉTERFFY, II, 336–342 and 358–374; MICHAEL SZVORÉNYI, *Synopsis crítico-historica decretorum synodaliū pro ecclesia Hungaro-catholica*, Vesprimii 1807, 259–263; ISTVÁN SUGÁR, *Az egri püspökök története [The History of the Bishops of Eger]* (Az egri főegyházmegye schematizmusa 1), Budapest 1984, 305–307; VINCE BUNYITAY, *A váradi püspökség története [The History of the Bishopric of Várad]* IV, Debrecen 1935, 107.

works.¹⁶ Although he was regarded as an acknowledged preacher, he did not publish his sermons; neither did he issue those analyses of his that contributed to the legal framework, without which the organization of Catholicism in the early modern period in Hungary would not have been possible. As the bishop of Várad and Eger, he was eager to make use of his memoirs about the crucial questions of the pawned church benefices' recovery in practice.¹⁷

Concerning canon law, he gave advice to Pázmány, as well, who picked him as his successor with a keen sense. His foundations, the results of the modernization of Catholicism had to be consolidated and the canonist-prelate truly proved to be suitable for this task. In the function of the University of Nagyszombat, Pázmáneum the cardinal's death did not cause greater hindrances.¹⁸ After lengthy negotiations, the incomes from the primates' duty of minting (pisetum) were successfully kept for ecclesiastical purposes. Lósy's national council of 1638 in Nagyszombat was the last such reform synod that totally considered the practical questions of the Council of Trent in their entirety; moreover in connection with the episcopal tribunals it dealt with such sub-problems like the establishment and administration of the diocesan archives.¹⁹ In 1642 he summoned a synod on Saint Martin's day but he passed away the same year which rendered it impossible for him to hold it.

Besides consolidating Pázmány's life-work, his other main accomplishment was to end the short but severe crisis which had erupted in the bench of bishops

¹⁶ PÉTERFFY, II, 342–346; JÓZSEF SZINNYEY, *Magyar írók élete és munkái I–XIV [The Life and Works of Hungarian Writers]*, Budapest 1891–1914, VII, 1422–1423. The almost word for word publication of the visitation of 1628 in the history of the provostship of Szepes. Cf. SÁNDOR MIKÓ, *Anagylózi iskola múltjából [From the Past of the School in Nagylózs]*, *Soproni Szemle* 47 (1993) 383–388, 384–385.

¹⁷ SUGÁR, 305; BUNYITAY, IV, 108–110.

¹⁸ Cf. ISTVÁN FAZEKAS, *A Pázmáneum története az alapítástól a jozefinizmus koráig (1623–1784) [The History of the Pázmáneum from its Foundation to the Age of Josephinism (1623–1784)]*, István Fazekas–Margit Beke, *A bécsi Pázmáneum (METEM Könyvek 37)*; ed by István Zombori, Budapest 2002, 9–176. – IMRE SZENTPÉTERY, *A bölcsészettudományi kar története 1635–1935 [The History of the Faculty of Humanities 1635–1935]* (A Királyi Magyar Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem története 4), Budapest 1935 16 *et sequ.*; EDGÁR ARTNER–EGYED HERMANN, *A hittudományi kar története 1635–1935 [The History of the Faculty of Theology]* (A Királyi Magyar Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem története 1), Budapest 1938, 13–19.

¹⁹ PÉTERFFY, II, 358–374.

on account of the question of succession. Pázmány's death left a void which could not be easily filled. By referring to pastoral reasons, at first Lósy tried to move his main rival, Chancellor Lippay the bishop of Eger, from the court to his residence of Jászó, however neither Rome, nor Vienna agreed to do so, therefore, he had to come to a compromise in which his personality was of great help as he tended to prefer avoiding conflicts. The gist of their compromise was that the chancellor became the actual political leader of the *status ecclesiasticus*, yet, in other fields almost always the primate's will was felt. After this, their cooperation was almost perfect, which is clearly proved by the mutually organized conference of the bench of bishops in September 1639.

The episcopal synod summoned by Lósy was a milestone in the relations of the Hungarian Church and the papacy. On the one hand, the Hungarian prelates – the most categorically ever – defended the royal filling of the bishoprics belonging to the Holy Crown; furthermore, they claimed the free issue of their papal bulls as acquired rights. Their determined conduct, which somewhat overemphasised the episcopal sovereignty, forced Urban VIII into occasional concessions. On the other hand, they endeavoured to regulate and strengthen their relations with the Roman centre, for the sake of which they established an independent and administrative representation in the Eternal City.²⁰

A similar duality can be observed in the personal behaviour of the primate. On the one hand, he supported the composition of the Jesuit Menyhért Inchoffer's work for historically substantiating the unique Hungarian claims.²¹ The speciality of the *Annales Ecclesiastici Regni Hungariae*, which was finally

²⁰ PÉTER TUSOR, *Az 1639. évi nagyszombati püspökkari konferencia (A magyar klérus és a római Kúria kapcsolatainak válsága és reformja) [The Council of the Bench of Bishops in Nagyszombat, 1639 (The Crisis and Reform of the Relations Between the Hungarian Clergy and the Roman Curia)]*, Századok 134 (2000) 431–459; ID., *Episcopal Crisis in the Hungarian Episcopate (1639)*, *Il papato e le chiese locali. Studi – The Papacy and the local Churches. Studies (Studi di storia delle istituzioni ecclesiastiche 4)*, ed. by Matteo Sanfilippo–Péter Tusor, Viterbo 2014, 147–166.

²¹ DEZSŐ DÜMMERTH, *Inchoffer Menyhért küzdelmei és tragédiája Rómában 1641–1648. A magyar forráskritikai történetírás megszületése és a Jézus Társaság meghiúsult reformja [The Struggles and Tragedy of Menyhért Inchoffer in Rome 1641–1648. The Birth of the Hungarian Historiography of Source Criticism and the Unrealised Reforms of the Society of Jesus]* (A Budapesti Egyetemi Könyvtár Kiadványai 38), Budapest 1977 (offprint from the Filológiai Közlöny 1976/2).

published in 1644, is that Pope Sylvester II's bull – which “attests” the Hungarian monarchs' apostolic licences – occurs here for the first time. The document must be a forgery, yet the forger is still unknown and whether it was compiled at the turn of the 1630–1640s in the most strained period of the papal-Hungarian relations, or a decade earlier remains an unsettled question.²² While the extreme Hungarian interpretation of the Hungarian Royal Patronage and Supremacy needed this adventurous support indeed, the often questioned unique Hungarian state-ecclesiastical practice – namely, the diocesan bishops could immediately assume authority over their dioceses after having received the royal appointment and fiscal induction – did not require that motion. According to the highly effective canonical explanation of Lósy, due to the great distance from Rome, if the new prelate had taken the necessary initially steps for the sake of the obtainment of his papal bulls, not only could he administer the incomes of his benefice, but he also had spiritual jurisdiction in harmony with the canons. As an example, he could summon his clergy to a synod, whose resolutions were binding; furthermore, he could consecrate priests at the service of his diocese, he could confirm, judge, etc.

Yet, on the other hand, already in 1637, by complying with the canonical regulations, the primate informed the Conciliar Congregation about his archdiocese's religious relations in an *ad limina* report through his representatives;²³ he sent the verbal of his council of 1638 to the Curia for the sake of information and approval and he always did his utmost to stay in close communication with the primary head of the papal politics, with cardinal nephew Francesco Barberini. He was also in active correspondence with the cardinals of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. His main aim was to make them support the pastoral activity of the traditional church administration instead of sending Italian missionaries who were inexperienced in the Hungarian relations

²² On the question: SÁNDOR BENE, *A Szilveszter-bulla nyomában (Pázmány Péter és a Szent István-hagyomány 17. századi fordulópontja)* [In the Wake of the Sylvester Bull], A Ráday Gyűjtemény Évkönyve 10 (2002) 39–80; GERGELY TÓTH, *Szent István, Szent Korona, államalapítás a protestáns történetírásban (16–18. század)* [Saint Stephen, the Holy Crown, State Establishment in the Protestant Historiography (16th–18th cent.)], Budapest 2016, 19–26.

²³ Published: TIHAMÉR VANYÓ, *Püspöki jelentések a Magyar Szent Korona országainak egyházmegyéiről 1600–1850* [Episcopal Reports on the Dioceses of the Holy Crown of Hungary's Countries 1600–1850] (Monumenta Hungariae Italica 2), Pannonhalma 1933, 136–137.

(like in the case of the less rigorous fast).²⁴ He wished them to provide for the establishment of a seminary-system based on the monasteries of a Hungarian Salvatorian Franciscan province.²⁵ In addition, he attributed great value to increasing the number of the Hungarian saints canonized by Rome. However, his efforts put into the canonization of Margaret of Hungary remained to be fruitless.²⁶

In contrast to his predecessor and successor, there was only about a half decade at Lósy's disposal which proved to be few to raise his family to the Hungarian aristocracy. In his testamentary disposition, he only mentions his relatives on female line, to whom he bequeathed all in all three villages, a mill and – besides small payment in kind – 8,000 forint.²⁷ The five and a half years were not enough either to essentially increase the number of the institutions of the Catholic renewal. His only foundation was the small seminary of Pozsony, the Emericanum after his name.²⁸ For the extension of the Saint Stephen seminary of Nagyszombat and the establishment of the Franciscan monastery in Pozsony, he separated 3,000 and 1,000 forints

²⁴ FERENC GALLA, *Fulgenzio da Jesi ferences misszionárius vitája a böjtről a gyöngyösi jezsuitákkal. Fejezet a magyar katolikus restauráció misszióiból* [Fulgenzio da Jesi, Franciscan Missionary's Debate with the Jesuits in Gyöngyös over Lent. A Chapter from the Missions of the Hungarian Catholic Restoration] (Regnum-könyvek. II: Egyháztörténeti értekezések 1 – offprint from Regnum egyháztörténeti évkönyv 1944–46), Budapest 1947, 15–19 and 23–25; furthermore CVH I/2.

²⁵ PÉTER TUSOR, *A pápai diplomácia javaslatai 1639-ben a Szentzsék részvételére a magyarországi katolikus restaurációban* [The Proposals of the Papal Diplomacy in 1639 for the Holy See's Participation in the Catholic Restoration of Hungary], A Ráday Gyűjtemény Évkönyve 9 (1999) 19–38, 25–27; Lippay György egri püspök (1637–1642) jelentése Felső-Magyarország vallási helyzetéről (Archivio Santacroce) [The Report of György Lippay, the Bishop of Eger (1637–1642) on the Religious Situation of Upper Hungary], Levéltári Közlemények 73 (2002) 199–241, 228–229.

²⁶ PÉTER TUSOR, *A magyar Egyház és a Sacra Rituum Congregatio a katolikus megújulás korában (A kongregáció megalapításától 1689-ig)* [The Hungarian Catholic Church and the Sacra Rituum Congregatio During the Catholic Revival (From the Establishment of the Congregation to 1689)], Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok–Regnum 11 (1999) 1–2, 33–64, 41–50; ID., *Riforma, Liturgia, Canonizzazione nell'età della confessionalizzazione (La Congregazione dei Riti e il Cattolicesimo in Ungheria 1588–1689)*, Dall'Archivio Segreto Vaticano. Miscellanea di testi, saggi e inventari II, Città del Vaticano 2007, 463–485, 476–480.

²⁷ Published: KARDOS, 103–106; Cf. also FERENC KOLLÁNYI, *A magyar kath. főpapság végrendekezési jogának története* [The History of the Hungarian Catholic Prelates' Right of Testamentary Disposition], Budapest 1896, 197.

²⁸ JÁNOS FÁBIÁN, *Lósy kis kertje* [The Small Garden of Lósy], Pozsony 1914; KARDOS, 115–121.

in his will. For ecclesiastical purposes he left 8,350 forints and jewellery worth more than 5,000 imperial thalers to the chapter of Esztergom, the Jesuit priories, Franciscan monasteries, nunneries and the ones in need; finally, the soldiers of Érsekújvár (Nové Zámky), Fülek (Fiľakovo), Szécsény, Balassagyarmat, Drégelypalánk and Verebély (Vráble) were given 20,000 forint in wine and corn.²⁹

The most lasting disposition of the canonist-prelate is also related to his will, in which he stipulated that the price of his house in Vienna should be spent on the establishment of the faculty of law at the University of Nagyszombat. The result of his last will, which was realised some twenty years after his death, is still in function; in the course of the eighteenth century it was moved to Buda then to Pest – similarly to the other faculties of the university – by bearing the name of Loránd Eötvös.³⁰

THE VERBALS OF „PROCESSUS CANONICI”

The bishopric of Várad: 4–25 November 1625, Sopron. AAV P. Cons., vol. 20, fol. 292r–304v; its draft AAV P. Vienna, n. 26. See above *Verbals, I/1* (pp. 66–79).³¹

The bishopric of Eger: 16 January–10 February 1634, Vienna; its draft: AAV P. Vienna, n. 48. See above *Verbals, I/2* (pp. 79–89).

The archbishopric of Esztergom: 3 May–8 August 1637, Vienna. AAV P. Cons., vol. 30, fol. 398r–432v; its draft AAV P. Vienna n. 64. See above *Verbals, I/3* (pp. 89–104).

²⁹ The description of his slight maintained bequest: ANTAL LEPOLD, *Adatok az esztergomi főszékesegyházi kincstár történetéhez* [Data to the History of the Esztergom Cathedral Treasury], Esztergom 1929, 23.

³⁰ FERENC ECKHART, *A jog- és államtudományi kar története 1667–1935* [The History of the Faculty of Law and Political Sciences 1667–1935] (A Királyi Magyar Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem története 2), Budapest 1936, 3–7.

³¹ There are some testimonies from the register of Várad and numerous documents related to the obtainment of the papal bulls published by FERENC GALLA, *Harminckilenc kiadatlan Pázmány-levél* [Thirty-Nine Unpublished Letters of Pázmány] (Olaszországi Magyar Oklevéltár s. n.), Vác 1936. 38–39. and 11*–15*, n. 15–22.

II.
GYÖRGY LIPPAY
(1600–1666)³²

He was born in Vienna on 6 October 1600 and then was brought up in Pozsony (Bratislava).³³ After having finished his primary education and left his noble parental home to follow classical studies at the Viennese Jesuits; Matthias II appointed him as the canon of Eger in 1613.³⁴ From 1620 he studied philosophy along with physics in Graz where he received the title of Magister.³⁵ From 1621 to 1625 he attended lectures on theology and canon law in Rome as a scholar of the *Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum*. He had already received the four minor orders when Péter Pázmány, archbishop of Esztergom sent him to the venue of his consecration in 1624.³⁶

After his return, he immediately became a member of the cathedral chapter of Esztergom.³⁷ Two years later he became the archdeacon of Torna, then from 1628 the provost after Saint Stephen,³⁸ which was supple-

³² The Lippay related *bibliography* see above on pages 105–106. His larger microbiography in Hungarian with a hugh apparatus *ibid*, pp. 170 *et sequ*.

³³ The genealogy of his family: FREDERIK FEDERMAYER, *Lippayovci zo Zomboru. Genealogický pohľad na vznik novej probabsburskej aristokracie, Magnátske rody v našich dejinách 1526–1948*, ed. Frederik Federimayer, Martin [Turócszentmárton] 2012, 29–77.

³⁴ Cf. JÓZSEF LESKÓ (ed.), *Adatok az egri egyházmegye történelméhez [Data on the History of the Diocese of Eger] IV*, Eger 1908, 191.

³⁵ JOHANN ANDRITSCH, *Studenten und Lehrer aus Ungarn und Siebenbürgen an der Universität Graz 1586–1782*, Graz 1965, 45–46. – His thesis to attain the title of Magister: *Theatrum Philosophi... Régi magyar könyvtár I–IV [Old Hungarian Library]*, ed. by KÁROLY SZABÓ-ÁRPÁD HELLEBRANDT, Budapest 1879–1898, III, 393.

³⁶ VERESS, *Matricula et acta*, 26; BITSKEY, *Hungáriából*, 74.

³⁷ KOLLÁNYI, 230.

³⁸ ANTAL PÓR, *Az esztergom-várbeli Szent István első vértanúról nevezett prépostság története [The History of the provostship of Esztergom-Castle Named after Saint Stephen the First Martyr]*, Budapest 1909, 59–60.

mented by the rectorate of the Saint Cross and the Saint Balázs altars in 1630.³⁹ His small-provostship meant the peak of his capitular career. In 1627, as the canon of Esztergom he was the parish priest of Érsekújvár (Nové Zámky),⁴⁰ then the tithe collector (*exactor decimarum*) of the chapter and the prefect of the seminary of Nagyszombat (Trnava). In the spring of 1632 he accompanied Pázmány to Rome, where he obtained the title of a protonotary apostolic and the papal chamberlain from Urban VIII on 29 May.⁴¹

Henceforth, his career significantly changed. On 1 February 1633, he immediately became the head of the bishoprics of Veszprém, which had a residence – in Sümeg – on its own.⁴² After the Barberini pope had canonically confirmed the filling of the bishoprics of Veszprém on the secret consistory of 6 June,⁴³ Pázmány ordained him bishop in Nagyszombat around 22 December 1633.⁴⁴ On 1 May 1637, he was transferred to the more distinguished bishoprics of Eger by Ferdinand III. He governed his diocese without a papal confirmation, however, in spite of this; he received the exemption from his obligation of residence from Rome.⁴⁵ His appointment as the archbishop of Esztergom was dated on 18 November 1642. He had to wait for his papal bulls and then his pallium for years until 4 December 1645 and 12 March 1646.⁴⁶ Eventually, he was not appointed to be a cardinal, yet it was often deliberated upon.⁴⁷

Besides his ecclesiastical titles, his secular offices are also notable. Along with his episcopal appointment he was the lord lieutenant of Veszprém,⁴⁸

³⁹ KOLLÁNYI, 231.

⁴⁰ KOLLÁNYI, 230.

⁴¹ GALLA, *Felbatalmazások*, 110–111.

⁴² SUGÁR, 309; JÁNOS PFEIFFER, *A veszprémi egyházmegye történelmi névtára (1630–1950)* [*Historical Nomenclator of the Diocese of Veszprém*] (Dissertationes Hungaricae ex Historia Ecclesiae 8), 40.

⁴³ HC IV, 366.

⁴⁴ HANUY, II, n. 860., 457.

⁴⁵ HC IV, 73. The case is a specialty concerning canon law.

⁴⁶ HC V, 323.

⁴⁷ PÉTER TUSOR, *A magyar hierarchia és a pápaság a 17. században (Problémák és fordulópontok)* [*The Hungarian Hierarchy and the Papacy in the Seventeenth Century (Problems and Turning Points)*], Századok 136 (2002) 527–545, 541–542; CVH I/3, 106–160.

⁴⁸ ZOLTÁN FALLENBÜCHL, *Magyarország főispánjai 1526–1848* [*The Supreme Counts of Hungary 1526–1848*], Budapest 1994, 109 and 75.

and then from 11 February he was a member of the Hungarian Council. From the autumn of 1635 he was the Hungarian chancellor⁴⁹ and was elected to be one of the prelates on the Royal Court of Appeal at the diet.⁵⁰ By tradition, as the bishop of Eger he became the lord lieutenant of Heves and both Szolnok; as the archbishop he became the head of the Esztergom County.⁵¹

The campaign of György Rákóczy I, prince of Transylvania in Upper Hungary meant the biggest challenge of his early primacy in 1644/1645. Rákóczy openly entered the complicated last period of the Thirty Years' War on the defence of the Protestant interests and launched an attack against the royal Hungary.⁵² The primate might have taken the phoney war interspersed by continuous peace negotiations the most seriously. Not only did he oppose every agreement, but as the chief leader of the defence he also considered that the Hungarian dissolution of the other denominations stood chance.⁵³ However, the events of the Western-European

⁴⁹ ISTVÁN KATONA marks 15 October 1635 as the beginning of his office at the Chancery. *Historia Critica Regum Hungariae Stirpis Austricae XII*, Budae 1794, 717. On his chancellorship: ISTVÁN FAZEKAS, *A Magyar (Udvári) Kancellária és hivatalnokai 1527–1690 között* [*The Hungarian Royal Chancellery and its Officials 1527–1690*] (Academic Doctoral Dissertation), Budapest 2018, 294–295 and *passim*.

⁵⁰ KATONA, 692. 712. 717.

⁵¹ Mainly to his earlier political role (especially in respect of the Transilvanian relations) see his in the 19th century edited correspondance: ANTAL BEKE, *Pázmány, Lippay és Eszterházy levelezése I. Rákóczi Györggyel. A gyula-fehérvári káptalani levéltárból* [*The Correspondence of Pázmány, Lippay and Eszterházy with György Rákóczi I. From the Capitular Archives of Gyulafehérvár*], *Történelmi Tár* 14 (1881) 640–674; 15 (1882) 134–148 and 279–324; SÁNDOR SZILÁGYI, *Lippay György esztergomi érsek leveleiből* [*From the Letters of György Lippay Archbishop of Esztergom*], *Történelmi Tár* 15 (1892) 581–591; furthermore PÁL LICHNER, *Lippay György esztergomi érsek magyar levelei* [*The Hungarian Letters of György Lippay Archbishop of Esztergom*], *Győri Történelmi és Régészeti Füzetek* 3 (1863) 184–187.

⁵² From the immense literature: LÁSZLÓ CSEH-SZOMBATHY, *I. Rákóczi György 1644-es hadjárata* [*György Rákóczi's Campaign of 1644*], *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 3 (1957) 43–76; ÁGNES R. VÁRKONYI, *A rejtőzködő murányi Vénusz* [*The Hiding Venus of Murány*]. Budapest 1987, at some parts.

⁵³ PÉTER TUSOR, *Jakusith György római követjárása 1644–45-ben (A magyar rendek kísérlete a Szentszék bevonására a török és az erdélyi protestantizmus elleni fegyveres harcra)* [*The Roman Legation of György Jakusith in 1644–45 (The Attempt of the Hungarian Orders to Initiate the Holy See Into the Battle Against the Ottomans and Transylvanian Protestantism)*], *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 113 (2000) 237–268, especially 251 and 255.

theatre of war did not favour his radical ideas. The Peace of Linz, its enactment on the diet and then the negotiations of Tokaj about its execution meant the almost total defeat of the Catholics. With his passionate protest, the primate, who was unable to compromise, became one of the least popular men of the country, which the Protestant historiography did not fail to record.⁵⁴ However, Lippay's standpoint was not more radical than that of Pázmány shared in relation to Bethlen's campaigns in Upper Hungary. True, his behaviour at the ecclesiastical political negotiations of the diet of 1646/1647 was closer to Ferenc Forgách's intransigency than to his late mentor's flexibility.

Finally, the primate had to admit: he significantly overestimated the former conditions of his church, moreover his aim to make Catholicism an absolute state religion – which was a claim of every denomination concerning their own religion in the early modern period – could not be realized. In 1647, the recognition of the radical church policy's failure was followed by the systematic survey of the archiepiscopal province and the archdiocese's state. According to the handwritten schematism, there were all in all 9 bishops, 44 canons, 20 provosts, 18 abbots, 9 conventuals, 20 chaplains, 71 cathecista, 88 seminarists and only 172 parish priests – comparing to the number of 976 in the late Middle Ages – under the jurisdiction of Lippay. Out of the communities which regarded themselves Catholic, there were 23 that had to be devoid of their pastor.

After the necessities had been taken into account, after a decade-long delay, finally, the chain of foundations of Pázmány could continue for the sake of filling in the grinding lack of priests. Lippay's most significant establishment was the general seminary (*Seminarium Rubrorum*) in Nagyszombat, which aimed at providing a clerical recruitment for the whole primatial province by borrowing the regulations of the *Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum*. The newer noble generation's education in the spirit of Catholicism took place in the boarding-schools of Nagyszombat

⁵⁴ We can think of mainly the works of MIHÁLY ZSILINSZKY, *A linczi békekötés és az 1647-ki vallásügyi törvényczikkek története [The History of the Peace of Linz and the Acts of Religion of 1647]* (A Magyar Protestáns Irodalmi Társulat kiadványai), Budapest 1890, 231–321 and 327–423; ID., *Lippay György és a tokaji tanácskozmány 1646 [György Lippay and the Consultation of Tokaj in 1646]*, *Századok* 20 (1886) 400–424.

and Sopron.⁵⁵ Lippay's most expensive investment, which required 30,000 then further 20,000 forint, was the Jesuits' church, college and noviciate of Trencsén (Trenčín) which coordinated the above mentioned institutions and was ready by June 1657.⁵⁶

The Society, who had a key role in the modernisation of the Hungarian Catholicism and formed the most important pillar of the primate's church policy as well as was officially confirmed as part of the *status ecclesiasticus* by Lippay,⁵⁷ became the beneficiary of further numerous archiepiscopal investments. In Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica), Selmecebánya (Banská Štiavnica), Szokolca (Skalica) and Rozsnyó (Rožňava) they established residencies;⁵⁸ in Pozsony they received an altar benefice and pharmacy; furthermore, their house in Gyöngyös was enlarged. The 52,000 forint – with which Lippay as the former bishop of Eger contributed to the foundation of the seminary and convict of Kassa (Košice) by completing Zsuzsanna Balassi's earlier bequest of 20,000 forint – indirectly increased the operational chances of the order.⁵⁹ Beside the allowances granted to the Jesuits, his other ventures shrank, such as the extension of the Saint Adalbert seminary of Nagyszombat in 1663, the creation of the lector's stall in the chapter of Pozsony and the recon-

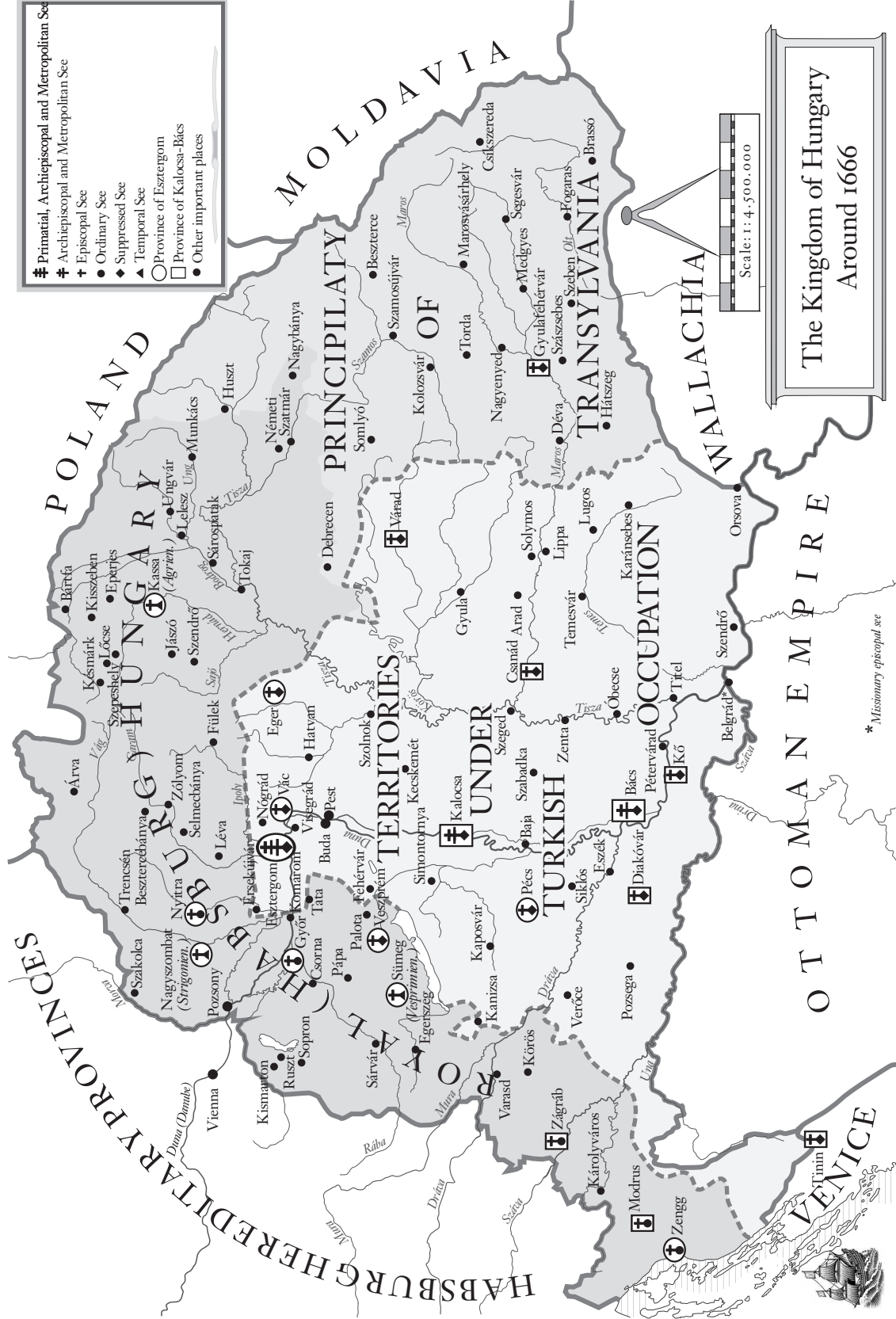
⁵⁵ JÁNOS BÁN, *Sopron újkori egyháztörténete [The Church History of Sopron in the Modern Times]* (Győregyházmegeye múltjából 4/2), Sopron 1939, 207–208; LÁSZLÓ VELICS, *Vázlatok a magyar jezsuiták múltjából [Essays on the Past of the Hungarian Jesuits]. II: 1610–1690*, Budapest 1913, 77–78.

⁵⁶ ANTAL PETRUCH, *A trencsényi jezsuita noviciátus anyakönyve [The Register of the Jesuit Noviciate of Trencsény]*, Budapest 1942, 5; VELICS, 72–77. – The deeds of foundation were published by EMIL VLAHOVICH, *A trencsényi királyi katolikus gimnázium története 1649–1895 [The History of the Royal Catholic Secondary School of Trencsény]*, A trencsényi királyi katolikus főgimnázium értesítője 1895/96.

⁵⁷ PÉTERFFY, II, 383–384.

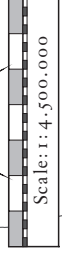
⁵⁸ KOLLÁNYI, 233; LIPÓT TELGÁRTI, *Lippay György jezsuitákat hoz Rozsnyóra, 1659 [György Lippay Brings Jesuits to Rozsnyó, 1659]*, Magyar Sion 2(1865) 306–310; ID., *A rozsnyói plébánia története [The History of the Parish of Rozsnyó]*, Magyar Sion 3 (1865) 599–615.

⁵⁹ BÉLA WICK, *A jezsuita rend története Kassán [The History of the Jesuits in Kassa]* (excerptum from the periodical of Katholikus Lelkipásztor), Pozsony 1931, 13–15; PÉTER TUSOR, *Nemesi és polgári érdekérvényesítési törekvések a katolikusok és reformátusok kassai recepta religióvá válásában (A Magyar Tanács és a vallásügy 1648-ban) [The Noble and Civil Efforts of Clout in the Catholics and Calvinists' Becoming Recepta Religio in Kassa (The Hungarian Council and the Religious Affairs in 1648)]*, Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok–Regnum (1998) 1–2, 5–26.



- # Primate, Archbishop and Metropolitan See
- † Archbishop and Metropolitan See
- ✦ Episcopal See
- Ordinary See
- ◆ Suppressed See
- ▲ Temporal See
- Province of Esztergom
- Province of Kalocsa-Bács
- Other important places

The Kingdom of Hungary
Around 1666



* Missionary episcopate see

struction of the archiepiscopal residence of Garamszentkereszt (Žiar nad Hronom). Besides the Jesuits, the Franciscans also enjoyed his support, which is proved by the building of a church and monastery in Csallóköz and Körmöcbánya (Kremnica). He strongly opposed the settlement of other orders, just like the Piarists' that successfully operated later. They could begin their rapid spread only after his death.⁶⁰

The grandiose extension of the institute-system was not the only successful answer to the church political fiascos of the 1640s, but also the realization of the opportunity to expand by the union of the some hundred thousand Orthodox living in Hungary. While the effective results of the re-reviving efforts were only felt after a couple of decades,⁶¹ the missionary work among the Protestant congregations in Csallóköz – which, despite the legal prohibition, was not devoid of violent church seizures – directly lead by the primate was apparent, though, on a smaller scale.

The precise control of the inner church life was less spectacular than the intensive expansion but (at least) equally important. The visitations became quasi a routine, which by virtue of the medieval tradition was never conducted by the archbishop himself but certain archdeacons.⁶² Even the thorough visitation of the cathedral chapter of Esztergom in 1652 was conducted through a delegate. The reconstruction of the primatial chan-

⁶⁰ GYÖRGY BALANYI–IMRE BÍRÓ–VENCEL BÍRÓ–VINCE TOMEK, *A magyar piarista rendtartomány története [The History of the Hungarian Piarist Province]*, Budapest 1943, 17–18; ANDRÁS KOLTAI–PÉTER TUSOR, *A piarista rend és Magyarország első kapcsolatai (1627–1666) [The first relations of the Order of Pious Schools and Hungary]*, Hitre, tudásra. A piaristák és a magyar művelődés. Kiállítási katalógus (ed. by Andárs Koltai), Budapest 2017, 19–38.

⁶¹ ANTAL HODINKA, *A munkácsi görög-katolikus püspökség története [The History of the Greek Catholic Bishoprics of Munkács]*, Budapest 1910, especially 252–378 (with publication of sources); MICHAEL LACKO, *Unio Uzborodensis Ruthenorum Carpathicorum cum Ecclesia Catholica* (Orientalia Christina Analecta 143), Romae 1955, at some parts; TAMÁS VÉGHSEŐ, *Lippay György egri püspök és az ungvári unió [György Lippay Bishop of Eger and the Union of Ungvár]*, Naukovi Zapysky Uhorodskoho Univerzitetu. Serya Istorychno-relihijni studiyi 5 (2016) 146–153.

⁶² The visitations of the archdeaconry of Bars published: *Visitatio Canonica. Az Esztergomi Főegyházmegye Barsi Főesperességének egyházlátogatási jegyzőkönyvei 1647–1674 [Visitatio Canonica]*, ed. by ILONA TOMISA, Budapest 1992, 19–180. – Mainly see *Egyházlátogatási jegyzőkönyvek katalógusa. IX: Esztergomi főegyházmegye I–III [The Catalogue of the Visitations' Registers]*, ed. by KRISZTINA TÓTH, Esztergom 2000, *passim*.

cery was in the 1650s: as it appears from the formula- and report-volumes, which were compiled at that time. The liturgical work of the clergy was helped by the re-publication of the *Rituale Strigoniense* and the resolutions of the guiding Council of Nagyszombat in 1611.⁶³ Above all, as part of his patronage, the primate fostered the publication of many Hungarian and international authors' works (e.g. János Nádasí and Athanasius Kircher's).⁶⁴ In spite of his rich collection including the Fugger-library,⁶⁵ he did not publish a single work as an archbishop.⁶⁶

In addition, Lippay's activities in church organisation were far beyond the borders of his archdiocese. As an example, he canonically confirmed – temporarily – the resolutions issued on the suffragan's visitation of the Zengg-Modrus (Senj-Modruš) diocese in 1655. By referring to his primatial rights and enforcing them, he appointed priests for the Transylvanian Catholics who had been doing without a pastor for decades and sent missionaries to them. As the head of the hierarchy, he also had significant influence on the filling of the vacant dioceses: his personal nominees were almost always accepted in the Court of Vienna that practiced the Royal Patronage and Supremacy.

However, the impressive church organising activity, which began at the turn of the 1640–1650s, could produce only limited results. The deno-

⁶³ *Rituale Strigoniense, seu formula agendorum in administratione sacramentorum ac ceteris ecclesiae publicis functionibus...*, Régi magyarországi nyomtatványok [Old Hungarian Printings], II: 1601–1635. III: 1636–1655. IV: 1656–1670, ed. by GEDEON BORSA–JÁNOS HELTAI et al., Budapest 1983–2000–2012, II, 619–620, app. 92.

⁶⁴ GÁBOR TÜSKÉS, *A XVII. századi elbeszélő egyházi irodalom európai kapcsolatai (Nádasí János)* [The European Relations of the Epic Church Literature of the Seventeenth Century (János Nádasí)] (Historia Litteraria 3), Budapest 1997, 137. 170. 172. 194. 321. 348. – The number of the books- and other dedications (Nádasí, Inchoffer, Mihály Kopchányi, etc.) addressed to Lippay is rather high, on them partially see BORSA–HELTAI, III–IV, ad indicem.

⁶⁵ ANDOR BORBÉLY, *Az esztergomi „Bibliotheca” Fugger-gyűjteményének eredete* [The Origin of the Fugger-collection in the “Bibliotheca” of Esztergom], Magyar Könyvszemle 77 (1961) 469–475; ZSUSZANNA SZEPESI, *Az esztergomi „Bibliotheca” XVII. századi történetéhez* (In memoriam Kovách Zoltán) [To the History of the “Bibliotheca” of Esztergom in the Seventeenth Century (In memoriam Zoltán Kovách)], Magyar Könyvszemle 97 (1981) 225–229.

⁶⁶ The outline of his works and the smaller publications of his correspondence: SZINY- NYEY, VII, 1259–60.

minational proportion was not changed on the merits, and the earlier impetus of Pázmány might not have returned. The most cogent proof of this is that Lippay, during his twenty-four-year long primacy, summoned only one national council in 1648 and one diocesan council in 1658. Furthermore, although many measures – like the foundation of the general seminary – could be attributed to these synods, their resolutions were not published, therefore they could not have a substantial effect.⁶⁷ Besides, the council of 1648 was determined by the deposition of György Draskovich, bishop of Győr (as a result of a partially personal, old conflict's stormy arrangement).⁶⁸

Similarly to his church administration, in his political attitude, there were two absolutely different periods. After the Peace of Westphalia, which closed the 'Thirty Years' War, the majority of the Hungarian political elite (the total Protestant aristocracy, many prominent characters of the Catholic aristocracy, like Ádám Batthyány, Miklós Zrínyi, etc., as well as a few members of the bench of bishops, like János Püsky, archbishop of Kalocsa, who was on worse and worse terms with the primate) headed by Palatine Pál Pálffy more and more vehemently demanded that the Habsburgs should finally turn their relieved forces – including winning Transylvania, as well – against the Ottomans. However, by gauging realities the minority gathered around Lippay did not want to confront the exhausted dynasty (due to the wars), in which they saw the main protector of the Catholic interests. In the sharpening political conflict the parties rapidly became radical. While Pálffy and then after his death Miklós Zrínyi showed an inclination towards the idea of the national kingdom, Lippay, who had explicitly friendly rapport with many members of the Viennese rule,⁶⁹ backed also such provocative measures of the court like the increase of the Austrian military

⁶⁷ PÉTERFFY, II, 376–385 and 386–393.

⁶⁸ BÉLA SZABADY, *Draskovich György győri püspök élete és kora (1599–1650)* [*The Life and Age of György Draskovich, Bishop of Győr (1599–1650)*], A soproni katolikus főgimnázium értesítője, Sopron 1936, 100–106; PÉTER TUSOR, *The National Council and the Habsburg State Power in Hungary in the year of the Peace of Westphalia*, *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum* 46 (2014) 239–258, 242 *et sequ.*

⁶⁹ LIPÓT ÓVÁRY, *A Magyar Tud. Akadémia Történelmi bizottságának oklevél-másolatai III* [*The Facsimile Charters of the Historical Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences III*], Budapest 1901, 376 (*ad indicem*).

forces' number in Hungary on the strategically important points. His politics, until the death of Ferdinand III in 1657, truly lacked a realizable alternative; nevertheless, his stubborn ambition to become the head of the country's public life in contrast to his huge opposition was neither realistic, nor fortunate within the framework of the feudal constitution of 1608. On the diet of 1655 he was unable to postpone the election of the palatine and the prolongation of his governorship, yet, he could declare Ferenc Wesselényi's appointment – who was on his side – as the new palatine to his credit.⁷⁰

There was a substantial change in the attitude of the primate after Leopold I – who was crowned by him – acceded to the throne. He considered that the Hungarian feudal system was the main hinder of the new rule's absolutistic endeavour. By the beginning of 1659, Lippay discovered that the Viennese medium, in which he had felt at home and of which decisions could be influenced, was a thing of the past for good. The final turn in his opinion was generated by the neutral reaction of the court in 1660, when Várad (Oradea) was besieged and occupied by the Ottoman-Tatar attack. He, who did his utmost to help György Rákóczy II and his principality by neglecting all his previous grievances and prejudice, had to realise that the Habsburgs lacked any kinds of political will to liberate the country. Consequently, this was unacceptable to the total Hungarian elite.

From 1660, the primate, who could overcome the denominational aspects of this matter, became the prime mover of the national unity's politics. By way of illustration, his relations to Zrínyi, which had been pronouncedly hostile or rather ambivalent, were reinterpreted. This time, he uncon-

⁷⁰ ÁGNES R. VÁRKONYI, *Az elveszett idő. Zrínyi Miklós nádori emlékirata?* [*The Lost Time. The Palatine Memorial of Miklós Zrínyi?*], *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 113 (2000) 269–328; KATALIN PÉTER, *Zrínyi Miklós terve II. Rákóczi György magyar királyságáról* [*Miklós Zrínyi's Plan on György Rákóczi II's Hungarian Kingdom*], *Századok* 106 (1972) 653–665; ID., *A magyar romlásnak századában* [*In the Century of the Hungarian Decay*] (*Magyar História*), Budapest 1979, 90–104; ÉVA S. LAUTER, *Pálffy Pál nádor levelei (1644–1653)* [*The Letters of Palatine Pál Pálffy (1644–1653)*] (*Régi Magyar Történelmi Források* 1), Budapest 1989, 16–25; furthermore the CSc dissertation of KATALIN PÉTER, *A magyar főúri politika fordulata a XVII. század derekán (Pálffy Pál és Rákóczi Zsigmond)* [*The Turn of the Hungarian Aristocratic Politics in the Middle of the Seventeenth Century (Pál Pálffy and Zsigmond Rákóczi)*], Budapest 1972 (ms.); and more recently GÁBOR KÁRMÁN, *Erdélyi külpolitika a vesztfáliai béke után* [*The Foreign Policy of Transylvania after Peace of Westphalia*], Budapest 2011, *passim*.

ditionally supported his military plans; moreover, in 1664 he took measures for his supreme command.⁷¹ After the loss of Érsekújvár (Nové Zámky) in the previous year, which had been maintained partly from the incomes of the archiepiscopal estates, then the Peace of Vasvár, the primate completely identified himself with the ideas of his former rivals and he might have become one of the chief initiators of the feudal conspiracy hallmarked by Wesselényi.⁷² However, he could not take part in the actual plot, which sought for French and Turkish help due to his death, which reached him in his palace in the center of Pozsony – and not in the summer residence being famous of its lavish Baroque garden⁷³ – on 3 January 1666 at quarter to eleven.

While his political last will – along with Zrínyi and Wesselényi's – was obvious even without dictation; his goods and chattels, the finish and continuance of his foundations were provided for in a testament attested by the chapter of Pozsony. As a compensation of Ferdinand III's decree of 1647, which was executed only partially, he left 50,000 forint for the parish priests without means of living. The sum rendered an annual supplementary wage of 25–30 gold possible for the ones in need. The Jesuits of Trencsén received all in all 17,000 gold, the Franciscans of Csallóköz and Körmöcbánya got 10,000 and 4,000. He reserved 4,000 forint for the Saint Elisabeth house of Nagyszombat, which was primarily established for the care of the aged clergy. He completed Lósy's bequest with 15,000 forint for the faculty of law that was founded in 1667.⁷⁴ The Pauline studium generale of Nagyszombat and the military district of Érsekújvár received 12,000 gallons of wine. His library became the possession of the chapter of

⁷¹ ELRÉD BORIÁN, *Lippai érsek és Zrínyi Miklós politikai vitája [The Political Dispute of Archbishop Lippai and Miklós Zrínyi]*, Sz 134 (2000) 929–931.

⁷² PÉTER TUSOR, *A prímás, a bán és a bécsi udvar (1663–1664) [The Primate, the Ban of Croatia and the Imperial Court]*, Történelmi Szemle 57 (2015) 2, 219–251; LÁSZLÓ BENCZÉDI, *A Wesselényi-féle rendi szervezkedés kibontakozása [The Development of the Wesselényi-conspiration]*, Történelmi Szemle 17 (1980) 596–630.

⁷³ ÉVA S. LAUTER, *Főúri kertek és reprezentáció a 17. században [Aristocratic Gardens and Representation in the Seventeenth Century]*, Európa híres kertjei. Történelmi ökológia tanulmányok Magyarországról (ed. by Ágnes R. Várkonyi–László Kósa), Budapest 1993, 87–104; ANNA ECSEDY, *Plenus sapientia*, Művészettörténelmi Értesítő 62 (2013) 171–232.

⁷⁴ The deed of foundation of the faculty of law published: JÁNOS TÖRÖK, *Magyarország prímása [The Primate of Hungary]*, Esztergom 1859, 155–157., n. 141.

Esztergom.⁷⁵ According to his last will, he was buried next to Pázmány in the Saint Martin Church of Pozsony in the evening of 19 January 1666. The service was led by the already appointed successor, György Szelepcshény; the funeral orations were told by István Sennyey, bishop of Veszprém and György Pongrácz, bishop of Vác.⁷⁶

These eulogies must have praised the merits of the deceased primate with abundance of Baroque language. However, they might not have forgotten that – except the first part of the 1660s – in his earthly life, Lippay did not have the same authority at all that of Pázmány had had, though, as the archbishop of Esztergom he had similar influence on the history of Hungary in the seventeenth century. This had basically two reasons. Firstly, his unique personality which was made up of the special mixture of his vehement nature and his deep religiosity that nearly approached asceticism, should be mentioned.⁷⁷ Secondly, in contrast to Pázmány, he was far beyond reality in his church politics, besides; he had a rather pragmatic attitude towards the court of Vienna's Hungarian politics. However, from the late 1650s, when he tried to resolve the dilemma derived from the difference of the confessional and national interests, his respect among the feudal elite was beyond question. The report of Miklós Bethlen, who called on him in the autumn of 1664, recalled the atmosphere of János Kemény's visit at Pázmány three decades earlier.⁷⁸ Owing to his last years, Lippay was remembered correspondingly to his cardinal predecessor by his direct posterity. Yet, today his memory is far less vivid, which may be due to the insufficiency of church-historiography.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ LEPOLD, 23–24; RÓBERT OLÁH–PÉTER TUSOR, *Lippay György esztergomi érsek testamentuma (1665)* [*The Testament of György Lippay Archbishop of Esztergom*], *Lymbus* 18 (2019) 329–348.

⁷⁶ JOANNES KORNELLI, *Quinque lustra Lippaiana*, Tyrnaviae 1722, 105; NICOLAUS SCHMITTH, *Archiepiscopi Strigonienses*, Tyrnaviae 1758, 134.

⁷⁷ GÁBOR TŰSKÉS, *Búcsújárás a barokk kori Magyarországon* [*Pilgrimage in the Baroque Hungary*], Budapest 1993, 113.

⁷⁸ *Bethlen Miklós élete leírása magától* [*The Autobiography of Miklós Bethlen*], Kemény János és Bethlen Miklós művei (Magyar Remekírók), ed. by ÉVA V. WINDISCH, Budapest 1980, 399–981, 599–600; *Bethlen Miklós levelei* [*The Letters of Miklós Bethlen*] (Magyar Prózai Emlékek 6), ed. by JÓZSEF JANKOVICS, Budapest 1987, 1162.

⁷⁹ To his life and personality see recently CST I/1.

THE VERBALS OF „PROCESSUS CANONICI”

The bishopric of Veszprém: 9–26 February 1633, Vienna. AAV P. Vienna, n. 46 (a draft). See above *Verbals*, **II/1** (pp. 175–187).

The bishopric of Eger: 10–20 December 1637, Pozsony (a draft, unfinished). AAV P. Vienna, n. 57. See above *Verbals*, **II/2** (pp. 187–191).

The archbishopric of Esztergom: in the first half of 1643, Vienna (partly reconstructed). AAV P. Vienna 57 and n. 64. See above *Verbals*, **II/3** (pp. 191–195).

III.
GYÖRGY SZELEPCHÉNY
(1604/1605–1685)⁸⁰

He was born in a small village of Bars county, in Szelepcsény on the riverside of Zsitva (Žitava) in around 1604–1605.⁸¹ The original name of the all-Catholic family was Pohronczí, who might have moved from Moravia to Hungary, where they obtained their letters patent of nobility from Rudolf II.⁸² He finished his elementary studies and the studium humanitatis (equivalent to secondary education) at the Jesuits of Nagyszombat (Trnava), where later he spent some years as a teacher. He completed his studies in philosophy and theology at the *Collegium Germanico-Hungaricum* in Rome, where he arrived at the end of 1627. In the autumn of 1634, two years after his consecration, he left the Eternal City without having taken a degree, just like his archbishop-predecessors who were expert in German.⁸³

After his return, he immediately became the parish priest of Szenc, then in a little while, in December 1635, he became a member of the cathedral chapter of Esztergom. By virtue of a commission of György Jakusith, vicar general of Esztergom, he visited the nearby parishes as a deputy-archdeacon. Soon, he was promoted the archdeacon of Gömör. Presumably, he remained in his pastoral position until 1638, until his appointment as the

⁸⁰ The Szelepchény related *bibliography* see above on page 197. His larger micro biography in Hungarian with a hugh apparatus *ibid*, pp. 198 *et sequ.* – Similarly to his predecessors, his name occurs in different forms in the sources and secondary literature (Szelepcsényi, Szelepchényi, etc.). However, in his autograph signatures he always used Szelepcheny/Szelepchény, therefore I use the closest form, Szelepchény.

⁸¹ JÁNOS KÉRY, *Georgii Szelepchényi vita, opera et virtutes*, Posonii 1676, 1; LAJOS VAYER, *Szelepcsényi György, a művész [György Szelepcsényi, the Artist]*. Emlékkönyv Domanovszky Sándor születése hatvanadik fordulójának ünnepére, Budapest 1937, 643.

⁸² VAYER, 643; KOLLÁNYI, 245; JUHÁSZ, 34; VERESS, 30. See the works of SÁNDOR TARÁTS later.

⁸³ VERESS, 29–30; BITSKEY, 75.

provost of Szentgyörgy and the archdeacon of the cathedral. The cantor benefice meant the zenith of his capitular career, to which position – by skipping the office of the *custos* – he was moved by Primate Lósy in 1640. He must have left the body due to his appointment as a bishop of Veszprém.⁸⁴

Out of the benefices bestowed by the Habsburg monarchs, first he won the abbey of (Duna)földvár in 1638. The abbey, which lay in the territory under Turkish rule and he owned until 1646, yielded only minimal income.⁸⁵ However, the abbey of Pilis, which he obtained in 1642 and kept until his death, was considerably beneficial. Besides, he became the provost of Óbuda, from 1644 to 1648, then of (Ipoly)ság, from 1653 to his death, with the commitment of supporting a certain number of scholars.⁸⁶

Among the primates of the seventeenth century, Szelepchény was the only one, whose episcopal career started by a littoral title, namely by the title of Nona (Nin) that he obtained on 21 November 1642.⁸⁷ While the Apostolic See did not acknowledge the Hungarian monarchs' right of appointment in this bishopric, in the case of the ones in Csanád⁸⁸ – which was bestowed on him on 15 July 1643 – and in Pécs⁸⁹ – on 20 November – they behaved quite the contrary. However, despite the ecclesiastical regulations, the prelate, who was advancing unbelievably fast, did not even try to have his bulls issued. Moreover, the same is true for his bishopric of Veszprém – which had an independent residence –, of which deed of appointment was dated at 5 August 1644 by the Hungarian Chancery. Yet, he asked and received Innocent X's confirmation for the more prestigious diocese of Nyitra (Nitra) – that he obtained on 18 April 1648 – with the date of 11 March 1652.⁹⁰ After the quick arrival of the bulls, Primate Lippay consecrated him as a bishop in the cathedral of Nyitra on 7 July 1652.

⁸⁴ KOLLÁNYI, 245; JUHÁSZ, 35; LAJOS NÉMETHY, *Series parochiarum et parochorum Archi-Diöcesis Strigoniensis...*, Strigonii 1894, 266.

⁸⁵ PONGRÁCZ SÖRÖS, *Az elenyészett benczés apátságok [The Vanished Benedictine Abbeys]*. (The History of the Benedictine Order of Pannonhalma 12/B), Budapest 1912, 172–173.

⁸⁶ KOLLÁNYI, 245; JUHÁSZ, 35; SÁNDOR TAKÁTS, *Szelepchényi György a Portán [György Szelepchényi at the Porte]*, *Az Újság* 10 (1912) n. 187, 1–3, 1; REMIG BÉKEFI, *A pilisi apátság története [The History of the Abbey of Pilis] I*, Pécs 1892, 30–37 and 477–487.

⁸⁷ JUHÁSZ, 35; KOLLÁNYI, 245.

⁸⁸ JUHÁSZ, 36.

⁸⁹ KOLLÁNYI, 245; JUHÁSZ, 39.

⁹⁰ JUHÁSZ, 39. – HC IV, 260.

The canonically regulated state lasted only for five years. On 21 May 1657, Leopold I promoted him to archbishop of Kalocsa, therefore he could lead Nyitra only as an administrator under the authority of the monarch.⁹¹ This condition, which was against the canon law, became settled after nine years, when he finally occupied the archiepiscopal see of Esztergom, his ecclesiastical summit, on 22 January 1666.⁹² His papal bulls were dated from 22 August 1667 by the Secretariat of Briefs; he received his pallium on 16 January 1668.⁹³

Concerning his career, out of his secular titles – similarly to his predecessors –, the court-chancellorship should be mentioned in the first place. The 22-year-long service, which breaks every record, started in November 1644.⁹⁴ As the bishop of Csanád he was a royal councillor, along with his bishoprics, he was the perpetual lord lieutenant of Veszprém,⁹⁵ Nyitra⁹⁶ and Esztergom,⁹⁷ moreover, of Bars County (Tekov)⁹⁸ from 1680. Both under Ferdinand III and Leopold I he was a member of the Secret Council,⁹⁹ from 1669 he became the knight of the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem. After the death of Palatine Ferenc Wesselényi, he was the governor (*in iudiciis locumtenens regius*) with Ferenc Nádasdy from April 1667, then alone from October 1670 to June 1681.¹⁰⁰

⁹¹ JUHÁSZ, 40.

⁹² JUHÁSZ, 40. – KOLLÁNYI, 246.

⁹³ KATONA, IV, 323. – HC V, 364.

⁹⁴ The starting date at FALLENBÜCHL (marked with a question mark) is 5 September 1644 and the closing date in 15 January 1666, which is false. ZOLTÁN FALLENBÜCHL, *Magyarország főméltóságai [The Dignitaries of Hungary]*, Budapest 1988, 99. On his role as chancellor (with his biogram) recently: FAZEKAS, *Kancellária*, 42–43 etc. and 340–342.

⁹⁵ The date of the appointment is 7 August at FALLENBÜCHL (*Supreme Counts*, 109). 109.

⁹⁶ FALLENBÜCHL, *Supreme Counts*, 89. The date of appointment is 17 April 1648.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* The starting date is 23 September 1680.

⁹⁹ According to KÉRY 10, he became a secret councillor only as the archbishop of Kalocsa.

¹⁰⁰ GYULA PAULER, *Wesselényi Ferencz nádor és társainak összeesküvése 1664–1671 [The Conspiracy of Palatine Ferenc Wesselényi and his Companions] I–II*, Budapest 1876, I, 138 From 1667, the archontologies incorrectly only mention the governorship of Nádasdy. FALLENBÜCHL, *Dignitaries*, 70–71; SZÖGI, 100.

He died in Moravia, in the castle of Litovic on 14 January 1685 – or a couple of days earlier.¹⁰¹ According to his last will, he was buried in the church of Mariazell, in the Saint Ladislaus Chapel, which he had earlier built.

While, out of his predecessors, Imre Lósy became an archbishop as a drudge of the everyday church governance; György Lippay obtained the archiepiscopal see primarily as a chosen successor of Pázmány, Szelepchény had a career wittingly built up by his own resources. Already during his studies in Rome he could absolutely grasp the opportunities: he reached the level of self-management based on knowledge and talent that had never been approached by any other Hungarian Germanists for sure. He had his theological theses published right on the spot in Rome,¹⁰² moreover, he had the chance to give a ceremonial speech in front of Urban VIII, in the papal chapel. His certificate as well as his contemporaries alluded to the exceptional character of this performance. His unparalleled mental capacity was favourably complemented with his talent in arts: he was one of the best copperplate engravers of his age.¹⁰³

Even decades later, he could benefit from the relationships with his fellow members of the college. He left the Eternal City with a heap of warm-hearted recommendations. Not only was he on good terms with the famous professors, like the noted canonist Juan de Lugo, but also with the Jesuit general, moreover with the actual head of the Papal States, with cardinal nephew Francesco Barberini. He owed his career until his chancellorship as well as his diplomatic commissions mainly to his command of Eastern languages, mastered in Rome. In the later phase of his life, there are no such royal bearer documents sent to the popes,¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ JUHÁSZ, 41 and KOLLÁNYI, 247 incorrectly refer to a Croatian venue.

¹⁰² *Propositiones Theologicae Auspiciis Eminentissimi Principis Petri Card. Pázmán Archiep. Strigoniensis Primat. Hung. S. Sed. A: Legati Nati etc. defensae a Georgio Pobroncio Szelepchenj Ung. Coll. Ger. et Ung. Alumn. 1624. [!] Romae, Superiorum Permissu, Ex officina Franc. Corbelletti*, SZABÓ–HELLEBRANDT, III, 403–404.

¹⁰³ VAYER, 643–663; IMRE LUKINICH, *Szelepchény György esztergomi érsek mint rézmetsző* [Gy. Szelepchény Archbishop of Esztergom as a Copperplate Engraver], *Magyar Bibliofil Szemle* 2 (1925) 12–13. The most authentic portrait of Pázmány, his, Ferdinand IV and Leopold I is owing to him.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. also KÉRY, 7–8; KOLLÁNYI, 246; JUHÁSZ, 35–39.

which did not list his three visits to the Ottoman Porte,¹⁰⁵ a visit to Poland and later two at the prince of Transylvania.¹⁰⁶

His diplomatic experience was often of good service to him during his nineteen years as the archbishop of Esztergom, first in the management of the Wesselényi conspiracy's consequences. In his petitions to the court he tried to keep the punitive sanctions back, and as the protector of the feudal constitution, he passionately opposed the initiation of the open absolutistic regime.¹⁰⁷ As he had been earlier suspected of taking part in the plot – by no means without any foundation – he was strongly limited by this stain on his loyalty, even after his “innocence” was proved by a testimonial written by the monarch himself on 12 October 1672. Not for the first and last time in Hungarian history, the primate had to play the part of the representative of the Hungarian affairs in Vienna, and at home the governor of the exponent of the Habsburg-authority.¹⁰⁸

The maintenance of this double role's balance was aggravated by the fact that the realization of the absolutistic system could not lack the principle – “one state-one religion” – of the contemporary modern state organisation. By having forgotten the “feudal ecumenism” of the organisation, after a temporary hesitation, Szelepcsényi took the lead of the armed counter-reformation. He endeavoured to enhance his efficiency by deepening the

¹⁰⁵ BÉLA MAJLÁTH, *Az 1642. évi szőnyi békekötés története és okmánytára [The History and Papers of the Peace Treaty of Szőny of 1642]*, Budapest 1885, 92–95; ISTVÁN HILLER, *Palatin Nikolaus Esterházy. Die ungarische Rolle in der Habsburgerdiplomatie 1625 bis 1645* (Esterházy Studien 1), Wien–Köln–Weimar 1992, 83–88; TAKÁTS, 1–3; ISTVÁN HAJNAL, *Az 1642. évi megbíúsult országgyűlés időszaka [The Age of the Miscarried Diet of 1642]* (Esterházy Miklós nádor iratai. I: Kormányzattörténeti iratok), Budapest 1930, *ad indicem*, especially 175.

¹⁰⁶ His letters to György Rákóczy II published by SÁNDOR SZILÁGYI, *Szelepcsényi György leveles tárczájából [From the Correspondence of György Szelepcsényi]*, Történelmi Tár 1892, 193–208.

¹⁰⁷ PAULER, *op. cit.*; BENCZÉDI, 596–630; ID., *Rendi szervezkedés és kuruc mozgalom (1664–1665) [The Feudal Conspiracy and the Kuruc Movement (1664–1665)]*, Magyarország története 1526–1686 (Magyarország története tíz kötetben 3/1–2), ed. by ÁGNES R. VÁRKONYI, Budapest 1987), 491 *et sequ.* and 1155–1272. 1823–1840. 1212–1213; FERENCZ BALÁSSY, *Közlemények az egri érseki levéltárból [Publications from the Archives of the Archdiocese of Eger]*, Magyar Tudományos Értekező 1 (1862) 2, 260–268. 334–346. 344–345, n. 13.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. LÁSZLÓ BENCZÉDI, *Szelepcsényi érsek ügye és a lipóti abszolutizmus megalapozása 1670 őszén [The Case of Archbishop Szelepcsényi and the Foundation of the Absolutism of Leopold in the Autumn of 1670]*, Történelmi Szemle 18 (1975) 489–502.

manorial missionary work against Reformation; he offered the opportunity to the aristocracy to prove their loyalty towards Vienna also this way. Although, the posterity morally condemns the trials of the preachers and the seizure of the churches by the regular army, it is worth emphasising that the symbiosis with the state, the elimination of the denominational rivalry in the absolute knowledge of justice was the characteristics, “natural” demand of every religious trend of the early modern period, as it is proved by numerous European historic examples.¹⁰⁹

Due to the expansion of the total state church, Catholicism – so to say – “prevailed” in Hungary. The number of its followers and churches significantly increased. In accordance with his possibilities, Szelepchény endeavoured to meet the most important church organisational duty of his primacy: satisfying the increased pastoral need. For the employment of the converted preachers as catechistas could not sufficiently cover the crying need of pastoral work, the primate – after Oláh, Pázmány and Lippay – established the third and largest institute (seminary) in Nagyszombat. The *Seminarium Marianum*, which was founded on 9 September 1678 with a capital of 50,000 forint and the pledging of the incomes of the provostship of Bozók and other proceeds that were worth of 60,000, was suitable for the admission of seventy seminarists. The deed of foundation enabled the seculars’ residence until the start of the philosophical studies; furthermore it guaranteed special allowances for those who arrived from the territories under Turkish rule, which was needed only for a short period of time, fortunately. Besides, he had numerous churches built; at the explicit request of the former Protestant inhabitants, he settled the Jesuits in Szakolca (Skalica), Zsolna (Žilina) and Lőcse (Levoča),¹¹⁰ the Brothers of the Hospitaller Order of St. John of God in Pozsony (Bratislava), the Piarists in Pozsonyszentgyörgy (Svätý Jur) in 1684¹¹¹ and the Franciscans in Komárom in 1672.

¹⁰⁹ The latest publication and literature of the trials of the preachers: KATALIN S. VARGA, *Vitetnek ítélőszékre. Az 1674-es gályarabper jegyzőkönyve [Being Taken to the Tribunal]*, Budapest 2002, especially 11–35. The 2nd edition: *Historia Litteraria* 24, Budapest 2008; see also BÉLA VILMOS MIHALIK, *Papok, polgárok, konvertiták. Katolikus megújulás az egri egyházmegyében (1670–1699) [Priests, Burgbers, Converts. The Catholic Renewal in the Diocese of Eger]* (Magyar Történelmi Emlékek, Értekezések), Budapest 2017., 152–153. 192–196. 231–232.

¹¹⁰ KÉRY, 13.

¹¹¹ KOLLÁNYI, 247; BALANYI–BÍRÓ–TOMEK, 22.

The amplified edition of the *Cantus Catholici (Editio Szelepcbeniana)* may have satisfied the demand of the newly Catholicised believers that loved the chorals. The *Rituale Strigoniense's*, which enclosed the resolutions of the council of 1629, further publication of wide circulation was destined to make the pastoral work of the priesthood easier.¹¹² The more detailed and exact visits of the archdeacon summed up the tasks and registered the converters by name and number.¹¹³ Apart from Transylvania, his pastoral attention spread to the territories under Turkish rule, where he employed a vicar of his own.¹¹⁴ Szelepcény, who resolutely protected the privileges of the ecclesiastical order, the rights of the primate, the last will of his prelate colleagues, etc., directed his priesthood with a full rigour becoming his age. The tone of his letters written to his chapters of Esztergom and Pozsony hardly differed from those which were addressed to the magistracies of Kassa and the Lutheran Lőcse, which he had harshly pestered as a governor. However, he dealt with the litigation of the clergy and the seculars with unconditional authority and did his utmost to enable the Chamber in Pozsony to provide for the poor from the foundation that Ferdinand III had set up for the pastoral work of the priesthood.¹¹⁵

An absolutely different tone characterised his correspondence with Rome. Behind his Italian words surpassing the curial style, it is clearly palpable: the primate paid even more attention to the universal centre of Catholicism than his predecessors. In his *ad limina* reports, he informed the Holy See about the successes of counter-reformation by enclosing the catalogues of the visitations' reports about the conversions.¹¹⁶ (He also

¹¹² SZABÓ–HELLEBRANDT, I, n. 1679; II, n. 1109 and 1512 (BORSA–HELTAI, II, app. 92); SZINNYEI, XIII, 634–636.

¹¹³ TOMISA, 180 *et sequ.*; TÓTH, *passim*.

¹¹⁴ ISTVÁN GYÖRGY TÓTH, *Kié Buda? Az esztergomi érsek és a belgrádi apostoli vikárius vitája a bódolt Budáról 1678-ban [Who Owns Buda?]*, R. Várkonyi Ágnes Emlékkönyv. Születésének hetvenedik évfordulója ünnepére, Budapest 1998, 251–257.

¹¹⁵ GÁBOR SALACZ, *A vallásalap kezdeteinek története [The History of the Beginning of the Cassa Parochorum]*, A Bécsi Történeti Intézet Évkönyve 2 (1932) 95–III, 100–103.

¹¹⁶ The latest publication of his report of 1676: ERNEST BOUYDOS, *The Quadrennial Reports of the Archbishops of Strigonia to Rome*. Slovak Studies (Rome) 5 (1965) 7–98, 47–67. The analysis: ANTAL MESZLÉNYI, *Szelepcényi prímás és Északmagyarország rekatolizálása [Primate Szelepcényi and the Recatholicization of Northern Hungary]*, Theologia 2 (1935) 215–225 and 325–337. The relation of 1683: LIPÓT TELGÁRTI, *Informatio Georgii Szelepcényi Primatis Hungariae Archi-epi Strigoniensis Romano Pontifici data de periculoso statu Religionis*

made an effort to reap the laurels of the trials of the preachers in Rome, true, in this question he was preceded by Chancellor Pálffy.) The Apostolic See had only a little role in the Catholic change of the 1670s. Beside the partial guiding and support¹¹⁷ of the Hungarian Pauline missions, which replaced the Italian missionaries, practically the ecclesiastical objects sent to the seized churches meant his direct participation.

Within the Roman Curia, Szelepchény himself had a closer relationship mainly with the Secretariat of State, which was responsible for the guiding of the papal policy. From the second half of the 1670s, he regularly informed Alderano Cybo in detail, cardinal Secretary of State of the strife and negotiations with the Kuruc and Transylvania, of the expected intention of the Ottomans and sometimes of the plans of the court of Vienna.¹¹⁸ The decision-making body of the Holy See truly paid attention to the loud zeal of the primate, which might have contributed to the papal politics' turn towards East, towards the summon of the anti-Ottoman alliance.¹¹⁹

Nevertheless, this was not the only purpose of Szelepchény. The creation of an international background for his politics – which was fairly in the crossfire of the orders and the court's interests – through his reliable agent, Giovanni Giani and his correspondence with Rome had similar weight. His solemn and pioneer condemnation of the anti-Roman Gallican theses, which provoked a European stir, meant the height of his efforts in 1682.¹²⁰ The

Catholicae in Hungaria circa Annum MDCLXXXIV, Magyar Sion 6 (1868) 522–527 *et sequ.*
Its related documents: BOUYDOSH, 68–70.

¹¹⁷ FERENC GALLA, *Pálos missziók Magyarországon a 17–18. században [Pauline Missions in Hungary in the 17–18th cent.]* (CVHI/11), ed. by István Fazekas, Budapest–Róma 2015, *passim*.

¹¹⁸ Cf. with further literature BENCZÉDI, *Rendi szervezkedés*, 1242–1245.

¹¹⁹ Besides, he spent half a million forint and – not completely voluntarily – his treasure kept in Vienna on the anti-Ottoman defence. JUHÁSZ 40; KOLLÁNYI, 246–247; SÁNDOR TAKÁTS, *Az esztergomi érsekség kincsei Bécsben [The Treasures of the Archdiocese of Esztergom in Vienna]*, Régi idők, régi emberek, Budapest 1922, 389–398; NÓRA FODOR, *Szelepchény György prímás vagyonának eltulajdonítása [The Sequestration of the Treasure of Primate György Szelepchény]*, Új Magyar Sion (2017) 1, 117–133.

¹²⁰ On this, see SIMON BAGYARY, *A gallikanizmus és a magyar klérus állásfoglalása [The Statement of Gallicanism and the Hungarian Clergy]*, Katholikus Szemle 9 (1908) 986–994; BÉLA ZOLNAI, *A gallikanizmus magyarországi visszhangja [The Reaction to Gallicanism in Hungary]*, Minerva 13–14 (1934–35) 21–63; GÁBOR ADRIÁNYI, *Die angebliche ungarische National-synode von 1682*, Annuario Historiae Conciliorum 27/28 (1995/1996) 841–851.

complicated personality of the primate can be clearly observed in this act. He judged the French clergy's ideology, which was irreconcilable with the canons and the papal centralism, and found roaring approval in the papal court, however, in the meantime, his almost entire ecclesiastical career was built up along with similar principles within the framework of the Hungarian state-church. In France, there were not any prelates who derived their offices solely from the grace of God and not the Apostolic See in their charters, as Szelepchény did just like his predecessors.

The most obvious sign of Rome's support would have been the primate's appointment to a cardinal. Szelepchény was obsessed with this idea since he became an archbishop. Having taken the necessary steps, by 1672 – on the same day as his “certificate of innocence” – he had obtained the essential imperial nomination, then he could have it renewed in 1677–1678. Although, this nomination – similarly to his predecessor – listed him behind an imperial nominee, Innocent XI preferred the promotion of the Hungarian prelate.¹²¹ Yet, due to the numerous French claimants and the violent demands of Louis XIV, the Odescalchi pope had to repeatedly postpone the creation of the non-Italian cardinals; the realization of which could happen only after the death of Szelepchény. It is most likely that the number of the Hungarian cardinals in the early modern period was one man less on account of the tense papal-French relations.¹²²

György Szelepchény is one of the most controversial characters of the Hungarian history of the early modern period. Already in the second half of the nineteenth century, there were scholars at daggers drawn concerning the judgement of his primacy, DÁVID ANGYAL, who rather negatively judged him, and the advocating JÁNOS DANIELIK¹²³ had hot debates with denominational bias; GYULA PAULER and the Piarist SÁNDOR TAKÁTS¹²⁴ formed a damning

¹²¹ TIHAMÉR VANYÓ, *A bécsi nunciások jelentései Magyarországról 1666–1683 [The Reports of the Nuncios of Vienna about Hungary 1666–1683]*. Pannonhalma 1935. n. 115 and 116; TUSOR, *A magyar hierarchia*, 542; CVH I/3, 176 *et sequ.*

¹²² On them in Hungarian: JÁNOS SCHEFFLER, *VIII. Sándor pápa és a bécsi udvar 1689–1691. A vatikáni levéltár okmányai alapján [Pope Alexander VIII and the Court of Vienna 1689–1691]*, Ungvár 1914, 38–53 *et sequ.*

¹²³ Cf. ISTVÁN CSERENYEY, *Nébány adat a nyitrai püspökség XVII. századából [Some Data on the Bishoprics of Nyitra from the 17th Century]*, *Religio* 71 (1912) n. 25, 386–387.

¹²⁴ PAULER, 82–83; TAKÁTS, *Szelepchényi*, 1.

opinion of him, while FERENC KOLLÁNYI and KÁLMÁN JUHÁSZ¹²⁵ endeavoured to justify his actions. However, this short bibliographical outline does not entitle anybody to form an evaluation of full value; it is worth a risk to state – hardly in the case of numerous other historical figures – that under the complicated circumstances of the given age, Szelepchény – although, by no means did he personify the bishop-ideal of Trent – was the right man at the right place. There was no one in the contemporary bench of bishops who could have competed with the sly and authoritative technocrats of the court and met the challenge of Catholicism and the nation. Szelepchény was the only Hungarian prelate who was at ease equally in Pozsony, Vienna and Rome. Certainly, it can be accidental that he was provided the opportunity to head the Hungarian Catholicism in an age of a seventy-eighty-year old greybeard when his predecessors – Ferenc Forgách, Péter Pázmány, Imre Lósy and György Lippay – had already been passed away.

His judgement by the succeeding generation was negatively influenced only by one thing. During his long career, by transgressing the social standards, he endeavoured to establish the financial stability not only for himself, but also for his family. Due to the lack of space it is not possible to list all those estates, treasures and money – apart from the numerous mass-foundations created for his salvation –, with which his testimony dealt.¹²⁶

THE VERBALS OF „PROCESSUS CANONICI”

Although he had five episcopal and two archepiscopal titles, there were only two canonical examination processes conducted about his life.

The bishopric of Nyitra: 16 June 1649–5 January 1650, Vienna. AAV P. Vienna, n. 95 (a draft). See above *Verbals*, III/1 (pp. 252–272).

The archbishopric of Esztergom: 4 February 1666–8 May, Vienna. AAV P. Cons., vol. 65, fol. 633r–644v; P. Vienna, n. 152 (a draft). See above *Verbals*, III/2. (pp. 272–280).

¹²⁵ In their cited biographic drafts.

¹²⁶ On his rich legacy LEPOLD, 14–16. His testament recently published: DOROTTYA PIROSKA B. SZÉKELY, *Szelepcsényi György végrendelete [The Testament of György Szelepcsényi]*, *Lymbus* 18 (2019) 349–384.

SUMMARY

“*Catholicos ad spem erigendo*”. The quotation is from the canonical investigation on the archbishop nominee György Szelepchény to the archdiocese of Esztergom.¹²⁷ The opinion of Péter Korompay – his successor as the bishop of Nyitra and as chancellor – that he shared with Nuncio Giulio Spinola in February 1666 applies also for Szelepchény’s two predecessors in the primatial chair of Esztergom. His words precisely express the main motivation, purpose and content of the archbishops of Esztergom’s activities in the 17th century. The whole quotation is the following: “*Catholicos ad spem erigendo, haereticos autem ad fidem adbortando*”, namely, “By raising the Catholics to hope and encouraging the heretics to faith”. These lines clearly prove the fact that the 17th century in Hungary was still the period of confessionalisation, the “*konfessionelles Zeitalter*”.¹²⁸ The micro-biographies of the three Pázmány-successors cover the fifty-year long history after the death of the cardinal.

The historical picture occurring through the perspective of the three biographies in the form of independent analysis is not only rich in detail, but it is also complex and fascinating. Its framework is provided by church and cultural history as well as by the historical absolutism and feudalism. The process of the Hungarian early modern Catholicism’s consolidation revives here, in course of which the innovation is replaced by the Catholic argumentation’s broadening and practicing. Furthermore, it is characterised by the positioning of the mental supremacy and the confessional hegemony’s obtainment. Although the confessional majority could not be

¹²⁷ *Verbals*, III/2, fol. 635v.

¹²⁸ WOLFGANG REINHARD, *Felekezet és felekezetszerveződés Európában. A tudományos diskurzus fejleményei* [Religion and Confessionalisation in Europe. Developments in Scientific Discourse] (CST III/1) (ed. by Péter Tusor; transl. by András Forgó), Budapest 2017, 5 *et sequ.*

reached in the period, the extent and profundity of the Catholic dogmas' indoctrination increased exponentially.

Despite the comprehensive confessional modernisation, in Hungary, the Catholicism of Trent had a strong institutional continuance with the Middle Ages. It kept the highest level of the medieval church administration; namely, the episcopal benefices were secularized at most, they were not made Protestant in the Carpathian Basin. Only the estates were taken by the Protestants in the case of the medium-benefices; there are many examples for their re-possession and functional utilization (seminars, Jesuit colleges). The lowest, yet the most extensive infrastructure and the churches triggered the fiercest fights; the outcomes here were varying. Most of the Gothic churches are still possessed by the Protestants in the Carpathian Basin.

This continuity induces that the process of confessionalisation in Hungary in the early modern period had all along the attitude that of a state-church. Primarily, it was determined by the state-constituent feudal self-awareness (which had an important role on the Diets, in the upper house as well as in the lower chamber and on the counties' general assemblies) and by the range of the power positions (national: chief-chancellor, chancellor; county: *comes*). The most important factor, the *punctum fixum* was the Catholic monarch, himself. The fight with Protestantism justified and explained that in Hungary in the 17th century the Habsburg monarch supported by the primate of Hungary was rather the head of the Catholic Church than the pope. In other words: in Hungary, Catholicism was rather the religion of the monarch – or the one that was supported and represented by the primate – and the pope's came second.

It is clearly illustrated by the fact that the bishops took over the secular and ecclesiastical control of their dioceses right after being appointed by the monarch; they often omitted the obtainment of their papal bull. Even if they started the canonical examination, they often did not finish it, since they were waiting for another royal appointment. The ideology of the *Regnum Apostolicum* was built around the royal ecclesiastical supremacy that was embodied in the royal patronage and supremacy. The rarely occurring attribute became almost an *epiteton ornans* by the time of Szelephény. By the 18th century, it was replaced by the concepts of *Regnum Marianum/rex apostolicus*. The church leader role of the monarch explains that despite the

feudal/absolutist, German/Hungarian conflicts, the archbishops of Esztergom belonged to the inner circle of the Habsburg monarch all along.

Based on Pázmány's establishment of principles, the Baroque Catholicism – which was strengthened in the centralised Habsburg-state authority, quasi state-church position, and represented a feudal, beneficed, unique intellectual attitude and had an ambivalent relation with Rome – was formed during the primacy of the three archbishops, Lósy–Lippay–Szelephény in 1637–1685. The perfection of the Baroque Catholic formation and its enhanced expansion due to the re-occupied territories lasted until the second half of Maria Theresa's rule, until the turning point generated by van Swieten. Apart from the lurch experienced during the conspiracy of Wesselényi (1664–1671) and the occasional clashes with the absolutistic religious tolerance-policy in the 18th century, the Catholic church administration of the 17th century survived even 1848/49 and 1867, moreover, the culmination of the Hungarian Kulturkampf in 1893–1895. By desperately clinging to the cloak of the apostolic monarch, Saint Stephen, it endured up until 1918. Although, the Treaty of Trianon broke the church administration of Saint Stephen/Theresianism/Post-Josephinism – besides the Hungarian state – into pieces, the Baroque Catholicism uniquely blended with the spiritual and Christian socialist movements of the 20th century was in its heyday in Hungary in the 1920–1930s. However, later, it was demolished by the afflictions of history within a close decade.¹²⁹

¹²⁹ On the Hungarian church history of the 18th–20th century, especially on the role of the country's primates with further literature: BAHLCKE, *Ungarischer Episkopat*, *op. cit.*; ANTAL MESZLÉNYI, *A magyar hercegprímások arcképsorozata 1707–1945 [Portraits of the Hungarian Prince-Primates]*, Budapest 1970; and MARGIT BALOGH, *Mindszenty József (1892–1975) I–II*, Budapest 2015, 436 *et sequ.*

