Using sources in Biblical Czech funeral sermons

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Abstract | During the sixteenth century, humanist cultural knowledge was introduced in both Protestant and Catholic schools, where the teaching of classical literacy and literature was given considerable scope. The Czech and Moravian Lutheran clergymen who had fled to Lower and Upper Hungary following the battle of Fehérhegy completed their primary education in their homeland and their higher education at influential German universities, most frequently in Wittenberg. These clergymen, some of whom had been exiled while others had been born in Hungary, wrote many works related to their profession, with an especially large number of sermon booklets printed in their exiled printing house. These works often employ the authors of Renaissance humanism as an intertext, and in some cases they even use quotations from various authors before they are used in Hungarian-language literature. Through the use of humanist works, the broad erudition of a given preacher typically provides a foundation for the use of exempla where even ingredients that are unusual for the genre become conceptually chosen tools of transmitting the message of the normative denomination.

In early modern Lower and Upper-Hungarian cities,[1] Hungarians, Germans, and Slavic people lived next to each other in various proportions.[2] Following the battle of White Mountain, Czech exiles settled in the areas close to the border, integrating into the local communities. This had the greatest impact on the culture, literacy, and sense of identity of the Slovak-identity population, who spoke a cognate language of Czech. Hungarian researchers have long been interested in the printed and manuscript text corpus created by the early modern Slovak-identity population. Their research on literary history, the history of the church, and history related to this corpus continuously enrich, amend, and nuance what is known about the culture, literary history, and intellectual history of the multi-ethnic Kingdom of Hungary. Attempts had been made in the past to provide an overview of this corpus,[3] but it was the historical analysis

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1   This study discusses the intellectual influences that originated from the Kingdom of Bohemia in the territorial framework of the historical Kingdom of Hungary. The early modern Kingdom of Hungary was divided into two large parts. Lower Hungary comprised the territories of Transdanubia and Cisdanubia. The southern part, i.e. Transdanubia, comprised the territories south of the west-east flow of the Danube, from the Austrian border to the north-south line of the Danube, while Cisdanubia was flanked by the Danube in the south, the Austrian and Moravian borders in the west, and the east border of the counties of Liptó, Zólyom, and Nógrád in the east. Upper Hungary was located to the east of this dividing line, stretching until the Transylvanian border. Thus, the northern part of the historical Kingdom of Hungary, i.e. the territory of Slovakia today, included parts of both Lower and Upper Hungary. Due to the characteristics of the object of this study, Lower Hungary generally only refers to processes that took place in the territories located north of the Danube, since Bohemia did not really have a significant intellectual influence on Transdanubia.

2   Beside Hungarians and Germans, people whose mother tongue belonged to the Slavic language family also lived in the northern parts of the historical Kingdom of Hungary, and they used Biblical Czech as their literary language. Only historical dialectology can provide more detail on their spoken language, and this issue is outside the focus of the present study. Regardless of the language they spoke, the historical awareness and national self-definition of this population during the seventeenth century is an important issue to explore. Hungarian research does not reject the idea of discussing the early phase of the development of Slovak national identity in connection with the population living here in this era. However, it uses the category of the so-called Hungarus consciousness as a comprehensive framework for the early modern identity constructs in this region, which refers to the identity of the subjects of the historical Kingdom of Hungary not on a linguistic or national basis but based on belonging to a political state. On the basics of Hungarus identity in Hungarian research on literary and intellectual history see: Tarnai Andor, *Extra Hungariam non est vita... (Egy szállóige történetéhez)* [To the story of a proverb], Modern filológiai füzetek 6 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1969), http://mek.oszk.hu/05400/05453/; the text of this short monograph has recently been published in Polish translation as well: Andor Tarnai, "Extra Hungariam non est vita," trans. Jerzy Snopek, in *Latinitas Hungarica: Łacina w kulturze węgierskiej*, eds. Jerzy Axer and László Szörényi, transl. Jerzy Snopek, 69–123 (Warszawa: Wydział „Artes Liberales"–Wydawnictwo DiG, 2013). Only by conducting further basic research and looking for a consensus between the national approaches of the twenty-first century can the use of an appropriate approach and terminology be ensured in connection with this issue. For the sake of brevity, in the following I refer to the Slavic-language population living in this area as "Slovak-identity population," which of course significantly oversimplifies the complexity of this issue.

3   Jenő Szilády, followed by László Sziklay, were the first to review the literacy that emerged in Biblical Czech language in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Northern Hungary. They enumerated all the authors from whom prints or manuscripts have survived. The multi-ethnic composition and religious affairs of the territory were mostly researched by István Käfer and István Bitskey. Szilády Jenő, *A ma-*

of funeral orations in Hungary that led to a turning point in the systematic analysis of seventeenth-century Biblical Czech prints from the region through the lens of genre history.

Systematic research on early modern Hungarian funeral orations started in 1981 at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest, led by member of the Academy Andor Tarnai. The researchers planned to include all funeral orations printed in the Kingdom of Hungary and Transylvania, including the Latin, German, and Biblical Czech orations beside the Hungarian ones, and the middle of the eighteenth century would have been the cut-off date for the research. In the end, only the conclusions learned from Hungarian-language funeral orations published in print before 1711 were summarized. The first representative critical edition of the corpus was published by Gábor Kecskeméti in 1988.[4] Ten years later, he provided a literary history description of the material in a monograph that approaches the topic from a genre history perspective and uses the methods of the history of rhetoric.[5] Although a review and analysis of the funeral ora-

gyarországi tót protestáns egyházi irodalom 1517–1711: Hittudományi doktori értekezés [Protestant church literature in Hungary in Slovak 1517–1711: Doctoral dissertation in religious studies] (Budapest, 1939); Sziklay László, *A szlovák irodalom története* [The history of Slovak literature] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1962); Sziklay László, "Thurzó György udvara mint késő-reneszánsz irodalmi és tudományos központ" [György Thurzó's court as a late-Renaissance literary and scholarly center], *Helikon* 17 (1971): 393–401; Sziklay László, *Szomszédainkról: A kelet-európai irodalom kérdései* [About our neighbours: Questions of Eastern European literature] (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1974); Käfer István, "»In Slavonico exprimere«: A szlovák irodalmi műveltség kezdetei" [The beginnings of Slovak literacy], in *Pázmány Péter és kora* [Péter Pázmány and his age], ed. Hargittay Emil, Pázmány irodalmi műhely: Tanulmányok 2, 395–400 (Piliscsaba: PPKE BTK, 2001); Käfer István, „Lacrumae gentis Slavonicae: A szlovák művelődéstörténet kezdetei az RMNy harmadik kötetében" [The beginnings of Slovak cultural history in the third volume of RMNy], in *Fejezetek 17. századi nyomdászatunkból: Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár tudományos ülésszaka és kiállítása, 2000. október 12. I. A Régi Magyarországi Nyomtatványok harmadik kötete (1636–1655). II. 350 éve született Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós – Studien über die ungarländische Typographie des 17. Jahrhunderts: Széchényi Nationalbibliothek Wissenschaftliche Tagung und Ausstellung, 12. Oktober 2000. I. Der dritte Band der Bibliographie „Alte ungarländische Drucke" (RMNy) 1636–1655. II. Vor 350 Jahren wurde Miklós Misztótfalusi Kis geboren*, ed. P. Vásárhelyi Judit, Libri de libris, 123–128 (Budapest: OSZK–Osiris Kiadó, 2001); Käfer István, *Dona nobis pacem: Magyar–szlovák kérdések* [Hungarian–Slovak questions] (Piliscsaba: PPKE BTK, 2005); Bitskey István, "Az identitástudat formái a kora újkori Kárpát-medencében" [Forms of the sense of identity in the early modern Carpathian basin], in *Humanizmus, religio, identitástudat: Tanulmányok a kora újkori Magyarország művelődéstörténetéről* [Humanism, religion, sense of identity: Studies on the cultural history of early modern Hungary], eds. Bitskey István and Fazakas Gergely Tamás, Studia litteraria 45, 11–23 (Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2007); Bitskey István, "Felekezetiség és identitástudat Magyarország kora újkori irodalmában" [Denominations and sense of identity in the early modern literature of Hungary], in Bitskey István, *Religió, stúdium, literatúra: Tanulmányok a régi magyarországi műveltségről* [Religion, studia, literature: Studies on the culture of old Hungary], Historia litteraria 29, 25–46 (Budapest: Universitas Könyvkiadó, 2013).

4   Kecskeméti Gábor, ed., *Magyar nyelvű halotti beszédek a XVII. századból* [Funeral orations in Hungarian from the 17th century], stud. Kecskeméti Gábor and Nováky Hajnalka (Budapest: MTA Irodalomtudományi Intézet, 1988).

5   Kecskeméti Gábor, *Prédikáció, retorika, irodalomtörténet: A magyar nyelvű halotti beszéd a 17. században* [Preaching, rhetoric, literary history: Hungarian funeral oratory in the 17th century], Historia litteraria 5 (Budapest: Universitas Könyvkiadó, 1998). On previous research see: 13–14.

tions produced in Hungary in languages other than Hungarian was started, it was eventually discontinued.[6]

I started reviewing and analysing funeral orations published in Hungary in Biblical Czech under the leadership of member of the Academy Gábor Kecskeméti at the Doctoral School of Literary Studies at Miskolc University in 2009. Rather than focus on history, social history, or the history of the church, we examined the literary and intellectual history of the sermons. My monograph on the complete corpus of eulogies printed in the seventeenth-century Kingdom of Hungary in Biblical Czech was published in 2018.[7] Part of my research fits in with the systematic research on Hungarian funeral orations and uses the approach and methodology developed there, but it also serves as a starting point for a systematic analysis of the prints that were published among the Czech refugees of the Thirty Years' War. The present study summarizes the insights gained on the use of sources in the funeral oration corpus.[8]

The consequences of the battle of White Mountain

The life of the Protestants living in the Kingdom of Bohemia was changed fundamentally by the battle of White Mountain, which was fought on 8 November, 1620 and ended with the victory of the imperial troops. Losing the battle had serious consequences for the countries of the Czech crown. The country, which had enjoyed religious tolerance during the sixteenth century even by European standards, changed radically, and it became a hereditary province of the Habsburgs. The changes were codified in Bohemia by the Renewed Land Ordinance in 1627, followed by Moravia a year later. Article

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6   On German-language sermons see: Katalin Péter, "Die Leichenpredigt in Ungarn vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert: Der besondere Quellenwert der deutschen Predigt," in *Leichenpredigten als Quelle historischer Wissenschaften*, ed. Rudolf Lenz, 3 vols, 3:347–360 (Köln etc.–Marburg/Lahn: Böhlau–Schwarz, 1975–1984); Kecskeméti Gábor and Szekler Enikő, "A magyarországi német nyelvű halotti beszédek kutatásának helyzete és egy korai szöveg tanulságai" [State of investigating German funeral orations of Hungary and lessons of an early text], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 112 (2008): 71–91. On Latin-language sermons see: Mikó Gyula, *"Mivel én is csak ember voltam:" Az Exequiae Principales és az Exequiarum Coeremonialium libri gyászbeszédei* [Funeral speeches in *Exequiae Principales* and in *Exequiarum Coeremonialium libri*] (Debrecen: Tiszántúli Református Egyházkerület, 2010); Mikó Gyula, "»Parcite autem obsecro Lampridio Vestro in Zabanio redivivo, Dynastae spectatissimi...« Apafi Mihály temetésének gyászbeszédei és a szász Zabanius Izsák latin orációja" [The eulogy at the funeral of Mihály Apafi and the Latin oration of the Saxon Izsák Zabanius], *Studia Litteraria* 52, no. 3–4. (2013): 157–165.

7   Papp Ingrid, *Biblikus cseh nyelvű gyászbeszédek a 17. századi Magyarországon: A nyomtatott korpusz bemutatása és irodalomtörténeti vizsgálata* [Funeral sermons in Biblical Czech in the seventeenth-century Hungarian Kingdom (Presentation and literary analysis of the printed corpus)], Historia litteraria 34 (Budapest: Universitas Könyvkiadó, 2018).

8   For the above reason, the conclusions of this paper are only documented in the footnotes to an absolute minimum. All the issues discussed are elaborated on and accompanied by data sets and the appropriate references in the above-mentioned monograph.

XXXIII/A of the regulation named the Catholic faith as the only accepted religion.[9] The population of Bohemia, the vast majority of which had been of the Protestant faith at the beginning of the Habsburg rule, had to make a decision due to the changes forced on them: they could either convert to the Catholic faith and thereby renounce their faith, or they could leave the country, leaving the possessions they had acquired behind.

Following the lost battle, the leaders of the Czech rebellion of the estates were the first to leave the country (fearing the revenge of Ferdinand II), taking refuge outside the territory of the Holy Roman Empire. Many of them settled in Dutch cities. On the other hand, the members of the bourgeois and intellectual layer of the society, seeing that their situation was not likely to improve in the short term, did not go so far when they chose emigration. Many resettled in the territories of Lower Hungary close to the Moravian border. Hungarian aristocrats took these exiles under their wing, first the Lutheran Illésházy, Révay, Thurzó, and Osztrosith families, and later the Calvinist Rákóczi family. These aristocratic families, who had larger estates in Lower and Upper Hungary, settled the refugees on their own estates, in some cases also conferring privileges on them to promote their integration.[10] Emigrant priests integrated into the Hungarian Lutheran church, also frequently having the support of the aristocrats, who selected not only their court preachers but also the clergymen to whom they entrusted the spiritual guidance of the people living on their estates. Several exiled Lutheran priests received a parish right after they had resettled in Hungary, for example, Ezechiel Jabín Mezřický, who arrived to Hungary in 1627 and was active in Trencsén (today Trenčín in Slovakia).

The exiles belonged to three different religious movements: the Anabaptists, the Czech-Moravian brethren, and the Lutheran branch of the reformation.[11] It was the Anabaptists, i.e. the Habans, from Moravia who first arrived to Lower and Upper Hungary in 1622. By the second part of the sixteenth century, several settlements had been founded by the Habans here: Gázlós (Brodské), Kátó (Kátov), Ószombat (Sobotište, today all three in Slovakia).[12] It was obviously the Lutherans who were most easily and quickly able to integrate into their new environment, since their denomination was considered an established religion, and their resettling church intelligentsia had often been raised together with the religious leaders of the local population. Members of both groups most frequently conducted their higher education studies in Wittenberg, Jena, Königsberg, and other Lutheran universities in Germany. The Lutheran Czech nobility, the wealthy citizens, and the priests who arrived here were received by the Lu-

9   Petr Čornej, ed., *Dějiny zemí koruny české*, vol. 1, *Od příchodu slovanů do roku 1740* (Praha: Paseka, 1993); Ivana Čornejová et al., eds., *Velké dějiny zemí koruny české*, vol. 8, *1618–1683* (Praha: Paseka, 2008).

10   Libor Bernát, "Exulanti z Čiech a Moravy v superintendencii Trenčianskej, Oravskej a Liptovskej (s dôrazom na exulantov náboženskej vlny)," *Historia Ecclesiastica* 10, no. 1 (2019): 51–70, 66.

11   Jozef Telgársky, "Produkcia trenčianskej exulantskej tlačiarne," in *Trenčín: Remeslá, tlačiarne, architektura*, ed. Milan Šišmiš, 189–219 (Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Alfa, 1985).

12   Pavel Horváth, "Novšie údaje o pobyte českej pobelohorskej emigrácie v Trenčíne a na okolí," in Šišmiš, *Trenčín…*, 164–184, 168; Bernát, „Exulanti z Čiech…"

theran aristocrats, who helped them settle down and integrate into the multi-ethnic Hungarian community. The members of the Czech-Moravian brethren were in a less favourable situation. They oriented themselves towards Calvinist reformation within the international confessional sphere,[13] and they were forced to leave their communities in various Bohemian and Moravian cities (Valašské Meziříčí, Těšin, Zábřeh, Český Brod) by the Renewed Land Ordinance codified in 1627.[14] They used their existing connections when they left for Poland and Lower Hungary.[15] What was difficult for them in the Kingdom of Hungary was that the linguistic and denominational stratification of the local population was linked to each other: Calvinism had spread among the Hungarian-speaking population, while the German-speaking and Slovak-identity congregations had mostly stayed within the framework of the Lutheran denomination. Therefore, the Czech-Moravian brethren did not encounter free, established religious practice and ecclesiastic institutions with fellow believers who also spoke the same language in the cities of northern Hungary. Most of them settled in an estate close to the Moravian border ruled by the Calvinist György I Rákóczi, who later became prince of Transylvania. He owned the estate through his marriage, which comprised the castle of Lednic (today Lednica in Slovakia) and the attached 14 settlements, including Puhó (today Púchov in Slovakia). The prefect of the exiled Moravian priests of the brethren, Jan Efron Hranický spent many years in Puhó, which his brother-in-law Comenius also visited several times when he was in Sárospatak at the invitation of Zsuzsanna Lorántffy and Zsigmond Rákóczi.

Good personal connections and lively economic relations had also developed between different parts of the multi-ethnic Habsburg empire in the period preceding the social mobility forced for political reasons and due to religious persecution, so the exiles were able to maintain a connection to those who had stayed behind also once they had resettled. The linguistic diversity of the northern Hungarian territories made it easier for the resettling Czech and Moravian exiles to integrate into the local communities, and it also enabled cultural connections with the local population, who spoke a cognate language. The Czech exiles' Hungarian resettlement resulted in an intellectual circle that moved from west to east within Central Europe, the influence of which on Hungarian intellectual movements and senses of identity lasted well until the end of the seventeenth century. The printing press they had brought with them served as their intellectual centre, and they used it to print pieces of writing that were primarily

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13 The patronage of Karel ze Žerotína and several other members of the Žerotín family played an influential role in the Calvinist orientation of several generations of the Czech-Moravian brethren. The Žerotíns also attended the Heidelberg and Geneva universities and maintained an intimate relationship with these circles.

14 Tomáš Knoz, "Moravská emigrace po roce 1620," *Časopis Matice moravské* 127, no. 2 (2008): 397–424, 399.

15 Szabó András, "Morva–magyar kapcsolatok a XVI. század második felében" [Moravian–Hungarian relations in the second half of the 16th century], in *Klaniczay-emlékkönyv: Tanulmányok Klaniczay Tibor emlékezetére* [Studies to the memory of Tibor Klaniczay], ed. Jankovics József, 168–176 (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1994), http://mek.oszk.hu/04600/04625.

created within their circle.[16] Czech-language prints were not only printed in this exile printing house but also in those operating in the cities of Lőcse (Levoča), Nagyszombat (Trnava), and Pozsony (Bratislava, today all three in Slovakia).

The corpus of Biblical Czech-language funeral orations

The first prints of funeral orations in Biblical Czech from Hungary were printed in 1637, when a collection containing two funeral orations and another one containing five eulogies was published.[17] The third volume of RMNy records sixteen prints from the period between 1637–1655, while the fourth volume has three prints from 1658–1659. After this time, we only know of two further prints of funeral oration in Biblical Czech before 1711, one from 1684, and another from 1704. Until 1659, all funeral sermons were printed in the printing house in Trencsén. The Brewer printing house then published Ján Andricius' sermon over Helena Ladiverová (born Sinapiusová) in Lőcse in 1684,[18]

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16 The members of the Vokál family fled to the Kingdom of Hungary from Prague during the religious persecutions, and they brought their printing press with them. They established a printing house in Szenice (today Senica in Slovakia) in 1636, which they relocated to the estate of the Illésházy family in Trencsén one year later. The printing house operated with support from the Illésházy family, and it produced both Czech, Latin, German, and Hungarian prints. The situation of the refugees and the printing house was greatly complicated by the fact that in 1645 the Jesuits were resettled to Vágszilas (today Skalka pri Trenčíne in Slovakia), later resettling in Trencsén, a Protestant-majority city. The Lutherans and the exile printing house, which had enjoyed the support of the Illésházy family, lost their patrons with the family converting back to Catholicism. The printing press stayed in Trencsén until 1664. After that, it was relocated to Zsolna (today Žilina in Slovakia), where it was operated by the Dadan family until 1704, when Ján Chrastina inherited it. Printing probably paused between 1704–1707. Chrastina eventually took the printing press to Puhó, by the Moravian border, where it was in operation between 1711–1742. Gulyás Pál, "A trencsén–zsolnai könyvnyomda" [The print shop in Trenčín and Žilina], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 67 (1943): 118–123; Telgárksy, "Produkcia trenčianskej exulantskej…"; Vlahovics Emil, "A trencséni királyi katolikus főgymnasium története 1649–1895" [The history of the Royal Catholic High School in Trenčín 1649–1895], *Gimnáziumi Értesítő (Trencsén)*, 1895, 7–21; V. Ecsedy Judit, *A régi magyarországi nyomdák betűi és díszei XVII. század, 1. kötet: Nyugat- és észak-magyarországi nyomdák* [The letters and decorations of the old Hungarian printing houses of the 17th century, I, Printing houses of Western and Northern Hungary], Hungaria typographica 2 (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó–OSZK, 2010), 68–70; Ivana Jančulová, ed., *Žilinská kníhtlačiareň rodiny Dadanovcov: Zborník z odborného seminára vydaný pri príležitosti 350. výročia narodenia Jána Dadana ml.* (Žilina: Krajská knižnica v Žiline, 2012); Mészáros Andor, "A cseh exulánsok és nyomdáik Magyarországon" [Czech exiles and their printing houses in Hungary], in *Husz János és a huszitizmus hatása a magyarországi művelődésben* [Jan Hus and the influence of Hussiteism in Hungarian culture], eds. Kovács Eszter and Mészáros Andor, 91–95 (Esztergom–Budapest: Szent Adalbert Közép- és Kelet-Európa Kutatásokért Alapítvány–ELTE BTK Művelődéstörténeti Tanszék Vallástudományi Központ–OSZK, 2017).

17 The prints published until 1670 in Hungary are identified based on the new Hungarian national bibliographic record numbers: *Régi magyarországi nyomtatványok* [Old Hungarian prints], 4 vols (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971–2012) (hereinafter: RMNy), nos. 1705, 1706.

18 The prints published after 1670 in Hungary are currently identified based on the old Hungarian bibliographic record numbers: Szabó Károly, *Régi magyar könyvtár* [Old Hungarian library], 3 vols (Budapest: MTA, 1879–1898), especially vol. 2 (hereinafter: RMK II), no. 1544.

while the printing press that was relocated from Trencsén to Zsolna in 1704 printed Daniel Krman's funeral sermon delivered over the owner of the print shop, Ján Dadan the Younger.[19] Three prints of funeral oration have no known surviving copies, these are only recorded based on earlier bibliographical data.[20]

Summarizing the above numbers, 21 prints were published from the beginning (i.e. 1637) until 1711, in which 41 funeral sermons can be read in connection with 29 deaths.[21] Two prints with three funeral orations were published in honour of Kateřina Zahrádecková (born Sedlnická), the only deceased person who came from the nobility.[22] 31 funeral sermons can be associated with the bourgeois layer of society, of which ten were written about a female citizen, nine about a respectable citizen, and twelve on children (these were delivered during the funeral service of five female and five male children). The speeches saying farewell to children were delivered over the children of rich families, and they were typically printed in collections. Such a print was prepared in honour of the children of the Jon family in 1637,[23] and the Boček[24] and Sivý families[25] in 1639. Only seven funeral sermons can be linked to a deceased person who came from an ecclesiastic background. 16 of the deceased were women, with 20 different sermons delivered over them; 13 were men, again with 20 different sermons delivered in their honour. All the deceased were of the Lutheran faith, with the only exception of Jan Efron Hranický, who belonged to the Helvetian branch of the Czech brethren and was the prefect of the Moravian priests from 1650. His fellow priest, Ezechiel Jabín Mezřický delivered the funeral sermon over him in 1658,[26] who also belonged to the Helvetian branch of the Czech brethren.

19 of the 41 funeral orations were written in honour of an exiled person, i.e. roughly half of the corpus is about them. A further nine speeches were printed in honour of the descendants of those who had been exiled. These two groups together make up close to three-quarters of the corpus.

The surviving texts publish 124 persons' names in total, either the deceased person who was the subject of the sermon, their relatives or acquaintances, or the author of the funeral orations. At least 66 of these persons were certainly not born in the Kingdom of Hungary but were exiles from Bohemia or Moravia, so according to our present knowledge, 58 persons seem to have been born locally.[27]

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19   RMK II, no. 2224.

20   RMNy, nos. 1967, 2036, 2123.

21   For an online database of the funeral orations see: Kecskeméti Gábor, Papp Ingrid, and Szekler Enikő, *A magyarországi halotti beszédek adatbázisa*, http://itk.iti.mta.hu/kecskemeti/csv/index.html.

22   RMNy, nos. 2152, 2155.

23   RMNy, no. 1706.

24   RMNy, no. 1799.

25   RMNy, no. 1803.

26   RMNy, no. 2805.

27   The appendix of my monograph cited above contains a biographical database of all the persons mentioned in the texts. I differentiated between persons of Czech ancestry and those born in the Kingdom of Hungary by using the Czech or the Slovak form of their first name, and I use this differentiation in the present study as well.

It is clear from a review of the chronological and statistical data sets that even the custom of printing the Biblical Czech funeral sermons delivered at the funerals itself was one of the cultural influences that took root in Lower Hungary due to those who had been forced to flee. Two eulogies were delivered over Jiří Třanovský in 1637 by two preachers of Hungarian ancestry,[28] and these were the first sermons to be printed in the exile printing house. This was related to Třanovský's person, the cultural significance of his oeuvre, and the role he played in the community. At the end of the 1630s, it was mostly exiled preachers who delivered the sermons over the deceased, but by the beginning of the 1640s this trend had changed, and Hungarian-born preachers came to dominate. In terms of the whole material, eight exiled preachers delivered 21 funeral sermons, and ten locally-born priests delivered 20 sermons. The exile Adam Wolfius Benešovský delivered the most funeral sermons (six in total). He has been shown to have been related to several of the exile families over whose members he preached.

The Protestant clergy of the Kingdom of Bohemia was influenced linguistically by the Kralice translation of the Bible (1579–1593), they usually quoted this version for liturgical purposes, and they followed it in the formulation of their sermons, meditations, and other texts of piety in terms of both lexicon and sentence structure. In the early modern times, the Slovak-identity population of the Kingdom of Hungary did not have a codified grammar and spelling that would take regional language use into consideration. Although they likely retained their regional vernacular in their oral use of the language, and they mostly handled their official affairs in Latin, they used the Czech language as their literary language and in their cultural representation. However, their Czech language use was influenced by the language of the German and Hungarian population living alongside them, often within the same denominational framework, as well as by the regional characteristics of their mother tongue. The expression *Biblical Czech language* is used to describe the language of the Slovak Protestant publications that were created in this region during the seventeenth century. As time went by, the dialectal or local vernacular phenomena of the mother tongue gradually blended together with the forms of the Czech literary language, they became marked and visible in the texts and grew in number, i.e. a Slovakising Czech language developed from the Biblical Czech language. This change can also be observed in the examined funeral sermons.[29]

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28 RMNy, no. 1705.
29 For more on the issue of language see: Papp, *Biblikus cseh nyelvű…*, 167–177.

A defining element of the invention of the sermons is what arguments and examples they use. The present overview only has space to present shortlists and a broad statistical overview, although each quotation and reference is an exciting case delineating processes of literary and intellectual history and thus worth independent analysis.[30]

Biblical quotations and references provide the main intertextual frame of reference for the sermons. The preachers provide precise locations for the books of the Old and the New Testament, and references to the books of the New Testament, the four gospels, and the Revelation of John seem to dominate. Among the books of the Old Testament, it is the psalms that are quoted most frequently. The following are rarely quoted: the third book of Moses, the books of Nehemiah, Baruch, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Malachi, the second and third epistles of John, or the epistle of Jude. The 37 funeral orations include a total of at least 2,541 biblical quotations, i.e. an average of 69 quotations per sermon. The funeral sermon held by Adam Wolfius in 1638 in Trencsén over his sister-in-law, Johanna Romentzová, contains the most biblical references, a total of 158, if we counted correctly.[31] The funeral oration held by Jan Romenec in 1639 in Trencsén over the Boček children contains the fewest biblical locations, a total of twelve.[32]

Beside the biblical locations, the Lutheran preachers use a large amount of secular source material to support their train of thought in their funeral sermons. Part of this secular material comes from unidentified sources, while other parts only attribute the name of the author. Mistaken attribution is not uncommon regarding the names either, and there are very few philologically precise source references. The sources are used in the funeral orations in two ways: most excerpts are included in the form of a Latin-language quotation (the Greek authors are also always quoted in Latin), which are usually followed by a paraphrasing Czech translation instead of a verbatim one, although in some cases the content is only adopted in Czech, identifying the author considered worthy of reference. Great philological prudence is needed to be able to identify the references in the corpus. Saint Augustine is the most frequently quoted church father in the Biblical Czech sermons. Martin Luther also liked reading Saint Augustine's works, so it is not surprising that the Lutheran preachers frequently use the works attributed to him. Their working method and methods of reference and citation are presented below through examples of how references to Augustine were used. 1. Ján Andricius held a eulogy at Helena Sinapiusová's funeral in Eperjes (today Prešov in Slovakia) in 1684.[33] In his short introduction, the preacher identifies three reasons why Christian people need a respectable burial: the dignity of the human body, the teaching and con-

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30 I conducted a detailed analysis of each source in my above-mentioned monograph, the details are available there.

31 RMNy, no. 1754 (1).

32 RMNy, no. 1799 (4).

33 RMK II, no. 1544.

solation of those left behind, and an expression of faith and hope in the resurrection of the body. He quotes the fundamental dogmatic position of the Protestant funeral service from Saint Augustine, i.e. that it serves the consolation of the survivors rather than help the deceased. The quotation Andricius uses is quite precise, and it can be found in two locations in Saint Augustine's oeuvre: in chapter 2 of *De cura pro mortuis gerenda liber unus*[34] and Book I, chapter 12 of *De civitate Dei*.[35] In this case, the quotation references Saint Augustine, and the quoted work was written by him as well. 2. Jakub Stephanides preached over Anna Bočeková, a little girl who died of smallpox in 1635.[36] A great gain of Christian believers who die as a child is that they are freed from battling with an impious world, an unrelenting Satan, and their own immoral bodily desires. Regarding immoral desires, Stephanides attributes the saying that no matter if we follow the Lord's ways, we still carry sins ("in viis Domini ambulabas, et tamen peccatum habebas") to Saint Bede. However, this phrase originally comes from Saint Augustine, from Sermo II in *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, which explains Psalm 118.[37] Bede the Venerable quotes this locus from Saint Augustine in the commentaries he compiled to the Epistle to the Romans (cap. 8). Therefore, the reference the preacher uses is correct, but the facts he publishes are only part of the story. Samuel Chalupka's case is similar, who held a funeral sermon in honor of Jiří Melcl in 1659.[38] He quotes Johannes Hoffmeister when he talks about the benefits of the early death of a child. His source is the compilation *Loci communes rerum theologicarum*.[39] However, the quoted sentence is once again from Saint Augustine: it can be read in Book II, chapter 2 of *De visitatione infirmorum*, which is mostly attributed to Saint Augustine.[40] Compared to Bede, the difference is that the specified source is a collection of examples, so it is quite logical that the philologist must also identify the indirect source. 3. Jakub Stephanides delivered a eulogy to bid farewell to his goddaughter, Katarína Jonová, which is the fourth piece in the collection published in honour of the Jon family.[41] The speech aims to elucidate the joy of the eternal life of those who have been saved, but in a way that it immediately declares: being saved can be described much better, in human concepts, through the things that do not exist in paradise (hunger, suffering, etc.) than the ones that do. This statement refers to Saint Augustine, but since it only quotes the text in translation, the original locus could not be located. These citation methods characterize the entire corpus of funeral sermons, and they provide much insight into the preachers' working methods and knowledge base.

The sermons include ancient authors, early Christian authors, ecclesiastic and secular medieval writers, humanists, as well as contemporary Catholic and Protes-

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34 PL 40, 594.

35 PL 41, 26.

36 RMNy, no. 1799 (2).

37 PL 37, 1506.

38 RMNy, no. 2802 (2).

39 For example, Chalupka's quotation can be found on f. 160r in the 1554 Venice publication.

40 PL 40, 1153.

41 RMNy, no. 1706 (4).

tant authors to support their reasoning and dogmatic position. Many Greek and Roman authors are quoted from the ancient sources. Ancient poets and writers include Menander (Ján Hodik, Jakub Stephanides), Publius Terentius Afer (Joachim Kalinka), Virgil (Samuel Chalupka), Ovid (Ján Lochmann, Adam Wolfius Benešovský, Kalinka, Chalupka), Caius Secundus Maior Plinius (Jonáš Hodik, Kalinka, Daniel Krman), Quintilian (Stephanides), Martial (Kalinka), Publius Papinius Statius (Wolfius), Juvenal (Chalupka), Marcus Manilius (Wolfius), Valerius Maximus (Stephanides), Claudius Aelianus (Ján Hodik), and Joannes Stobaeus (Chalupka).[42] Philosophers include Aristotle (Ezechiel Jabín), Cicero (Teodor Sopotius, Wolfius, Chalupka, Krman), and Seneca (Stephanides, Wolfius).[43] Historians quoted include Herodotus (Stephanides, Sopotius), Xenophon (Stephanides), Plutarch (Wolfius, Ján Hodik, Stephanides), Diogenes Laërtius (Ján Hodik), Livy (Wolfius), Josephus Flavius (Ján Hodik, Wolfius), Suetonius, Quintus Curtius Rufus, and Aelius Spartianus (Wolfius).[44] During the spread of the reformation, the Protestant schools wanted their students to acquire a comprehensive knowledge base. The Protestant preachers were introduced to most of the ancient authors' works during their school years. A significant number of these authors resurfaced again because the humanist community was interested in them and published their works. This was the case for example with the didactic poem *Astronomica* by Marcus Manilius, which was much discussed by the European humanists after Josephus Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) had published it at the end of the sixteenth century. The anthology of the fifth-century Joannes Stobaeus was popularized by Konrad Gesner's Latin translation, which was published in Zurich in 1543 under the title *Sententiae ex thesauris Graecorum delectae*.

Beside the ancient authors, it is patristics that is quoted in large numbers. The following are quoted from the church fathers: Saint Augustine (Stephanides, Wolfius, Ján Hodik, Jonáš Hodik, Jan Malatides, Jan Romenec, Kalinka, Chalupka, Ján Andricius, Krman), Jerome (Wolfius, Kalinka), Saint Ambrose (Ján Hodik, Wolfius, Jan Sapor, Andricius), Possidius Calamensis (Ján Hodik), Saint John Chrysostom (Wolfius), Gregory of Nazianzus (Wolfius, Chalupka), Saint Cyprian (Stephanides, Wolfius, Ján Hodik, Jan Malatides), Tertullian (Stephanides), Clement of Alexandria (Wolfius), Origen (Jan Malatides), and Basil of Caesarea (Jan Malatides).[45] It is clear from this list that

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42 The following sermons quote the listed authors: Menander: RMNy, nos. 1799 (1), (2); Terence: RMNy, no. 2244; Virgil: RMNy, nos. 2395, 2880; Ovid: RMNy, nos. 1705 (2), 1754 (2), 2244, 2608, 2802 (1); Pliny: RMNy, no. 2152 (1), RMK II, no. 2224; Quintilian: RMNy, no. 1706 (4); Martial: RMNy, no. 2244; Statius: RMNy, no. 1754 (2); Juvenal: RMNy, nos. 2244, 2395; Manilius: RMNy, no. 1798 (3); Valerius Maximus: RMNy, no. 1799 (2); Aelianus: RMNy, no. 1798 (1); Stobaeus: RMNy, no. 2152 (1).

43 Aristotle: RMNy, no. 2805; Cicero: RMNy, nos. 1706 (3), 1754 (2), 1799 (3), 2880, RMK II, no. 2224; Seneca: RMNy, nos. 1706 (4), 1754 (1), 1798 (3), 1803 (1).

44 Herodotus: RMNy, nos. 1799 (2), 1800 (2); Xenophon: RMNy, no. 1706 (1); Plutarch: RMNy, nos. 1799 (2), 1803 (4); Diogenes Laërtius: RMNy, no. 1798 (1); Livy: RMNy, no. 1754 (2); Josephus Flavius: RMNy, nos. 1799 (1), (4); Suetonius: RMNy, nos. 1754 (2), 1799 (3); Curtius: RMNy, no. 1754 (2); Spartianus: RMNy, no. 1799 (3).

45 Augustine: RMNy, nos. 1706 (4), (5), 1754 (1), (2), 1799 (1), (2), (3), (4), 1800 (1), 1803 (2), (3), 2152 (1), (2), 2192 (2), 2244, 2608, RMK II, no. 2224; Jerome: RMNy, nos. 1799 (3), 1800 (3), 2244, RMK II, no. 1544; Ambrose:

the works of the early church fathers were quoted frequently. This may be because the Protestant church considered the church fathers, who were active and wrote their works during the early days of the church, authentic, unsullied by the heterodoxy of the Roman Christians, and so their works were accepted and used in Protestant theology and doctrine. The following are quoted from other early Christian authors: Paulinus (Andricius), Eusebius of Caesarea (Stephanides, Jonáš Hodik), Aurelius Prudentius (Wolfius), Rufinus of Aquileia (Stephanides, Daniel Malatides), and Caius Solinus Apollinaris Sidonius (Stephanides).[46] An important writer on the list is Paulinus, a presbyter from Milan, who may be the least known among the early Christian authors, but he was the one to note down the sayings of Saint Ambrose.

Medieval theologians and authors of works of piety are also present in the sermons: Isidore of Seville (Wolfius), Saint Bernard (Stephanides, Jan Malatides), Hugh of Saint Victor (Jan Malatides), Jacobus de Voragine (Wolfius), Johannes Tauler (Ján Hodik), and Thomas à Kempis (Stephanides) are quoted.[47] The Protestant authors used medieval theologians less frequently than early Christian writers, but the mystical works of Saint Bernard were very popular because the members of the reformed churches could identify with his teaching on divine love, and they thought they could incorporate it into their own doctrines. Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos was popular from the Byzantine historians (Lochmann, Stephanides), just like in contemporary Hungarian and German sermons.[48] Only Gratian is quoted from among the medieval jurists, by Wolfius,[49] who discusses Christian mourning in his sermon over his mother-in-law, Zuzana Krušinová, in which he refers to errant Roman Christianity. It was declared at the Toledo synod that no Christian can mourn their deceased, since the apostle Paul's prohibition of sadness applied to them. This Toledo synod was the third in a row, held in 589, and paragraph 22 of its decisions indeed contains the prohibition. However, it is clear from Wolfius' reference ("Decr. p. 2. Caus. 13. quaest. 2. cap. 28.") that he did not use some kind of source publication for the synod but Gratian's compilation of canon law, and the text of the Toledo decision can indeed be found in the quoted location.[50]

RMNy, nos. 1706 (2), 1754 (1), (2), 1798 (1), 2152 (2), 2155, RMK II, no. 1544; Possidius: RMNy, no. 1803 (4); Saint John Chrysostom: RMNy, no. 1799 (3); Gregory of Nazianzus: RMNy, nos. 1799 (3), 2880; Cyprian: RMNy, nos. 1706 (1), 1754 (2), 1798 (1), 2152 (2), 2192 (2); Tertullian: RMNy, no. 1706 (4); Clement of Alexandria: RMNy, no. 1754 (1); Origen: RMNy, no. 2152 (2); Basil of Caesarea: RMNy, no. 2152 (2).

46 Paulinus: RMK II, no. 1544; Eusebius: RMNy, nos 1803 (1), 2192 (1); Prudentius: RMNy, no. 1799 (3); Rufinus: RMNy, nos. 1803 (1), 2802 (2); Apollinaris: RMNy, no. 1706 (4).

47 Isidore: RMNy, no. 1800 (3); Bernard: RMNy, nos 1799 (2), 2152 (2), 2192 (2); Hugh: RMNy, no. 2152 (2); Voragine: RMNy, no. 1754 (2); Tauler: RMNy, no. 1798 (1); Kempis: RMNy, no. 1799 (2).

48 Nikephoros: RMNy, nos 1705 (2), 1803 (1). Cf. Kecskeméti Gábor and Szekler Enikő, "Egy Pázmány-exemplum filológiai háttere és intertextuális kapcsolatai" [The philological background and intertextual connections of an exemplum by Péter Pázmány], in *Pázmány nyomában: Tanulmányok Hargittay Emil tiszteletére* [In the wake of Péter Pázmány: Studies in honour of Emil Hargittay], eds. Ajkay Alinka and Bajáki Rita, 243–245 (Vác: Mondat Kft., 2013).

49 Gratian: RMNy, no. 1754 (2).

50 PL 187, 951.

There are a surprisingly large number of references to the authors of the Renaissance and humanism, including Giovanni Boccaccio (Wolfius), Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Kalinka, Chalupka), Juan Luis Vives (Wolfius), Erasmus (Lochmann, Wolfius), Conrad Celtis (Chalupka), Giovanni Antonio Campani (Krman), Polydore Vergil (Krman), Baptista Mantuanus (Ján Hodik), Philippe de Commines (Stephanides), Marcellus Palingenius Stellatus (Jonáš Hodik), and Jacques Auguste de Thou (Sapor).[51] *Studia humanitatis* was introduced in both the Protestant and the Catholic schools during the sixteenth century, where the teaching of classical literacy and literature was greatly emphasized. The use of humanist authors' works shows preachers' usual practice, although the quote from the first story of the first day in Boccaccio's *Decameron* is a truly rare exemplum in the sermons. However, Adam Wolfius' surprisingly broad erudition also creates a basis for the inventive use of exempla in many other cases as well, in which components that are unusual within the given discourse system also become strategically chosen tools of the normative message. Another person of note is Philippus Cominaeus or Philippe de Commines (1447–1511), a French memoirist and courtier of Louis XI. His recollections were first published in French in 1524. A Latin translation was available by the seventeenth century, by Caspar Barthius *(Commemorationum rerum gestarum dictarumque Ludovici undecimi et Caroli octavi regum Franciae libri octo)*. This work is the source of Stephanides' exemplum: it provides a detailed description of the last few months of Louis XI, including his dependence on his physician and his vulnerability. The physician Jacques Coitier (c. 1430–1506) became part of the extensive corpus of European edifying literature as the representation of uninhibited greed through this location of Commines.

They are rarely quoted in funeral sermons, but the Lutheran preachers have been shown to have used and known the Catholic works of piety of early modernity. From them, Saint Ignatius (Sapor) and Jeremias Drexel (Wolfius) are quoted.[52] Drexel, a Jesuit father, was especially popular in seventeenth-century Pietist, devotional, and adorational literature, and Protestant preachers also liked to use him in their own works. He is typically quoted without being referenced, as Wolfius also does in his sermon.

It is hardly surprising that the prominent authors of Lutheran theology and doctrine are regularly quoted by the Lutheran preachers in their funeral sermons. The following are quoted: Martin Luther (Ján Hodik, Andricius), Philipp Melanchthon (Ján Hodik, Chalupka), Johannes Mathesius (Wolfius), Paul Eber (Sapor), Kaspar Franck (Wolfius), Abraham Bucholzer (Stephanides), Felix Bidembach (Jan Malatides), Friedrich Balduin (Kalinka), Johann Forster (Ján Hodik), and Johannes Gerhard (Wolfius).[53]

51   Boccaccio: RMNy, no. 1799 (3); Piccolomini: RMNy, nos. 2244, 2395; Vives: RMNy, nos. 1798 (3), 1800 (3); Erasmus: RMNy, nos. 1705 (2), 1798 (3); Celtis: RMNy, no. 2802 (1); Campani: RMK II, no. 2224; Polydore Vergil: RMK II, no. 2224; Baptista Mantuanus: RMNy, no. 1799 (1); Commines: RMNy, no. 1799 (2); Palingenius: RMNy, no. 2192 (1); de Thou: RMNy, no. 2155.
52   Ignatius: RMNy, no. 2155; Drexel: RMNy, no. 1754 (2).
53   Luther: RMNy, no. 1798 (1), RMK II, no. 1544; Melanchthon: RMNy, nos. 1799 (1), 2395; Mathesius: RMNy, no. 1798 (3); Eber: RMNy, no. 2155; Franck: RMNy, no. 1798 (3); Bucholcer: RMNy, no. 1706 (4); Bidembach:

They usually quote narrative exempla about the reformers, Luther, and Melanchthon, which were noted down by persons close to them. Daniel Krman's source use[54] must be highlighted, whose sources come from Protestant authors who were either his contemporaries or had died shortly before. This is the only location in the sermon corpus where Johannes Rosinus, Johann Arndt, Thomas Lansius, Michael Theophilus Lehmann, Štefán Pilárik, Friedrich Hildebrand, Daniel Georg Morhof, and Johann Georg Neumann are quoted. Krman's sermon transposes a uniquely rich material into his Czech-language text from Latin and German-language sources. Krman had returned home after a long stay in Germany and was clearly trying to flaunt his own intellectual excellence when he cited the influential authorities of *historia litteraria*, a genre that had recently emerged in the German Lutheran world. He even supplied his sermon with footnotes containing detailed bibliographic information, following the latest scholarly conventions. Therefore, his intentions were less to follow the established Hungarian practice or meet the spiritual needs of the congregation. This picture may be nuanced somewhat by the fact that in contrast with his fellow preachers, Krman mentions both one of the illustrious representatives of Czech intellectual life before the battle of White Mountain, Matouš Konečný, and his own Slovak contemporary, Štefán Pilárik, who, similarly to the Krman family, had conflicts with the authorities due to his Lutheran faith.

The references in the sermons often only refer to indirect locations, and they stay silent about using the direct works of inventaria, *promptuaria*, collections of *loci communes*, or dogmatic or rhetorical encyclopaedias, which often set the practical facilitation of the preacher's work as their direct goal. From the *promptuaria* and chronological handbooks, the works of Johannes Carion (Stephanides, Ján Hodik), Johannes Hoffmeister (Chalupka), Andreas Hondorf (Chalupka), Lawrence Beyerlinck (Stephanides), and Johannes Tungerlarius (Jan Malatides) were used.[55] Quoting from the work of the Augustinian monk Johannes Hoffmeister is worth noting, since it reveals Protestant preachers' working method. A significant proportion of the quotations that were weaved into the sermons from the texts of the early Christian church fathers likely does not come from the original textual locations but from collections of doctrinal aphorisms like that of Hoffmeister. In Hoffmeister's case, by the mid-seventeenth century his was already considered quite an old compilation: it is a classification of pre-Tridentine Catholicism, which remained in use for a long time within a Hungarian Protestant circle where we would have least expected to find it.

RMNy, no. 2152 (2); Balduin: RMNy, no. 2244; Forster: RMNy, no. 1798 (1); Gerhard: RMNy, no. 1798 (3).

54   RMK II, no. 2224.

55   Carion: RMNy, nos. 1798 (1), 1803 (1); Hoffmeister: RMNy, no. 2880; Hondorf: RMNy, no. 2395; Beyerlinck: RMNy, nos. 1706 (4), 1803 (2); Tungerlarius: RMNy, no. 2152 (2).

The sources used in the Biblical Czech Lutheran funeral sermons have little to do with the sources that had a major impact on the Hungarian-language sermon literature of the seventeenth century, which was predominantly influenced by Calvinism. Thus, the sermons trace the cultural knowledge and literacy of the Slovak-identity Lutheran intelligentsia in Hungary, and they provide a lot of insight into the composition of this community's erudition and their place among Hungarian intellectuals. Therefore, some traces need to be highlighted that point towards this separation of denomination and nationality, which condense the characteristics of the self-definition that can be observed in this context. Several important representatives of the Czech Lutheran church before the battle of White Mountain appear in the texts, e.g. Lukáš Pražský (Ján Hodik), Jiří Třanovský (Jan Malatides), and Matouš Konečný (Krman).[56] However, there are even more cases where the exempla referring to a Czech-Moravian identity appear without any particular emphasis attributed to them, although they may still indicate a strong substantive stance and exposition of ideology. The following exempla illustrate phenomena in this category.

Jakub Stephanides Přibislavský, who had fled from Bohemia, held a funeral sermon for Katarína Jonová in 1637,[57] which is the fourth piece in the collection published in honour of the Jon family. The text of the sermon quotes the Book of Revelation on those clothed in white robes who stand in front of God's royal throne in robes that had been washed in the blood of the lamb, which made them white. This argument aims to illuminate the bliss eternal life brings those who have been saved. For them, in eternal life hunger and thirst disappear after physical death, which have countless examples both in earthly life and in history. For example, the troops of emperor Marcus Antonius did not have drinking water for five days, and only prayer kept them alive. This reference quotes Tertullian's *Apologeticus adversus gentes*, the fifth chapter of which indeed contains a reference to the miracle of the rain induced by the praying Christian soldiers,[58] although the general is not Marcus Antonius but Marcus Aurelius. In addition, the miracle happened during the campaign in Germania, fighting the Marcomanni. Just like the Hun and Scythian ancestry of the Hungarians was part of basic historical knowledge for early modern European intellectuals, it was also part of basic lexical knowledge that the Marcomanni were the ancestors of the Moravians. Thus, the miracle of the rain happened in the territory of Moravia. There is therefore no doubt that the seemingly innocuous exemplum delivered over the child of a refugee from Moravia, who was already born in Hungary, in a sermon delivered by another exiled preacher, also contains ideological elements of the original national community's historical consciousness, which was preserved and asserted in the new location as well. The fact that this aspect emerged, that it was understood by the contemporary audience and its in-

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56   Lukáš: RMNy, no. 1803 (4); Třanovský: RMNy, no. 2152 (2); Konečný: RMK II, no. 2224.

57   RMNy, no. 1706 (4).

58   PL 1, 295. Tertullian also mentions the miracle in chapter 4 of *Ad Scapulam*, see PL 1, 703.

terpretation perfected was facilitated enormously by the location where the refugees had settled, i.e. the town of Trencsén. The castle rock of Trencsén still displays an inscription by a Roman legion today. The most renowned epigraphic expert of modern classical-philology, Theodor Mommsen concluded at the end of the nineteenth century that this inscription preserves the memory of a successful military expedition and winter encampment on the left shore of the Danube. The geographical name Laugaricio mentioned in the inscription can only be located somewhere close to the river Vág (today Váh in Slovakia), and it can be accepted as the name of the Roman military settlement, only serving as temporary accommodation, that had stood where Trencsén is located today.[59] It is quite logical to identify this military operation as the Marcomannic campaign of Marcus Aurelius. If this is the case, the only *in situ* proof of the Roman military operation known from the written sources that define the Moravian national identity can be found outside Moravia, in Trencsén in Lower Hungary, and it is clearly an element of national identity that the Slavic-speaking population living in the two states share with each other.

Between 9 and 10am on 20 August, 1639, Martin Boček, a citizen of Trencsén who had fled from Bohemia, suffered a stroke. Ján Hodik, a *domidoctus* Lutheran vicar of Trencsén born in Tótpróna (today Slovenské Pravno in Slovakia), held a funeral sermon in his honour, which was published as the first piece in the second collection of sermons linked to the family.[60] In the *exordium* of his eulogy, Hodik enumerates examples of sudden death. One of his examples illustrates how Hungarian and Czech history were linked in the contemporary Trencsén collective consciousness: Habsburg Ladislaus V, King of Hungary and Bohemia, who was crowned in 1440 but only started to rule from 1453, was preparing for his wedding in Prague to the daughter of Valois Charles VII, King of France, called Magdalene, when he died suddenly. The not particularly significant actions of this ruler, which prepared the reign of King Matthias in Hungary and George of Poděbrady in Bohemia, might have reminded the citizens of Trencsén of the value of the two nations' shared traditions in one respect. In 1452, it was due to a collaboration between the Hungarian and Czech estates and the military pressure they exerted that emperor Frederick III released the elected king, who represented the personal union of the two nations. Therefore, the appearance of this exemplum can be included among those not too frequent cases in which an episode of Czech or Moravian history plays an identity creating role in the sermons.

Although based on the research conducted during the last few decades in Hungary, the rhetorical and homiletic characteristics of the early modern Hungarian-language sermons of the Kingdom of Hungary and Transylvania are quite well-known today, this is the first time the contemporary funeral orations in Biblical Czech are the object of a comprehensive description. In summary, the nature of invention in the examined ser-

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59   HAMPEL József and Theodor MOMMSEN, "A trencséni várszikla föliratáról" [About the inscription on the castle rock in Trenčín], *Archaeologiai Értesítő* n. s. 13 (1893): 265–266.

60   RMNy, no. 1798 (1).

mons, the composition of their exempla, and even the structural patterns of the order of their parts show remarkable differences compared to the Hungarian-language sermons. The primary reason for this large difference and autonomy is undoubtedly that the texts come from different denominations: the majority of the Hungarian sermon literature can be linked to the Catholic and Calvinist denominations, and there are much fewer Hungarian-language Lutheran sermons from the seventeenth century, with little in-depth research conducted on them. With one exception, the Biblical Czech texts are all sermons delivered in the Lutheran congregation, and a number of their homiletic characteristics replicate this difference in denomination. Beyond recording this obvious difference, the referencing and literary-rhetorical aspects of the texts require even more complex and differentiated description.

The issue of the origin of these characteristics must be considered even less known than the characteristics of the early modern regional sermon literature of the Lutheran church. The Slavic-language sermon practice of Lower and Upper Hungary clearly already had its own characteristics by the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, the Biblical Czech funeral sermons only appeared in print from the time of the Thirty Years' War, when their intellectual and literary horizon was not limited to that of the local population but merged with the culture, as well as ecclesiastic and religious conventions and literary representation of the population that had fled here from Bohemia and Moravia. In some cases, even the most thorough analysis cannot isolate clearly what was a local, autochton development within this literary culture and what was imported. In the end, it is clear that these cultures had a significant influence on each other, they merged with each other, and they became a unified whole as a result of combining traditions from various origins.

In an area of Central European literacy, already the analysis of the early literature of the Slovak-identity population by László Sziklay, a monographer of the issue, explored approaches that turned the examination of the Biblical Czech literary texts of the old Slovak culture into a laboratory that yielded rich results regarding the interaction between national cultures and reminding them to acknowledge their shared intellectual interests. However, Sziklay only elaborated on the merging of the literary cultures of the Hungarian and Slovak population in detail, and Czech is only considered as a language, as a medium. Describing and analysing the entirety of the cultural system of phenomena that can be observed in the sermons as a transfer from the Czech literature can further energize possible interactions, increase their complexity, and present them as a subject of even more focused methodological reflection.