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Lenten Sermons by Slovak Franciscans of the Eighteenth Century

In recent times, the view that substantive, literate Slovak writing appeared only with the codification efforts of Anton Bernolák¹ has been shown to be untenable, indeed quite inaccurate. More and more writings from some ninety years before Bernolák have provided evidence of a distinctive literary language and culture,² whose existence made feasible Bernolák's activity.³ Nevertheless, only a limited appreciation of these, pre-Bernolák writings has been expressed to the present time.⁴

Many of these pre-Bernolák materials were composed and/or compiled by Franciscans for their various pastoral and religious activities. A large part of these Franciscan writings were used for preaching, which according to one modern historian of Franciscan activity (Iriarte 1979, 102; also Fleming 1977, 114) was one of three occupations that involved Franciscans from their earliest times.⁵ (Prayer and manual labor were the other two.) Even more, though, the Franciscan Christocentric focus was especially on the Suffering Christ in His Passion (Iriarte 1979, 111; Fleming 1977, 18; 186);⁶ - a prominent topic of Slovak Franciscan preaching before Bernolák. Noteworthy among the fairly extensive preaching materials on this theme by Slovak Franciscans⁷ have been the thirteen series of *Quadragesimale*⁸ 'Lenten'⁹ sermons compiled and/or composed by Pavlín Bajan (1721-92), a prominent preacher in Skalica in Western Slovakia. (Gajdoš 1979, 34-38) Bajan entitled the volume containing these sermons *Devoti Sermones* 'Pious Sermons'¹⁰ and noted that three other Franciscans also active in Skalica were the preacher-authors of the first eleven series of Lenten sermons.¹¹ The six hundred and forty-odd pages of the thirteen series are the subject of this critical study.

All the sermons were composed between 1760 and 1776,¹² during an especially tumultuous period in Franciscan history in the Slovak area as well as elsewhere. In 1762, the number for all vowed, male Franciscans worldwide peaked, yet this numerical prominence was in sharp contrast to what these religious were enduring from civil authorities. (Landini 1982, 573; Iriarte 1979, 393) Precisely this vast numerical increase was a concern to civil authorities who increasingly viewed the friar "as a social scourge." (Iriarte 1979, 375) In the Austrian Empire, during the reigns of Maria Theresa and her son Joseph II, Franciscans

were ruthlessly cut off from their superiors in Rome and subjected to episcopal jurisdiction and government inspection. In 1770 it was made illegal to enter a religious order before the age of twenty-four; in 1771 alms collecting and all other activities outside the convent were prohibited. In 1781, all male and female institutions not involved in teaching, nursing, or scholarship were suppressed. (Iriarte 1979, 386)

Even Tertiaries (laypeople-members of the third Franciscan order distinct from those for male and female religious) were not spared. "In 1776, a decree of Maria Theresa forbade the reception of new members; Joseph II went further by suppressing the Third Order in all its forms by an edict of September 27, 1782." (Iriarte 1979, 497)

Besides the difficulties with the civil authorities, there was strident nationalistic friction among Franciscans themselves in their two provinces in the Slovak area.¹³ During the 1760's, ethnic conflict arose among Slovak, Magyar,¹⁴ and even Moravian Franciscans in the Salvatorian Province, and also with German-speakers in the Marian Province. In the late 1760's in the Salvatorian Province, a document was formulated in which every member was to designate his ethnic background: *Tabula personarum totius Provinciae Ssmi Salvatoris in Hungaria, ordine alphabetico...scripta anno Domini 1771* 'A List of persons of the entire Province of the Most Holy Savior in the Hungarian [Kingdom], alphabetically arranged... written in the year of our Lord 1771'. (Gajdoš 1979, 72; 172) The document was used for evaluating and determining provincial governance. In 1765 in the Marian Province, a provincial chapter legislated separate novitiates for Slovak, Magyar, and German novices. (Gajdoš 1970, 132) And all this was occurring against a background of similarly strident nationalistic friction in society of the Slovak area, and against a situation of increasing Slovak ethnic consciousness with an as-yet-uncodified linguistic norm.¹⁵ Set among these events and movements, the Bajan-related Lenten sermons are simply further distinguished as significant Slovak Franciscan writing before Bernolák.

In the thirteen series of Lenten sermons themselves, there are a total of ninety-nine sermons.¹⁶ The format of each series as well as that of each sermon is fairly uniform.¹⁷ Each series (*cursus*) has at least seven¹⁸ sermons.¹⁹ Many an individual sermon is designated for some Sunday in or related to Lent or for Easter Sunday.²⁰ In the title for each series is the

leitmotif of the Suffering Christ (*Christus Patiens*) who is nearly always associated with a symbolic image or some Old Testament prefiguring character.²¹ In order of presentation, the figures related to the Suffering Christ are as follows. For the first eight series authored by Anton Vančo (Gajdoš 1979, 186), there are a stag; bees; a lamb; a warrior; Christ himself as he passed through four tribunals during his Passion; the Good Shepherd; the pelican; and the High Priest, like Joshua in Zechariah 3:1.²² For series nine and ten authored by Euzéb Gábor (Gajdoš 1979, 62-63), the associated images are Suffering Job and David fighting against Goliath. For series eleven authored by Leonard Haller (Gajdoš 1979, 87), the figure related to the Suffering Christ is "Egyptian" Joseph, son of Jacob. And for those series by Bajan himself, the associated Old Testament figures are the Patriarch Jacob and the Bridegroom of Blood, like Moses who was so named by his wife Zipporah.²³ Some of these figures have not been traditionally associated with Christ, such as the stag, the bee, the warrior, or the Bridegroom of Blood²⁴; the preacher-authors, then, displayed some imaginative skill in conceiving these associations. The theme for a series is a Biblical verse in Latin with a Slovak rendition²⁵; one of the thirteen images associated with the Suffering Christ is usually expressed in this verse.²⁶ The thematic verse is then repeated at the beginning of each of the seven Lenten sermons for that series.²⁷

In presenting their thoughts on a series theme, the preacher-authors drew on a variety of references. Not only Biblical, patristic, theological/spiritual writings but also Renaissance-humanistic and folk material provided corroborative evidence in developing a sermon theme. Perhaps not surprisingly, verses from the Old and New Testaments were the most frequently cited. Through them, the preacher-authors inculcated Christian scriptures in a Catholic congregation that was probably not so familiar with them as a non-Catholic, contemporary one. Among the patristic writers quoted are Athanasius, Origen, Augustine, Boetius, Isidor, Clement of Alexandria, Richard of St. Victor, Basil, Cyprian, Anselm, Ambrose, Ignatius Martyr, John Chrysostom, and Popes Gregory, Innocent, and Leo. Some of the theological and spiritual writers selected are Francis of Assisi himself, the Jesuits Ignatius of Loyola, Salmeron, Ribadeneira, Jeremias Drexel, Cardinal Bellarmine, and Cornelius á Lapide, the Dominicans Vincent Ferrer and Thomas Aquinas, Thomas á Kempis, the Franciscans Bonaventure and Bernardine of Siena, Brigitte of Sweden, Cardinal Baronius, the Carthusian Ludolphus of Saxony, Lanspergius, Blosius, Thomas of Villanova, Surius, and Tauler. These authors as well as others in the area

of religion cited in these sermons were some of the traditional writers found in Catholic preaching texts.

Material of a classical or Renaissance-humanistic nature exemplifies some of the educational background of the four Franciscan preacher-authors.²⁸ Among writings of classical authors employed as supportive references are some from Plato, Aristotle, Seneca, Cicero, Plutarch, Pliny, Hesiod, Horace, Scipio, Propertius, Vergil, Homer, and Xenophon. Besides these, there is citation from Alciatus, who helped to popularize emblems, and mention of fables by Esop, the legend of the phoenix and its resurrection aspect, the weeping of a crocodile after devouring a human, even the pernicious evil that is the island of Crete.²⁹ In one of his sermons, Bajan even incorporated a story about dispelling melancholy (manuscript page 642 according to Gajdoš' numbering) which he then linked with a Biblical verse: "*Iam hiems transiit; Imber abiit, et recessit. Flores apparuerunt in terra nostra.*" (The winter has past, the rain is over and gone. The flowers have appeared in our land.) (Song of Solomon 2:11-12) Bajan then invited his listeners to forget the severity and worries of the past winter. Through all this material, he composed the opening for his sermon on Easter Sunday. Such a combination of secular and religious matter, though, was quite acceptable if it somehow facilitated the listeners' appreciation of the religious theme under consideration.³⁰

Some typically Franciscan material in these sermons are the folk sayings. For example, at the very beginning of series eight:

Plne Prawdý gest to starodawne Prislówý: Co od srdce wkracuge, zas se k srdcý nawracuge! (The old proverb is full of truth: What comes forth from the heart returns again to the heart, manuscript page 339, Gajdoš' pagination here as below)

Or at the very beginning of series ten,

Acškolwek w prislówý mluwga Lide tý słowa o Wogne-Wogna, wogna, ňekazdemu hognal! (As people speak those words about war in the proverb-War, war, not often for everyone, page 451; this proverb is also cited on manuscript page 158)

(This text was then linked with material from Tullius and Pliny's comments on the dove.) Or from the beginning of the "final" sermon of series eleven:

Starodawne Prislowý u nassich Slowaku gest toto=kdo te uderý kameňem, uder ho chlebem! (An old proverb among our Slovaks is this=who strikes you with a stone, strike with bread, page 547)

Or from the beginning of sermon four of series twelve:

Amor vincit omnia! laska wssecko premaha! starodawne gest Prislowý, a opravdiwe. (Love conquers all [in Latin, then Slovak] is the old proverb, and so true, page 619)

Through such expressions of folk³¹ wisdom,³² the congregation listening to these sermons could more readily appreciate the religious implications of the sermons.³³

A number of rhetorical techniques must have made the spoken version of many sermons more memorable for the congregation. One is the rather frequent repetition of the thematic Biblical verse throughout a sermon. Thus did the preacher-authors create a refrain that must have echoed in the memory of their listeners. At times, also, the thematic image/figure associated with the Suffering Christ forms part of Christ's proper "name" for that series, usually in Slovak. In so naming Christ, the preacher-authors only further involved Him with the thematic image/figure. Another device is the addressing of various persons. First and foremost are the listeners whom the preacher-authors in their apostrophes designated in the text as "A.A." (*Amici Auditores* 'Friendly Listeners'). Others to whom there were apostrophes are Christ Himself³⁴, Mary His mother, God the Father, various Biblical characters in the life of Christ, as well as types, such as kings, emperors, spouses, young men, etc. Through this technique, the spoken sermon became a familiar conversation though it was really a monologue. Often, the preacher-authors expressed themselves in the hortatory first person plural or simply in the first person plural. In this way, they enhanced the sense of intimacy between themselves and their listeners. They also made more immediate the scenes from Christ's life they were depicting. Through these various devices,³⁵ then, the preacher-authors sought to create a prayerful reflection that would reverberate in their listeners (and readers) well after the religious ceremony at which the sermons were presented (or after a reading of them).³⁶

More than two centuries ago, many of these Lenten sermons probably did affect the thoughts and actions of their listeners. Thus did they fulfill the aim of the preacher-authors who composed them. Today, however, the

pages of these sermons should be having another, distinctly different effect. For their language as well as "literary" nature ought to be appreciated by specialists interested in further establishing the distinctiveness of Slovak as a literary language before Bernolák. Unfortunately, to the present time, the religious focus and conceptualization of these sermons has probably been a stumbling block for many Slovak specialists. This, even though the proper scholarly research of these sermons would be a significant contribution to Slovak linguistic and cultural history. In the future, there is hope for a change when scholarly activity in Slovak studies may realize substantive appreciation of these and many other extant writings by Slovak Franciscans before Bernolák. As is so often said in Slovakia - "Nádej zomiera posledná!" "Hope dies last!" So may it be.

Notes

- 1 Discussion of Bernolák and his codification efforts can be found in any presentation concerning the formation of the Slovak literary language. In his essay on the Slovak literary language, Ľubomír Ďurovič (1980, 214-215) has included some brief comments about Bernolák's activity.
- 2 Ľubomír Ďurovič's linguistic commentary on the extensive writing of Hugolín Gavlovič, one of the major Franciscan writers of the pre-Bernolák period, is probably the first scholarly evidence for a distinctive Slovak literary norm before Bernolák. ('The Language of *Walaska Škola*', in Sabo, G. (ed. and comm.): 1988, *Hugolín Gavlovič's Valaská Škola*, Columbus, Ohio, 655-730.)
- 3 A somewhat detailed discussion of the historical, literary, and linguistic culture in which arose Gavlovič's *Valaská Škola* and other pre-Bernolák texts can be found in Sabo (1978, 37-65; 67-74).
- 4 Very few Slovak scholars appear to be actually familiar with even some of the pre-Bernolák texts that have been extant for a number of decades. From his various publications, Jozef Minárik clearly stands out as someone quite familiar with a good number of pre-Bernolák writings. As regards the Franciscan writings of that period, two or three specialists are probably conversant with some of the writings of the Franciscan Hugolín Gavlovič, especially his *Valaská Škola*. Otherwise, only the late Vsevlad Jozef Gajdoš, a Slovak Franciscan scholar and archival researcher, appears to have read the extensive Franciscan

manuscripts and to have published some comments about them. These comments are found in his posthumously published monograph, *Františkáni v slovenskej literatúre* (1979) under the names of Franciscans from this period. With regard to Bajan and the Lenten sermons under consideration, Stanislav Šmatlák's (1988) most recent attempt at a comprehensive literary history lacks even a mention of them, though Matica slovenská has been preserving Bajan's writings for more than a decade. Even in Jozef Minárik's (1985, 320) volume of the recent four-volume literary history, there is merely a mention of these Bajan-related manuscripts. Furthermore, twentieth century Franciscan scholars outside Slovakia (Zawart; Iriarte) have made no mention that any Slovak Franciscan materials even existed, let alone what these might have been. This is why the research work and critical comments of Gajdoš are so distinctive among Slovak specialists involved with the pre-Bernolak period.

- 5 Indeed, Zawart (1927, 243-48; 274-77; 340-41; 344-45) noted some eleven types of preaching or sermons employed or developed by Franciscans throughout their history. On the basis of Zawart's very detailed study, preaching has definitely been a fundamental Franciscan occupation. Also, from the biographies of Slovak Franciscans of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries discussed by Gajdoš, such activity occupied a prominent place in their pastoral work, even though Zawart (1927, 469-70) dated a decline in Catholic preaching in general from the second half of the seventeenth century through the end of the eighteenth when there was a renewal in Franciscan preaching (Iriarte 1979, 279).
- 6 In his study, Zawart (1927, 344-45) noted a distinct type of preaching, the "Sermon of the Passion of Christ."

It is not to be confounded with the *Sermones in Quadragesima*.... Its rise is probably a result of the crusades, since by their visit to the Holy Places the knights and pilgrims had become interested in the various phases of the Savior's life, suffering and death. The sermon on the Passion is one unified tract, not a series of sermons preached over a number of weeks or days. The time of its delivery is Good Friday, though sometimes another day of Holy week is chosen. In its first and original form it is the simple historico-biblical narration of the Passion,

based on one of the Gospels or by combination on two or three, or even all four Gospels. At times it is divided according to the seven hours of the divine office leading to great lengths in its subdivisions. The local memory is mostly resorted to in delivering this frequently three, four and five hours dramatic oration by heart.

One of the sermons under consideration could be viewed as in this tradition and possibly of this genre. This sermon is found on manuscript pages 584-589 (pagination according to numbers written by Gajdoš). Apparently, Bajan, its preacher-author, presented it or meant for it to be given on Good Friday.

- 7 Besides the extensive preaching materials associated with Bajan and Gavlovič, other such writings by a number of Franciscans from this period are extant. Virtually all were written in Slovak; a few were translated into Slovak. Among the authors of such materials are: Abrahamffy, Bakič, Gábor, Gul, Haller, Krajčínovský, Mokoš, Rakoványi, Šlandor, Terchovič, Vančo, and Vrabel. Biographies and some comments on their writings can be found under their names in Gajdoš. (1979)
- 8 According to *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, sub verbo "Quadragesima," "the word 'Quadragesimale' has been sometimes used of a set of sermons delivered in Lent." Zawart (1927, 246) noted that the *Quadragesimale* "was delivered every day during Lent and founded on the gospel or epistle of the Day.... Every great preacher composed at least one *Quadragesimale*." Fleming (1977, 123) made passing mention of the role of such sermons in Franciscan evangelization activity and renewal practices.
- 9 Translation of Latin and Slovak words, phrases, or sentences in this study is mine.
- 10 These thirteen series appear in the fourth bound, manuscript volume of Bajan's collected sermons under the title: *Simplicianus moralis seu Devoti sermones qvadragesimales de passione Domini* etc. 'The Simple Moral [Person] or Pious Lenten Sermons on the Passion of the Lord'. Apparently, from the censorial approbation found at the beginning of this bound volume, at least these Lenten series were reviewed in preparation for possible publication by the Franciscan provincial censor

Michal Erdély in 1793. These manuscript sermons are preserved at Matica slovenská in Martin under the Acquisition Number 2003/78, Evidence Number 2447, *Gajdošové fondy* 'Gajdoš Collections'. Besides these Lenten sermons, Bajan composed extensive sermons for the entire liturgical year and for special occasions, wrote some devotional writings for Franciscan Tertiaries (laypeople-members of another Franciscan order distinct from those for male and female religious) and for members of the Arch-Confraternity of the Cord (a lay organization connected with Franciscans), as well as numerous musical compositions with significant Slovak and Latin texts (at times poetic), and his Latin autobiography.

- 11 These other preacher-authors were Anton Vančo (series 1-8), Euzéb Gábor (series 9-10), and Leonard Haller (series 11).
- 12 In Bajan's 1776 address to the reader (*Ad Lectorem* 'To the Reader') which appears in the bound, manuscript volume after the thirteenth series and an unrelated occasional sermon, he attributed the various authors for the series and acknowledged himself as the author of the twelfth. Apparently, Bajan also composed the thirteenth series, for the provincial censor of 1793, Erdély, so noted him on the title page of this series. The period of composition and written reproduction (1760-76) is based on data provided in the manuscript series themselves. In Bajan's first address to the reader found just before the first Lenten series (*Amico Lectori* 'To the Friendly Reader'), he noted that the twelve series had been presented (composed) during eleven years in Skalica - probably from 1760-71. There is no date for the thirteenth series. Sometime between 1772-76, Bajan reproduced in written form the first eleven series composed by the other Franciscans and included his own twelfth and perhaps the thirteenth series. The actual period for reproducing the first twelve series in written form may be distinct from that of the thirteenth, as the form of the title for the thirteenth differs somewhat from that found in all of the first twelve.
- 13 A somewhat detailed discussion of nationalistic friction among Franciscans of the two provinces found in the Slovak area as well as a presentation of such conflict in Slovak society at large is presented in Sabo (1978, 58-62; 50-52) and Gajdoš (1979, 23-26). Ján Tibenský's study (1965) contains documents tracing the long history of ethnic conflict among Slovaks and other ethnic groups from the fourteenth through the nineteenth centuries.

- 14 Use of the term "Magyar" to refer to members of the Finno-Ugric group follows the accepted English-speaking, scholarly practice as noted by László Deme: 1984, 'Writers and Essayists and the Rise of Magyar Nationalism in the 1820's and 1830's', *Slavic Review* 43-4, 625, footnote 3: "Hungarian" for all inhabitants of Hungary and all statewide political and social institutions, and "Magyar" for the Finno-Ugric group.
- 15 According to Gajdoš (1979, 146) in 1750 in Nové Zámky, Slovak members of the Confraternity of the Cord (a lay group associated with Franciscans that performed spiritual and social works) requested separation from the Magyar members with whom they were having problems.
- 16 Whether this number has any numerical significance cannot be determined at present. Interestingly, Bajan included a single sermon (*sermo unicus*) right after the thirteenth series and just before his 1776 address to the reader about these Lenten sermons. Was this deliberate in order to have one hundred sermons, a number symbolic for perfection in which are contained the symbolic numbers three and seven? No answer is possible at present. In the title for this "single sermon" Bajan noted that it was given in Skalica in celebration of a military victory in 1758, before any of the Lenten sermons. Since Bajan was not in Skalica at that time (Gajdoš 1979, 35; Bajan's Latin autobiography in the bound volume with the Lenten sermons, manuscript pages 738-39; 744-45; 747 according to Gajdoš' pagination), was Bajan its preacher-author or someone else? Perplexingly, on the last page of the bound volume, the last page of his Latin autobiography, Bajan noted that in 1778, there was a war against apparently the same ruler mentioned in the title of the "single sermon." Bajan was in Skalica at that time. (Gajdoš 1979, 35; autobiography, manuscript page 750). Is this "single sermon," then, really from 1778, and not from 1758 as noted in its title? If so, this would mean that it was given two years after Bajan's 1776 written address to the reader about the Lenten sermons but placed in the bound volume just before that address. No definite explanation of this matter can be given at present.
- 17 The reason for this may be simply that Bajan alone reproduced them all in written form, even though there were three other preacher-authors. At present, there is no way to determine whether the linguistic form of the non-Bajan series is original or simply Bajan's rendition of

them. I have compared the format of an individual sermon from these Lenten series with other Franciscan manuscript sermons accessible to me - among them, those by Gavlovič, Mokoš, Krajčínovský, Gul, Rakoványi, and other sermons by Bajan himself. I have also considered the format of a Franciscan sermon of the seventeenth century quoted in its entirety by Lepáček (1942) in his article on poetry in Franciscan sermons of the seventeenth century. In format, the sermons of these Lenten series and other Franciscan sermons are essentially the same. Also, the art work found in the initials of the series and at their conclusions was probably done by Bajan who studied art in Brno after his *gymnasium* studies. (Gajdoš 1979, 34; Bajan's Latin autobiography, manuscript page 729 according to Gajdoš' pagination) Finally, the written condition of these series is a clean copy version probably for possible censorship and eventual publication. This is different from that of some manuscript writings by other Franciscan preachers and writers that I have studied; there, the manuscript writings are more draft copies for personal use, not necessarily for that of others.

- 18 From the extant sermons of Valerián Gul and Teodoz Rakoványi, other contemporary, Slovak Franciscans, seven appears to be a traditional number for such Lenten sermons. Their writings are preserved at Matica slovenská in Martin under the same archival numbers as for the Bajan-related manuscripts.
- 19 In series with more than seven sermons, the "extra" sermons are either introductory in some way to the series of seven sermons or associated with post-Easter days of celebration. Series three has two introductory ones; one is for *Quinquagesima* Sunday, which is just before the Lenten season, and the other is specifically for the first Sunday of Lent. Series five has one introductory one for the first Sunday of Lent. Series eight begins with one for *Quinquagesima* Sunday. The preliminary sermon for series nine is for the first Sunday of Lent, while the final one, and so designated, is for Easter Tuesday. The preliminary one for series ten is also for the first Sunday of Lent. The final sermon for series eleven, and so designated, is for Easter Tuesday or for Low Sunday, the first Sunday after Easter.
- 20 From designations for various sermons, as noted in footnote 19, as well as from other textual evidence, it is clear that some of the sermons were delivered on days other than Sunday. The final sermons in series

nine and series eleven were designated for Easter Tuesday. As noted in footnote 6, sermon six of series twelve was probably presented on Good Friday. Also, from textual evidence, some of the sermons in series three, six, eight, and twelve were given on Wednesdays. Easter Tuesday and Good Friday are weekdays understandable in themselves as occasions for such sermons. The Wednesday of sermon two in series eight is probably Ash Wednesday, the beginning of the Lenten season. However, many of the other Lenten Wednesdays on which these sermons were given, especially in series three, six, and twelve, have no explicable religious significance at present.

- 21 The only exception to this is series five where the image associated with the Suffering Christ is Jesus Christ Himself as He undergoes trial in four tribunals.
- 22 In the Vulgate edition of this verse, Joshua is rendered as Jesus. All Latin Biblical verses cited in this study are according to *Biblia Sacra juxta Vulgatam Clementinam*, 1965, Salamanca. Fourth edition.
- 23 Actually, chronologically, series two (1761) in the bound manuscript volume preceded series one (1762). This is evident not only from Bajan's dating of these series but also from a reference at the beginning of the third series (1763). There, Vančo, the preacher-author of all three series, mentioned the image of the stag employed by him in the series (one, 1762) of the "previous year." Why there is a reversal in the order of presentation for these first two series in the bound volume cannot be explained at present.
- 24 Reference to these images in Ferguson's study (1976-2) of signs and symbols in Christian art provides some evidence that such association is not traditional.
- 25 In series with more than seven sermons, other Biblical verses related to Christ are at times used as the themes for those sermons. Noteworthy is the thematic Biblical verse for the first sermons of series three and eight which are designated for *Quinquagesima* Sunday, just before the Lenten season: "*Ecce ascendimus Ierosolymam et consummabuntur omnia quae scripta sunt per prophetas de Filio hominis.*" (Behold, we are going up to Jerusalem, and everything that was written through the prophets about the Son of man is going to be fulfilled.) (Luke 18:31)

The preacher-author Vančo may have been trying imaginatively to arrange his series. Noteworthy also is the thematic verse found in the initial sermons of series three and five by Vančo and of series nine and ten by Gábor: "*Jesus ductus est in desertum a Spiritu, ut tentaretur a diabolo.*" (Jesus was led into the desert by the Spirit, that he might be tempted by the devil.) (Matthew 4:1) Each of these sermons was designated for the first Sunday of Lent. In this way, the preacher-authors may have been creating some imaginative arrangement for their respective individual series as well as between the two sets of their own writings.

- 26 In series four, the Suffering Christ is portrayed as a warrior, even though this image is not literally found in the Latin verse that is the series theme; rather, the image is deduced from the Biblical verse: "*Nova bella elegit Dominus, et portas hostium ipse subvertit.*" (The Lord has elected new wars, and himself has overturned the portals of enemies.) (Judges 5:8) In series six, the Biblical verse is from the First Epistle of Peter, chapter two, verse twenty-five: "*Eratis [enim] sicut oves errantes, sed conversi estis nunc ad pastorem, et episcopum animarum vestrarum.*" ([For] you were like wandering sheep, but now you have turned to the shepherd and bishop of your souls.) Interestingly, in the title for this series, Vančo, its preacher-author, emphasized not only the Suffering Christ as the good Shepherd, not just shepherd as in the cited verse, but also *perdita oves* 'the lost sheep,' not just "wandering sheep" as in the cited verse. Why he chose this verse instead of some other that contained both images is uncertain. From the sermons in this series, it is clear that Vančo wanted his listeners to view themselves as sheep in relation to Christ the Good shepherd. For he often addressed them as sheep, sometimes qualifying them as "wandering," other times as "lost," or "repentant," or "dear," "sinful," or "ungrateful." Finally, in series nine, the Suffering Christ is presented as Suffering Job. There, though, the Biblical verse from Isaiah is describing the Suffering Servant traditionally associated with Christ, and there is no real connection with Job or his character or with any such traditional relation of Job to Christ: "*Vulneratus est propter iniquitates nostras, attritus [est] propter scelera nostra.*" (He was wounded for our iniquities, he was bruised for our transgressions.) (Isaiah 53:5) In associating this verse with Suffering Job, Gábor, the preacher-author of this series, showed some imaginative skill in composing this series.

- 27 In series eleven, Haller, its preacher-author, used a thematic verse in which the Old Testament figure of "Egyptian" Joseph, the son of Jacob was cited. The Biblical quotation, though, is from the First Book of Maccabees, chapter two, verse fifty-three: "*Ioseph in tempore angustiae suae [custodivit mandatum, et factus est dominus Aegypti.]*" (Joseph in the time of his distress [kept the commandment and was made master of Egypt.]; the u n b r a c k e t e d portion of the Latin verse was what was cited by Haller.) Haller could have cited some verse from Genesis that concerned Joseph, but for some reason did not. In his citation, he did add a *velut* 'like' which then allowed him to apply this image to the Suffering Christ. What, if any, imaginative design may have been the reason for this is at present unknown. From the text of this series, it is evident that Haller's series theme was *zavist* 'envy' for which the figure of Joseph was apt. For out of envy and resentment, Joseph's brothers sold him into slavery in Egypt which action, through the design of God, led to Joseph's triumph and to the survival of his family and thus of the future Jewish people.
- 28 Franciscan preaching of a more learned and sophisticated nature, inspired by Renaissance humanism, was fostered by the order's preaching manuals from as far back as the fifteenth century. (Iriarte 1979, 275)
- 29 Often, though not consistently, the Biblical, patristic, theological/spiritual, and Renaissance-humanistic sources for cited material were noted in the margins of the sermons.
- 30 All the material cited in the sermons - religious and secular, perhaps even the Biblical verses themselves - was most likely taken from homiletic aids used by Catholic preachers for centuries. These included various exegetical aids of the Bible (dictionaries, concordances, and encyclopedias), collections of exempla from history and the world of nature, joke books, sermon collections, lists, charts, catalogues, picture "books," running commentaries, "trees," *summae* 'comprehensive summaries' of all sorts in order to present large bodies of sacred and profane science schematically in their wholeness. (Fleming 1977, 113; 140-144; 152-161; and 175) (Zawart 1927, 355-370) Also, in an inventory of the Pruské Franciscan house library for 1765, the very first and largest category of division was "Books for Preachers" that listed over three hundred such volumes. (This manuscript catalogue is preserved in Martin by Matica slovenská with the other manuscripts in the Gajdoš

collections under the title *Inventarium Librorum Conventus Pruszensis Anni 1765*.) Most probably, the Skalica Franciscan house in which the preacher-authors of the Lenten sermons lived also had such a library collection. A marginal reference in these sermons illustrates this technique of citing material without resorting to the original: *Herodotus apud Fornerum* 'Herodotus [as found or quoted] in Fornerus'. (manuscript page 476) Thus did the preacher-author Gábor acknowledge the source of his cited material. Interestingly, a commentary on a psalm by probably this same Fornerus is listed in the Pruské Franciscan house library catalogue just mentioned above. Finally, for a discussion of such a writing technique in Gavlovič's *Valaská Škola*, see Sabo (1978, 164-167).

- 31 Fleming (1977, 16) noted that Franciscans exploited "the language of the people among whom they practiced their apostolate [as well as] their customs, songs, and fables." In sermon three of series three (manuscript page 105 according to Gajdoš' numbering), Vančo wrote: "*Mý mame obiczag sliny odpluwaty na zem a to na stranu podle moresneho mañiru zlorečeny...*" (We have a custom to expectorate onto the ground and this to the side according to the customary manner of cursing/swearing...) Also, it was the Franciscans who appropriated the medieval *carole* of dance and song and transformed it into an acceptable form for the praise of God. (Fleming 1977, 179) The Christmas carol compositions of Bajan's Franciscan contemporary Edmund Pascha (Gajdoš 1979, 130-131) are evidence of such activity in Slovakia. Indeed, Opus, the Slovak music enterprise, has issued recordings of these carols several times in the last twenty years.
- 32 For discussion of such proverbial material in another contemporary Franciscan, Hugolín Gavlovič, see Sabo (1978, 168-171). Besides such folk material, the preacher-authors of the Lenten sermons expressed themselves in what might be termed a "folksy" style. For example, in series five, the beginning of the last sermon is: "*Gako poburce wichaza spanile slunce, tak pozarmutku a Placži zas nastawa weselost!*" (When after a storm the beautiful sun comes out, so after sadness and weeping again occurs joy!) (manuscript page 211)
- 33 Sometimes, church/religious hymns (manuscript pages 287, 543, 546, and 558 according to Gajdoš' numbering), Church Canons/Legal Pronouncements (manuscript pages 232-34), the Divine Office prayers (manuscript page 591), an article of the Nicene Creed (manuscript page

334), even references to the actions or statements of kings such as the English King Henry VIII (manuscript page 269) were used to corroborate some point.

- 34 On manuscript page 636, the preacher-author, probably Bajan, "named" Christ as *Newinný Abel* 'Blameless/Innocent Abel', the farmer-son of Adam and Eve, who was murdered by his brother Cain. According to the Bible, then, Abel would have been the first human murdered and blamelessly so. Just after the sentence with *Newinný Abel*, the preacher-author also "named" Christ *Poslussený Izak* 'Obedient Issak', the only blood-son of Abraham and Sara, through whom would come the Jewish people. The figures of Abel and Issak, though, are not associated with Christ anywhere else in these sermons.
- 35 In the written rendition of some sermons, an introductory textual unit is distinguished from another by the designation *confirmatio* 'confirmation'. In effect, some introductory comments are presented and then confirmed. Just before the word *confirmatio*, at the end of the introductory remarks, there is usually written the Latin word *Favete* ['Listen now] favorably [to what follows]'. When *Favete* is not written, the preacher-authors expressed in Slovak the equivalent of this Latin word. The use of *Favete* or its Slovak equivalent may have enabled the listeners to perceive such intellectual structuring of the written text.
- 36 All the sermons ended with "Amen" as well as at times with some other words found in established prayers. Noteworthy is one ending on manuscript page 402: "*Posilnj was w Predsewzetj temto swatem Buch Otec, který was stworil, Buch Sin který was wikupil, a Duch S.[watý] který was poswetil. Amen.*" (May God the Father who created you, God the Son who redeemed you, and the H[oly] Spirit who sanctified you, strengthen you in this holy Resolve. Amen.)

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