

Ingrid Papp

The Interaction of cultures in the Kingdom of Hungary in the seventeenth century

(The Czech cultural components of Slavic identity in Hungary)

One of the opening battles of the Thirty Years' War, fought at the so-called White Mountain in the immediate vicinity of Prague, ended with the victory of the Catholic forces on 8 November 1620. The Habsburg administration quickly and ruthlessly established itself in the Kingdom of Bohemia, which was declared a hereditary domain, where from the mid-1620s onward only the Catholic faith was allowed to be practiced.¹ Most of the Protestant intellectuals and citizens who were forced to leave Bohemia and Moravia fled to neighboring Saxony, Silesia, and Lower Hungary.² Initially, they were motivated by the hope of returning home, but later they became permanently integrated into the local bourgeoisie and intellectual professions, and they also entered into marital and kinship relations with the local intelligentsia.³

1 Petr Čornej, ed., *Dějiny zemí koruny české* [The history of the Czech Kingdom], vol. 1, *Od příchodu slovanů do roku 1740* [From the arrival of the Slavs to 1740] (Praha: Paseka, 1993); Ivana Čornejová et al., ed., *Velké dějiny zemí koruny české* [The great history of the Czech Kingdom], vol. 8, *1618–1683* (Praha: Paseka, 2008).

2 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 here to the territories located north of the Danube, since Bohemia did not really make a significant intellectual influence on Transdanubia.

3 Pavel Horváth, "Novšie údaje o pobyte českej pobelohorskej emigrácie v Trenčíne a na okolí [Latest data on Czech refugees in and around Trenčín after the Battle of White Mountain]," in *Trenčín: Remeslá, tlačiarne, architektúra* [Trenčín: crafts, printing, architecture], ed. Milan Šišmiš, 164–184 (Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Alfa, 1985); Libor Bernát, "Exulanti z Čiech a Moravy v superintendencii Trenčianskej, Oravskej a Liptovskej (s dôrazom na exulantov náboženskej vlny) [Refugees from the

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The Czech settlers introduced their cultural and confessional traditions among the local Slavic population, who were linguistically related to them and could, at that time, only be called Slovak in an ethnic, not a linguistic sense. The particularly important Czech cultural influence is even more evident when it is added that the literary language of this local Slavic population was also exclusively Czech (with sometimes varying degrees of Slovakization). The Protestants' writing culture, liturgy, sermons, pious literature, and religious texts were entirely determined by the linguistic and cultural tradition that had its origins in the language, liturgical and homiletical use of the Kralice Bible edition (1579–1593). The literary language of the Slavic ethnic population was called Biblical Czech. Their Biblical Czech language literacy is the reason why for them the spread of the Reformation meant not the extensive use and increasing development of the vernacular language use, as in the case of German Lutheranism and Hungarian Protestantism, but the preservation of the use of Czech until the mid-nineteenth century, which differed to a certain, though still disputed, extent from the local Slavic language actually spoken in many dialects by the lower classes. At the same time, Czech, Slovak, German, and Hungarian Lutheran intellectuals living in the same region or town, who experienced confessional belonging in a denominationally divided community more strongly than linguistic separation, asserted strong common cultural models in the challenges of congregation formation and community building. Thus, as the extremely strong intellectual influences of Czech refugees were integrated into local practices, these also prevailed in the denominationally related German and Hungarian Protestant literacies, beginning to also dynamize their conventions of language, genre, and literary usage.

It is clear from the above that Czech-language texts should not primarily be seen as a marker of the creativity of a single individual, but as an expression of collective consciousness – historical tradition, community experience, values, and taste. Literary texts both captured and created the patterns of thought on common matters of the Slavic population. In this region-specific, also denominationally determined, linguistic and literary form of the community, the group of phenomena expressing the experiences and considerations of group consciousness is of course of particular importance. References to the origin, language, national and collective identity, the references to elements defining the norms of the community, and the texts and passages that expound them or refer to them without expounding them are crucially important points of reference in the history of ideology in early modern Hungary. The fusion of the Czech and Moravian traditions

Czech and Moravian lands in the superintendencies of Trenčín, Orava and Liptov (with special regard to the religious denominations of the exiles)],” *Historia Ecclesiastica* 10, no. 1 (2019): 51–70.

with those of the local Slavic communities provides an exceptionally favorable opportunity for studies of the identity of the population and changes in the consciousness of the community.⁴

In this paper, I can reveal the cultural components of Bohemian origin in the Hungarian Slavic identity with only one, nonetheless very striking example.

On Good Friday 1643, between 6 and 7 o'clock on 3 April, a wildfire broke out in and around the town of Eperjes in Upper Hungary (today Prešov in Slovakia), destroying forty houses and twenty granaries, causing extensive damage to the town walls, bastions, and the gate near the Slovak church. It was this event that prompted the annual Easter sermon of Jakub Jakobeus (ca. 1591–1645), pastor of the Slovak community in Eperjes, to investigate the causes of the fire and to console the citizens of the town belonging to three nationalities who had suffered fire damage. His sermon was published by the Brewer printing press in nearby Lőcse (today Levoča in Slovakia) as an occasional publication.⁵

Jakub Jakobeus was born into a middle-class family in Kutná Hora in Bohemia around 1591.⁶ He received his primary education in his hometown and in Prague and his higher education in Prague. He did not attend any German universities. After the Battle of White Mountain, he had to leave Bohemia. In 1624, he

4 I dealt with the linguistic, literary, identity, and ideological framework of this region in detail in my monograph that reviewed the entire corpus of Czech-language funeral speeches printed in the Kingdom of Hungary between 1637 and 1711: Ingrid Papp, *Biblikus cseh nyelvű gyászbeszéddek 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).

5 Jakub Jakobeus, *Pascha lachrymosum*. The prints published until 1685 in Hungary are identified based on the new Hungarian national bibliographic record numbers: *Régi magyarországi nyomtatványok* [Old Hungarian prints], 5 vols (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971–2023; hereinafter: RMNy), no. 2009.

6 Jozef Minárik, “Život a dielo Jakuba Jakobeá (okolo r. 1591–1645) [The life and works of Jakub Jakobeus],” in *Jakub Jakobeus (okolo r. 1591–1645): Výber z diela [Jakub Jakobeus (c.1591–1645): A Selection of his Works]*, ed. Jozef Minárik, 7–172 (Bratislava: Slovenskej Akadémie Vied, 1963); Jozef Minárik, “Život a dielo Jakuba Jakobeá [The life and works of Jakub Jakobeus],” in *Jakub Jakobeus: Život, dielo a doba. Zborník príspevkov zo seminára venovaného 400. výročiu narodenia Jakuba Jakobeá, ktorý sa konal v Prešove 5. decembra 1991* [Jakub Jakobeus: His Life, Works and Times. Collection of the lectures of the conference on the 400th anniversary of the birth of Jakub Jakobeus, held in Prešov on 5 December 1991], eds. Michal Otčenáš and Peter Kónya, 3–12 (Prešov: Katedra Dejín a Archívnictva Filozofickej Fakulty Univerzity Pavla Jozefa Šafárika, 1993), 3. Minárik wrote a 165-page introductory essay to the 1963 selection of texts, detailing the life and work of Jakub Jakobeus. He summarized it again in 1993 in nine pages. In the present study, I have taken Minárik's more extensive text as a basis, but in the case of an agreement between the two texts I refer to both studies.

was accommodated by Gáspár Illésházy in Trencsén of Lower Hungary (today Trenčín in Slovakia).⁷ From 1630 onwards, he was a teacher at the school in Eperjes, later serving as the rector of the school, then, from 1640 until his death, he was the Lutheran preacher of the town.

The key to the literary formulation of his Biblical Czech sermon composed in response to the fire of 1643 is the utmost exploitation of Greek and Latin patristics. Apart from a reference to Savonarola and a reference to Mathesius, both of which are remarkable for themselves, there is hardly any other inspirational component in the sermon that does not use the works, life, or times of the early Christian church fathers as sources and references. St. Augustine, St. Gregory, Tertullian, St. John Chrysostom, Origen, Rufinus of Aquileia, the imperial edict of Justinian, the historical records of Cedrenus, the Easter narration of Coelius Sedulius (5th c.), verses taken from the Genesis story of Blossius Aemilius Dracontius (ca. 455 – ca. 505), and the *Phoenix* attributed to Lactantius provide the early Christian exempla of the text.⁸

However, in the process of searching for the original loci of these textual inserts in the patristic literature, we also had to recognize a source connection that, in the case of the vast majority of Jakobeus' exempla, gives us their *direct* textual source, thus shedding a completely different light on both his use of sources and on the facts previously known about the cultural and ideological embeddedness of the Czech ecclesiastical refugee intellectuals' activities in Hungary.

The author of this direct source was the Czech Lutheran Martin Philadelphus Zámorský (1550–1592), whose collection of postils in Czech, spanning the entire ecclesiastical year's *de tempore* and *de sanctis* pericopae, had a profound influence on the spiritual life of Czech Protestants before the Battle of White Mountain. Zámorský was born in 1550 in Zámorsk in Bohemia. As a preacher in Opava (Troppau) in Silesia, he wrote his voluminous *Postilla evangelitská*. His patron was the captain of Moravia, Hynek st. Bruntálský z Vrbna (1534 or 1530 – 1596), who, fearing censorship, printed the postil collection at his own expense, on his own estates, in about eight hundred copies in 1592. A decade later, the demand for Zámorský's work was still so great that in 1602 it was printed by two Prague

7 Minárik, "Život a dielo . . ." (1963), 69–70; Minárik, "Život a dielo . . ." (1993), 3; Eva Tkáčiková, "Medziliterárne a medzikultúrne kontexty tvorby Jakuba Jakobeu [The intercultural contexts of Jakub Jakobeus' works]," *Slavica Litteraria* 14, no. 2 (2011): 125–130, 125.

8 For details, see Ingrid Papp, "A magyarországi szláv identitás csehországi műveltségi összetevői egy 17. századi biblikus cseh nyelvű prédikációban [The Czech cultural components of Slavic identity in Hungary in a Seventeenth-Century biblical Czech sermon]," *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 125 (2021): 133–155.

printers, Daniel Sedlčanský and Jiří Dačický, one of them in Dresden and the other in Leipzig.⁹

Nearly all the patristic quotations of Jakobeus' sermon, and even the reference to Mathesius, come directly and textually from Zámorský's posthumous postil-collection. It is worth illustrating the fact and extent of this appropriation with a single example, a quotation from Tertullian.

When Jakobeus compares Christians to pagans in their celebration of the feasts, he derives that comparison from Tertullian's description of the actions of the pagans in the land of Tangut. The pagan parents in the land of Tangut, when their turn came, sacrificed their own son and a ram, burnt the blood and offal, cut the meat, and ate it, sharing it with the feast-goers while dancing and jumping around. Many Christians celebrate holidays in a similar way; though they do not sacrifice their children, they would rather sacrifice themselves to the devil than go to church and serve God – writes Jakobeus, naming Tertullian as his source. Well, Tertullian happens to have a passage on the pagan ritual of child sacrifice in North Africa, which is still the subject of archaeological debate as to whether this custom existed in Tertullian's hometown, Carthage.¹⁰ The mention of Tangut, however, is inexplicable based on this.

The existence of this province (now in China) of the Mongol Empire has been known to the European public at least since Marco Polo's voyage, who moreover mentions a ritual animal sacrifice for the health of children, which however went without the sacrifice of the children.¹¹ It has nothing to do with Tertullian, who never went anywhere near Inner Asia, and the place name of Tangut does not appear in any of his works. The only possible explanation for the joint mention Tertullian and the pagans living in the land of Tangut is that we identify the direct source of Jakobeus.

Tertullian's person and the place of Tangut were not combined by Jakobeus, the contamination can be found in Zámorský's work (and of course could only be explained by further analysis of his sources). The quotation is found in the postil-collection in the exact form given by Jakobeus, from which he took it, together with the interpretative adaptation for Christians: believers also spend their feast

9 Vladimír Forst, *Lexikon české literatury: osobnosti, díla, instituce*, vol. 2, U–Ž (Praha: Academia, 2008); Jana Grollová, "Luterské kazatelství na příkladu postily Martina Filadelfa Zámorského [Lutheran preaching practice on the example of the postils by Martin Filadelfius Zámorský]," in *500 let Lutherovy reformace* [500 years of the Lutheran Reformation], ed. Vladimír Šiler, Listy Filozofické fakulty, 53–67 (Ostrava: Ostravská Univerzita, 2017), 59.

10 TERTULLIANUS, *Apologeticus adversus gentes*, cap. 9; PL 1, 314 sqq.

11 Marco Polo, *Utazásai* [Travels], ed. Dáné Tibor, trans. Vajda Endre, Téka (Bukarest: Kriterion Kiadó, 1986), 106.

days in the tavern rather than in the church, doing shameful deeds. Based on Jakobeus' wording, his source was certainly Zámorský's postil.¹²

Jakobeus, who fled Prague after the Battle of White Mountain, certainly had his own copy of his Czech Lutheran colleague's book during his time in Bohemia and presumably used it in his sermons throughout his life. The systematic use of collections of sermons covering the whole church year was a common and customary preaching practice in the early modern period.¹³ The significance of the source linkage now demonstrated is that it provides an insight into the fact that the arrival of Czech refugees in Hungary significantly expanded the range of sources that could be exploited in the literature serving the local Slavic population since it could also include Czech-language preachers' promptuaries which had been commonly used in preaching practice in Bohemia and Moravia but had previously only occasionally reached Hungary.¹⁴ We can enter a little-studied

12 Martin Philadelphus Zámorský, *Postilla Ewangelitska: a neb weykladowe na Ewangelia Nedělnij, a swatečnij* [The Evangelical Postil] (s. l., 1592), 900–901; Martin Philadelphus Zámorský, *Postylla ewangelická, aneb Weykladowé na ewangelia nedělnj, a swátečnj, kteráž se každoročně w křestianstvu čtjagj, rozgjmajg, a w shromážděnjch cýrkewnjch lidu Božjmu předkládajg* [The Evangelical Postil] (Leipzig, 1602), 913. The source of Jakobeus, according to the first edition, is the following: "Čzte se [Tertullian specified in the margin]: Že w Zemi Tangutu tak řečeně, obywatelowě w swátky swě weyročnj, wedlě pořadku, a mnohý Rodičůw z nábožné dobrě wůle, syna a skopce modle obětowali, zabjgce to obě, krew a droby spálili, maslo pak rozsekagice smysli, a spolu hodugice snědli. Tance a skoky přitom provozugice. Takož tím pohanským způsobem, na wětšým dyle techto časůw w swátky lýde, ač ne swě syny a Skopce, ale raděgi sami sebe diáblu obětugy, mjsto kostelůw a božjch služeb, w Krčmach dny Swatečny, wewšý ohawné rozpustilosti stráwugy, posmiwagice se wssem pohružkám Slowa Božyho". For comparison, Jakobeus' text is as follows: "Připomjná Otec Swatý Tertulianus, kterak za času gehu, w zemi Tangutu tak řečeně, obywatelě w swátky swě wýročnj, wedlě pořadku, a mnohý rodičowě z dobré nepřinucené wůle, syna a skopce modle obětowali, zabjgce to obě, krew a wnitřnosti zpálili. Maslo pak rozsekagice, smysli a spolu hodugice z gedli. Tance a bláznowská wyskakowánj přitom provozugice. Tjm pohanským způsobem, některj z křesrianůw swě Swátky swětj, ač Synůw swých a Skopců nezabjgegi, ale raděgi sami sebe diáblu obětugj, mjsto kostelůw a božjch služeb, ne giž w zemi Tangutu, ale u nás w Borkutu we wssech rozpustilostech, dny Swatečnj dokončugj, posmiwagice se wssem pohružkám Božjm."

13 Gábor Kecskeméti, *Prédikáció, retorika, irodalomtörténet: A magyar nyelvű halotti beszéd a 17. században* [Preaching, rhetoric, literary history: Hungarian funeral oratory in the Seventeenth Century], *Historia litteraria* 5 (Budapest: Universitas Könyvkiadó, 1998); Gábor Kecskeméti, "Teológia és retorika a régi magyar prédikációirodalomban" [Theology and rhetoric in old Hungarian preaching], in *A magyar művelődés és a kereszténység (La civiltà ungherese e il cristianesimo): A IV. Nemzetközi Hungarológiai Kongresszus előadásai* (Róma–Nápoly, 1996. szeptember 9–14.) [Papers of the Fourth International Congress of Hungarology], eds. József Jankovics et al., 3 vols, 2:743–753 (Budapest–Szeged: Nemzetközi Magyar Filológiai Társaság–Scriptum Rt., 1998).

14 The postil collection of Zámorský is, by the way, recorded in Hungarian book history, but the only reason for this is that among others, the *Hungarus*-origin Bartholomaeus Lortius, born in

area of Hungarian literary history if we assume that Zámorský's postil-collection is only one of the volumes that were brought to Lower and Upper Hungary by exiled Czech preachers following the Battle of White Mountain. No Czech-language postil book for all or a significant part of the church year appeared in print in seventeenth-century Hungary,¹⁵ but fleeing Czech and Moravian preachers found it important to bring their basic preaching manuals with them and to continue to use them as a source. It also follows from the above that, in addition to Zámorský's volume, research should in time be extended to other Czech postil-collections published before the Battle of White Mountain, as it is to be expected that among these there will also be some which may be textual sources for Czech works written and/or printed in Hungary.

To the extent that we have to increase the proportion of ideas and texts of Czech origin incorporated in the Hungarian literary corpus, we need to reduce the application of these works produced in Hungary as references to local intellectual processes, i. e., as historical sources. Thus, too, Jakobeus' sermon reveals little about the attitudes and coordinates of interest of the Slavic-speaking community of the town of Eperjes. Jakobeus basically adapts Zámorský's passages to the Eperjes wildfire, and there are only a few places in the sermon where his own perspective prevails. As regards the local, Eperjesian aspects, we must consider Jakobeus' knowledge to be particularly incomplete and patchy. It can be said that Jakobeus, like his peers who studied in Prague and later became preachers, had great practice in the intertextual procedures of rhetorical text production during his schooling and considered them the most effective means of promoting his communicative message. The composition of his sources and his erudition were greatly influenced by the fact that he did not receive his higher education among the Lutheran professionals at the University of Wittenberg. Although some major figures of the Lutheran Church appear amongst his references, cultural influences of the German territories are not significant in his works, unlike his fellow preachers trained at German universities.

Rózsahegy of Liptó County (today Ružomberok in Slovakia), but already pastoring in Přerov, Moravia in 1592 (and unknown in other respects), greeted him with a Latin poem. The only use of the collection in Hungary up to recent times was recorded by Éva Gyulai in the edition of the diary of the Lutheran preacher of Fancsal, Johannes Clementis (1692–1763), who borrowed the volume from his lesser noble patron in Miskolc in 1755 for copying or annotating and thus obviously for further use in his preaching work. This, however, is a data from more than a century later than the text of Jakobeus: Éva Gyulai, *Régi diárium – Clementis János fancsali evangélikus lelkész naplója, 1719–1760* [Diary of the Lutheran preacher of Fancsal, Johannes Clementis, 1719–1760], Officina Musei 25 (Miskolc: Herman Ottó Múzeum, 2018), 315. See my review of the edition of the diary: Ingrid Papp, *Helikon* 64 (2019): 429–431.

15 Ingrid Papp, *Biblikus cseh nyelvű* . . . , 68.

The dominant referential framework of his preaching clearly originated from the cultural influences of the Bohemian territories. To develop his message, he predominantly (almost exclusively) used the postil book of Martin Philadelphus Zámorský as a source. Thus, the sermon prepared on the occasion of the wildfire tells us at least as much about the composition of Zámorský's church-based practice, knowledge, and erudition as it does about Jakobeus, and thus gives us an indication of the conditions in sixteenth-century Bohemia.

Jakobeus' oeuvre, which is rich in borrowed, adapted, and imitated elements, is clearly primarily influenced by the cultural life of Bohemia, which is to some extent complemented by the Slavic features of Upper Hungary. The author, who lived in northeastern Hungary, is primarily concerned with the areas inhabited by Slavic communities, and the rivers in his works – the Danube, the Hernád, the Bodrog, and the Tisza – mark out the geographical framework of his interest.¹⁶ In these areas, several nations lived together, and in this multi-ethnic environment, a debate on the primacy of nations had developed by the 1640s, leading to serious conflicts.¹⁷ Already in his *Idea mutationum Bohemo-evangelicarum ecclesiarum in florentissimo regno Bohemiae*, written at the end of 1624, apart from describing the history of the evangelical church in Bohemia from the ninth century to 1624, Jakobeus also represented the common suffering of the Hungarian and Slovak nations in the Kingdom of Hungary throughout history.

In his work, love for the Czech homeland was strongly present, alongside the attachment to his new home, the Kingdom of Hungary, which was later complemented by a sense of Slavic identity. In his short speech at the laying of the foundation stone of the Hungarian church of Eperjes in 1642, he urged his audience to unite, because the two nations could only overcome difficulties by standing together.¹⁸ The existence of the Slovak nation was evidently a matter understood within the Kingdom of Hungary by maintaining good relations and coexistence with the Hungarian nation. Jakobeus' ideas on the Slovak nation were taken up and developed by all the leading proponents of the Slovak nation's linguistic independence and national identity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in-

¹⁶ Tkáčiková, "Medziliterárne a medzikultúrne . . .", 130.

¹⁷ Andor Tarnai, *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/>; Andor Tarnai, "Extra Hungariam non est vita", transl. Jerzy Snopek, in *Latinitas Hungarica: Łacina w kulturze węgierskiej* [Latin in the Hungarian Culture], eds. Jerzy Axer and László Szörényi, 125–130 (Warszawa: Wydział "Artes Liberales"–Wydawnictwo DiG, 2013).

¹⁸ Jakub Jakobeus, *Anamnesis, to jest: Věčná a neumírající pamět založení domu božího národu Uherskému* [Anamnesis that is the eternal and everlasting memory of the laying of the foundation stone of the church of the Hungarian nation] (Lőcse, 1642; RMNy no. 1938).

cluding such leading figures as Ján Kollár and Ján Hollý,¹⁹ who mostly shared his ideas, until the last third of the nineteenth century, that there was no alternative to patriotism embodied in the Hungarian state, in coexistence with the Hungarian nation.²⁰

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¹⁹ Róbert Kiss Szemán, “Von der Klage Ungarns bis zur Klage von Slavia im Werk von Ján Kollár,” *Studia Slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 52 (2007): 219–228, 222.

²⁰ László Sziklay, *A szlovák irodalom története* [The history of Slovak literature] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1962), 109–110.

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