

ANDRÁS ILLYÉS'S ST. MARTIN SERMONS*

IBOLYA MACZÁK

*Research Group of Baroque Literature & Spirituality
of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences;
Pázmány Péter Catholic University
maczak.ibolya@gmail.com*

Péter Pázmány never published a single sermon about saints of the Árpád dynasty, however, he published one about the canonized King Ladislaus, although not under his own name: Transylvanian bishop András Illyés published Pázmány's only speech written for St. Martin's day as three Saint Ladislaus sermons under the title *Megrövidítettett ige* (*The divided word*), in the 1692 volume of his five-volume collection of sermons.¹ Regarding this phenomenon, Sándor Lukácsy raised the following issue:

At this age originality and intellectual property were unknown notions, while authors considered it desirable to follow the predecessors, because that served to save one from errors of faith. But copying selectively and editing is still very different from copying entire sermons and publishing them under one's own name. [...] Why would a talented preacher do something like this?²

Before this question is answered in detail, it is important to state that the issue of originality does not emerge in connection with András Illyés's sermons at all: he himself states that he copied everything. He writes about this in the first, 1691 volume of the above mentioned collection of sermons: "I have written three useful sermons each in Latin and Hungarian that everyone should know. When I was compiling the works of renowned Italian authors, PP the archbishop of Esztergom and one of his brethren, the Hungarian Jesuit preacher György Káldi I used many good ideas from the Bible and the writings of the church fathers and other

* The author is senior researcher in the joint Research Group of Baroque Literature and Spirituality of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Pázmány Péter Catholic University. The present paper was written with the support of the Bolyai János Research Grant.

¹ A. Illyés: *Megrövidítettett Ige*, II, Vienna, 1692.

² S. Lukácsy: 'Prédikációk Szent László királyról,' *Vigília* 1995/9: 666–670, p. 667.

church writers.”³ In the second volume, which also includes the Ladislaus sermon, he writes as follows: “I did not make up anything new, I took everything that I considered useful from the Bible, the works of the church fathers, and renowned Italian authors [...]”⁴ In this case, then, he did not mention Pázmány and Káldi, even though most of the Ladislaus sermon is based on Pázmány’s text, and the author also included texts by Káldi in several instances.⁵

Illyés very likely carried out the formation of the text of the sermon in two steps: he divided the Pázmány sermon, which was originally written about Saint Martin, into three parts and augmented it in several places with Saint Ladislaus’s name and data from his biography.⁶ This is how the original speech, about Saint Martin, turned into three sermons about Ladislaus.⁷

Illyés divided the speeches following Pázmány’s editorial principles, but his conscious editorial activity manifested itself in other ways as well. He often translated his sources differently than Pázmány:

Pázmány

“[...] irva hagyott Lucánus a romai hadakozókrúl: *Nulla fides, pietasque viris, qui castra sequuntur, venalesque manus, ibi fas, ubi maxima merces;* hogy nem találtatik a tábori emberekben jóság és tekéletesség.”⁸

Illyés

“[...] írja Lucanus: *Nulla fides, pietasque viris, qui Castra sequuntur.* Sem hitek, sem kegyességek a’ Tábori férfiaknak.”⁹

Illyés sometimes shortened Pázmány’s text. The following pair of quotations illustrates well the case when the compiler deleted one of Pázmány’s clauses:

³ A. Illyés: *Megrövidített Ige*, II, Vienna, 1691: 2^v.

⁴ A. Illyés: *Megrövidített Ige*, *op.cit.*: 2^v.

⁵ The processing and analysis of these are being carried out currently.

⁶ P. Pázmány: *A’ római anyaszentegyház szokásábúl..., minden vasárnapokra és egy-néhány innepekre rendelt evangeliomokúl predikációk*, Pozsony, 1636: 679–693.

⁷ A. Illyés: *Megrövidített Ige*, *op.cit.*: 60–67; 67–73; 73–80.

⁸ P. Pázmány: *A’ római...*, *op.cit.*: 681.

⁹ A. Illyés: *Megrövidített Ige*, *op.cit.*: 62.

Pázmány

"[...] A Szent Írás a hadakozó embereket, *Latrones*, latroknak nevezi, mint a régi deákok a vitézlő emberek színét, kik a hadnagy-körül forgódtak, *Latrones*, latroknak hítták: jelentvén ezzel, hogy közel jár a vitézkedés a lator-sághoz és nehéz ezeknek egymástól elszakadni."¹⁰

Illyés

"A' Sz. Írás a' hadakozó embereket, *Latrones*, Latroknak nevezi: jelentvén hogy közel jár a' vitézkedés a' lator-sághoz; és nehéz ezeknek egymástól elszakadni."¹¹

Sometimes the text of the source was made more terse and simplified:

Pázmány

"Úgy tetczik, *Isaias* ötven-nyólczszor, hatvan-négyszer *Jeremiás* és a mint másutt mondám, az Ó Testamentom két-százszor nevezi Istent, *Sabaoth*, seregek Urának."¹²

Illyés

"A' Sz. Írás sok helyeken nevezi Istent Seregek Urának."¹³

The change of names was employed not only in relation to St. Martin and St. Ladislaus: Illyés connected an example not from Saint Ladislaus's life with a moral but from that of Constantine the Great:

Pázmány

"Bezzeg értette ezt amaz isten-félő Constantinus, kirúl azt írja Eusebius, hogy látván vitézinek felgerjedett indulat-tyát, kik egy lábíg le akarták vágni az ellenséget, megkiáltatta, hogy aranyat ad, valaki elevent viszen. Így az ellenség életét kincsen megváltotta."¹⁴

Illyés

"Jól értette ezt Sz. László Király, ki még a' pogány ellenséget is mikor meggyőzte, levágattatni meg nem engedte, hanem a' Keresztyén Tudományra taníttatván megkereszteltette."¹⁵

¹⁰ P. Pázmány: *A' római...*, *op.cit.*: 681–682.

¹¹ A. Illyés: *Megrövidített Ige*, *op.cit.*: 62.

¹² P. Pázmány: *A' római...*, *op.cit.*: 688.

¹³ A. Illyés: *Megrövidített Ige*, *op.cit.*: 75.

¹⁴ P. Pázmány: *A' római...*, *op.cit.*: 690.

¹⁵ A. Illyés: *Megrövidített Ige*, *op.cit.*: 76.

The features of the Pázmány speech that made it susceptible to such metamorphosis are notable. The first is the fact that, even though the reason for the writing of the speech was indeed St. Martin's day (Pázmány is not known to have written any speech for St. Ladislaus's day ever), St. Martin's biography is touched upon in only half a paragraph of continuous text: "Since Saint Martin was canonized due to his heroism, I will first briefly show that it is not forbidden, indeed, it is honest, necessary and pleasing to God to carry out temperate warfare. Then I will talk about how believing Christians should be involved in fighting in such a way as to protect his soul and be granted the reward for his tired and suffering body in Heaven."¹⁶ St. Martin is not even mentioned in the rest of the speech. Despite the continuous references, the brief biography literally lends itself to be used for a "change of person": the text of the speech is not about the saint's life but is much more general than that – it is about the "duties of Christian soldiers" and not about St. Martin.

The proposition divides the speech into two. András Illyés did not have a hard time changing the sermon since he was also following the division Pázmány used when he edited the borrowed text just like Pázmány had done. This way the first part of his sermon is identical with the first part of Pázmány's sermon. The second half of the St. Martin speech was divided into two parts by Pázmány himself – and this is exactly what Illyés did as well when he divided these parts into two sermons. A careful reading of the texts shows that a close connection between the second and third Illyés speech is provided by the same Bible verse from the Book of Job: "Is there not an appointed time to man upon earth";¹⁷ while the first one was the Apostle Paul's "Thou therefore endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ".¹⁸

With this division, András Illyés greatly simplified the source, since, in the case of the newly formed speeches, the audience did not have to keep in mind the multi-step complex cause and effect relations while listening to the sermon – they only had one moral per sermon to remember.

Similarly to the Pázmány text, András Illyés's text also separates clearly the parts about St. Ladislaus's life within the sermon. It is interesting to note, however, that Illyés made significant attempt to connect the speech with St. Ladislaus: as a compiler, he likely noticed that Pázmány's text was scarce in hagiographic detail, and he referred to the saint more in the texts, making the speech more topical

¹⁶ P. Pázmány: *A' római...*, *op.cit.*: 1148.

¹⁷ A. Illyés: *Megrövidített Ige*, *op.cit.*: 60.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*: 67.

this way. For instance, he made the listing and overview of the preparations for the warfare pleasing to God more concrete as follows: "and all of these were carried out by King Ladislaus as well".¹⁹ In one instance Illyés wrote this about the gracious nature of "spiritual warfare": "King Ladislaus understood this well, who, when he defeated the pagan enemy, he did not let them to be killed but had them baptized and taught Christian knowledge".²⁰

The creation of Illyés's text was most likely aided by the rhetorical skills generally acquired at educational institutions at the time, following which the author of the source text constructed the whole of his speech using a well-describable system, as a result of which the compiler – who also had the required skills – was able to adapt the sermon in smaller bits if he so desired. The work was most likely made easier by the typographic arrangement of the publications of the era: the parts highlighted through the use of various well-separable print types made the contents of pages and the whole of the text easy to browse.

Similar features of the two celebrated saints' lives – both of them were soldiers – provide important connection points between Pázmány's and Illyés's speech.²¹ Naturally, it would have been more difficult to talk about warfare on the day of Mary Magdalene. However, there are precedents for explaining the morals of the lives of saints with very different lives in sermons.²²

András Illyés's work as a compiler was further affected by his editorial principles. In his collection of sermons about saints there is a sermon about St. Martin, but it is not based on Pázmány's speech: Illyés clearly worked with a range of sources in compiling his volumes. New findings also allow for identifying texts with Italian sources, among them texts which Illyés translated from Giuseppe Mansi's collection *Prontuario sacro per tutte le solennità* into Hungarian and published in abridged form under his own name.

Mansi published five sermons about St. Martin in his collection, of which Illyés used the first, fourth, and five one in his volume, in a different order, and without marking the source. Strangely, he did not keep the original loci, as is made clear in the following:

¹⁹ *Ibid.*: 75

²⁰ *Ibid.*: 76.

²¹ It is not a coincidence that the Pázmány sermon has been analyzed primarily from this perspective. Cf. I. Bitskey: 'Pázmány Péter prédikációja Szent Mártonról', in: *Religió, stúdium, literatura*, Budapest: Universitas, 2013: 219–231.

²² In the appendix of Máté Simon's volume of sermons, published in 1803: M. Simon: *A' fel-szabadított Ünnepeken [...] egynehány prédikátziók*, Vác, 1803: *4^v.

Mansi

“Martinus adhuc catecumenus hac me veste contextit.” (V.)²³

“O beatum virum! o virorum ineffabilem! o beatum Pontificem!” (I.)²⁵

“Domine si adhuc populo tuo sum necessarius non recuso laborem; fiat voluntas tua.” (IV.)²⁷

Illyés

“Nudus eram, et cooperuistis me. Matt. 25. v. 36.

Mezitelen voltam, és befedeztetek engem.” (I.)²⁴

“Secretare justitiam, pietatem, fidem, charitatem, patientiam mansuetudinem. I. Tim 6. v. II.

Kövesd az igasságot, az Istenes életet, a' hitet, szeretetet, békességes türelést, szelidséget.” (II.)²⁶

“Coarctor e duobus: desiderium habens dissolvi, et esse cum Christo molto melius: permanere autem in carne necessarium propter vos. Phil. I. v. 22.

Szorongattatom e' kettő között: kívánván elválni, és a' Kristussal lenni, mert az sokkal jobb: megmaradni pedig a' testben szükséges ti érettetek.” (III.)²⁸

At the same time, similarly to his use of Pázmány's texts, Illyés uses Mansi's author references verbatim:

Mansi

“Qvel Dio, che veste d'erbe, e di fiori la terra, ricama il Cielo di stelle, e colassù nell'Empireo, benche coperto di questa nostra spoglia, *est amictus lumine sicut vestimento*: Io miriamo

Illyés

“Az Isten, ki a' földet füvekkel, és virágokkal ruházza: az Eget ragyogo csillagokkal ékesíti, noha emberi testbe öltözött: *Amictus lumine sicut vestimento*. Megkörnyékeztetett

²³ G. Mansi: *Prontuario Sacro*, IV, Rome, 1659: 252.

²⁴ A. Illyés: *Megrövidített Ige*, *op.cit.*: 579.

²⁵ Mansi: *Prontuario Sacro*, *op.cit.*: 228.

²⁶ A. Illyés: *Megrövidített Ige*, *op.cit.*: 586.

²⁷ Mansi: *Prontuario Sacro*, *op.cit.*: 246.

²⁸ A. Illyés: *Megrövidített Ige*, *op.cit.*: 592.

nodimeno oggi cinto d'ogn'intorno
da quelle schiere della corte celes-
tiale colla meta in dosso d'vuna o
mantello farne pomposa mostra, ed
ostenazione gloriosa in cospetto di
tutto il Paradiso; *Martinus adhuc
catecumenus hac me veste contextit*
[...].”²⁹

világossággal mint öltözettel. Min-
dazáltal a' Mennyei seregektől
környülvétetvén, a' Márton men-
téjének féldarabját magára vötte, és
dicsekedvén mondotta: *Martinus
adhuc catecumenus hac me veste
contextit.*”³⁰

Illyés uses Mansi's texts mostly in a shortened form, as is illustrated by the following example:

Mansi

“Con questi modi d'ammirazione
rrattale Iodi, et in pregi Santa Chiesa
di S. Martino: poiche replicando
si spesso questa particella O, e
dichiarando esset vn' ineffabile, vuole
che in intendiamo, che tutto quello ,
che sta stá scrieto di Lui, tutto eccita
marauglia, e stupore. S. Tommaso da
Villanoua denomino quaesto Santo
quoddam monstrum sanctitatis,
pelagus maximum virtutum omnium.
Seuero Sulpizio, il quale ci scrisse la
sua vita, professa d'auer tacuite molte
cose, e ne tende ragione; *quia si pro-
sequi universa voluissem, immensum
volumen legentibus edidissem [...].*”³¹

Illyés

“Villanovai Sz. Tamás Sz. Márton
Püspököt Pelagus maximum virtutum
omnium. Minden joságos cselekedet-
ek igen nagy tengerének nevezi.
Severus, ki az ő életét megírta, meg-
vallya hogy sok dolgokat elhalgatott
abban, és okát adgya: *Quia si prose-
qui universa voluissem, immensum
volumen legentibus edidissem. Mert
ha mindeneket meg akartam volna
írni, az olvasoknak igen nagy könyvet
bocsátottam volna ki.*”³²

²⁹ G. Mansi: *Prontuario Sacro*, op.cit.: 252.

³⁰ A. Illyés: *Megrövidített Ige*, op.cit.: 579–580.

³¹ G. Mansi: *Prontuario Sacro*, op.cit.: 228.

³² A. Illyés: *Megrövidített Ige*, op.cit.: 586.

In attempting to answer the question asked by Sándor Lukácsy, namely, why a talented preacher would need to use compilation to such a great extent, the most likely answer seems to be that András Illyés published Pázmány's and Mansi's sermons in a form extensively edited by him in order to make them widely available as auxiliary materials rather than to increase the number of his own publications. His practical goal was likely to increase the number of sermons that could be used on particular saints' days.