

Eötvös Loránd University

Faculty of Humanities

PhD DISSERTATION

THESIS

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Textual and Interpretative Problems in the Hungarian Works of György Enyedi

*The Sermon Collection*

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## The topic of the dissertation

This dissertation examines the textual and historical layers of György Enyedi's sermon collection, long neglected by scholarship, first by establishing the corpus and then placing it in its textological, philological, textual and cultural contexts.

The main question of this study concerns the production, compilation, dissemination, and reception of the sermons. In addition to establishing how Trinitarian bishop György Enyedi wrote the sermons and how they fit within his oeuvre, this dissertation examines the construction, copying, editing, and dissemination of the texts. As such, after setting the lineage of the texts, the dissertation explores the impact of oral and written traditions on the corpus, the literacy of the clergy in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. As a consequence of this study, a clearer picture of Enyedi and the reception of his work emerges: the dissertation shows how the texts were used in different political, ecclesiastical, and social contexts.

After positioning the study within the history of Hungarian – and international – sermon research, the first three chapters of the dissertation is concerned with establishing Enyedi's text. Surviving handwritten manuscripts have been used to examine the traditional division of the corpus into seven triacas – groups ideally of thirty-three sermons – with the final seventh triacas unfinished. The manuscripts used can be divided into two groups: those containing triacas, and those containing selected sermons. The first group consists of the following:

- 2. *Kolozsvári Kódex* [2nd Codex of Kolozsvár] (1st triacas)
- 3. *Kolozsvári Kódex* [3rd Codex of Kolozsvár] (2nd triacas)
- 4. *Kolozsvári Kódex* [4th Codex of Kolozsvár] (2nd triacas)
- *Sárospataki Kódex* [Codex of Sárospatak] (3rd and 4th triacas)
- 5. *Kolozsvári Kódex* [5th Codex of Kolozsvár] (6th triacas)
- 1. *Kolozsvári Kódex* [1st Codex of Kolozsvár] (7th triacas)

The second group consists of the following manuscripts:

- *Székelykeresztúri Kódex* [Codex of Székelykeresztúr] (containing 24 sermons from the 2nd triacas, 13 sermons from the 6th triacas, and 2 sermons from the 7th triacas)

- *Marosvásárhelyi Kódex* [Codex of Marosvásárhely] (containing 4 sermons from the 1st triacas, 3 sermons from the 2nd triacas, at least one sermon from the 3rd triacas, 2 sermons from the 4th triacas, and, possibly, one sermon that may be by Enyedi)
- *Conciones vetustissimae* (sermons 20, 185, 188, 191)
- *Sámuel Gyalai's sermon collection* (sermons 43, 50, 100).

By examining these surviving seventeenth century Hungarian copies of Enyedi's sermon, this dissertation analyses the sermons for their Biblical quotations and other allusions, the themas, the construction of the collection (the numbering of the sermons, the triacas and centuria structures), their dating, the condition and use of the codices. In doing this, the study examines the aims of Enyedi, his copyists, and their audiences.

The fourth chapter, using two thematically related subchapters – one concerned with the parallel of the Jews of antiquity with contemporary Hungarians, and one concerned with the Siege of Jerusalem – illustrates how Enyedi employed well-established topoi to make his arguments, and how later interpretations became possible.

The Appendix provides a detailed timeline of other remaining copies, a scheme of the ideal structure (and the decomposed one), schedules of the themas, quotation lists, a survey of the composition of codices, transcriptions of the second psalm, the text of the ninety-third sermon, an analysis of the emblem of the 1598 edition of *Explicationes*.

## **The historiographical problem**

Much of the sermon collection is unedited. Though fruitfully copied and disseminated following Enyedi's death, from the eighteenth century the texts were neglected. The sermons were frequently omitted from ecclesiastical and literary histories. This lapse can be explained. The corpus was not only disorganized, but also scattered and often hard for scholars to find. When accessible, the complicated handwritten tradition of the sermons created difficulties identifying the writings. This state of affairs was hindered by a lack of interest from literary scholars, who had overlooked the sermon collection owing to the history of the Unitarianism appearing an anomaly. As a consequence, Enyedi's opus is omitted from major syntheses of sermon history. Since the first articles published about Enyedi's sermons at the end of the

nineteenth century in *Keresztény Magvető*, scholarship has been fleeting. Recently, there has been a revival aided by the work of János Káldos, who not only published a biography and bibliography of the Unitarian bishop, but also, with Mihály Balázs, edited the only extensive selection of Enyedi's works.

## **The novelty and fruits of the research**

The 1598 textual corpus, containing 213 known sermons, was divided into triacases, which were designed to contain thirty-three sermons. This study examines the arrangement of this collection, noting the centuria structure built onto the triacases, explores the damaging of this textual architecture during later copying, and records both the losses and the variants that this caused. This is the first major study of this feature. In order to achieve this, other elements have been explored, and new discoveries have been recorded. These are as follows.

**I.** The use of internal references in the arrangement of the sermons. By studying the references contained in the sermons – divided into the following groups: *references with the reminding function* (precise textual cross-references and references of the contents), *collective cross-references* (between codices) and *local cross-references* (within a codex). These references were used to provide structure to the arrangement of the sermons; in certain cases, they reveal the deformity of some of the codices.

**II.** The third dimension of the network is not existing in our knowledge. This is the stemma, based on the lineage of the texts. We can't reconstruct the relation between the remained individual codices. Though, I try to shade, enrich and refine the datas and the relations. In cases I can show the behind the texts existing same original text, (e.g. sermon 100), in other cases the editing activity of the copyists can be shown more properly. (e.g. *2nd, 3rd, 4th Codices of Kolozsvár*).

**III.** The analysis reveals two textual layers: the one that Enyedi composed, and the other that the copyists created. By unveiling the structural variances of the corpus, it is possible to reconstruct both Enyedi's intended ideal and the practice of the copyists. This is done by studying the variants, cataloging them, and interpreting the textual correspondences and divisions. This study examines the following issues.

- I.* Dating. The date of when Enyedi finished a sermon, and where it appears in the collection, are discordant. Close reading of the sermons supplies more reliable dates and

reveals the circumstances of the copyist. By noting the dates of specific events (political and social, synods, natural disasters, feasts, etc.), details can be delineated. This can be set against the place of the sermon in the collection. The findings of this research confirm some of the original dates, and queries others.

2. Earlier and later textual layers. The review of the by the copyists into the text inserted parts lets us understand more the original variant of the texts. Besides this, the in the dissertation collected examples gives us a rich collection of information about the contemporary use of the texts, about their actualization, or, in contrary, about the lack of it.
3. New sermon variants. The during the elaboration found new variant texts (four unnumbered and unsigned sermons of the *Conciones vetustissimae*) show us new strategy of the copyist, who didn't want to keep the traditional structure of the Enyedi corpus and its elements but edited the sermons into different surroundings.
4. Parallel sermons. The in the sermon collection unfolded parallel (under different numbers with same contents existing) sermons (the sermon 27, 28, 29, 30 in the 2<sup>nd</sup> *Codex of Kolozsvár* and sermons 94, 95, 96, 98 in the *Codex of Sárospatak*) can lead us to rewrite the in the literature still used ideal structure. By analyzing these details it can be proved, that the part of the collection, known as the 1<sup>st</sup> triacas did not exist in this form in the original collection.
5. Quotations, references. With the close analysis of the into the text corporated quotations and references the list of the books and sources used by Enyedi can be improved and besides these details can show more from the editing strategies of the copyists.

**IV.** The comparison of the sermons with the *Explicationes* opens up new dimensions in contemporary compilation and analysis techniques to offer valuable material for sermons of the parallelism of exploration. During my research I discovered previously unknown parallels in the Second Psalm written in the sermons 192, 193 and 194, and on John. 8, 56–58 based sermon 93. The latter text is extremely important for two reasons. First, because the fragmented sermon can be now reconstructed, on the other hand it provides evidence that the explanations of the *Explicationes* were presented also in the bishop's everyday sermons, and he was working parallel with the texts. In addition it can give us information about how properly was the sermon collection and these compiled texts by the contemporary preachers and clerics, e.g. by Matthew Toroczkai, who edited, translated and published the *Explicationes*.

**V.** The analyzed exposition of the thematic sermons (the deliberate paralleling of contemporary Hungarians with classical Jewish history, forging a useful past and future; the interpretation and translation of the Psalms; the prince mirrors, the characterization of the society) show us examples for how the Enyedi-sermons can incorporate fruitfully into the preferred research topics of the literary history as new studied sources.

**VI.** The novelty of the dissertation is, that it is introducing a yet almost unrevealed handwritten corpus, illustrating the discussed problems with numerous textual examples.

**VII.** The in length and character unique, only in handwritten copies remained corpus shows interesting problems about the aspects of information history. The loss of positions, the marginalization of the more and more retrogressive church leads to peculiar communicative circumstances, in this aspect the sermons of Enyedi became especially valuable. The dissertation takes statements about the relation of written and oral performance during analyzing the individual copies and the whole collection in one, which can be generalized in the 16th century ecclesiastic written tradition (the sample-kind texts, the during the putting down from orality seceding sermons, the for the readers and for the audience addressed different references, the specialties of the different transcribing and using strategies, the aspects of folklorisation etc.).

**VIII.** The literary research is for a long while owes the critical edition of the third Unitarian bishop's sermons collection. The edition has to be followed by a preventive revealing work. The first step of this work is this dissertation. The analysis of the structure, and its damages, the sources and quotations, the sermons' incorporation into the contemporary textual traditions, the completion of a transcribing regulation manual can establish the further works.

## **Publications related to the topic of the dissertation:**

Borbála LOVAS, *Enyedi-prédikációk másolatai és azok kompilációs jegyei* (Copies of Enyedi-sermons and their signs of compilation), in *Kompiláció a régi magyarországi prédikációkban* (Compilation in the old Hungarian sermons), Pázmány Irodalmi Műhely, Lelkiségtörténeti Tanulmányok, MTA – PPKE, BILK, Budapest, 2014. (Forthcoming.)

Borbála LOVAS, *Másolási stratégiák Enyedi György prédikációinak hagyományozódásában* (Copy strategies in the handwritten copies of György Enyedi's sermons), in *Rebakucs Annual Conference (A kora újkori prózai kegyességi műfajok rendszere és elmélete) Essay Volume*. (Forthcoming.)

Borbála LOVAS, *Non multa sed multum. Párhuzamos beszédek Enyedi György prédikációgyűjteményében* (Non multa sed multum. Parallel sermons in the sermon collection of György Enyedi), Erdélyi Múzeum, 2013/1, 71–87.

Borbála LOVAS, *Erkölc és identitás. Pogányság és kiválasztottság Enyedi György prédikációiban* (Morality and Identity. Paganism and election in the sermons of György Enyedi), in *Identitás és kultúra a török hódoltságban. Konferenciakötet*. (Identity and Culture in the Ottoman Hungary. Essay Volume.) (Esztergom, Hungary, September 18–20, 2008.), ed. by P. ÁCS and J. SZÉKELY. Balassi Kiadó, Budapest, 2012, 299–310.