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On the Current State of Research in Czech Baroque Homiletics with Focus on Methodology (Past and Present Research; a Summary of Research Tasks and Issues)

Abstract

The study summarizes findings by Michaela Hashemi (Horáková) on homiletic texts of the early modern age, specifically the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century, with respect to the research context of the Czech environment. The article emphasizes the use of modern methods provided by literary theory which lead to relevant results. In the first part, the author presents a description of the history and the present of domestic homiletic research; the second part defines the key terms — Baroque homiletic texts and the exemplum (conceived as a homiletic intertext). The third part concentrates on other individual research tasks and issues relating to them, first in research of homiletic text production in a single historically conceived area (specifically texts with the Cyril and Methodius theme) and then territories of several different areas of the given period (from the end of the 17th to mid-18th century) in cultural contact (the Nepomucene theme). The following sections discuss the so-called topos of the dimension of Baroque mysticism (across Baroque literature genres, in texts of both higher and lower styles). The conclusion summarizes the finding that the study of homiletic texts employs classic methods (historical and philological) alongside modern ones, primarily the concept of everyday life and intertextuality.

homiletic texts in Czech environment in the 17th century to mid-18th century; Nepomucene homiletic texts from different cultural contexts; research methods; especially intertextual approaches

1. Past and present research

1a. Thesis statement: The Czech research environment has been experiencing a strong interest in Baroque homiletics in response to the corresponding research in Germany, guided by religious studies methodologies acting against the positivist¹ (and enlightenment-based) contempt for the period of history. The specifics of Baroque architecture in Prague and its priceless aesthetic value were revealed for a broad range of the public by the literary historian Arne Novák (1880–1939) in his oeuvre *Přehledné dějiny české literatury* (1936–1939, reprint 1995 [A Survey of History of Czech Literature]).² Research in Baroque homiletics, on the other hand, was less widely known and its development was characterized by less continuity, despite Novák's relevant study covering this topic, “Nové bádání o českém baroku slovesném” (1935 [New research in Czech literary Baroque]).³ The pioneers of literary Baroque research included Catholic figures situated outside mainstream research from the 1930s onwards, and it was their research findings that the study by Novák was building on.

Specification of the thesis statement: The first generation of Czech Baroque scholars also included some other figures, the earliest-living among them Vilém Bitnar (1874–1948), a technical engineer dealing with the topic from the perspective of confessional apologetics. It was however mainly Josef Vašica (1884–1968, a theologian and university professor at Olomouc university) who — although his primary research interest was in making the Old Slavonic cultural and literary legacy available in terms of specific materi-

¹ In the Czech environment, these included passages in *Dějiny české literatury* (1893–1921; *Czech Literary History*) by Jaroslav Vlček and in *Dějiny literatury české* (1911; *Czech Literary History*) by Jan Jakubec; it is nevertheless the volume *České postily* (1901; *Czech Apostils*), authored by Hynek Hrubý, that remains the basis for positivist assessment of the development of these texts in Czech.

² On this see Hashemi [Horáková] (2002–2003: 15–25).

³ As for the aesthetic appreciation of Baroque literature, he mentioned F.X. Šalda (*O literárním baroku cizím i domácím*, 1937 [On literary Baroque foreign and domestic]) as well as the contribution by Václav Černý (*Esej o básnickém baroku*, 1937 [An essay on Baroque in poetry]), especially for setting Czech Baroque into the context of western-European literatures (see Novák 1939: 1619). On the Baroque studies by Václav Černý (1996) see Pavera (2003a: 162–167). The history of research with partly another accent see Sládek (2019: 108–126).

als — brought some very insightful perspectives into Baroque homiletics research in his book volume *České literární baroko* (1939, reprint 1995 [Czech literary Baroque]). Vašica analysed the work of four homiletic authors who were the most interesting ones from the literary perspective (namely Daniel Nitsch, whose works cover the first decade of the 18th century; Ondřej de Waldt (+1752); Bohumír Hynek Josef Bilovský, 1710s and 1720s; and Tomáš Xaverius Laštovka (apostil, 1748), whose work was later continued by others. In his book *České baroko* (1940 [Czech Baroque]), Zdeněk Kalista (1900–1982, also a university professor and historian by profession) collected an unprecedentedly wide range of material covering the whole range of genres existing in the 17th and 18th centuries, demonstrating that Baroque homilies existed in high numbers and were significant. Moreover, he presented a new selection of homiletic texts (including manuscripts by Václav Šlechta, 1656), dividing them into various types of homilies, illustrated by examples (Sunday homilies, homilies for special days; occasional homilies). The same terminology was used by Vašica. Both authors also discussed emblematic and conceptual homilies, a type analysed later in detail.

1b. Thesis statement: The second generation of Baroque scholars includes Milan Kopecký (1925–2006; a university professor at the Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Brno), a solitary figure in his generation, using his research enthusiasm to bridge significant gaps, even though researching the Baroque was subjected to totalitarian restrictions in his time. Starting with his pioneering study from 1968, *O barokní homiletice* [On Baroque homiletics], Kopecký presented a comprehensive view of the area including a list of research tasks to be undertaken.

Specification of the thesis statement: In the above-mentioned study, by his selection taking up especially research by Josef Vašica, Kopecký established, among other things, six principal phases of Czech postilography, prefacing the four basic homiletic authors selected by Vašica with the apostil by Šebestian Vojtěch Scipion of Pilsen (1618) and also adding a major and in the 18th century widely read element of postilography in works by Václav Matěj Šteyer (first printed in 1691) and Jan Kleklar (with a 1701 apostil). The method used by Kopecký incorporated a historicist's, to a lesser degree a theologian's and linguist's perspectives, and a perspective of a literary scholar focusing on the artistic means employed in the texts under analysis. Kopecký then authored first the book series called *Starí slezští kazatelé* (1970 [Old Silesian preachers]), presenting a selection of exempla by the four homiletic authors chosen by Vašica, and the Lutheran apostle by Martin Filadelf Zámorský (1592) explored by himself. In the introductory summaries attached to the samples of their work, Kopecký employed mainly the comparative method⁴, well-suited for the purpose not only thanks to the same topographic interest (Silesia, by virtue of being the place where most of the works arose, or by virtue of being the place of their authors' birth or death) but especially thanks to the similarity of genres and the closeness in time of the creation of the principal works by the authors.

The full texts of the Baroque homilies were used by Kopecký as the chief editor in the book series *Žena krásná náramně* (1998 [A woman of extraordinary beauty]), where he made available the second series of Nepomucene homilies of so-called Homiletics of

⁴ For a comprehensive treatment of the methodology of Baroque research by Milan Kopecký see Pospíšil (1998: 349–356; 2004: 11–24).

Žďár⁵ (taking up the legacy of Zdeněk Kalista and his book *Česká barokní gotika a její žďárské ohnisko*, 1970 [Czech Baroque-Gothic and Žďár as its focal point]), namely the so-called prestigious homilies, with emblematic and conceptual approaches. Another merit of the series was making available texts which had originally been written in German and Latin.⁶

1c. Thesis statement: A Baroque homiletics research boom started in the 1990s, lasting until now. Its figures can be viewed as the 3rd generation of Czech Baroque researchers. After the replacement of the totalitarian regime with democracy, which removed political obstacles to research, new thematic and author-oriented contexts keep being added, especially by publication of samples from a variety of types of homilies. There is a typological innovation in the focus on homiletics in German and Hebrew, often even courtly homilies. Older research topics are explored in new detail. Baroque homiletics (classified under early modern history in the new controversial terminology⁷) found its principal promoter in Miloš Sládek (b. 1964), who mainly used historians' and archivers' methods (and literary scholar's methods to a smaller degree), nevertheless contributed partly also by literary scholarship findings (and has been, obviously, influenced by the French theories of the Annales School, specifically by Jacques Le Goff, especially his concept of everyday life)⁸.

The treatment of Baroque Homiletic texts by Sládek, written in line with the above approach and characterized by essayistic liveliness, attract a broad readership; moreover, they show efforts to provide a comprehensive treatment.

Thesis statement specification: The first post-1990 findings were characterized by a certain discontinuity and/or insufficient description of the research legacy of Milan Kopecký and the Brno Baroque Studies School in general (the name having been coined by the current prominent expert in modern literature Jan Malura (1971, professor at University of Ostrava). This deficiency has, however, soon been remedied by Miloš Sládek, the author of five principal books containing extracts from early-modern age homilies, in his general

⁵ The first occasion on which they were made available was the book edited by Bohumír Lifka *Medotekoucí sláva na hůře Libanu* (1995 [The glory overflowing with honey on the Mount Lebanon]); the third one was the book edited by Michaela Hashemi [Horáková]. *Nádoba zapálená* (2000 [A vessel on flame]).

⁶ The book (*Žena krásná náramně* [A woman of extraordinary beauty]) contained one (non-homiletic) text translated from Latin (including the source text; thanks to editorial efforts by L. Kysučan) and one homily translated from German (by K. Kallertová). The book *Nádoba zapálená* [A vessel on flame] was arranged analogically, containing two translations of Latin texts, and Nepomucene homiletic texts from beyond Žďár.

⁷ This terminology not only goes against the continuity of previous labelling but is also in conflict with the periodization used by historians and the dominant supranational context. On this topic, see the discussion initiated by Miloš Sládek in "Česká literatura" journal (2005: 309–325 ["Czech literature"]). Although most scholars have left the proposal to refer to literature of the Baroque as early modern literature without any comment, the newly proposed label did take root in research practice.

⁸ The fact is best evidenced by the concept of the researcher's first selection of texts, going beyond the homiletic genre. See Sládek, 1995. The chapters are arranged by topics pointing to the everyday life (including its extraordinary aspects) of people in the Baroque (virtues and vices in Chapter Two, ghostly stories of the Baroque in Chapter Three, places of pilgrimage in the Baroque in Chapter Four, extracts from Baroque cookery books and farmers' guides in Chapter Five, and extracts from popular reading books in Chapter Six).

commentaries. Sládek also published, especially in his two latest books, an ultimate list of all bibliographic items on the topic, covering a wide array of research (not limiting himself to research in Prague, since scholars of the first two Baroque Studies generations worked largely elsewhere).⁹

From among studies being created now and continuously (besides the above-mentioned publications by Miloš Sládek) it is necessary to mention in this context for instance studies by Daniel Soukup on homiletic authors Damascenus Marek and Štěpán František Náchodský.¹⁰ The longer studies by Libor Pavera not only on Bohumír Hynek Josef Bilovský but also Daniel Nitsch in the context of 1990–2010s research have added stylistic context, incorporating thus a comprehensive approach including the philological method. This method has innovatively shaped several volumes of proceedings published by University of South Bohemia in České Budějovice; a special mention is merited by the Waldtian context as well as the continuing work of researchers of this South Bohemian circle, especially Marie Janečková (2016). Among the especially valuable contributions is the innovative work on emblematics by Martina Dragonová, with both a theoretical focus and discussing specific homiletic texts. She uses especially the comparative method (with the source of emblematics in homilies quoted being *Mundus symbolicus* (1681) by Philip Piscineli).¹¹

Fundamentally new by virtue of topics are works of historians, often cooperating on publication outputs with Radmila Prchal Pavlíčková and exploring various variants of homiletic texts mainly in German, written not only in the Czech lands. In this context it is to be added that new research activities have been published by the Slovak Academy of Sciences, as represented by Erika Brtáňová, who herself contributed very accurate research on homiletic texts created in Slovakia.¹²

2. Key terms definitions

2a. Baroque homiletic texts

An attempt at characterizing Baroque homiletic texts comprehensively appears as late as in the study by Milan Kopecký (1968), conceiving Baroque homiletics as a literary phenomenon, nevertheless not neglecting the possibility to study the phenomenon also as philosophical a (i.e., theological) phenomenon. Kopecký's starting point is the theory contained in preachers' guides, the goal being "prodesse et a dellectare", i.e., affecting not only the listener's (reader's) reasoning capacity but also their emotions and will. The preacher uses language tinged with emotion, hence, according to Kopecký, homilies should be classified

⁹ On the merit of books by Miloš Sládek (and the history of Baroque Studies in general) see Hashemi (2002: 18–21). (Passages by Sládek himself on the first two generations in the general parts of his publications, although he does not explicitly label the 2nd generation, are — with the exception of the reflection of Novák's legacy — analogical.) On further publications of the author until now see Hashemi (2022: 557–558).

¹⁰ A fundamental innovative contribution by Daniel Soukup is that in his texts on Judaism, merging with the Czech linguistic context (2016: 79–106).

¹¹ Dragonová — according to the study on exemplum: 2012, 2013, 2015, 2020 (before to this theme of emblematics in homilies Hashemi 2007a).

¹² See Brtáňová (2019: 227–246); to book see: Hashemi (2020: 496–500).

as literary art. The feature typical of homiletic texts is, according to Kopecký, the use of the aesthetic function next to the exhortative function, with one or the other prevailing in certain phases of history and in particular texts (see Kopecký 1968: 62).

The onset of this approach can be found with Baroque scholars of the first generation; Zdeněk Kalista treats homiletics of the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries as fiction, classifying it with the superordinate category of Baroque rhetoric. Statements analogical to how the genre was characterized by Milan Kopecký can be found in texts by Miloš Sládek as well.

Early modern homilies can certainly be characterized also using functional-structuralist approaches, which is where research is still lacking. It is without any doubt that the language components including the phonetic level (preachers often employed sound patterns for more effect) and the meaning levels form a clear hierarchy contributing to the function of the homily, the goal being to take the listener on the journey to save their soul.

2b. Baroque exemplum

On the level of theory, scholarly works on Baroque homiletic texts can reveal a more accurate definition of the exemplum component of homilies, the latter obviously being among those parts of homilies which can be explored using a variety of methodologies, drawing on the mythological school where approaches from folklore studies are employed. The findings of the first and second generations of Baroque scholars concerning this issue were usually limited to stating that exempla were short stories inserted into homilies in order to please or educate the listeners. This line of research also usually limited itself to using various labels to refer to exempla and/or to how they related to their proto-texts, which — until the 1990s — did not do justice to the diversity of the authors of the proto-texts, pointing especially towards ancient Greece and Rome and the pseudo-Greek and pseudo-Roman legacy (see Petrů 1975). Another, modified type of definition occurs in the description by Tomáš Havelka (see 2016: 421), who is referring to the exemplum (in a somewhat fashionable way) as a medium.

I nevertheless believe that in my own description I am offering a formulation in line with theory intertextuality¹³ (based on the study of hundreds of homiletic texts discussed in dozens of articles)¹⁴ which seems more accurate and easier to use in further research. I define the exemplum as a homiletic intertext of varying descent present in explanations with the primary didactic function, focusing on the ideological dichotomy of redemption (associated with motifs of virtues) and condemnation (associated with motifs of vices). I agree with the previous statements, respecting that the definition of the early-modern exemplum includes its interpretation (and the definition is based on blurring the boundary between the exemplum and its interpretation) and that its function is a crucial factor (see Havelka 2016: 354). My view of the scope of the early-modern exemplum counters the definition by Eduard Petrů (2001: 24), defining the exemplum more broadly, allowing even the scope of a single sentence. Next, my definition of the exemplum is in agreement with the well-known concept that the story may be “fragmentary” only (see Havelka 2016: 341). I am also adding that it does not even have

¹³ First partly formulated like this by Hashemi (1995a: 25–29).

¹⁴ Hashemi, see the bibliography in: is.muni.cz/auth/publikace/vyhledavani?hledret=moje_publicace.

to be the epic at all that plays the role of an early-modern exemplum. Empirical research indicates that homiletic authors themselves labelled their exempla in many ways and with more diversity than the previous (and current) generations of researchers (fable, fairy-tale, riddle; figure; history; example), therefore usually depending on what was perceived as authentic in their own time (Kopecký 1968: 67–68; Hashemi 2005b: 68–71; Havelka 2016: 345–346; Hashemi 2022a: 558).

Thesis statement specification and tasks for further research: There are many more ways which can contribute to studying exempla. In the Czech environment, under the so-called totality the entertaining aspect was tempting as a focus of study; it is however due to add that research abroad was going in the same direction, but it was only one of the several possible directions there, in contrast with the Czech environment. The still-to-be-completed task is finding parallels, which has been successful especially in so-called typological parallels, considering not only the fairy-tale and the broadside ballad genres¹⁵ but also various artificial genres including works by authors classified as the golden fund of world literature (basing this classification of the two volumes of the Czech edition of *The Dictionary of World Literature*¹⁶). It is especially thematic parallels of origin including characters occurring in exempla¹⁷, no matter how difficult they are to find and prove, that are radically new. In the given context therefore traditional terms of classical comparative studies are used — parallel of origin and typological parallel. Here I can mention a typological relationship between an exemplum based on the *sujet* of rocking a bad woman in a cradle because she did not get enough love and William Shakespeare's famous comedy *The Taming of the Shrew*¹⁸, as presented in my previous research.

There is a research gap concerning the pre-texts of exempla; not only methods from comparative studies and thematic studies but also philological methods and/or working with adequate translations should be employed in the preparatory stages of research. Some partial categories — such as the category of time and its use at the level of characters and of the narrator — are under-employed in specific analyses of homiletic texts.¹⁹ On the other hand, for instance how exempla were referred to in different times was a topic dealt with quickly across all generations of researchers.²⁰

¹⁵ In the third generation of Czech Baroque researchers it seems to be generally. The links between exempla and fairy tales (and broadside ballads) have traditionally been an area explored by ethnographers; see e.g. the works by J. Polívka, e.g. 1927. Recently, thanks to a project led by Pavel Kosek, broadside ballads were analyzed comprehensively and by new approaches in three volumes (library studies researchers, linguists, and literary scholars and musicians participated) published in 2020 and 2021.

¹⁶ See Macura et al. 1988 (Volume 1: A–K; Volume 2: M–Z).

¹⁷ Regarding the above topics, for instance notes analyzing the character of Alexander the Great, concluding that he features in exempla with a prevalent positive evaluation (although he is not ahistorically described as Christian). What has just been referred to can be found in Czech texts especially in works by Czech homiletic author František Xaver Táborský (1738; 1747), — In Polish postilography in works by Szymon Starowolski (1648:621; published by Hashemi 2012: 84–94; 2022a: 559). — The character of Alexander the Great in homiletic texts has also been discussed by Havelka 2016: 364 on the occasion of dealing with Táborský's postilography).

¹⁸ It was published by Hashemi [Horáková] on homiletic texts by Karel Račín (1995b: 419; 2020: 566).

¹⁹ What Le Goff (1998: 93) says about this is inspiring in the given context.

²⁰ See: Kopecký 1968: 67–68; Hashemi 2005b: 68–71; Havelka 2016: 345–346; Hashemi 2022a: 558.

Concluding this passage, it is due to emphasize that exploring parallels to exempla in homiletic texts — with the essential publication *Soupis českých exemplů* (1978 [A list of Czech exempla])²¹ by Karel Dvořák (1913–1989) at its origin — is a research task that can still be worked on. Any approach presenting thematic parallels, whether it is using ethnological, historiographic, literary or musicological methods, is legitimate. This enables literature to be explored as a complex process, with oftentimes surprising — both direct and indirect — relationships between its individual types.

3. Tasks for further research

3a. Thesis statement: The theses established above lead us to first explore homiletic texts in several languages in a single region in history (e.g. themes featuring the two apostles Cyril and Methodius; for more see 3a.1) and then territories of several different regions in a given time of history (since the end of the 17th century through mid-1750s) which are more or less in contact (especially Nepomucene themes; for more see 3a.2).²²

German- and Latin-written texts were explored within the context of the Czech lands and with focus on some aspects (such as parallel themes), albeit to a very limited context, already by previous generations of Baroque researchers. For instance, Josef Vašica points out thematic parallels between the homily by František Matěj Krum (+1733), *Candidus at rubicundus* (1723)²³ and a German-written homily by a German Jesuit (Todfeller). Milan Kopecký points out not only the general necessity to explore Bavarian texts but also presents specific links between Czech-language homiletic texts and Latin works by the Jesuit priest Guillaume Stanyhurst (1601–1663), both differing from Vašica and specifying his hypotheses. German-language homiletic texts created in the historical areas of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia in the 17th and the first half of the 18th century are currently getting more research attention. Promising are especially studies created in cooperation with experts from the Slovak and Czech Academia of Science. Besides Radmila Prchal Pavlíčková (mentioned above), these include especially studies by Jana Maroszová (exploring the German language and culture) and Aneta Kubalová and Iveta Coufalová (historians), who are all shifting the research towards exploring the phenomenon of religious conversion and Slovak Protestant homiletics. Slovak research is more focused on Latin-language texts in the works by classical philologists Erika Juríková, Olga Vaneková and Angela Škovierová (see Hashemi 2020: 496–500).

It is however due to emphasize that domestic authors of homilies were often working in three languages. The homilies could be, for instance, delivered in speech in Czech and written down sometimes in Czech, other times in Latin. As for German preachers (which was their official label), the situation was similar; there were some rare cases in which preachers acted as German preachers in one church on Sundays while delivering homilies in Czech in another one on other days.²⁴

²¹ This publication has been mentioned in all studies taking it as a starting point (e.g., Havelka 2016: 341; recently Hashemi 2022: 567).

²² To this programme of exploring the territory of three languages see e.g. Stich (1996: 442–458).

²³ On its analysis see Vašica (1938: 327); Hashemi oráková (1999: 171–180).

²⁴ Already Kopecký (1968: 73) was referencing the preserved transcript evidencing that some homilies were delivered in Czech and then noted down in Latin (the example used concerned the dean of Uherské Hradiště Bohumír Václav Štyrcenvager).

Specification of thesis statement 3a.1: Homilies with the Cyril and Methodius theme. Labelling the texts in this way is connected with the fact that homilies with the Cyril and Methodius theme were delivered many times, specifically 75 times, in St-Michael's Dome, Vienna, to honour the saints as a part of festivities celebrating the saints, throughout nearly all of the 18th century, namely from 1708 through 1783.²⁵ The phenomenon also deserves attention due to the fact that many preachers preaching in German were expressing so-called Moravian regional patriotism (the homilies targeted primarily people who had moved to Vienna from Moravia, urging them not to forget their homeland and to be proud of its religious past) as well as Baroque Slavism and nationalism (typical of the "Defence" of 1692 by Bohuslav Balbín)²⁶, in texts by preachers of Moravian origin or who had been connected with Moravia through their previous lives and who were regarding themselves as Moravian. Another part of research findings within this line of research suggests an unusual connectedness between the so-called higher and lower (i.e., with lesser artistic ambitions) domestic literature not only in the genre of legends but also in historiographic literature. This is due to the pre-text to most such texts with the Cyril and Methodius theme, used by most of the preachers (and quoting it on the margins), specifically *Sacra Moraviae historia* (1710) by Jan Jiří Středovský. In his work, Středovský was carefully building on the domestic literary tradition in which the Cyril and Methodius theme featured at least partially — there is a whole series starting with the so-called Kristian's Legend (in Latin; *Vita et passio sancti Wencesali et sanctae Ludmilae, ave eius*; probably from the 10th century), then chronicles starting with the *Kosmas Chronicle* (1125 [Chronica Bohemorum]) while the subsequent development of literature showed a natural focus on Catholic historiography, especially the chronicle by Václav Hájek of Libočany (*Kronika česká*, 1541 [Czech chronicle]), but also writings by Bartoloměj Paprocký of Hloholy (1540/1543–1614; an important Polish author, who lived in Bohemia in 1588–1610)²⁷, and, last but not least, authors around the above-mentioned Bohuslav Balbín, alongside Tomáš Pešina (1629–1680), the author of a Czech-language volume (with a half Latin title) *Prodromus Moravographiae* (1665). This very passage is a sufficient proof that the research of homilies with the Cyril and Methodius theme employed especially the comparative method and the developmental perspective (by the older research generations) and newly also terminologies of the intertextual method.

²⁵ I have so far found 71 prints of these homilies in various library funds (Hashemi 2015: 376–382). Most of them in Austrian monastery funds of Klosterneuburg, making a shift from previous research to which only a limited collection of 29 texts had been known. A full list of the homilies had been made in Austria using Vienna diaries but only a part of them had been located and retrieved; moreover their literary analysis was missing — in contrast to the research of the Czech counterparts, which did capture the main features of these homilies but due to the limited material of the so-called Collection of Nákely (from the first half of the century) (Mais 1957/1958: 93–122).

²⁶ The most recent edition by Milan Kopecký — published to celebrate 300th anniversary of Balbín's death is called *Rozprava krátká, ale pravdivá* (1988 [A short but true discourse]). (Conferences dedicated to the legacy of Balbín, in which an important role is played by the classical philologist Martin Svatoš, recently also the circle around Kateřina Bobková-Valentová, are regularly taking place in Klatovy, one of the places where Balbín worked. An online volume of proceedings is available from the most recent one: BB400_v1_202112.pdf (knih-kt.cz).

²⁷ Paprocký in the Polish researchers context was studied by Tułowicka 2009; there is a book volume on him in the Czech context by Krejčí 1947 and a book chapter by Sobotková 2002. A selection from Paprocký's works focusing on a coat-of-arms story was edited by Hrabětová 1992. For use of texts by Paprocký in early modern age homilies see recently Hashemi 2022: 561.

Specification of thesis statements 3a.2: By virtue of the several territories reaching even beyond the European space, exploring Nepomucene homiletic texts seems especially revealing. The Latin-language legend *Vita B. Joannis Nepomuceni* (1680) by Bohuslav Balbín, a most beautiful literary creation, also thanks to the possibilities offered by the sujet, incorporating even an unusual dramatic gradation and the contrasting fictional characteristics of the cruel ruler Wenceslas IV, depicted in stark contrast to his father Charles IV, and the pious, modest saint-to-be Johan Nepomucene (a contemporary to John Hus) became — thanks to being included in a European collection of legends (1698) — a source of inspiration for numerous (at least 500) Czech-language homiletic texts created in the Czech environment but also homilies written in Latin, German, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, of which only a few originated in Czech-speaking areas.

The span of other-language Nepomucene homilies reached a variety of Catholic European countries, thanks to Catholic missions also beyond Europe. Due to the large numbers of these texts, some tend to be higher-style genres (e.g. beatification and canonization homilies) and others tend to favour lower style, targeting less educated audiences and opting for mainly educational goals. The homilies, especially those with emblematic elements, feature motifs of torturing of the saint by fire on the behest of Wenceslas IV and throwing his dead body into the river of Moldau — offering an opportunity for the conflict of the two natural elements. It is worth mentioning that the Nepomucene theme was very quickly permeating into fine arts artifacts and architecture (“the saint on the bridge”) and each environment adjusted it for its purposes (e.g. Nepomucene becomes the saint of Bavaria through providing protection to sailors; in Austria, besides the main characteristic of a protector of the seal of confession and hence also human honour, he becomes the patron saint protecting hospitals).²⁸ The theme provides scope for using the philological (and translational) method — in preparatory heuristics — as it was employed in various national environments in several different languages; the comparative method thanks to which differences between texts from various environment stand out more clearly is also widely used in this research.

3.1. Thesis statement and its specification

Other areas of research and other tasks include examination of topoi (fixed mental and formal patterns), the so-called Baroque mystical dimension of texts. The topos can be found across genres of Baroque (early modern) literature, in texts of both higher and lower styles. It is based on interpreting the biblical Old Testament Song of Songs by clerical fathers as a lovers’ relationship between the human soul and Christ. This dimension in the analysis of specific homiletic texts was first presented by Josef Vašica of the first generation of Baroque researchers (Vašica 1938).

²⁸ For specification of this and Nepomucene homiletic texts as an attempt at capturing the complexity (including categorizing domestic production into groups, and links to texts in the German and Austrian contexts as well as the Italian contribution to homiletic texts see Hashemi 2007b. — A principal work on historical development (capturing also the 2nd life of the saint) is — among the literature on the Czech context — Vlnas 1993. The connection between the legend by Balbín and the Nepomucene cult has been dealt with interstingly by Svatoš 1993: 59–76.

In the second generation, the topic was dealt with on the level of theory especially by Antonín Škarka (1906–1972)²⁹, who pointed out occurrences of what his terminology labelled as the “erotic-mystic” relation of the human soul not only to Christ but also to Virgin Mary and various saints. Škarka also postulated that with respect to the lyrical subject, the relation is identical between a male or female speaker and a male or female object. He illustrated this across genres and authorial contexts including the oeuvre of Jan Amos Comenius, a Protestant (Škarka was an important Comenius scholar), first on texts by Adam Michna of Otradovice (1600–1676), an important hymnologist; Felix Kadlinský (1613–1675), a so-called Baroque idyllicist (influenced by Fridrich von Spee), and Fridrich Bridel (1619–1680), the most significant spiritual poet of the Czech baroque. Škarka complemented the text by the authors listed above by texts by protestant Jan Liberda (1700–1742). In the same generation Zdeňka Tichá (1927–1984) simplified the concept of “Baroque erotic mysticism” (especially in her monograph on Michna; Tichá 1976: 16–29) with an unsubstantiated emphasis on its mundane nature, and thus effectively weakened the aesthetic and philosophical tension in her analysis. A significant shift in the research as far as the object of love is concerned was presented in the analyses by Milan Kopecký of texts of the so-called Žďár cycle, where the author added to the objects of adoration the important figure of the abbot of Žďár monastery (who furthered the development of the monastery at the beginning of the 18th century dramatically and encouraged the spreading of the Nepomucene cult, especially by ordering the construction of the pilgrimage church of Zelená hora from the important architect of Italian origin Giovanni Santini).³⁰ Kopecký thus pointed out another line of the above-mentioned Baroque mystical topos in which these motifs appear, regarding important spiritual figures, even ones living at the time when the homiletic texts were created.

In the third generation of Baroque researchers the emphasis gets shifted to individual homiletic texts not analysed so far, with focus on homilies of such type where such incidence can be expected. These are especially homilies with Good Friday themes and homilies on the occasion of joining a monastic order, which were left either unanalysed or hardly unanalysed by previous researchers.³¹ More attention was paid to wedding homilies, across research generations. As early as in 1933, Josef Vašica published wedding homilies by the artistically significant homiletic author B.H.J. Bilovský.³² In 1999, Libor Pavera

²⁹ Primarily in the monograph on Adam Michna of Otradovice (1968 in German; only in 1985 in Czech; 1967 in a separate study on Michna), then, in most detail, in his study *Erós v duchovní písni českého baroka* (1968), songs).

³⁰ See Kopecký (1997: 15–24); most recently featuring the theme of the Premonstratensian abbot Léve (2003: 375–388).

³¹ Here I mean two texts from the oeuvre by Karel Račín (who was already known as an author to the first generation of Baroque scholars) and his homily on the occasion of joining a monastic order *Duchovní zasnoubení* (Spiritual engagement) [...] (1696) and the Good Friday theme in *Čtyry žilové proti hříšné duši bojující* [...] (1698). See Hashemi [Horáková] 1992: 33–39; 2005: 29–37, 38–55. Other aesthetically pleasing texts of this same type escaped the research attention of the first and second generations of Baroque researchers partly in analysis and partly even in heuristics. On this type in Pellizzotti/Pelišot homilies (1741, 1751, 1753) see Hashemi [Horáková] 1995c: 225–229; Sládek 2017: 269.

³² Under the title *Víno ze svadby v Káni a potřebnost roucha svadebního* ([Wine from the wedding in Cana and the need for a wedding gown]; from apostils by Bilovský *Cantator cygnus* [...], 1720 and *Doctrina Christiana* [...], 1721).

published homilies by Daniel Nitsch under the title *Dva at jsou jedno skrze lásku* (Let two be one through love).³³ In 1995, Miloš Sládek published homilies by Damascén Marek *Zlá jest v manželstvu novina, když nemají doma vína* (Bad news in a marriage when there is no wine at home).³⁴ (The researcher, currently the most important editor of Baroque prose, pointed out in his descriptions the reality of the mundane wedding homilies, offering an example.)

These topics naturally also lend themselves to intertextual terminology but the basic subject of the analysis providing new findings is comparison of specific texts where the time factor needs to be explored.

3.2. Thesis statement

The above-described topics lead us to set out another research task I would like to outline, namely an assessment of the aesthetic aspect of homiletic texts, treated by distinguishing between conventional and creative texts. In the case of texts depending on theories stated in preaching guides and derived from them (and in relation to pre-texts of various types, which have not yet been recorded fully and, even more significantly, have not been subjected to comparative analysis yet), this approach can be perceived as misleading, and may be approached in contemporary, nonhistorical ways. Anyway, the apologetic goal of defending homiletic texts as aesthetic was pursued already by the first generation of Baroque scholars, who focused on texts with aesthetic leaning (just like Josef Vašica and Zdeněk Kalista). In the second generation, Milan Kopecký already included in his research of the developmental aspects even homilies of lower style (Kopecký 1968: 72). The third research generation is distinguishing between the two styles of *eloguentia antiqua* and *eloguentia nova*,³⁵ even though empirical homiletic research shows that both styles often were not juxtaposed against each other (this was only the case of homilies of the higher style with emblematic and conceptual strategies by very gifted authors).

Our modern identification of parts of texts tending towards “autonomous” aestheticism is not building on the existence of conceptual and emblematic approaches, but this shift consists, in my opinion, also in disturbing the pattern of mechanical transposition of emblematic or exempla motifs into the: 877–891. allegoric exposition, or in an aesthetic realization of an allegory without an explicit expository element, which is found in homiletic texts only in a very limited amount of text. Certain parts of the whole then operate in reader reception in an aesthetically autonomous way (Hashemi 2008: 69–75). (My example of this is a passage from *Čtyry živlové* / Four elements by Karel Račín, which treats the Godperson saying goodbye to living on Earth just before he is crucified, which I interpreted in a typological parallel with an analogical theme in *Máj* (May) by Mácha, 1936.)³⁶ The passage shows that even in research in early modern homiletics, reception

³³ Under the title *Dva at jsou jedno skrze lásku* ([Let two be one through love]; from apostil by Nitsch *Berla královská* [...] Royal mace, 1709). — Pavera interpreted the homily also in the broader context of Baroque poetics, comparing it with wedding homilies by Bilovský (Pavera 1996).

³⁴ The homily by (Damascenus) Marek (from his apostil *Trojí chléb nebeský*... [Triple bread of heavens...], probably 1728) is included in the selection by Sládek: 1995.

³⁵ From the starting point of the works of Svatoš (2010: 877–891).

³⁶ Hashemi [Horáková] (1992: 33–39; in a book 2005: 51).

aesthetics approaches and readership theory approaches can be attempted, although one must be very careful to achieve relevant results and not to stray too far from traditional methodology.

3.3. Material-based heuristics and related problems; editorial issues

Thesis statement: Further, qualitatively new research in early-modern age homiletics might include both detailing already published findings and simultaneous examination of new material, shifting research emphases and focusing on multilingual texts increasingly. This research cannot do without thorough heuristics; for Latin- and especially German-language texts, however, bibliographies are missing. Homiletic texts from the 17th and 18th centuries keep emerging in various libraries more or less still in a random fashion, most frequently when works by a specific author are dealt with, known from bibliographies of texts usually only in the Czech language, and thanks to this, homiletic texts in other languages are being discovered in catalogues of various library funds. One big challenge in this respect remains to be especially Austrian monasteries and convent library funds, and Polish library funds, which are still totally unexplored as for items belonging to homiletic texts in the Bohemian, Moravian and Silesions regions.

Thesis statement specification: One particular problem with Austrian libraries of monasteries and convents is their private ownership, such as in the library of Klosterneuburg (mentioned above in connection with Cyril-and-Methodius homiletic texts). Numerous Polish library funds, partly known already to Czech revivalists (see the Wrocław years of František Ladislav Čelakovský) nevertheless continue to yield heuristic discoveries. In the Wrocław funds of Ossolineum, for instance, a part of unpublished correspondence by Jan Tanner³⁷ (1623–1694; a friend and benefactor to Bohuslav Balbín) has been located while another part is deposited in the funds of the Strahov library in Prague (see Hashemi [Horáková] 2003: 65–70).

Publishing as evidenced by the output of the current generation of Baroque researchers is characterized by the fact — distinguishing it from the output of the previous two generations of researchers — that there is hardly any divide between publications aimed at experts and those for the general public. The publication of editorial principles by Josef Vintr (1992: 341–346) meant, in fact, a shift to a single type of publication, with transcription rules making it as similar to the original text, which is very difficult in the Czech environment due to the need to preserve the quantity of vowels, with the original vowels often wrongly recorded by printers, and, above all, hardly any vowel codification.

4. Conclusion on methodology for researching homiletic texts of the 17th and 18th centuries

Each and every material, as has been known, requires a certain approach and older literature research needs to combine the approaches of a historian, a linguist and a literary scholar, the latter of whom concentrates on texts advanced developmentally and aesthetically. Each new literary theoretical method allowing to specify or reformulate previous findings proves

³⁷ The legacy of Jan Tanner yielded in the 3rd research generation an innovative and carefully prepared publication by Jan Malura and Pavel Kosek *Hora Olivetská / Mount of Olives* (2001).

to be useful and — more or less — functional. It cannot be disputed that with certain research reports, we keep encountering — due to persisting ideologization not of the topic anymore but of attitudes towards findings by specific researchers — not so many entirely new findings but an intentional lack of acknowledgment of the previous research traditions, an ignorance of these or even intentional efforts rehashing older results by reformulating them in slightly new terminologies.

A comparison with a Polish research environment leads the current author (thanks to the experience of a peer reviewer) to a preliminary conclusion that while at the beginning of the 1990s, Polish Baroque studies were ahead of its Czech counterpart, Czech outputs regarding homiletic texts have made up for the delay gradually (with some unevenness included in that). Compared with Polish research, Czech Baroque studies are lagging behind in their online presentation, which is not always done by experts, and, above all, adequate digitalization of literary texts on websites authorized by experts is missing. The times we are living in add the necessity to work with information technologies in addition to traditional methods used in studying literature, namely the technological method, and the ensuing need to cooperate with IT experts. With respect to the multi-layered macro-genre³⁸, it proves interesting and efficient to use homiletic texts as reference in definitions within intertextuality theory, as area studies and its specific terminology develops.

Preference for some modern literary theories (such as semiotics) in combination with realistic literary material without considering the historical context (in the case of homiletics, without considering homiletic theories and guidebooks) ends up as not only ahistorical but also inaccurate. It is however necessary to say that only happens rarely in Czech Baroque studies, more or less only in doctoral theses in progress, the results of which are presented selectively and usually only orally.

³⁸ This refers to my formulation based on the fact that homiletic texts share the same features although in connection to its dominant function, especially in the context of exempla, original genres entering the homilies are adjusted by the authors with respect to the principal function of the homily.

Genealogical approaches are nevertheless necessarily always employed in research by virtue of their terminology being used.

I do take note of the current state of research, characterized by an overuse of the term *media* (under the influence of journalism) not only for the broadside ballad (Ivánek 2017: 224) but also for exemplum (Havelka 2016: 341) but I am avoiding the term in my work, being aware that genres in old literature are fuzzy (Malura 2010: 99–120) but appear in simpler and more complex forms (Lichačov 1967: 54–69), on different levels of homiletic texts while features shared by all homiletic texts can be defined.

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