

ALEXANDER RUDNAY AND HIS SERMON PRESENTED AT THE SEMINAR OF ST. STEPHEN IN TRNAVA ON JULY 19, 1778¹

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DOI: 10.17846/CL.2022.15.2.90-105

Abstract: JABLONSKÝ, Dávid. *Alexander Rudnay and His Sermon Presented at the Seminar of St. Stephen in Trnava on July 19, 1778*. Archbishop of Esztergom and Cardinal Alexander Rudnay (1760 – 1831) achieved a successful church career not only thanks to his theological erudition, language and diplomatic skills, synodal as well as philanthropic activities, but also through his sermons. The English translation and analysis of his first sermon conceived in four languages (Latin, German, Slovak, Hungarian) and published in 1833 in an edition of his 82 sermons collected from 1778 to 1805 under the title „Kázne prihodné...“ points to the development of Rudnay’s personality, vision and faith or the multi-ethnic character of modern Hungary. The central theme of the sermon was the miraculous act of Jesus Christ, when the hungry people who followed him for three days were fed by the multiplication of the seven loaves of bread. The text does not lack references to the Book of Exodus, the Book of the Prophet Isaiah, the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, the Book of Psalms, the Gospel of Mark, the Gospel of Matthew and the Letters of St. Paul. Choice of the central theme, examples and arguments used, adherence to scholastic principles, emotional colouring, realization of own individual, warning against materialism and the importance of spiritual values, and the challenge not to sin again must have had a sophisticated and systematic effect on the recipient at the time and testify to Rudnay’s conscientiousness and dexterity already at a young age.

Keywords: *Alexander Rudnay, homily, sermon, Hungary, 18th century, 19th century, Catholicism*

1. Introduction

Alexander Rudnay (1760 – 1831), one of the most important figures of the Hungarian Catholic clergy in the 19th century, was distinguished not only in terms of preserving the pillars of Catholicism in the post-Josephine period, but also for his activities or contacts with important personalities of the Slovak National Revival. His theological erudition, language and diplomatic skills or series of activities carried out in the religious sphere foreshadowed him to finally reach the rank of Cardinal at the peak of his ecclesiastical career.² The integral form of Rudnay’s name in Slovak is also given in form *Alexander Štefan Rudnay de Rudna et Divékujfalu*, in Hungarian *rudnai és divékujfalusi Rudnay Sándor István* and in German *Alexander Stefan Rudnay von Rudna und Divékujfalu*. The Rudnay family had its roots, similarly to the *Bossányi*, *Ujfalussy*, *Divéky* and *Rudnyánszky* families, in the medieval Hungarian *Divék* family (*de genere Divek*). The

¹ This article was created with the financial support of the project APVV-19-0158 *Slovenská kázňová spisba v 19. storočí*.

² For a more detailed description of Rudnay, take a closer look at the work conceived under editorial guidance of István Käfer (Käfer 1998, 188) or at the monograph of Mária Vyvíjalová (Vyvíjalová 1998, 231).

Hungarian genealogist and herald Iván Nagy (1824 – 1898), in his extensive 13-volume work *Magyarország családai...*, called Alexander the most famous representative of the Rudnay family (Nagy 1862, 794).

2. Studies and spiritual career

After his high school studies in Nitra and Bratislava, Rudnay began studying philosophy in Trnava and also completed theology in Buda. He was ordained a priest in Trnava in 1783, and the following year he received a doctorate in theology in Buda (Chalupecký 1988, 314).³ His priestly career began in 1785. He is mentioned in the role of chaplain in Častá or Hronský Beňadik and as a pastor he worked in the villages Laskár⁴ and Krušovce. At the General Vicariate of the Esztergom Archbishopric in Trnava, over time he held the positions of actuary, archivist, secretary and chancellor, and in 1805 he became an Esztergom canon and in 1806 also rector of the Trnava priest's seminary. In 1808 he acquired the position of Vicar General of Esztergom and titular Bishop, as well as membership in the Hungarian Royal Vice-regency Council.⁵ In the same year he became the titular abbot of Krušovce and a year later the provost and church clerk at the Hungarian Court Chancellery⁶ (Magyar Katolikus s. a., s. p.; Chalupecký 1988, 314). In 1815 he was elected and in 1816 officially confirmed as the Bishop of Transylvania. Bishop's ordination was granted to him by the Archbishop of Vienna Sigismund Anton von Hohenwart (1803 – 1820) in Vienna in 1816 (Magyar Katolikus s. a., s. p.). From 1819 he held the post of Archbishop of Esztergom and Prince Primate of Hungary. In 1826 he was elected as Cardinal *in pectore* and in 1828 Pope Leo XII (1823 – 1829) finally confirmed him in this rank officially (The Hierarchy s. a., s. p.).

3. Rudnay's philanthropy and his activity in the Slovak National Revival

Thanks to his philanthropic activities, Alexander Rudnay attracted many supporters during his life. He helped the poor, financially supported church or secular institutions and also encouraged the construction of sacred buildings. In connection with the year 1816, it is mentioned that during the great crop failure and famine he distributed grain and money to the hungry (Magyar Katolikus s. a., s. p.). Since the city of Esztergom, as the original seat of the Hungarian Prince Primate, together with its sacral buildings, was occupied and largely destroyed by the Ottomans as early as 1543, after the escalating conflicts and military clashes, Rudnay was the person who initiated the construction of the new cathedral, although several of his predecessors had already outlined this plan. Construction began in 1822 and Rudnay provided 815,700 forints from his own resources (Horváth – Kopčan 1971, 57; Mrva 2003, 124; Magyar Katolikus s. a., s. p.). *The Primatial Basilica of the Blessed Virgin Mary Assumed into Heaven and St. Adalbert*, also known as the *Esztergom Basilica*, was consecrated only after his death in 1856, although it was fully completed in 1869 (A Nagyboldogasszony s. a., s. p.).

³ Hungarian literary historian, linguist and librarian József Szinnyei (1830 – 1914) introduced Rudnay's degree in theology (1784) in the form of *baccalaureus* (Szinnyei 1906, 1359).

⁴ An extinct village, currently part of the Slovak town called Nováky.

⁵ In Latin: *Consilium Regium Locumtenentiale Hungaricum*; In Slovak: *Uhorská kráľovská miestodržiteľská rada*; In Hungarian: *Magyar Királyi Helytartótanács*.

⁶ In Latin: *Cancellaria Aulica Hungarica*; In Slovak: *Uhorská dvorská kancelária*; In Hungarian: *Magyar udvari kancellária*.

Rudnay also established himself in the field of Slovak National Revival. He figured as a member and patron of the *Slovak Learned Society*⁷ founded in Trnava, operating in the years 1792 – 1800. The association profiled itself as a publishing company that sought to economically and morally encourage the population. Among its publications figured encyclopedias of agriculture, handbooks of Slovak history, religious literature or theater plays (Kowalská 2003, 197). Rudnay also supported the posthumous publication of the 5-volume multilingual dictionary *Slowár...* of the Catholic priest and linguist Anton Bernolák (1762 – 1813). The work was prepared for publication and supplemented by a sixth volume by the Catholic priest, pedagogue, translator and Esztergom canon (from 1816) Juraj Palkovič (1763 – 1835) (Bernolák 1825 – 1827). Rudnay also approved the publication of a translation of the Bible into Bernolák's Slovak language, which was published in two volumes in 1829 and 1832 thanks to the long-term efforts and work of Juraj Palkovič (Palkovič 1829 – 1832).⁸

4. National Synod in Bratislava (1822)

Special mention should also be made of Rudnay's efforts to preserve the principles of Catholicism in the post-Josephine period and to discipline the Catholic clergy in the sign of the convening of the National Synod in Bratislava in 1822. The Apostolic See viewed similar initiatives suspiciously during this period, feared efforts to create churches independent of Rome and to consolidate secular power in ecclesiastical structures in the spirit of Josephinism, which also drew on the ideas of the Galician or Febronian movement in the ecclesiastical field. The popes had the power to control the decrees of particular assemblies and to annul them in the event of disagreement. Thus, on the one hand, the Catholic clergy in Hungary had to show loyalty to Rome, but on the other hand, the Viennese Court put pressure on clerics on the basis of the monarch's jurisdiction called *ius circa sacra* (Fejérdy 2014b, 511-512).

The synod, which took place between September 8 and October 16, 1822 during the reign of King of Hungary Francis I (1792 – 1835), was attended by 82 Synodal Fathers. Synodal decrees mainly concerned the issue of the spiritual life and morals of the clergy and believers, which were to be improved through effective teaching, enlightenment, and the establishment of precise rules of discipline. The Synodal Fathers were also occupied with the question of the Hungarian translation of the Bible by the Jesuit György Káldi (1573 – 1634). Káldi's translation was originally published in 1626 (Káldi 1626, 1220) and at the time of the Synod, the chosen clergy considered it obsolete or less intelligible. The participants agreed that Káldi's translation would return to the press, but admitted possible stylistic changes. The synod's agenda also included a dispute between theologians at the University of Buda. The Catholic priest, theologian and university pedagogue József Tumpacher (1765 – 1821) preferred the interpretation of biblical passages in the spirit of advanced Enlightenment philology and rejected the so-called *analogia fidei*, a theological principle or method that correlates the various truths of the faith and notes that there is no dogma that should be interpreted independently of the official faith or other dogmas (Magyar Katolikus s. a., s. p.). Tumpacher thus antagonized many of his colleagues and the clergy. However, as Tumpacher died several months before the start of the Synod, the participants considered his case resolved. In particular, they appealed to university teachers that if the Prince Primate or the oldest Archbishop of the country requested the content of their lectures from them in the future, they would be obliged to submit them. The Synodal Fathers also confirmed the monarch's decree, which subordinated

⁷ In Slovak: *Slovenské učené tovarišstvo*.

⁸ On the person of Juraj Palkovič and his translations see also the work of Štefan Zlatoš (Zlatoš 1939, 330).

the administration of the orders directly to the bishops and prohibited their free contact with the Superior Generals in Rome. The participants also wanted to ask the monarch for the return of the Jesuits to the country and did not agree with his request for financial support for the priestly seminary *Augustineum* established in Vienna. On the contrary, they called on the monarch not to force Bishops to send their adepts to study in Vienna. As soon as they became accustomed to city life, it would be difficult for them to perform their priestly duties in a rural environment when they returned home (Fejérdy 2014b, 516-517). The Royal Chancellery originally sabotaged the sending of Rudnay's letter to Pope Pius VII (1800 – 1823) with information about the planned conduct of the Synod (Nagy 1943, 163). After the end of the Synod, none of the three copies of the Synodal decrees arrived in Rome (Fejérdy 2014a, 231-232). It is not at all surprising, therefore, that Rudnay did not even receive the monarch's consent to the official promulgation of regulations in Hungary until his death in 1831 (Fejérdy 2014b, 518-519).⁹

5. Rudnay's disciplinary work and analysis of his sermon presented at the Seminar of St. Stephen in Trnava on July 19, 1778

Rudnay's disciplinary work was an activity that may not have gained such a space in Central European historiography in comparison with the mentioned activities. It is preserved thanks to the printed form of a collection of 82 sermons, which came from the period from 1778 to 1805 and were published two years after his death, with a preface and editorial intervention by Juraj Palkovič, in Jelínek's printing house in Trnava (Rudnay 1833, 539). During the printing activities of Václav Jelínek (1731 – 1823) and his son Ján Krstiteľ Jelínek (1780 – 1841), several well-known personalities of Slovak national history published their manuscripts with the help of these book printers. In addition to Anton Bernolák, there was also a Catholic priest, writer and entomologist Juraj Fándly (1750 – 1811), a Catholic priest and writer Jozef Ignác Bajza (1755 – 1836) or a Catholic priest, writer and translator Ján Hollý (1785 – 1849) (Bernolák 1791, 160; Fándly 1795 – 1796; Bajza 1820, 24; Hollý 1828, 291).

Sermon,¹⁰ which is in the first place in the printed collection and is the main subject of this study, comes from the time of his education in the Seminar of St. Stephen in Trnava (*Stephaneum*). The date of the sermon is given on the sixth Sunday after Pentecost in 1778, which was July 19, 1778. Rudnay was 18 years old at the time, the head of the Esztergom archbishopric was the archbishop of Esztergom, the Hungarian Prince Primate (1776 – 1799) and Cardinal (1778 – 1799) József Batthyány,¹¹ and the government in Hungary was still shared by Joseph II with his mother Maria Theresa. Despite the fact that the sermon comes from Rudnay's early work and appears in the collection at the very beginning, it looks erudite in terms of form and content. From a linguistic point of view, we can notice four languages in it. In addition to the traditional Latin biblical pericopes, passages are also in German, in Slovak¹² or in Hungarian. The educational Latin language is thus accompanied by the national languages that were in use in Hungary at that time.

⁹ For a better understanding of the underlined issue, see also works by András Fejérdy, Pál Ritsmann and Anita Čižmáriková (Fejérdy 2018, 654; Ritsmann 1940, 150-186; Čižmáriková 2020, 40-59).

¹⁰ For possible interpretations, methodology and editions of sermons, as well as selected personalities of Slovak disciplinary work of the 18th and 19th centuries, see also other works in the field of Slovak historiography (Hladký – Krasnovská 2006, 358; Brtáňová 2000, 200; Brtáňová 2019, 216; Brtáňová – Soukup 2019, 284; Žeňuchová 2016, 206; Zubko 2013, 181; Škovierová 2014, 89-98; Kowalská 2005, 118-129).

¹¹ In Slovak: Jozef Baťán.

¹² More precisely in the Cultural West Slovak, from 1787 codified and known as Bernolák's Slovak.

Each Latin quote is translated into the national language in the text, in which a specific passage is conceived, and in most cases the exact designation of the source in the Bible is not missing. The central theme is characterized by a Latin title in the form of a verse from the Gospel of Mark, as follows: *Misereor super Turbam, quia ecce jam triduo sustinent me, nec habent, quod manducent* (Mark 8:2). Although the translations may vary slightly depending on the Scripture used, Rudnay translated the quotation approximately as follows: *I sympathize with people because they have been with me for three days and have nothing to eat* (Rudnay 1833, 1).

After marking the occasion of the sermon, mentioning the Latin pericope and its exact occurrence in the Bible, an introduction in German follows. Here the author of the sermon referred to the three attributes of God that Jesus Christ was to possess. He assigned *goodness* to his heart, *prudence* (or *light*) to his eyes, and *omnipotence* to his hands. Following this, he illustrated the miracle by which Christ stood up and helped his believers, who were hungry for three days. Fearing that they would die on their way back home, he asked them how much bread they had left. He took the last seven loaves, expressed gratitude, and multiplied them and fed everyone. Rudnay incorporated the words *I sympathize with people* with the *goodness* of Christ. To the question of how many breads remained for his followers, he assigned *prudence* in his eyes. Finally, he attached Christ's miraculous act in the form of the multiplication of the breads and the subsequent satiety of the people to the *omnipotence* which was to spring in his hands. It follows from the text that Rudnay presented his recipients with the named qualities as a kind of "means" through which God helps with human needs or weaknesses. Using the often used scholastic method in the spirit of the formula *sic et non*, he asked himself whether there was any human weakness or need that God could not eliminate. He answered with the word *no* and attributed the verdict to the *infinite care of God*. He challenged the audience to believe in God and his providence in return. He indicated that the core of the sermon would be divided into two key parts. In the first, he was to provide examples or arguments for the aforementioned *care* by God. In the second, he was to instruct his recipients that they should be rewarded for this *care* in the form of faith in God, and what form such faith should take (Rudnay 1833, 1-3).

The following text, divided into two parts, continues in Slovak. The first part presents examples and arguments using five biblical quotations in accordance with the usual scholastic method in the mirror of the principle *pro et contra*. Rudnay first outlined the sketched *care* and opinion that God sees all the *efforts, afflictions, pleas, or needs* of his believers in the form of a story from the Old Testament Book of Exodus, where God told Moses: *I have indeed seen the misery of my people in Egypt* (Exodus 3:7). The concept that God not only sees human suffering or desires, but that he then *turns to people with help* and is *inclined to them*, underlined an excerpt from Matthew's Gospel, according to which God *knows that you need them* (Matthew 6:32). This passage is a reaction to frequently asked questions of pagans about what to eat, drink, or wear from the previous verse (Matthew 6:31). Then the preacher remarked that if people sometimes had an accident, illness, poverty, or suffering, they were in the habit of turning away from God or blaspheming. He bridged it with the thought of a contemptuous sinner from the Book of Psalms, who assumed that *God covers his face and never sees* (Psalm 10:11). Shortly afterwards, Rudnay, inspired by the Book of the Prophet Isaiah, borrowed the question: *Can a woman forget the infant (at her breast)¹³; or feel no compassion for the child of her life¹⁴?* This was followed by a verdict: *Even should she forget, I¹⁵ will never forget you* (Isaiah 49:15). Just as he would not forget any of his believers, Rudnay added. Then he recalled that Christ had fed 4,000 followers with the help of seven loaves. He supplemented his argument,

¹³ The words *at her breast* in his sermon absented.

¹⁴ Rudnay used the word *life* instead of the word *womb*.

¹⁵ God.

again influenced by the Book of Psalms, with the idea of the Prophet David: *Nothing is lacking for those who fear him*¹⁶ (Psalm 34:10). The source is inaccurately mentioned in the sermon, although verse 10 is correct, but instead of the 34th chapter (book), the 33rd chapter (book) is preached in printed form. Finally, Rudnay encouraged the recipients to look at *birds* that do not *sow, reap, or bear harvest*, yet God feeds them, and, at the same time, *how much more precious* humanity is than animals. He concluded with a brief summary and indicated the transition to the second part of the core of the sermon (Rudnay 1833, 3-5).

He began the second part, in which he wanted to indicate how a believer can hope for God, with words about *sailors* who may be *anywhere on the sea*, but always looking for a *star* that shows them the right direction. He connected this example with believers who, according to him, also look up at God and hope if necessary. He immediately quoted a short passage from the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah: *Blessed is the man that trusts in God, and whose trust God is* (Jeremiah 17:7). He again drew the attention of the recipients to the question of why God would not help the believer *whom he created in his image*, for whom he *suffered*, whom he *baptized*, or to whom he provides the *Body and Blood*, if he feeds a *bird* that gives him no *praise or thanksgiving*. Rudnay noted that this is the real reason why Christians should believe in God. And if, according to him, the question of believers is what this faith is about, the answer would be that it is primarily about anticipation of *secular possessions* and *entrusting all worries*¹⁷ to God, who *sees the needs of his believers*. He also drew this in another verse from the Gospel of Matthew, where it was stated that people *should not bother and ask* what they would *eat, drink, or dress*, because it is up to the pagans to find answers to these questions (Matthew 6:31). In quoting the source, Rudnay mistakenly cited chapter (book) 7 instead of chapter (book) 6. He eventually amplified the argument with two other pericopes. He borrowed from the Book of Psalms a verse that man should *cast his*¹⁸ *cares on the Lord* (Psalm 55:22). Again, there is a false citation, instead of the 54th chapter (book), the passage is in the 55th chapter (book). And although verse 23 agrees with the Hungarian and Slovak translations of the Bible, in English translations it is verse 22. In the next verse, he also reached for the Gospel of Matthew. With idea that *man shall not live on bread alone, but on every word that comes from the mouth of God* (Matthew 4:4), he pointed out that we should not only expect secular possessions or values, but also spiritual ones. This was followed by a series of questions that what secular or spiritual values can human expect if one has *wounded* God so many times, *crucified* him and caused him *suffering or pain*. The preacher reassured the recipients that they should not be afraid, because God is merciful, he can pardon them, and who he pardons, he cannot lose. At the same time, however, he urged them not to sin again and reminded them that they could expect not only spiritual but also secular values from God. The core of the sermon ended with words influenced by St. Paul, who *knows whom he trusted and is sure that (God) can fulfill what promised* (Rudnay 1833, 5-7).

After this part came the end of Rudnay's sermon, which was designed for a change in the Hungarian language. Here again, he asked himself several questions in the sense that if God is *infinitely merciful* and people can *put their afflictions and hopes* in him, then who will *not turn* to him if necessary; who will be so *ungrateful* that he will not *bless and glorify* him and, conversely, will rather *seek solace elsewhere*. Finally, the author spoke to the audience through three Latin pericopes and their Hungarian translations, although he did not mention them among the sources. In the first quote he stressed that a human has *trust in God and lean not on own understanding* (Proverbs 5:3). Based on the second, every believer had to *wait for the Lord, be strong, and let his*

¹⁶ God.

¹⁷ Cares.

¹⁸ Your.

heart be courageous (Psalm 27:14). Then came a verse from the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, according to which *cursed is the person who trusts in mankind* (Jeremiah 17:5). The sermon was completed with the usual formula *amen* (Rudnay 1833, 7-8).

6. Conclusions

Given that Alexander Rudnay conceived this sermon and delivered it quasi as a student, with the choice of the central theme, the examples and arguments used, emotional coloring, the realization of his own individual, the importance of focusing on spiritual values, the challenge not to sin again, by reconciling or finally unraveling the outlined issue, could have had a sophisticated and systematic effect on the recipient at the time, but also on the current reader. Rudnay's census, knowledge of the Bible, adherence to scholastic principles, and the use of a large number of pericopes can testify to his conscientiousness and dexterity at the very beginning of his education. The sermon does not lack references to the Old Testament Book of Exodus, the Book of the Prophet Isaiah, the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, the Book of Psalms, the Gospel of Mark, the Gospel of Matthew and the Letters of St. Paul. We should not forget the linguistic diversity of his text either. The four-language discipline probably only depicts his orientation in the linguistic area and the multiethnic character of Hungary in the 18th and 19th centuries. At that time, national tendencies gradually emerged and intensified, whether in the spirit of the effort to codify national language variants, to elevate German to the level of the official language or to try to push Latin into the background. From the point of view of Rudnay's Slovak origin, what he boldly presented at some important events, but also from the point of view of research or establishment of Slovak and its variants in the time horizon of the 18th and 19th centuries, it will certainly be beneficial to focus not only on austere calculation acts or activities of important Slovak actors in modern Hungary, but if their work in the mirror of archival holdings and published editions of sources allows, also on their disciplinary work. It can appropriately depict the Central European context of disciplinary work in 18th and 19th centuries and especially the devotion of priests to believers or communication with them through appropriately chosen text and the charismatic expression of a priestly person.

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APPENDIX

Transcript of Alexander Rudnay's sermon from 1778 based on the work *Kázne príhodné...*

Concio pro Dominica VI. post Pentecosten, dicta Tyrnaviae in Seminario S. Stephani 1778.

Misereor super Turbam, quia ecce jam triduo sustinent me, nec habent, quod manducent. Marc. 8. v. 2.

Ich habe Mitleid mit dem Volke, weil dasselbe schon drey Tage bey mir ausharret, und nichts zu essen hat.

Indeme ich die Wunderthat, die mir in dem heutigen Evangelium vernommen haben, erwäge, sehe ich aus derselben besonders drey göttliche Eigenschaften in unserm Herrn und Heilande hervorleuchten: die eine in seinem Herzen, die zweyte in seinem Augen, und die dritte in seinen Händen. In seinem liebevollen Herzen erblickte ich die grenzenloseste Güte; in seinem weit hinsehenden Augen die allerwiseste Vorsicht; und in seinen reichen Händen die uneingeschränkste Allmacht. „Miserior super Turbam“ ich habe Mitleid mit dem Volke – sprach der erbarmende Heiland – weil dasselbe schon drey Tage bey mir ausharret, und nichts zu essen hat. Wenn ich sie hungrig nach Hause entlasse, unterliegen sie auf dem Wege. Hieraus fragte er seine Jünger: wie viel Brode habt ihr? Sie antworteten: sieben. Da nahm er die sieben Brode, sagte Dank, brach, und vermehrte sie dergestalt, daß alle gesättiget, und noch zwölf Körbe mit übergebliebenen Stücklein angefüllet wurden.

O süße, und rührende Worte! wie auffallend leuchten aus euch jene drey göttlichen Eigenschaften Hervor: die Güte nemlich, die Vorlicht, und die Allmacht. „Miserior super Turbam“ ich habe Mitleid mit dem Volke; das war die Güte in dem Herzen Jesu Christi. Das sorgsame Umhersehen, und Fragen: quot panes habetis? wie viel brode habt ihr? das war die Vorsicht in seinen Augen. „Accepit panes, gratias egit, et fregit“ er nahm die Brode, sagte Dank, brach, und vermehrte dieselben dermaßen, daß 4000 Menschen gesättiget worden sind; das war die Allmacht in seinen Händen. Alle drey, so wie überhaupt auch die anderen göttlichen Eigenschaften, sind insonders dahin gerichtet, daß der menschlichen Schwäche, und Nothdurft auf das gütigste, auf das vorlichtigste, und auf das mächtigste beygesprungen, und abgeholfen werden. Und in der That, sah' wohl je die Welt seit ihrem Anbeginn irgend eine menschliche Noth, der das göttliche Herz durch Güte nicht abzuhelfen gewollt hätte? – der die göttlichen Augen durch Vorlicht nicht abzuhelfen gewußt, oder der die göttlichen Hände durch Allmacht nicht abzuhelfen vermocht hätten? Nein: nicht eine einzige Noth gab es, und wird auch hinführo keine zu finden seyn, der von Seite Gottes nicht abzuhelfen wäre, sofern nur der Güte, der Vorsicht, und der Allmacht Gottes von Seite des Menschen durch zaghaftes Mißtrauen, oder andere Untugenden kein Hinderniß in den Weg gelegt wird. Aus diesem habt ihr nun den Endzweck meiner Rede satsam vernehmen können, den ich dadurch an den Tag lege, wenn ich erkläre: welch eine große, und unablässige Sorgfalt, unser göttliche Heiland über uns trage, und dieß wird der erste Theil seyn. Aus dem zweyten Theile aber werdet ihr lernen, was für ein Vertrauen wir gegen unsern göttlichen Heiland haben sollen, und worin dieses Vertrauen bestehe. Beyde Theile zielen dahin, daß, da es Gott seinerseits nicht ermangeln läßt für unser Wohl und Heil jederzeit zu sorgen, desgleichen auch wir nicht ermangeln sollen, auf seine göttliche Vorsehung zu vertrauen. Während ich euch dieses vortrage, vernehmt mich mit Geduld.

Prvá Stránka.

Gak weliku Starosť, gak otcowsku Opatrnosť má na ľudské Pokoleňi nagwissí Boh, abich iné daleké Příklady, s kterich sa tato Wec wiswetliť, a preukázat' može, zanechal: z džesnég swatég Ewandelie naglepseg winauciť sa možeme Nagmilegsí! Widíce Kristus Géziš Spasitel náš Lud hladní, uš celé tri Dňi geho ustawične očuwagici, Lútosť mal, rekel Učedelńikom swím: „Lútosť mám nad Zástupom, nebo hľe uš za tri Dňi trwagú se mnú, a nemagú čo bi gedli: a rozpustim ľi gích lačních do Domow gegich, ustanú na Ceste.“ O newipowedaná Starosť Kristowá! widel Potrebu Ludí tich, ktorí ho nasledowali Kristus Géziš, ano i hnedki sedem Chlebow zaopatril, s krerími štiri Tísíc Hladních nasitil: widí on ai naše Potrebi, widí ai naše Psoti Krestáne! a preto úfať možeme, že ai nás neopustí. Widel sem, mluwi sama wečná Prawda 1) Trápeňi Ludu mogého, a wedíce Bolest' geho, zešel sem, abich ho wislobodil z Ruk Ediptskich. – O gak bi sme blahoslaweni boľi, gak bi sme uspokogené cítili Swedomi naše, keď bi sme tito Slowa rozumeli, k Srdcu dopustili, Nagmilegsí! werili bi sme tofišto, a silne bi sme werili, že čokoľwek sa stane na temto Sweťe, to wšeccko widí Otec nebeski: že widí naše Práce, naše Súžeňi, naše Prosbí, a preto može, a chce, čokoľwek nám potrebné ge, zaopatriť; wi Otec wáš nebeski, že wšeccki ti Weci wám potrebné sú; 2) ano ne ľen wí, ne ľen widí, ale ai Bolesti, naše Potrebi, naše Psoti, naše Súžeňi ho naklonugú.

Sú tég Običage nekterí, bodag ne mnohí Krestáne, že čím náhle Boh nagwissí gích z wolagakú Nemocú, aneb Neščastím, Psotú, aneb Trápeňim nawštiwiť ráci, hnedli od Cesti predeslég odstúpiť, Bohu swému sa ruhať, geho Moc, geho Starosť, a otcowsku Opatrnosť za nišť pokládať, Slowem: na Příklad Pohanow druhého sebe Boha, budto ne Skutkem, ale z Mislú, a Srdcem učiňiť sa opowažugú; sú, powedám takí, ktorí zwolať sa neobáwagú, 3) zapomenul Boh, odwrátil Twár swogu. Slišťe wčul samu wečnu Prawdu, Krestáne, kterich tak krátké Súžeňi od Boha swého odwrátiť, čo sa nazdáwáš Čloweče! zdáliš može zapomenuť Žena nad Nemluwnátkom swim, abi sa nezlutowaal nad Sinom Žiwota swého? 4) a gestli bi ona zapomenula, gá wšak nezapomenem na teba. Tak ge, nezabudne na nás milostíwí Pán, starostliwí Otec, wšemohúci Boh, nebo Bídi naše k Lútosťi ho naklonugú: nasledowne na nás zabudnuť, na nás milosrdním Okem nepohlédnuť, tak dobrotiwému otci nemožné ge; a preto čokoľwek nám potrebné ge, plně, a dokonále nám zaopatriť, gako ai džesná swatá Ewandelia swedši, s kterég sa winaucugeme, že 4000 Ludu ze sédmi Chlebi Spasitel náš Kristus Géziš nasitiť ráčil. Zaisťe tu zwolať možem s korunowaním Prorokom Dáwidom: 5) neňi Nedostatku bogícim sa ho; to gest: neňi sú chudobni Boha sa bogíci. Neb prawím wám, pohlédnite na Ptáctwo nebeské, poňewáč nesegú, nežnú, aňi do Stodol neznášagú, a predca Otec wáš nebeski pase gích: gak o mnoho sťe wi wzácnegsi Otcu nebeskému od nich.

Starostliwu Opatrnosť, kteru má na ľudské Pokoleňi nagwissí Boh, poňewáč widí naše Potrebi, má nad nami Lútosť, na nás zabudnuť nemože, a čokoľwek nám potrebné ge, uplně zaopatriť žádá; starostliwu, powedám, Opatrnosť Otca nebeského podla mogého Domneňá uš sťe wirozumeť mohli Nagmilegsí! čo tehda inšé Potreba ge, gak abich wám predložil, gaké Ufaňi, a gaku Dúfanliwosť máme mať w tégto geho Starosťi, a Opatrnosťi; a toto wiswetli

Druhá Stránka.

Gakokoľwek Plawci na Mori postawení magú istu Hwezdu, na kteru bedliwe pozorugú, abi od Cesti, kteru pred seba wzali, nezablúdiť: tak ai mi we wšecckich našich Potrebách gedine k Otcu nebeskému Oči pozdwhnuť, k nemu sa utikať, a w nem gedine úfať máme, gestli od Cesti Spaseňá poblúdiť nechceme. A zaisťe w Kristu zhromáždeni poslucháči tak ge: nebo howori Geremiáš Prorok 6) požehnani Muž, který úfa w Pánu, a budě Pán Ufaňi geho. A zaisťe ne bez Pričini on toto powedá, nebo keď Otec nebeski Krkawcow, Wrabcow, a iné Ptáctwo, od kterého žádnú Chwálu, aneb Poďakowáňi úfať nemá, pase: keď na Havranow zabudnuť nemože, gako, prosim, poweděť,

dá zahinuť Člowekowi w sebe úfagicému, kterého na Obraz swog stworit' ráčil? pre kterého newipowedané Trápeňi, ukrutné Muki, horkú Smrt' na Drewe Kríži podstúpil? Kterého pri Krstě swatém poswatil? kterého andelským Chlebom krmí, kterému swoge vlastné Ťelo a Krw dáwá. W kom teda úfať máme Krestřane! nežli w Bohu všemohúcém, keď podla Swedectwa Písma swatého: blahoslawení, a požehnaní ge Člowek ten, který úfa w Pánu.

Ale buďe sa mňa nekdo tu s přítomních Poslucháčow pítat: w čom toto Ufaňi záleží? a gá odpowedám takému, že ne w iném, gak abi sme očekáwali od Boha ponagprw Statki časné, to gest: abi sme sa, dokád žigeme, o ništ nestarali, ale abi sme všecké naše Potřebi a Starosti na Boha zwerili, který widí naše Bídi, a které ho k Lútosti naklonugú. Preto 7) nepečugťe, rikagíce: čo budeme gest, anebo čo budeme piť, anebo čím sa budeme odiwať, nebo to všeccko Pohane hledagú. Mi Krestřane to Žalmistu wzdicki w Misli magme: nechag na Pána Starosť twogu, a on ťa wichowá. 8) Podruhe: ai na tom záleží Ufaňi naše naproti Otcí nebeskému, abi sme očekáwali Statki duchowné, to gest: Milosti, které nám w Stawe Žiwota sú weľmi potřebné: nebo ne ľen samím Chlebom žiw ge Člowek 9) ale každím Slowem, které pochádzá z Ust bozkích. – Ale powí snad zas druhí: gako gá časné, a gako duchowné od Boha očekáwať možem? gaké Ufaňi w tom mať budem, které ho sem gá toľkokrát obrazil? kterého tak mnohými Hříchami znowu sem ukřížowal? kterému toľké Trápeňi, a toľké Bolesti sem spósobil? Zaište o Čloweče hříšni! máš sa čoho obáwať, kterého Nepráwosti Počet Wlasow Hlawi twég přewišili. Ale predca úfag w Pánu, obrát' sa k Pánu Bohu twému, uš nehřeš wiceg. Prawda sice ge, že si neskončenu Dobrotu obrazil, ale ai neskončené ge Milosrdestwi geho, nebo písané stogí: který na Milosť prigal Hříšnika, gako zatratí Pobožného? Ne ľen časné, ne ľen duchowné Statki očekáwať máme od Boha Nagmilegší! ale ai wečné; to gest: Statki wečného Radosti, nebo samá wečná Prawda nám toto zaslúbila, která gako sklamaná bit nemože, tak ai sklamať nás nechce. Zwolagme tehda Krestřane milí ze swatím Pawlom: wím, komu sem weril Pane! a istí sem, že možeš wiplniť, čo si zaslúbil.

1) Exod. cap. 3. v. 7. 2) Matth. 6. v. 32. 3) Psal. 10. v. 11. 4) Isa. 49. v. 15. 5) Psal. 33. v. 10.¹⁹ 6) Jerem. 17. v. 7. 7) Matth. 7. v. 31.²⁰ 8) Psal. 54. v. 23.²¹ 9) Matth. 4. v. 4.

Záwirka

Ha tehát olly véghetetlen irgalmasságú az Isten, kiben egyedül minden gondunkat és reménységünket helyheztehetjük; vallyon ki leszen köztünk olly kemény, 's meg átalkodott szivü, a' ki hozzá, ugymint Kegyes Attjához, igaz fiú buzgósággal ne folyamodna? ki leszen olly háladatlan, a' ki ötet szerencsés dolgainak bé-folyásában, mint leg felségesebb Urát és Jóltevőit ne ditsöitené, és ne magasztalna? Ellenben pedig egy tsekély inségben ötet megvetni, töle el távozni, és mint egy boszszú állásból másut oltalmat keresni merészelne? – Ö egyedül minden nyomorúságunkat, és bal sorsunkat tölönk el hárihat, 's egyszer'smint nem csak a' lelki örökké tartandó jókban, de ha az Üdvességünk kívánja, a' földiekben is minket részeséthet. – Hogy ezen reménységünket annál jobban szivünkben nevelné, haljátok mit mond a' Bölcsnél: *Habe fiduciam in Domino, et ne innitaris prudentiae tuae*. Légyen bizodalmad úgy mond az Úrban, és ne bizd el magadat okosságodban.

Hogy ha pedig egy üdeig minket sanyargat, és ellenkező sorsal meg látogat, ne tsüggedjünk el sziveinkben, hanem annál jobban ö hozzá, mint irgalmasság' kútfejéhez ragaszkodjunk. Önn

¹⁹ The source is wrong, this verse is found in chapter 34 of the Book of Psalms.

²⁰ The source is wrong, this verse is found in the 6th chapter of Matthew's Gospel.

²¹ The source is wrong, this passage is found in chapter 55 of the Book of Psalms, in English translations of Bible under verse 22, in Slovak and Hungarian translations of Bible under verse 23.

maga szólít meg ekképpen bennünket: *Exspecta Dominum, viriliter age, et confortetur Cor tuum*, várjad az Urat, férjfiassan tselekedj, és erősüljön meg a' te szived. Várjuk tehát mi is ötet; és reménységünket nem emberben, nem teremtett állatban, hanem Ő benne egyedül helyeztessük; *Quia maledictus homo, qui confidit in homine*. Mert átkozott az ember, a' ki emberben bizakodik. Amen.

A translation of Alexander Rudnay's sermon from 1778 based on the work *Kázne príhodné...*

Sermon for Sixth Sunday after Pentecost, presented in the Seminar of St. Stephen in Trnava in 1778.

Misereor super Turbam, quia ecce jam triduo sustinent me, nec habent, quod manducent. Marc. 8. v. 2.

I sympathize with people because they have been with me for three days and have nothing to eat.

While I have evaluated the miraculous work I have heard in today's Gospel, I see in it above all three divine qualities that shine in our Lord and Savior: the first in his heart, the second in his eyes, and the third in his hands. In his loving heart I saw unlimited goodness; extraordinary prudence in his wide looking eyes; and in his rich hands unlimited omnipotence. „Misereor super Turbam“, I sympathize with people – the merciful Savior said – because they have been with me for three days and have nothing to eat. If I send them home hungry, they will fall along the way. Here he asked his disciples, “How much bread do you have?” They answered: seven. So he took seven loaves, gave thanks, broke them, and multiplied them in such a way that they were all full, and twelve baskets were filled with the remaining pieces.

Oh, sweet and impressive words! How conspicuously of you shine those three divine qualities: namely, goodness, light, and omnipotence. “Misereor super Turbam”, I sympathize with people; it was goodness in the heart of Jesus Christ. Careful looking around and the question: quot panes habetis? How much bread do you have? That was the light in his eyes. “Accipit panes, gratias egit, et fregit.” He took bread, expressed gratitude, broke the loaves and multiplied them in such a way that 4,000 people were satiated; it was omnipotence in his hands. All three, as well as other divine qualities in general, are focused primarily on being as helpful as possible to human weaknesses and needs, as radiant as possible, and as powerful and corrective as possible. And in fact, has there ever been a human need in the world since its inception that this divine heart did not want to remove through benevolence? - which divine eyes could not remove through the light or which divine hands could not remove through omnipotence? No: there was not a single need, nor will there be any more found that would not be removed by God, as long as the goodness, light, and omnipotence of God are not hindered by humans, through depressed distrust or other bad habits. From this, therefore, you were able to fully understand the ultimate goal of my speech, which I am giving to this day when I explain: what great and continual care our divine Savior brings among us, and this will be the first part. From the second part, however, you will learn how much confidence we should have in our divine Savior and what that trust is. Both parts focus on the fact that while God, from his side, never leaves care for our well-being and salvation, neither should we lose trust in his divine providence. While I am lecturing this to you, listen to me with patience.

First page

What a great concern, what paternal caution the Supreme God has over the human race, to leave other distant examples from which this thing can be explained and proved: the best we can learn from today's Holy Gospel, my dearest! You see, Jesus Christ the Savior over our hungry people, who had been hearing him for three days, showed remorse, said to his disciples: "I feel sorry for the crowd, because they have been here with me for three days and have nothing to eat: and if I send them hungry to their homes, they shall fall on the way. O unspoken worry of Christ! Jesus Christ saw the need of those who followed him, and at that moment he provided seven loaves, with which he fed four thousand hungry ones: he also sees our needs, he also sees our misery, Christians! And so we can hope that he will not leave us either. I have seen, speaking eternal truth (1), the affliction of my people, and you see their sorrow, he came down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians. – Oh, how blessed we would be, how satisfying our conscience would be if we understood these words, admitted them to the heart, my dearest! We would believe, and we would strongly believe, that whatever happens in this world, all heavenly Father sees: that he sees our efforts, our afflictions, our pleas, and therefore he can and wants to provide us with whatever is necessary for us; your heavenly Father knows all those things are necessary for you; 2) yes, not only does he know, he not only sees, but he is also inclined²² to our pain, our needs, our poverty, our afflictions.

There are also some customs, if not belonging to several Christians, that as soon as their supreme God wants to visit with some sickness or misfortune, poverty or suffering, they immediately descend from the previous path, blaspheme their God, consider his power, worry and paternal care to be nothing, with words: in the manner of the pagans, they dare, if not by deed, then in mind and heart, to procure another god; they are, I say, those who are not afraid to declare 3) God forgot, he turned his face away. Hear you now the everlasting truth, Christians whom such a short tribulation will turn away from your God, what do you think! And can a woman forget about her infant, not to feel compassion for the son²³ of her life? (4) And if she forgets, I won't forget you. Thus it is, the merciful Lord, the caring Father, the almighty God, will not forget us, for regret will bring him to our misery: it is not possible for such a benevolent Father to forget us, not to look at us with a merciful eye; and therefore whatever is necessary for us, he will provide us with fullness and perfection, as evidenced by today's Holy Gospel, that our Savior Jesus Christ was willing to feed 4,000 people with seven loaves. I can certainly call here together with the crowned prophet David: 5) nothing is lacking for those who fear him; it means: those who fear God are not poor. For I say unto you, take heed to the birds in the sky, that they may not sow, or reap, nor bring into the barn, and yet your heavenly Father feeds them: and how much more precious are you to the heavenly Father?

The supreme God is cares after the human race, because he sees our needs, he has pity for us, he cannot forget us, and he asks for whatever we need to fully provide for us; to the caring, I say, caution of the Father of heaven, you may have already understood in my opinion, my dearest! So what's next for me to present to you, what expectation and what hope we should have in this concern and caution; it will be explained by the

²² In the sense that he registers the named negatives and empathizes with people.

²³ Child.

Second page

Sailors placed anywhere on the sea have a certain star, which they follow closely so as not to get lost on the path they have set out in front of them: so we, in all our needs, lift up our eyes unto the heavenly Father, and flee unto him, and hope only in him, if we do not depart from the way of salvation. And surely it is so, an assembled hearer in Christ: because the prophet Jeremiah speaks 6) blessed is the man that trusts in God, and whose trust God is. And certainly he does not say this for no reason, when the heavenly Father feeds ravens, sparrows, and other birds from which he cannot expect any praise or thanksgiving: if he cannot forget the ravens, please tell me, how he would abandon the human who believes in him, whom he wanted to create in his image? For whom did he undergo unspoken affliction, cruel torment, bitter death on a wooden cross? Whom did he consecrate at Holy Baptism? Whom he feeds on angelic bread, to whom he gives his own Body and Blood. So in whom should we have hope, Christians if not in almighty God, when according to the testimony of Scripture: blessed is the man who trusts the Lord.

But someone from the audience here may ask me: what is this hope? And I respond that first we may expect secular goods from God first, it means: that, while we live, we should not care for anything, but that we may entrust all our needs and worries to God who sees our need. Therefore (7), do not worry, saying: what we will eat, or what we will drink, or what we will wear, because this is the way of the pagans. We Christians always have in mind the words of psalmist: cast your worries on the Lord and he will sustain you. 8) Secondly: our faith in heavenly Father also lies in expecting spiritual goods, which means: the graces that are very much needed in our state of life: because man shall not live on bread alone (9), but on every word that comes from the mouth of God. – But perhaps the other will say again: what secular and what spiritual can I expect from God? What faith will I have in him, whom I have hurt so many times? Whom have I crucified again with so many sins? To whom have I caused so much anguish and so much pain? Surely, Oh, sinful man! You have something to worry about, whose wrongs have exceeded the number of hairs on your head. But still believe in the Lord, turn to your Lord and no longer sin. It is true that you have offended infinite goodness, but his mercy is infinite too, it is written: who has received the sinner at his mercy, how will he destroy the pious? Not just secular, not just spiritual goods we should expect from God, my dearest! But also eternal, it means: eternal joy, because the eternal truth itself promised us that, as it cannot be disappointed, it does not even want to disappoint us. Let us therefore call, dear Christians, with St. Paul: I know whom I trusted, Lord! And I am sure you can fulfill what you promised.

1) (Exodus 3:7), 2) (Matthew 6:32), 3) (Psalm 10:11), 4) (Isaiah 49:15), 5) (Psalm 33:10) / correctly (Psalm 34:10), 6) (Jeremiah 17:7), 7) (Matthew 7:31) / correctly (Matthew 6:31), 8) (Psalm 54:23) / correctly (Psalm 55:22), 9) (Matthew 4:4).

Conclusion

If God is so infinitely merciful, that to him we can trust all our afflictions and hopes; who among us will be so strong and with such an incorrigible heart that he will not turn to him as to the merciful Father with true youthful zeal? Who would be so ungrateful, who would not bless and glorify him under the influence of his fortunate things, as the most venerable Lord and Benefactor? On the contrary, would he deny him in a slight misery, leave him, and, as if out of revenge, dare to seek protection elsewhere? – He alone can avert all our poverty and unhappiness from us, and at the same time provide not only eternally lasting spiritual values, but, if our salvation so requires, also secular ones. – To squeeze this hope even better into our hearts, listen to what is said by the

prophet: *Habe fiduciam in Domino, et ne innitaris prudentiae tuae*. Have confidence in the Lord and do not lean on your own understanding.

And if he torments us for a while and visits us with the opposite fate, let us not fall in our hearts, but even more we shall cling to him as to the head of mercy. He himself addresses us as follows: *Exspecta Dominum, viriliter age, et confortetur Cor tuum*, wait for the Lord, be strong, and let your heart be courageous. So let us also expect him; and let us put our hope not in man, not in the created animal, but only in him; *Quia maledictus homo, qui confidit in homine*. Because cursed is the person who trusts in mankind. Amen.