



Sermons as a Formation of Ethical Behavior of Man in the Second Half of the 18th Century, Based on the Example of Sermons by Dominik Mokoš OFM (1718-1776)

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Abstract: Dominik Mokoš (1718-22.12.1776) was a Franciscan monk and religious writer who also acted as preacher, vicar, teacher and chronicler in the second half of the 18th century in various regions of Slovakia (such as Nižná Šebastová, Stropkov, Kremnica, Pruské, Okoličné, Beckov) or as a missionary in various areas of Šariš, Spiš, Orava and Poland. He was one of the most prolific authors of homiletic literature in the second half of the 18th century in Slovakia. In his Marian, Christmas and lenten preaching, we can identify intertextual references to the Bible, patristic, medieval and humanist religious literature. This study focuses on how these sources were used by Mokoš to draft his sermons and how he applied their moral tidings to the particular situations that the believers in the 18th century were facing.

Keywords: Dominik Mokoš OFM; sermons; 18th century; morality; practical ethics

Alongside spiritual poetry, prayer and school play, homily (or sermon) was one of the basic genres of spiritual baroque literature. Although sermons in the native language that focused on explication of biblical text were a specific means of communication for Christian churches², manuscripts and printed homilies still belong to underappreciated evidence of our spiritual culture.

Since the time of the apostles, preaching the gospel was one of the main commitments of bishops, but the Council of Trent (1545-1563) proclaimed

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² See E. Brtánová, *Stredoveká scholastická kázeň*, Bratislava 2000.

spreading the Word of God a special duty to the monks and priests and also defined the form and content of the religious narrative³. For a simple baroque man, sermons were the only educational element (although only in oral form), that was delivered frequently and regularly⁴. During this period, which was also demanding socio-politically (Thirty Years' War, Turkish invasions, religious unrest), people started to turn to God once again and seek spiritual reinforcement in faith, regularly attending church and eagerly receiving God's Word.

Preachers became aware of their power as they directed their efforts on people's spiritual conversion. Appropriately worded sermon could affect whole crowds of people, therefore also the public opinion at the time. Already early in the 17th century, preachers were gradually abandoning the so-called homilies that primarily interpreted the Gospels, or parts of them, but were often long and dull. Instead, they attempted to liven up their speeches in a variety of ways to attract the audience's interest and to keep their attention throughout the sermon. Thus they began to use various allegories, metaphors, unusual verbal twists and proverbs, folk language, or, conversely, a combination of the vernacular with Latin quotations inserted, and many other rhetorical figures. Engaging the audience was very important because only then could the sermons fulfill their primary function of influencing the minds and opinions of the recipients, educating the simple people, instilling the desirable moral principles, and helping the believers on their spiritual journey to salvation. The priest was not only trying to bring man closer to God, but also bring God closer to man. The theological function of homilies stood always first and foremost, but the literary and aesthetic efforts of the preachers and their desire for sermons' originality and extraordinariness began to appear very soon. The homilies had different form and function depending on the occasion. Sunday sermons were focused mostly on lecturing and persuasion – they were regular in frequency and interconnected, one linked to the next just like the Gospel readings during the liturgical year, and their educative character graduated. On the contrary, preaching on various other occasions, celebrations and special festivities, left much more space for the use of author's talent and creativity. In early modern times, so-called examples are still used, as a remnant of typical medieval homiletics. The term 'exemplum' denotes a secular story used within a sermon to illustrate a preacher's point, revive the speech or catch

³ See R. Zuber, *Osudy moravské církve v 18. století*, Praha 1987.

⁴ See M. Sládek, *Malý svět jest člověk aneb výbor z české barokní prózy*, Praha 1995.

the attention of the audience. The examples could have ancient, medieval, renaissance or topical origins.

The Franciscans came to our region just a few years after the foundation and approval of their order (1223) and acted as religious shepherds and preachers; besides pastoral care for the townspeople, preaching was their focal point. Through their missionary activity and preaching they have been taking care of the lower classes of the population, but their primary task, as for any Catholic order, was to strengthen the Catholic Church⁵. Initially, they acted against the heretical movements, especially among urban poverty, and later, in co-operation with the Jesuits, they were the most effective at recatholization, quoting the usage of sermons as the most powerful weapon⁶. Especially during Counter-Reformation, these were often written in everyday language. The Franciscans' success was related to the fact that in their activity evangelism and catechism prevailed over contemplation, and they used the spoken word as a convincing means of influence. On the other hand, in many cases they were better prepared for their work than the diocesan clergy⁷.

One of the representatives of the Franciscan Order in Slovakia was Dominik Mokoš (1718-22 December 1776), a religious writer who also acted as preacher, vicar (representative of the superior), bursar, teacher of his brethren and laymen and chronicler in the second half of 18th century in various regions (e.g. Nižná Šebastová, Stropkov, Kremnica, Pruské, Okoličné, Beckov), as a missionary in various regions of Šariš, Spiš, Orava and Poland. In 1738 he joined the Franciscan Order in Hlohovec and received the monastic name Dominik, but we do not know his real first name. He studied philosophy and theology probably in Okoličné and Szeged. He was ordained a priest in 1744. His main function was preaching – he was one of

⁵ See K. Komorová, *Františkánska knižnica v Matici slovenskej [Franciscan Library in Matica slovenská]*, „Knižnice a informácie“ 32/3 (2000) p. 101-106; K. Komorová – H. Saktorová, *Die Franziskanerbibliotheken in der Buchkulturgeschichte in der Slowakei*, in: *Plaude turba paupercula: Franziskanischer Geist in Musik, Literatur und Kunst*, ed. L. Kačic, Bratislava 2004, p. 307-314.

⁶ See M. Fórišová, *Náboženská literatúra a v zbierkach jezuitských knižníc na Slovensku*, in: *Slovenská latinská a cirkevnoslovanská náboženská tvorba 15.-19. storočia*, ed. J. Doruľa, Bratislava 2002, p. 212-228.

⁷ See J. Kłoczowski, *Problem mendykantów i kaznodziejstwa w Polsce średniowiecznej*, in: *Ludzie, Kościół, wierzenia: Studia z dziejów kultury i społeczeństwa Europy Środkowej*, Warszawa 2001, p. 146-147; W. Kowalski, *Małopolscy Franciszkanie – reformaci a konwersje na katolicyzm w dobie przedrozbiorowej*, in: *Ludzie, Kościół, wierzenia: Studia z dziejów kultury i społeczeństwa Europy Środkowej*, ed. S.K. Kuczyński – W. Iwańczak, Warszawa 2001, p. 151-172.

the most prolific Slovak authors of homiletic literature in the second half of the 18th century. Between 1752-1774, six volumes of his Sunday, Christmas, eschatological and missionary homilies⁸ were preserved under the name *Sermones panegyrico-morales*. His work can be studied from several aspects, as proved by not only Analysis I. (1758), Analysis II. (1758) and Analysis IV. (1749) volumes, from this collection of sermons from 1749-1758 but by other documents related to Mokoš's activity as a preacher, found in the Department of Literary Manuscripts of the Archive of Literature and Art in the Slovak National Library in Martin⁹.

Apart from the linguistic or literary analysis of Mokoš's sermons, their ethical and aesthetic dimension is no less interesting. The analysis Mokoš's homilies shows that this educated priest and skilful preacher, like many other preachers, was not rarely a compiler using biblical, ancient and medieval materials for his preaching. The sermons preserved under his name were a written basis for a live presentation of the author, thus reflecting the actual state of language in the mid-18th century. However, these are bilingual, Slovak-Latin documents, meaning that the basic Slovak text is enriched by Latin sequences, which consist mostly of individual quotations or groups of quotations drawn from different sources. Exactly these quotational passages grant the sermons their aesthetic dimension; on the other hand, they are a clue helping us trace what sources the author relied upon in forming his moral and ethical code, and what view of Christian morality and behaviour has Mokoš tried to mediate and instil in his listeners.

The potential of a multi-layered effect on the psyche of the believers gave the sermons a special position as a means of communication between the preacher and his auditorium. A good sermon was a response to the non-material desires of man, explaining to him the essence and rules of functioning of his inner world and society as a whole; the sermon could, if necessary, console, encourage, strengthen faith, give determination and courage to change one's life attitudes. The preacher would need to show his interest and knowledge of the subject as well as manifest the art of choosing the right examples and arguments. All the means of attracting the listeners had to be used, but it was inadmissible to overload their attention with references, hints and allusions to symbols, pictures, stories, reflections and

⁸ See Mokoš, *Dominik*, in: *Slovenský biografický slovník*, IV 211.

⁹ Archival research from the collection of manuscripts of historical libraries (RHKS) was elaborated by: Karin Šišmišová 19.11.2009. The used documents are marked as: 155 (personal assets of V.J. Gajdoš).

texts that they did not understand. It was also unacceptable for the preacher to suppress the message by flaunting his own education, eloquence and intellect. At first glance, it seems as if Mokoš violated almost all the rules above. The persuasive force of his sermons and the real possibility of influencing the individual layers of the baroque psyche can be explained by the fact that many features typical for medieval artistic methods have been transferred to the humanist and even baroque literature¹⁰ Based on numerous quotes and references we can assume that Mokoš's homilies followed the pattern of scholastic medieval sermons.

Notes from Mokoš's lectures, accounts on sacraments, Ten Commandments, virtues, justice and fairness also support the claim of late scholastic (or so-called Scotist) influence on Mokoš's sermon creation and on his moral-philosophical attitudes. This is grounded in work of a medieval scholar John Duns Scotus from 1732 and compiled under the name *Theologiae moralis juxta mentem Ioannis Duns Scoti. Pars secunda*, which was found among Mokoš's manuscripts. We assume there was also a '*Pars prima*', consisting of lectures from the time around Mokoš's studies.

The extensive work (26 volumes) of the Franciscan monk of Scottish descent, a prominent representative of the late medieval scholasticism, a philosopher and theologian, Oxford University and Paris university professor John Duns Scotus (1265/1266, Duns, Scotland – 1308, Cologne) comprises of unfinished manuscripts, notes and lecture records that were originally probably not intended for publication. Even though Scotus's teaching, also known as Scotism¹¹ became part of the official Franciscan doctrine, the first edition of his complete works was only released in Lyon in 1639.

Already the title of the analysed volumes of Mokoš's sermons suggests what type of text is discussed or what he wanted to emulate; *Sermones panegyrico-morales*¹². The medieval sermon synthetically linked Biblical statements. The theme could be explicitly or implicitly derived from the pericopes – selected parts of the Gospels and epistles read during the mass, or it could be any verse from the Scriptures or a section from a psalm.

¹⁰ See J. Minárik, *Stredoveká literatúra: svetová – česká– slovenská*, Bratislava 1977.

¹¹ E. Kuťáková – A. Vidmanová, *Iohannes Duns Scotus, Slovník latinských spisovatelů*, p. 337-339.

¹² Manuscript in private possession. Photocopies are kept in the Linguistic institute of Ľudovít Štúr in Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava, pressmark 39 a-d., I., II. and IV. volume, 211, 209 and 262 p.

Despite some formal requirements, it offered the author a relatively wide scope for adapting the topic¹³.

Since the Middle Ages, the Catholic Church has attributed undeniable authority to Patristic Literature – a summary of works of Christian church fathers, who developed the foundations of Church dogma, Christian theology and philosophy between 2nd-8th century. During the Reformation, and especially at the beginning of the recatholicization, the contemplations of the church fathers related to the questions of practical philosophy, morality, ethics and apologia, gained a new dimension, with roots extending to the period of blossoming patristics in the 4th century.

In addition to the biblical pericopes and quotes, numerous passages in Mokoš's sermons are quoted from sources other than biblical books. The author of the homily used excerpts from the Holy Bible supplemented by several quotes from the works of church fathers as evidence or confirmation of the fact that the presented context relies on some higher authority. The source of these quotations are most frequently the biographies of saints and the writings of the great church writers (*patres ecclesiastici*) at the turn of the 5th century. Catholic preachers quoted the Church Fathers also because the positions recorded in their works were confirmed the Church's accepted dogmas and supported the established liturgical practice. Among the most quoted patristic authors in Mokoš's sermons one finds Saint Augustine, Bede the Venerable, the apologist Origen, and one of the best speakers of his time, John Chrysostom, but also bishops Hilarius, Ambrose, Cyprian, Eusebius and Basil the Great – the bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia. From the representatives of the Eastern Church, Mokoš focused on the Byzantine monk and the author of the philosophical and dogmatic works, Saint John of Damascus, or the ascetic martyr, Peter of Damascus, the author of sermons, spiritual scripts and interpretations of the Gospel. Mokoš also quoted popes – Gregor the Great and Leo the Great. The excerpts from patristic literature have been largely complemented by the passages selected from saints' biographies, namely Jerome, Thaddaeus, Hippolytus and others. From the following period of early Middle Ages, he focused mainly on Anselm of Canterbury, Abelard, his contemporary and ideological competitor Bernard of Clairvaux, and the representative of the Franciscan order, Saint Bonaventure.

¹³ Brtánová, *Stredoveká scholastická kázeň*, p. 52-53; See E. Brtánová, *Biblický text a stredoveká homiletická tvorba*, in: *Slovenská, latinská a cirkevnoslovenská náboženská tvorba 15.-19. storočia*, ed. J. Doruľa, Bratislava 2002, p. 107-113.

As mentioned above, Mokoš employs texts quoted from the works of the Church Fathers or from biographies of saints – sometimes these are longer passages, sentences or short paragraphs¹⁴, as evidence or confirmation that the presented sermon leans contextually on some higher authority. When he wants to support an idea, highlight a virtue or point out evil, the author includes parts of patristic or hagiographic literature. The character of Mokoš's recommendations corresponds with the teaching of the church and takes the form of annotated or translated quotes from the Bible or patristic literature.

As the time went on, some recommendations and thoughts, frequently used in homilies, led to such popularity due to their accuracy and brevity that they had become universally used without the need to translate them from Latin into vernacular (though some were translated).

Time and human experience of the Church fathers gave rise to sentences highlighting the phenomena and characteristics generally considered to be positive. Admittedly, the sentences also contained negative and immoral cases, which the preacher would condemn. These sentences often have a gnomic nature of briefly expressed wisdom, observed thought or status, a proverb or a saying... In the citations quoted the preacher usually uses them as a guide towards the right life and they usually hold the ethical intention of the homily¹⁵.

The short statements that Mokoš deploys to enrich his sermons include for example: *A soul that sins, dies*¹⁶; *Lord, do not hold this sin against them*¹⁷ or a quote from the Gospel of St. John (10:11) *The good shepherd*

¹⁴ See J. Kamieniecki, *Teksty biblijne i patrystyczne w XVI–XVII wiecznych polemikach religijnych*, „Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis. Slavica Wratislaviensia” 117 (2002) s. 131-135.

¹⁵ In some, but not all, cases, the author of the sermon mentions the source of the used quote directly in the text (usually in the form of short linked sentences). In such a case, we paraphrase it in this study. The author also translates some of the quotes into the vernacular, while others are left untranslated. In this study, we present all (including our own) translations in brackets. The author's translations are often full of pleonasm and other stylistic means to attract the contemporary listener, but in this study, we consider them superfluous, and omit them in translations and paraphrases. Translations of biblical quotations into English (given in parentheses) are drawn from: <https://www.biblica.com/bible/> (accessed: 02.01.2019).

¹⁶ Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* I 98: “Anima quae peccaverit ipsa morietur”.

¹⁷ Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* II 28: “Domine ne statuas illis hoc peccatum”.

lays down his life for his sheep¹⁸, or the idea that Bede the Venerable took up from the 18th chapter of Gospel of John *How many evil ideas man accepts, that many stones he casts at Christ*¹⁹.

Based on the examined handwritten sermons it is palpable that Mokoš as a practical preacher, missionary, a scholar that was ‘doing the ground-work’ among the simple people considered ethics vastly important as part of practical philosophy that treats human behaviour and values, inquires into morale and human actions and norms. The word ethics comes from Greek ethos and translates to habit, opinion, character, mindset. Mokoš’s sermons were targeting these personality components of the audience’s character. His useful recommendations directly influenced a change in behaviour of the faithful.

The basic principle of his ethics and morals was the fact – based in John Duns Scotus’s teaching, that God must be loved; he then deduced all his other principles and recommendations. Only if the man opens to God, if he develops the ability to listen to his voice, which Scotus calls *potentia oboedientialis* (the ability of obedience); only when the man decides to hear God’s Revelation, the Word of God, and when he accepts it, then he can hear the message that will fill his life with light and hope and he’ll become truly free²⁰. As mentioned above, the baroque man has intentionally turned to God and sought refuge in him. Mokoš reacted to the implied desire of man for God, using the allusion of Gregory the Great on Penitential Psalm (Psalm 6): *To whom shall we be entrusted, if not unto Christ? Houses shall be forsaken, and palaces shall collapse, and the cities shall be destroyed, and the towers shall fall, the earth and heaven shall disappear. But the word of the Lord shall stay forever; let us then stay with the one that stays forever*. Hold on to Christ, Mokoš says in his sermon using the words of the Gospel of St. John (15:7). He continues explaining, that we should

¹⁸ Bonus pastor animam suam dat pro ovibus suis. See Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* II 127. Comparison of verses localized by Mokoš shows deviations from the so-called Clementine Vulgate (Vulgata Clementina) named after Pope Clement VIII. and used until this day. Deviations may be due to the inconsistency of the verse and chapter labeling in various issues of the Vulgate conditional on respecting the context or the meaning of the text. See J.D. Douglas, *Nový biblický slovník* (New Bible Dictionary) p. 129.

¹⁹ Quod malas cogitationes homo assumit quasi tot lapides in Christum mittit. See Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* I 219.

²⁰ See M. Chabada, *Zakotvenie etiky v prirodzenom zákone podľa Jána Dunska Scotu*, “Filozofia” 63/3 (2008) p. 240-251.

zealously search for Christ, for his promise is: *If you remain in me and my words remain in you, ask whatever you wish, and it will be done for you*²¹.

Scotus's ethics are based on free will, and he has elaborated on the theme of freedom and its relation to the will and intellect. He teaches that in freedom, as in all else that man is given, he must grow and improve. One moves between the tendency to the pleasant and the tendency to the righteous, between which one decides; but only if he chooses the good and justice, he acts well. In this respect Scotus follows Anselm of Canterbury, whose work and philosophy also belong to the basic inspirational sources of Dominik Mokoš. The will itself is blind, and so decision making necessarily requires reason, but for such a conditioned action we also bear full responsibility, as we are also responsible for the state of our conscience. Mokoš is trying to encourage the believers to maintain pure conscience and innocence, resulting in eternal reward in heaven – using the words of John Chrysostom: *Rejoice innocence, and exult! I tell you, rejoice, because you are intact among the ungodly deeds! In temptations you are growing, you rise in humility, you win in battle and in death you get the crown of immortal glory*²². According to Mokoš (referring to words of Gregory the Great) innocence also implies security, fearlessness and dauntlessness: *Innocence cannot fear. There is no bigger happiness for a simple heart than showing innocence to others, and one doesn't fear that anyone would cause him suffering*²³. He adds another quote referring to Vespasian, the Roman Emperor, who has written about by the highly regarded Constantinopolitan preacher Xiphilinus²⁴: *No one can commit harm to me or disgrace me because*

²¹ Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* II 131: “Ubi mandatum est? Nisi in Christo? Deficient domus palatia corruent, destruentur civitates, turres evellentur, coelum, et terra transibunt, Verbum autem Domini manet in aeternum, maneamus ergo in eo, qui manet in aeternum and Si manseritis in me, et verba mea in vobis manserunt, quodcumque volueritis petetis et fiet vobis”.

²² Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* II 45-46: „Gaude innocentia et exulta! Gaude inquam, quia ubique illaesa es ubique scelera! Si tentaris proscis, si humilioris exigeris, si pugnare vincis, si occideris, coronaris”.

²³ Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* II 46: “[...] nescit timere innocentia, nihil simplici corde felicius, quia quo innocentiam erga alios exhibet, nihil est quod ab aliis pati formidet”.

²⁴ Xiphilinus (2nd half of the 11th century) was the nephew of Constantinople Patriarch John VIII. and a distinguished preacher and author of the summary from the extensive work of Roman statesman of Greek origin Dio Cassius (155-235). See Xiphilinus Joannes, in: *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* 28 887.

*I do not do anything that could harm others*²⁵. Mokoš starts another series of quotes about innocence, with a thought by the Flemish humanist philosopher and philologist Justus Lipsius, who tried to revive the ancient stoicism in a form compatible with Christianity: *Nothing in life is so carefree and unthreatened as innocence* and continues with the idea from Quintus Curtius Rufus's 6th book, who was Alexander the Great's chronicler: *Innocence itself brings security* and finally concludes with the statement of Saint Bonaventure, who suggests that innocence also means trying not to harm God, the neighbors or ourselves: *Innocence is the purity of soul, alien to all wrongdoing against God, ourselves and our neighbors*²⁶.

The last sentence in the series we used shows that Dominik Mokoš was not only a theorist, but he also tried to provide the listener with practical advice on how to live a good Christian life. Morality and ethics are very closely linked and many times interchanged. Morality is a set of rules, requirements for human behavior in society. It bears human qualities, it contains a summary of all positive values and helps us avoid bad behavior. Mokoš, drawing from the Scripture reminds the audience first with the words of the Gospel of St. Matthew (22:39): *Love your neighbor as yourself*²⁷, then uses a quote from St. Paul to the Romans (13:8): *Let no debt remain outstanding, except the continuing debt to love one another, for whoever loves others has fulfilled the law. The commandments, 'You shall not commit adultery', 'You shall not murder', 'You shall not steal', 'You shall not covet', and whatever other commands there may be, are summed up in this one command: 'Love your neighbor as yourself'*²⁸. Mokoš finally adds a quote from the book Ecclesiastes (25:1): *In three things I was beautified, and stood up beautiful both before God and men:*

²⁵ Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* II 46: "Nemo me iniuria afficet, aut contumelia potest, quia nihil ago, quod alios laedere possit".

²⁶ Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* II 42: "Nihil in vita securum, solidumque praeter innocentiam [...]. Securitatem affert innocentia and concludes with: Innocentia est animi puritas, omnis iniuriae illationem Deo, sibi et proximo abhorrens".

²⁷ Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* II 160: "Diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum".

²⁸ See Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* II 160-161: "Nemini quidquam debeatis nisi, ut invicem diligatis qui cum diligit proximum suum legem implevit: nam non adulteralis, non occides, furaberis, non falsum testimonium dices, non concupisces atsi quod est aliud mandatum, in hoc verbo instauratur, diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum".

*the unity of brethren, the love of neighbors, a man and a wife that agree together*²⁹.

Christian love, however, is to go beyond the limits of common human relations, and so Mokoš recalls the words of Christ from the Gospel of St. Matthew (5:44-45): (But I tell you, love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, that you may be children of your Father in heaven)³⁰. In another part, Mokoš adds: *Good indeed are those who persevere in goodness even among the bad*³¹.

Among practices that should uplift Christians and bring them closer to God was also fasting. Since one part of the rich sermon collection by Mokoš is especially aimed at fasting, we can find such explanations drawn from the work of Saint Augustine – *Sermones de tempore*: *One who does not fast during any other time, will be judged leniently, but who does not hold the 40-day fast will be punished*³². Fasting should teach a man to control his desires, whether mental or physical. Mokoš also talks about the virtue of self-control based on the 66th tract of John Chrysostom, which is an allusion to the Gospel St. John: *He who loves his soul in this world, does according to its desires but who hates their soul, does condone its harmful desires*³³. He is well aware of and points out to the listener that evil must be suppressed at the very beginning, because even with seemingly inconspicuous mistakes, serious deficiencies in character may develop. He uses the words of Gregory the Great: *Whoever neglects to avoid the smallest sin, not suddenly, but gradually deteriorates*³⁴ and other church teachers, e.g. the Bishop of the Syrian Orthodox Church Gregor Bar Hebraeus

²⁹ Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* II 161: “In tribus placitum est Spiritui meo, quae sunt probata coram Deo, et hominibus, concordia fratrum et amor proximorum, et vir et mulier bene sibi consentientes”.

³⁰ Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* II 29: “Ego autem dico Vobis: diligite inimicos vest[r]os, benefacite his, qui oderunt vos, et orate pro persequentib[us] et calumniantib[us] vos, ut sitis filii Patris vestri qui in coelis est etc [...]”.

³¹ Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* II 140: “Hi veraciter boni sunt, qui in bonitate inter malos persistent”.

³² Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* I 156-157: “Alio tempore, qui non jejunat accipit indulgentiam, in quadragesima, qui non jejunat Sentiet poenam”.

³³ Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* II 160: “Amat anima in hoc mundo, qui desideria ejus in convenientia facit, odit autem, qui non cedit ei noxia concupiscentia”.

³⁴ Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* I 98: “Qui peccata minima devitare neglegit a statu iustitiae, non quidem repente, sed partitus totius cadit”.

(1226-1286)³⁵: *If you do not prevent the growing evil, it will grow to infinite size*³⁶; and finally, also quotes the Jesuit Giovanni Paolo Oliva (1680-1681) a prominent preacher and missionary³⁷: *We have to protect ourselves not only from the injuries of this age, but also from blemishes, because little is needed for us to lose our lives*³⁸.

The consequences of sin are, according to Mokoš, quite clear: *If the righteous turns from his righteousness, all his righteous deeds he has done will be forgotten*³⁹. He utters this not mentioning the source from which he drew. He continues, however, with the words of John Chrysostom: *Naming the misfortunes are but dreams for the wise, but the real misfortune is to insult God*⁴⁰, and adds his next quote: *Only one thing is heavy and worthy of fear – that is sin, other things are ordinary fables*⁴¹ and concludes with the words by the same author: *No burden makes the human soul as heavy as sin*⁴². Mokoš found other statements on the same topic, hence continues with an allusion of St. Augustine on the 45th Psalm: *Among all human oppression, there is no bigger oppression than remorse*⁴³, adds the statement of Spanish Basilian author Diego Niceno: *Sins inflict more suffering and torment than crosses, flogging and torture*⁴⁴ and concludes with the words of St. Bonaventure: *As decay takes away the beauty, color and taste of an apple, so does sin take away the beauty of life, the smell*

³⁵ Dominik Mokoš calls him Phito Hebraeus in his homilies.

³⁶ Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* I 96: “Ni malum crescens inhi-beas, crescit in immensam magnitudinem”.

³⁷ His six-volume work *Selecta Scripturae Loca Ethicae Commentationes* (1679) also points to his education and piety. See Giovanniho Paolo Oliva, *Catholic Online*, in: <https://www.catholic.org/encyclopedia/view.php?id=8707> (accessed: 02.01.2019).

³⁸ Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* I 98: “Cavendum est non a vul-neribus duntaxat Saeculi hujus, Sed a maculis quoque sufficit enim minus, ut moriari”.

³⁹ Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* I 192: “Si averterit se iustus a iustitia sua et fecerit iniquitatem, omnes iustitiae eius quas fecerat, non recordabuntur”.

⁴⁰ Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* I 192: “Calamitatum nomina sua philosophantis somnia vera autem calamitas est Deum offendere”.

⁴¹ Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* I 192: “Una duxerat res gravis ac pertimescenda peccatum nempe: reliqua vero omnia mera fabula”.

⁴² Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* I 192: “Nullo pondere gravis premitur anima, quam peccato”.

⁴³ Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* I 192: “Inter omnes tribulationes humanas, nulla est major tribulatio quam conscientia delictoeum”.

⁴⁴ Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* I 192: “Magis bancinant et torquent vitia quorum cruces quam verbera quam tormenta”.

*of good reputation, the strength of mercy and the taste of heavenly glory from man's soul*⁴⁵.

Mokoš mostly uses more consecutive statements of various church authorities, but sometimes he speaks very briefly and clearly: *There is no greater burden than sin*⁴⁶ and he also adds the characteristics of sinners: *The godless are like a rough sea that cannot rest*⁴⁷.

If the warnings and colorful descriptions of what happens to the human soul, when one succumbs to sin and stays in it are not sufficient, Mokoš adds warnings: *Because those who do so [sin] will not reach the kingdom of God*⁴⁸ and cautions from the Book of Moses (26:15 and 17), reminding the faithful that sin can be followed by punishment: *and if you reject my decrees [...] I will set my face against you and you will flee even when no one is pursuing you and I will make their hearts so fearful in the lands of their enemies that the sound of a windblown leaf will put them to flight*⁴⁹. Finally, he includes a warning from the Gospel of St. Matthew (18:16), about the fate of those who do not listen to the Church's commands: If they refuse to listen even to the church, treat them as you would a pagan or a tax collector⁵⁰.

It seems, however, that Mokoš as a preacher also has enough of self-reflection and some of the statements he uses are also directed at the clergy. The following quote from the psalm (118:66) for example indicates

⁴⁵ Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* I 193: "Sicut putredo aufert pomo decorem colorem, odorem et saporem: Sic peccatum aufert animae decorem vitae, odorem famae, valorem gratiae et saporem gloriae".

⁴⁶ Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* I 192: "Peccato gravis non reperitur onus". In this case, Mokoš indicates in the sermon that this is a statement by an (unnamed) poet. In fact, it is an epigram of an Oxford Jesuit Nicolas Owen (1562-1606).

⁴⁷ Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* I 193: "Impii quasi mare feruens, quod quiescere non potest".

⁴⁸ Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* II 160: "Quoniam qui talia agunt, regnum Dei non possidebunt". Comparison of the verses localized by Mokoš shows deviations from the so-called Clementine Vulgate (Vulgata Clementina) named after Pope Clement VIII and used to this day. Deviations may be due to the inconsistency of the verse and chapter labeling in various issues of the Vulgate in attempt to respect the context or the meaning of the text. See J.D. Douglas, *Nový biblický slovník*, p. 129.

⁴⁹ Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* I 193: "Si spreveritis leges meas [...] ponam faciem meam contra vos [...] et fugietis nemine persequente et Dabo pavorem in cordibus eorum [...] terrebit eos Sonitus folii volantis". Actually the Book of Leviticus 26:36

⁵⁰ Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* I 156: "Si quis Eccl[es]iam non audierit, sit tibi sicut Ethnicus et publicanus".

humility before the assigned tasks psalm: *Teach me knowledge and good judgment, for I trust your commands*⁵¹ and confirms the statement from the 37th Speech of St. Bernard, commenting on biblical proverbs: *The spiritual shepherd should have three attributes: goodness, discipline and art to preach; goodness attracts, discipline reprimands and the art of preaching educates*⁵². Goodness makes a [the cleric] popular, discipline worthy of following, and the art of preaching makes him a good teacher.

The quotations he used in the sermons were to lead people primarily to respect before God, obedience, humility, mercy and repentance. However, since the Franciscans were zealous promoters of Marian devotion, Mokoš also tried to bring people to the devotion of the Mother of God. His whole fourth volume of sermons is dedicated to issues around the topic. Virgin Mary was supposed to be a model of virtue for people and hence her descriptions are corresponding. A perfect instance is the following series of quotes. The medieval Christian theologian – canon regular of Abbey of Saint-Victor in Paris, Hugh, writes: *Beautiful inside, beautiful outside, inwardly [beautiful] in her heart, outwardly [beautiful] in her body, naturally wonderful, fair thanks to His divine grace* and Raymundus Jordanus, a French Augustinian hidden under his Latin nom de plume ‘Idiota’⁵³ adds: *You are truly the most beautiful, Virgin glorious, not only partly but in everything, and the stain of sin, whether mortal, hereditary, or genial you haven’t ever had, nor you do, and nor you will do*⁵⁴. The Franciscans, in addition to being great admirers of the Virgin Mary, focused their attention on recatholization. And although in the collection of Mokoš’s sermons we

⁵¹ Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* II 128: “Bonitatem et disciplinam, et scientiam doce me, quia mandatis tuis credidi”. Actually Psalm 119.

⁵² Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* II 128-129: “Pastori tria congruunt: Bonitas, Disciplina et Scientia. Bonitas Attrahit, Disciplina corripit, scientia pascit, bonitas amabilem, disciplina imitabilem, scientia docibilem reddit”.

⁵³ The pseudonym ‘Idiot’ is derived from the Greek word *idiōtēs*, which meant a private person, and in the city states of Greece, referred to men who were concerned only with their private affairs and avoided participation in public affairs. It is likely that the author used this name to indicate that he wanted to live in secret, simple life and without publicity. He lived and died in the French abbey of Selles-sur-Cher. He created his work around 1381. See Raymundus Jordanus, *Catholic Online*, in: <https://www.catholic.org/encyclopedia/view.php?id=6028> (accessed: 29.01.2019).

⁵⁴ Dominik Mokoš, *Sermones Panegyrico-morales* IV 12: “Pulchra intus, pulchra foris intus in corde foris in corpore, pulchra per naturam, pulchra per gratiam and Tota enim pulchra es Virgo glorissima, nec in parte, Sed in toto, et macula peccati, sive mortalis, sive originalis, sive venialis non est in te, nec unquam fierit, nec erit”.

find entire series of lenten and Marian preaching, sermons about the saints, or sermons presented during the Christmas period, there is no set of sermons dedicated especially to recatholization. However, intertextual links can be identified in individual sermons, indicating that their author actively engaged in the recatholization process in the second half of the 18th century. We can sense a negative attitude towards Protestants from Mokoš's sermons. In specific controversial topics of both confessions, Mokoš argues with the ideas of Martin Luther and John Calvin and tries to refute them, as it was customary at the time, with Catholic works. Sometimes Mokoš uses very sharp words against the leading representatives of Protestantism, that seemed to undermine the proclamation of love for the neighbour or Christian ethics. However, it should not be forgotten that the understanding of ethics in the baroque period was not the same as today, and the behavior of the Protestant leadership was referred to as heretical by the Catholic Church. The church tried to avert the believers in any way – from what they believed to be delusions.

Dominik Mokoš preached in a period when faith and ethics were inseparable. The main sources of Christian ethics are testimonies from the books of the Old and New Testaments, along with the rich Christian tradition and magisterium of the Church⁵⁵. As evidenced by the sources that Mokoš has relied upon, Christian ethics is based on Old Testament ethics, while God is the guarantor of justice. The good Christian behavior (ethics) that this preacher, missionary and zealous recatholizer tried to instil in the believers was to be realized in two planes; vertically expressing the relationship of a man to God and horizontally emphasizing justice in human relationships. All the quotations that the author has used are not merely a textual enrichment of the sermons of D. Mokoš. The preacher's moral belief corresponded to the Latin quotes chosen by the author. They are the bearers of ethical thoughts, while the Slovak text is essentially just their interconnection. The author translates and explains selected quotes in his sermons, and this is precisely what the use of specific quotations in specific situations helps to understand Mokoš's moral philosophy. Analyzed sermons reveal much about the preacher himself, about his education, temperament, moral conviction and the ability to approach the simple people, while the formal renditions of the sermons suggest that the author was rigorous, hardworking, disciplined, sometimes even fastidious, and he also had great demands on

⁵⁵ See H. Hrehová, *Kresťanská etika*, in: http://www.uski.sk/frames_files/ran/2005/cl050111.htm (accessed: 24.04.2008).

the believers. He worked creatively with translations of original texts, often enriching them with various insertions and explanations, so that he could communicate with the teachings of the Church to his audience in an interesting way. His sermons are an example which very well shows the tools that the Catholic Church used to shape the believers.

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