



# Jerome's Reception in an Early Eighteenth-Century Hungarian Historical Work

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The seventeenth century represents a momentous period in Hungarian ecclesiastical historiography. The historiography of the preceding century was heavily marked by the defeat of Hungary in the Battle of Mohács. Explaining this trauma represents an essential element in these writings. Historians tried to find an answer to the tragic defeat that would not blame any of the churches – it was God's will, God's punishment for the ungodly life and behavior of the priests and the clergy in general, or for the various reforms that tore apart the Church, the holy robe of Christ. Naturally, each church tried to emphasize the most suitable and proper narrative for them. However, these histories were not religious or ecclesiastical – besides pointing at each other and blaming the other for being responsible for the defeat at Mohács, these writings did not fulfill the characteristics of ecclesiastical historiography. By the turn of the century, historiography had undergone significant changes in quantity and content. On the one hand, the number of historical works increased. (First due to the Protestants; then, at the end of the century, a substantial increase in number came from the Catholic side). On the other hand, the historical issues of the Protestant reform came to the foreground, which, however unintentional, led to religious polemics. Two major historical events contributed to these changes.

Firstly, following the objectives formulated by the Council of Trent, measures were taken in Hungary in the early 1600s in the spirit of Catholic renewal. Then, from the 1610s, the key ecclesiastical provisions were introduced.<sup>1</sup> One of the crucial goals of the provincial

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1 E.g., synods, church visitations, and theological education.

synod of Trnava, held in 1611, was to implement the decisions of the Council of Trent. This was also the period when the Jesuits returned to Hungary. A natural outcome of the Catholic restoration was the literary representation of the increasingly frequent religious debates. Peter Pázmány, one of the devoted religious restorers and polemicists on the Catholic side, wanted to list historical events from the history of the Protestant religious reform in his *Ten Arguments* (1605)<sup>2</sup> and *A Guide to Divine Truth* (1613).<sup>3</sup> However, he soon realized that neither Hungarian nor Transylvanian historiography abounds in such works. To gather information, Pázmány turned to Miklós Istvánffy, hoping that in the absence of historical works he would be able to provide first-hand information, as he had personally experienced most of the events.<sup>4</sup> He incorporated the information received into both of his works. His main idea was that Protestant reform was primarily a consequence of the political instability caused by the Mohács defeat. The two works of Pázmány were not particularly interesting from the point of view of religious history; however, they brought ecclesiastical history into the arena of religious debate. On the Protestant side, there were comparable attempts to reconstruct Reformation. In 1637, János Iratosi<sup>5</sup> expanded the history of the Reformation, relying on Pázmány's data.<sup>6</sup> However, he depicted its expansion differently from Pázmány:

In his work, the lords did not seize the church estates after Mohács but realized that the defeat was caused by the “idolatry,” that is, the sins of the old church. Moreover, seeing there [at Mohács] the great defeat of the bishops, namely, of Pál Tomori, they called for Lutheran preachers.<sup>7</sup>

In the preface to his collection of sermons the following year, he wrote that there were expropriations of the church, indeed, but the lords were not led by greed – they wanted a fair division and to stop the

2 Pázmány, *Az mostan támadt új tudományok hamisságának tíz nyilvánvaló bizonyossága és rövid intés a török birodalomról és vallásról* (1605).

3 Pázmány, *Hodoegus: Igazságra vezérlő kalauz*.

4 Tóth, “A mellőzéstől a hitvitákon át a nagy egyháztörténetekig,” 409. Letter found in Nagy, “Irreperunt,” 85–90.

5 Iratosi and Perkins, *Az ember eletenek bodogul valo igazgatásának modgyarol* (1637).

6 Tóth, “A mellőzéstől a hitvitákon át,” 415.

7 Iratosi, *Az ember eletenek* A7r–A7v, quoted by: Tóth, “A mellőzéstől a hitvitákon át,” 415.

Catholic priests.<sup>8</sup> Pázmány's interest in the history of Reformation seems to have taken the historical narrative of Protestantism to a new level. His move was so decisive that not even the Protestant writers could ignore it. Instead, they tried to reinterpret it or expand it with additional information.<sup>9</sup>

The second significant influence was the 1670s, the decade marked by persecution of Protestant religions in Hungary. The enormous damage suffered by the Protestant side forced the churches to register and make an inventory of all the material and spiritual losses, from churches to schools, from estates and properties to priests.<sup>10</sup>

Moreover, the inhumane treatment of Protestant pastor galley-slaves resonated throughout Europe, increasing the already substantial interest of the European scholarly community in the history of the Reformation in Hungary and thus Transylvania.<sup>11</sup> The first complete history of the Hungarian Protestant church was written in 1684 by Ferenc Páriz Pápai, with the title *Rudus redivivum*.

Following Pápai, and thanks to external encouragement, Pál Ember Debreceni<sup>12</sup> wrote the *Historia Ecclesiae Reformatae in Hungaria et Transilvania* around 1706.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, the work was not published during his lifetime, and it was only later, in 1728, that Friedrich Adolph Lampe, a professor from Utrecht, published the book under his name.<sup>14</sup> Pál Ember Debreceni is the key figure of Hungarian Calvinist history, and besides ecclesiastical historiography, his work extends to the popular genres.<sup>15</sup> He was born in 1661 in Debrecen, "the Calvinist Rome," where he finished his studies at the renowned Collegium. He continued his studies in Leiden in 1684, then at the university in Franeker in 1685, and has probably been to Utrecht and Amsterdam. He had the chance to listen to professors like Friedrich Spanheim, Christopher Wittich, Jan van der Waeyen, and Campegius Vitringa the Elder.<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately, Debreceni fell victim to the plague epidemic in 1710. The main achievement of this scholar is a comprehensive work on religious history. Its aim was not simply writing about the history of the Hungarian Reformation but instead presenting this history

8 Tóth, "A mellőzéstől a hitvitákon át," 415–416.

9 Ibid., 415, 416–417.

10 Ibid., 417.

11 Ritoók, "Debreceni Ember Pál egyháztörténetének kéziratái," 185.

12 For further biographical data see Csorba, "A sovány lelket meg-szépíteni."

13 Debreceni, *Historia Ecclesiae Reformatae in Hungaria et Transilvania*.

14 For more details, see Ritoók, "Debreceni," 175–185.

15 Csorba, "Debreceni Ember Pál fordításai és értelmezési technikái (1702)," 18.

16 Csorba, *A sovány lelket*, 193.

in the context of universal Christianity and proving that Hungarian Christianity originated from the Early Christian period.

It is interesting to note how its author depicts the beginnings of Hungarian Christianity at the opening of his work. He seeks to shed light on the origin of Hungarian Christianity with the help of the Scythian-Hun-Hungarian origin theory. The Scythian-Hun-Hungarian relationship is a medieval construct. It is not even a Hungarian idea since earlier sources from antiquity deny the Hun-Hungarian lineage. It was advantageous for the Hungarian Christian state, formed after the Hungarian conquest, to identify itself with the Scythian-Hun origins.

On the one hand, it was flattering to identify with ancestors of such import. On the other, there was the European belief that all nations coming from the East threatening Europe were sent by God to punish the continent for its sins. The medieval Hungarian chroniclers strengthened the theory. The 17–18th-century historiography, already polarized by religious affiliations, built its arguments almost exclusively on its premises.<sup>17</sup> Not surprisingly, Pál Ember Debreceni's first chapter has the following title: *The Pannonian origins of the Christian Church can be traced back to sacred history*.<sup>18</sup> Concerning the early Christianity of the Scythians, he develops the concept further:

It is believed that around 45 AD, Saint Andrew preached the gospel to the Scythian apostles. This was proven, among other historians, by Saint Jerome in his work entitled *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* and by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History* 3, chapter 1. However, others believe that Saint Philip the Apostle preached the gospel to these Scythians.<sup>19</sup>

There is no work by St. Jerome with the above-quoted title, although Gennadius of Massilia continued Jerome's work with the title *De*

17 Scythian-Hun-Hungarian origin theory has always been the *malum discordiae* of Hungarian historiography. Its traces have survived, as evidenced by the result of recent genetic research and the debate it provoked: see Neparáczi et al., *Revising mtDNA haplotypes of the ancient Hungarian conquerors with next-generation sequencing*.

18 *Fundamenta Ecclesiae Christianae in oris Pannonicis ex ipsa Historia Sacra hauriri queunt*; Debreceni, *Historia Ecclesiae*, 6.

19 “Circa annum enim Christi 45 (quadagesimum quintum) S. Andreas Apostolis (sic!) Scythis Evangelium predicasse perhibetur, teste inter alios S. Hieronymo de scriptor. Eccl. et Eusebio Histor. Eccl. l. 3. c. 1. Sed et Sanctus Philippus apostolus iisdem Scythis evangelium Christi anuntiasse quibusdam existimatur.” Debreceni, *Historia Ecclesiae*, 6.

*scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, and the two works are frequently mentioned with the same title. Unfortunately, analyzing Saint Jerome's *De viris illustribus* yields no references of this kind. Neither St. Jerome nor Gennadius, who continued his work, wrote about the biography of Saint Andrew. The apostle's name is mentioned three times but in a different context.<sup>20</sup> This could be considered a hoax; however, it is worth analyzing why the name of St. Jerome appears in such a context.

The reference to Jerome's work is followed by Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica* (3.1).<sup>21</sup> This seems logical since the theory of Scythian apostolic Christianity is primarily linked to his name. According to Eusebius, he got this information elsewhere, namely from Origen. As the original work of Origen has not survived, one could as well believe him. However, there is also the need to consider Hervé Inglebert's argument, according to which Eusebius refers to prominent historians solely to prove his literacy and the authenticity of his works.<sup>22</sup> In this light, one can agree with Harnack's statement that Eusebius did not cite Origen's work directly. Instead, his information comes from tradition, from the Christian *paradosis*.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, it is also worth noting that Origen himself drew from this tradition, from this *paradosis*.<sup>24</sup>

If one examines the early Christian texts, it becomes clear that there was no sign of Saint Andrew's apostolic work in Scythia in the first century.<sup>25</sup> Instead, one can find data about St. Andrew in the second century but connected to Patras, where he was crucified and where the cult of the apostle later developed. A significant change occurs in the third century when the works of apocryphal literature start appearing. The primary purpose of these works was to establish religious traditions parallel to the official ecclesiastical tradition and thus prove the antiquity and actual Christian teaching of the various heretic movements.<sup>26</sup>

For Debreceni, Saint Jerome remains one of the most credible authors in proving the apostolic Christianity of Hungarians. Following the quotation mentioned above, he devotes an extensive section to St. Jerome:

20 *Vir. ill.* 1.7 and 18.

21 On the relationship between Jerome and Eusebius, see Rebenich, *Jerome*, 36–38.

22 Inglebert, *Les Romains chrétiens face à l'histoire de Rome*, 170.

23 Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, 1–2, 548.

24 Zugravu, *Fontes historiae Daco-romanae Christianitatis*, 38.

25 Zugravu, "Apostolotul Sfântului Andrei în 'Sciția,'" 215–238.

26 Zugravu, *Geneza creștinismului popular al românilor*.

Saint Jerome, who died in 420, was of Pannonian nationality, but according to some, he might have been Dalmatian, and his hometown was Stridon by the river of Sabaria [...] Melchior Inchofer in the *Annales Hungariae*, year 304, writes that Saint Jerome, the great Doctor of the Church, was born in Stridon, which is one-day walking distance from Sabaria. This is a well-known town in Hungary. How can anyone believe that such a holy man, concerned with spreading his faith, failed to preach Christ's Gospel to his Hungarian compatriots in Pannonia, who settled there in 380 and lived there until 445?

As he spent some time in his country, Pannonia, he later spent many years in the East, in Syria and Canaan (where he emigrated), mainly in Bethlehem, devoting himself to the translation and explanation of prayers, psalms, and holy scrolls. [...] And in the time of St. Jerome, the Christian faith was most certainly already widespread; Jerome himself writes with enthusiasm in his letter to the Laeta that: "Paganism is struggling isolated even in the city [...] The Egyptian Serapis himself has become Christian. The Marnas of Gaza is mourning in confinement and is terrified of the destruction of his church. There are masses of monks coming daily from India, Persia, and Ethiopia. Armenia has laid down the arms, and the Huns are learning the Psalm. The warmth of faith heats the cold of Scythia, the golden and blonde army of the Getae is carrying temple-tents, and as they share the same faith, they might fight against us in equal battle."<sup>27</sup>

To sum up, since St. Jerome was born in Stridon and lived in Pannonia (or its immediate surroundings) for a while, he must have preached God's word to his people and the Huns, who also settled here and stayed for 65 years. Moreover, St. Jerome's letter to the Laeta also proves that he was far from indifferent to his surroundings.

The exact geographical location of Stridon, the hometown of St. Jerome, on the confines of Dalmatia and Pannonia, is still an open question. There have been debates in identifying the exact geographical location of the lost town, and in some cases, heated arguments full of emotions.<sup>28</sup> The problem is that no archaeological findings support the written sources. Placing Stridon in the Pannonia region dates back to the 15th century when the counts of Celje placed men of the Pauline Order on their estates. For the monks who settled there, the idea that St. Jerome, the first biographer of St. Paul, the founder of their order,

27 Debreceni, *Historia Ecclesiae*, 6–7.

28 Valenčič, *Sveti Hieronim – mož s Krasa*, 74–76.

was born in this region, had a certain allure. Since the exact location of Stridon was not known, it could also be placed in Pannonia so that the prestige of the well-known predecessor could boost the positive image of the monastic community. The city was destroyed by the Goths around 378–379,<sup>29</sup> the Huns invading the region around 380 and settling there could not see much of the city or its inhabitants. Going through the biography of St. Jerome, one can see that in 380, he was still in the Middle East.<sup>30</sup> In 381, he traveled to the assembly of the First Council in Constantinople.<sup>31</sup> Between 382 and 385, he was in Rome.<sup>32</sup> He eventually returned to the Holy Land, settling in Bethlehem in 386 for the rest of his life.<sup>33</sup> Considering all this, it becomes evident that there was either little chance or well-nigh impossible for Jerome to preach the word of God among the Huns within the period mentioned by Debrececi.<sup>34</sup>

The language barrier was a significant problem in Pannonia and Eastern and South-Eastern Europe in general. Most of the inhabitants of these provinces spoke neither Latin nor Greek. Except for the apostles who received the gift of speaking in tongues (but none did any missionary work here), preaching in the regional language was a challenge. Besides the Celtic language, there is no evidence of preaching in regional languages in this early period.<sup>35</sup> In the case of Pannonia, Jerome may have preached in the language of his native milieu, Illyrian. It could not have been a great success, however, as the Christian population in the province barely reached a few hundred in the first centuries.<sup>36</sup>

It seems necessary to look at other places in the corpus – besides the above-quoted excerpt from the letter to Laeta – to find references to the Huns. Jerome did not have a favorable opinion regarding their nation. He is terrified of their evil deeds and afraid of the threatening Hun invasion (and the Scythian cold); he speaks of the Hun hordes.<sup>37</sup> In his letter to Laeta, also quoted by Debrececi, he depicts the Huns as singing the Psalms.<sup>38</sup> This is doubtful since the material and literary evidence of the Huns' Christianity is sorely lacking.

29 *Vir. ill.* 135.1–5.

30 Rebenich, *Jerome*, 6–10.

31 *Ibid.*, 10–14.

32 *Ibid.*, 15–20.

33 *Ibid.*, 20–29.

34 Thompson, "Christian Missionaries Among the Huns," 73–79.

35 Maiburg, "Und bis an di Grenzen der Erde," 38–53.

36 Gáspár, "Gondolatok a pannoniai ókereszténységről," 18–19.

37 *Ep.* 60.16.1–5; 120.1.14; 130.9.4.

38 *Ep.* 107.2.3.

Analyzing Jerome's geographical knowledge and concepts, Susan Weingarten stated that his concepts of geography rely on the beliefs and works of previous Roman authors. Starting from this point, Jerome created a new Christian worldview, in which the *umbilicus terrestris* was no longer Rome but Jerusalem or Bethlehem. Even if the Jerome map, so popular in the Middle Ages, had nothing to do with Saint Jerome,<sup>39</sup> he must have had some linear map of the Late Empire, an *itinerarium pictum*, similar to the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.<sup>40</sup> When he presents people and nations outside the empire, he follows a linear route from the East to the West, similar to the migration route (see *Ep.* 60. mentioning *Scythiam, Thraciam, Macedoniam, Dardanium, Daciam*). This leads to the conclusion that the Scythians, and indirectly the Huns, were not in Pannonia but somewhere around the Caucasus. They are listed after the Armenians, followed by the peoples closer (at least on the map) to the center, Rome (*Armenius, Huni discunt psalterium, Scythiae frigora fervent calore fidei: Getarum rutilus*).

Ammianus Marcellinus of the late Roman Empire depicted the Huns as barbaric people. He devoted a separate chapter in his historical work to the Huns and wrote about them in detail, generally portraying them negatively, mentioning barbarism and other *non plus ultras* of the cruel Eastern nomads – even though he had never seen a Hun in his life.<sup>41</sup> One of the famous urban legends related to Ammianus, still in vogue in certain quarters, refers to the eating habits of the Huns, who ate raw meat.<sup>42</sup> Jerome was familiar with the work of Ammianus and cited him when he wrote about the Huns' strange eating habits and *semicrudis caro*.<sup>43</sup> He did not create (as pointed out above) this image of the Huns from his own experience; instead, he relied on the literary tradition. In this light, one can entertain certain doubts regarding his information about Christianity of the Huns (and the Scythians). As previously mentioned, it is possible to trace the *paradosis* of the third and fourth centuries in Origen's and Eusebius' works. However, a closer connection can be detected as well. It is well-known that Jerome had a good relationship with Paulinus of Nola, and one can assume that he was familiar with his works. Paulinus had another

39 Weingarten, *The Saint's Saints*, 205.

40 *Ibid.*, 201–204.

41 *Ibid.*, 179–180. Cf. *Hunnorum nova feritas, semicrudis vescuntur carnis; Adversus Jovianum* 2.7, PL 23,308.

42 This is where the urban legend was born. It was later applied to Hungarians, developing the Hun theory of origin, describing how they ate meat, tenderized under the saddle.

43 Weingarten, *The Saint's Saints*, 179–180.

Christian bishop friend,<sup>44</sup> Nicetas.<sup>45</sup> Paulinus mentions the name of Nicetas several times, and he even writes a farewell letter in *Carmen* 17 and 27. In the latter, he mentions the bishop's missionary work among the barbarians, including the Scythians. Ignoring the controversy and interpolation-theory surrounding *Carmen*,<sup>46</sup> and accepting the work as that of Paulinus, the presentation of Nicetas' missionary work and its context reveals rhetorical commonplaces used for marking the other, the stranger. The Scythian name for Nicetas was the literary equivalent of underdevelopment, of a primitive way of life.<sup>47</sup> Based on the text, it cannot be stated that Nicetas was engaged in authentic missionary work among the Scythians. Using this topos, the author wanted to strengthen and praise the bishop's merits.

E. A. Thompson analyzed the validity and success of any missionary work among the Huns in a brief study. Based on the analysis above, Thompson's conclusion seems to be valid and well-grounded:

Neglecting then the vague and rhetorical phrases of Jerome, Orosius, and Theodoret, we may conclude that through the fifth century the Huns as whole remained pagan and the few individuals whom we know to have been converted appear to have had a particularly close relationship with the Romans...<sup>48</sup>

The Christian faith has been extended to the very end of the Earth. As Rome's power extended to the entire *orbis terrarum*, so did Christianity. Neither geography nor nations could create its boundaries; as the Acts proclaimed, it is spread to the ends of the earth. The reality was quite different. Early Christianity had its geographic concept, not much different from the sometimes-propagandistic geographical approach of the Roman Empire, but transposed *mutatis mutandis* to its rhetoric to fit the given context. It no longer proclaimed the greatness of pagan Rome. It instead praised the glory of the Christian faith and God.<sup>49</sup>

44 He visited Paulinus twice in Italy – in 400 and 403. For further details on the relationship between Nicetas and Paulinus of Nola, see Cvetković, *Niceta of Remesiana's Visit to Nola*, 180.

45 For further information on Nicetas, see Burn, *Niceta of Remesiana*, or Trout, *Paulinus of Nola*.

46 See Kirstein, *Paulinus Nolanus*, *Carmen* 17, and Tränkle, "Vermeintliche Interpolationen bei Paulinus von Nola."

47 Kirstein, *Paulinus*, 214.

48 Thompson, "Christian," 77.

49 See also Grill, "Orbem terrarum subicere."

One could say that the blazing Christian faith mentioned by Jerome in his letter did not exist. It was a fancy rhetorical topos. This topos came to the fore in the era of religious fervor, answering the vital question: “Where was your church before Luther?”<sup>50</sup> From the Protestant side, a plausible answer was to emphasize that the people, in this case, the Hungarians (according to the Scythian-Hun-Hungarian kinship theory still valid and accepted in the seventeenth and in the eighteenth century), had already converted to Christianity in the Apostolic Age. The Hungarians did not receive the Christian faith from the Roman Pope but from the Apostles. The Calvinists have only continued this faith.

Thus, there were two reasons for extending the period of Hungarian Christianity as far as possible. On the one hand, this allowed the Hungarians, frequently considered others and different among Europeans, to join the nations rooted in apostolic Christianity. On the other hand, however, the testimony of apostolic Christianity fit very well in “the Greek missionary” theories coined by János Kocsi Gergő and continued by Debreceni.<sup>51</sup>

To prove the above, Protestant historians interpreted their texts to fit their needs and purposes, referring to the most credible Church Fathers accepted by both sides, Catholic and Protestant – such as Saint Jerome.<sup>52</sup>

50 S. J. Barnett, “Where Was Your Church before Luther?” 14–41.

51 The main idea of the theory – propagandistic rather than scientific – is that Hungarians had taken up Eastern Christianity much earlier, thus denying the Catholics any merits linked to converting into Christianity. Gergely Tóth, “Schwarz Gotfried Intiája (1740),” 63. See also Csízy, “Fürstenspiegel in der protestantischen Literatur und Pädagogik,” 39–51.

52 Even Calvin referred to the texts of the early Christian writers, including Eusebius, to support his own religious beliefs and theological teaching. See also Backus, “Calvin’s Judgment of Eusebius of Caesarea,” 419–437.

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## ABSTRACT

Works concerning the history of the Hungarian Reform had been almost absent until the second half of the seventeenth century. The relatively peaceful process of the Hungarian Reform, the lack of armed conflicts, and the tragic memory of the battle of Mohács made the appearance of self-justifying religious narratives in Hungarian historiography seem unnecessary. On the other hand, the changes caused by the Tridentine Catholic renewal movement and the deterioration of the religious and political condition of the Protestant confession culminated in punishing actions. This brought the polemical and self-justifying narratives to the forefront in both literature and historiography. First signs of interest regarding the history of Protestantism appeared on the Catholic side, but they emerged under the pressure of the circumstances. On the other hand, a growing foreign interest gradually appeared on the Protestant side, making way to historiographical works. An example of such an opus is the *Historia Ecclesiae Reformatae in Hungaria et Transilvania* (1706) by Pál Debreceni Ember. The author presents the history of the Reformed Church in Hungary. He also tries to present the origins of Hungarian Christianity, projecting it onto the Apostolic Period. Finally, he turns to the early Christian writers such as Jerome to prove his theory. The paper aims to present this chapter in Jerome's reception and its religious background.

KEYWORDS: Jerome, ecclesiastical history, Hungary, Protestantism, Huns, Christianity

## HIERONIMOVA RECEPCIJA V MADŽARSKEM ZGODOVINOPISNEM BESEDILU IZ ZGODNJEGA OSEMNAJSTEGA STOLETJA

### IZVLEČEK

Del o zgodovini madžarske reformacije vse do druge polovice sedemnajstega stoletja skoraj ni. Zaradi razmeroma mirnega procesa reformacije, odsotnosti oboroženih spopadov in tragičnega spomina na bitko pri Mohaču v madžarski historiografiji ni bilo potrebe po samoupravičevalnih verskih narativih. Po drugi strani pa so spremembe, do katerih je pripeljalo tridentsko katoliško obnovitveno gibanje, nato pa poslabšanje verskih in političnih razmer znotraj protestantizma, dosegle vrhunec v vrsti drastičnih posegov. Vse to je tako v literaturi kot zgodovinopisju postavilo v ospredje polemične in samoupravičevalne narative. Prvi znaki zanimanja za zgodovino protestantizma so se pojavili na katoliški strani, vendar so vzniknili pod pritiskom okoliščin. Po drugi strani pa se je na protestantski strani postopoma pojavljalo vse večje zanimanje v tujini, ki je odpiralo prostor zgodovinopisnim delom. Primer takega besedila je *Historia Ecclesiae Reformatae in Hungaria et Transilvania* (1706) Pála Debrecenija Emberja. Avtor predstavlja zgodovino reformirane cerkve na Madžarskem. Predstaviti skuša tudi izvor madžarskega krščanstva, ki ga projicira v čas apostolov. Nazadnje poseže po zgodnjekrščanskih piscih, kot je Hieronim, da bi dokazal svojo teorijo. Članek predstavi to poglavje v Hieronimovi recepciji in njegovo versko ozadje.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: Hieronim, cerkvena zgodovina, Madžarska, protestantizem, Huni, krščanstvo