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CHRISTIAN EXEGESES ON EZEKIEL'S *PORTA CLAUSA* BEFORE THE COUNCILS OF EPHESUS, CONSTANTINOPLE, AND CHALCEDON

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Abstract: SALVADOR-GONZÁLEZ, José María. *Christian Exegeses on Ezekiel's Porta Clausa Prior to the Councils of Ephesus, Constantinople, and Chalcedon.* This article[1] aims to highlight the exegetical comments that the Greek-Eastern and Latin Fathers proposed with a Christological and Mariological purpose on Ezekiel's *porta clausa* before or during the Councils of Ephesus (431), Constantinople (448) and Chalcedon (451). Although at first sight it would seem that such exegeses were a consequence of these Councils, it is clear that many of them are documented earlier, and others occurred more or less by the time in which these Councils took place. All the Greek-Eastern and Latin Fathers agree in interpreting this oriental closed door of the temple in Mariological and Christological terms, in the sense that it is a simultaneous and complementary symbol of both the virginal divine maternity of Mary and her perpetual virginity, as well as the conception and birth of God the Son made man. As such interpretations are previous or, in the best case, contemporary to the three mentioned Councils, they can not be considered as their consequences, but rather as some antecedents that could have served the Church in those Councils to refute the heresies of Nestorius and Eutychius.

Keywords: *Patrology, porta clausa, Ezekiel, Christ's incarnation, Mary's divine motherhood, Christology, Mariology, Ecumenic Council, dogma*

Introduction

During the constant research on Greek and Latin Patrology, we discover with great surprise that many Church Fathers interpret the eastern "closed door" (*porta clausa*) of the temple revealed to the prophet Ezekiel as a double metaphor for Christ and Mary. The consulted Christian thinkers agree on considering this Ezekiel's shut door as a symbol that signifies both the virginal divine maternity of Mary and her perpetual virginity, as well as the virginal conception and the supernatural birth of God the Son made man in Mary's womb.

At first glance, these Greek-Eastern and Latin interpretations would seem to derive from the Christological disputes that arose in the East in the 4th and 5th centuries from the heresies of Nestorius (c. 386 – c. 451) and Eutychius (c. 380 – c. 456). Nestorius and his followers argued that Christ has two separate and independent natures without a substantial union in a single person. Eutychius and his supporters asserted that Christ has only one nature, the divine (monophysitism), and is not a true man. Facing these heresies, the Church established in the first half of the 5th century the orthodoxy on the condition of Christ and Mary in the three Councils of Ephesus

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(431), Constantinople (448), and Chalcedon (451), which set the fundamental Christological and Mariological dogmas.

Under the leadership of Cyril of Alexandria (c. 340/343 – 444), the Council of Ephesus established the dogma that Christ possesses two true natures (dyophysitism), united indissolubly in a single person, that is, an individual simultaneously true God and true man. From this Christological dogma, the Council of Ephesus derived the Mariological dogma that Mary is not only the mother of Christ-man (*Christotókos* and *anthropotókos*), but that she is the true mother of God the Son (*Theotókos*). The Council of Constantinople (448) endorsed the dyophysitism of Christ, reaffirming that his two natures, divine, and human, constitute a single person. Finally, the Council of Chalcedon (451) confirmed the Christological and Mariological dogmas established by the Councils of Ephesus and Constantinople.

With this double dogmatic projection, the exegeses that the Church Fathers offered in the first centuries of the Christian era on Ezekiel's *porta clausa* were not always the consequence of those three Councils. Long before them, many glosses in this regard are already documented. Although the first Christian exegeses that we have registered so far on this sentence of the prophet date from the middle of the 4th century (almost a century before the Council of Ephesus), it is not ruled out that there had been other similar comments before. If these exist, we have not yet discovered them, although they probably no longer exist, perhaps because they disappeared due to human or natural destruction, or because they were transmitted only as an oral tradition, without a documentary reference. It is a plausible hypothesis that in the first three centuries of Christianity (before those three Councils), there had been other Christian exegeses on this shut door because to sustain the double human and divine nature of Christ, as true God and true man, was an unshakable conviction between his apostles and disciples, after Jesus declared himself apodictically Son of God. This leads to the belief that Mary is the mother of the true Son of God who incarnated in her womb as a true man.

This article seeks precisely to highlight the exegeses exposed on Ezekiel's *porta clausa* by the Greek-Eastern and Latin Fathers before the Councils of Ephesus (431), Constantinople (448), and Chalcedon (451), and in the years close to their development.

To understand these exegetical glosses, it is necessary to quote the text in which Ezekiel describes that "closed door". In the year 25 of the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, the prophet points out that Yahweh revealed to him the temple that was to be rebuilt in Jerusalem to replace the one destroyed by the Babylonians. In describing the parts and features of the future temple, Ezekiel says about its eastern portico or gate:

> [Yahweh] Then he brought me back the way of the gate of the outward sanctuary which looketh toward the east, and it [was] shut. Then said the Lord unto me; This gate shall be closed, it shall not be opened, and no man shall enter in by it; because the Lord, the God of Israel, hath entered in by it, therefore it shall be shut (Ezek. 44,1-2).[2]

Although at first glance, those statements of the prophet on that eastern door would seem factual and insignificant, many Fathers and theologians of the Eastern and Western Churches interpreted from an early date this enigmatic phrase of Ezekiel with a double projection, simultaneously Christological and Mariological. All those thinkers interpreted that closed door as a double dogmatic metaphor: a metaphor of Mary's womb when supernaturally conceiving and giving

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[2] "1. Et convertit me ad viam portæ sanctuarii exterioris quæ respiciebat ad orientem et erat clausa. 2 Et dixit Dominus ad me: porta hæc clausa erit; non aperietur et vir non transiet per eam, quoniam Dominus Deus Israël ingressus est per eam; eritque clausa" (Ezek. 44,1-2. Biblia Vulgata 2005 [1946], 847).

birth to the incarnate Son of God, preserving her perpetual virginity; and, a metaphor of the conception and the birth of God the Son made man in the virginal womb of Mary.

Exegeses in Greek-Eastern Church

Although during the first 300 years of the Christian era, the Fathers of the Greek-Eastern and Latin Church are aware of the virginal divine maternity of Mary, none seems to have explained it by exegesis on Ezekiel's *porta clausa*.

From the middle of the 4th century, many Greek-Eastern Fathers[3] interpreted the fragment above of Ezekiel in the double Mariological and Christological sense already outlined. Ephrem of Syria (c. 307 – 373) is, to our knowledge, the first to explain the virginal birth of Jesus by his power, as the incarnate Son of God, to leave the closed belly of his mother without opening it, similarly as he would do later when leaving resurrected the closed tomb without opening it. This parallelism between the exit of Jesus from a closed womb without opening it at birth, and his departure from a closed tomb in resurrection, will be taken up again by many Greek-Eastern and Latin Fathers and theologians.

Ephrem asserts that Christ also manifested his prodigious birth by his miraculous resurrection because he remained inviolate in the closed womb and alive in the sealed tomb (Ephraem Syrus 1970a, 485-486).[4] This proclaims that Mary's womb and the "hell" of death (materialized in the grave) gladly announced the resurrection of Christ because, against the laws of nature, the womb conceived him being closed, and the "hell" (the sepulcher) returned him alive, despite being sealed (Ephraem Syrus *1970a*, 485-486).[5] Hence Ephrem infers that Mary's closed womb in Jesus' conception and the sealed stone of the tomb in his resurrection demonstrate Jesus' divine nature (Ephraem Syrus 1970a, 485-486).

Furthermore, Ephrem points out that Christ, born as God united to human nature, could only be born naturally with our same bodily members and could only die naturally with those same members (Ephraem Syrus 1970b, 535). Therefore, Jesus led his body from the (closed) door of his mother's womb to the (closed) door of the tomb, so that at birth he "opened" (in the sense of "leaving by") Mary's womb, and when he resurrected he "opened" (in the same meaning of "leaving by") the closed sepulcher (Ephraem Syrus 1970b, 535). The author concludes that Christ removed the body from the sealed tomb, and the seal of the grave witnessed the seal (the virginity) of the maternal womb in which he was conceived, since, as Mary's virginity was closed and sealed, God the Son came alive through it as a firstborn (Ephraem Syrus 1970b, 535).[6]

Even without mentioning Ezekiel's *porta clausa*, Ephrem is a pioneer in asserting the five dogmatic contents that the later Fathers and theologians will unanimously defend when

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[3] We will quote the texts of the Greek-Eastern Fathers in the Latin version of Jacques-Paul Migne 1857 –1887. Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Graeca. Paris, 161 vols. For authors not included in Migne, we will use the Latin version of Sergio Álvarez Campos 1970 –1981. Corpus Marianum Patristicum. Burgos, 7 vols.

[4] "Per tuam resurrectionem persuasisti nativitatem tuam: clausus tumulus, signatum sepulcrum; illibatus in tumulo, vivus in sepulcro. Testes pro te fuerunt tumulus et sepulcrum, quae occlusa erant" (Ephraem Syrus 1970a, 485-486).

[5] "Venter matris et infernus nuntiarunt iubilantes resurrectionem tuam: venter te concepit cum erat clausus; infernus edidit te cum erat signatus: contra naturam concepit venter et infernus reddidit" (Ephraem Syrus 1970a, 485-486).

[6] "Corpus eduxit e signato sepulcro, et sigillum sepulcri fuit testis sigilli uteri qui portaverat id. Cum signata esset virginitas huius, exivit Filius Dei vivi e medio eius, et primogenitus erat ubique" (Ephraem Syrus 1970b, 535).

interpreting this quotation of the prophet: Mary's virginal divine motherhood (in its two different meanings, in conceiving and giving birth) and her perpetual virginity (with her uterus permanently closed before, during and after giving birth), as well as the conception of the Son of God and his delivery from Mary's virginal womb. Ephrem further precedes his later colleagues by proposing the parallelism between the prodigious exit of the resurrected Christ from the sealed grave and his supernatural conception and birth of the Virgin's closed womb: after all, these three wonders (resurrection, conception, and delivery of Jesus) constitute, according to Ephrem, irrefutable proofs of his divine nature.

Amphiloquius of Iconium (c. 339/340 – c. 395/403) begins by saying that, while by natural law women give birth after their vulva was opened in intercourse, this is not the case of Christ, who was born by the "open" (in the sense of "accessible" to God) maternal vulva, without having been opened by any intercourse (Amphilochius Iconiensis s. a., 47). Mary's vulva was already "open" ("accessible") to Jesus, without the doors of her virginity being opened, by the will of the one who was being conceived in her womb: this is what Ezekiel shows in the temple's eastern shut door, proclaiming that it was the door of the Lord, through which he entered and left, and that will remain shut forever (Amphilochius Iconiensis s. a., 50).[7] Amphiloquius concludes that Mary did not cease to be a virgin at the birth of Christ, when the doors of her virginity remained closed, while for the Son of God who was born from her, nothing was closed, but "open" (in the sense of "passable" or "accessible"), because nothing is opposed to God, and all things are open (accessible) to him (Amphilochius Iconiensis s. a., 50). For the above, Amphiloquius seems to be the first to explicitly see Ezekiel's *porta clausa* as a symbolic figure of the five Mariological and Christological dogmas aforementioned.

Nilus Abbas († c. 430) expresses quite similar concepts when he points out that Christ, when he was born, "opened" (in the sense that "came out") Mary's immaculate vulva, and by his divine power miraculously left her closed after childbirth, without breaking the seals of her virginity (Nilus Abbas s. a., 182).[8]

Interpreting the text of Ezekiel, Cyril of Alexandria (c. 370/373 – 444) states, in a rhetorical dialogue with the Virgin Mary: "the King of Heaven entered your city or, rather, your womb, and then left it as he wanted, leaving your door [of virginity] closed, because you conceived without semen and you engendered by the divine power" (Cyrillus Alexandrinus s. a., 1031).[9]

Proclus of Constantinople (*ante* 390 – 446) interpreted Ezekiel's sentence several times. Thus, in a speech in praise of Mary, he is astonished that God inhabited the Virgin's womb without limitation and that it contained the One whom the heaven can not embrace (Proclus Constantinopolitanus s. a. a, 682). And, if Mary remained a virgin after the childbirth, it shows that her son is God, born in an unspeakable mystery; for he who entered the closed womb of his virgin mother was born as a man without causing corruption in his mother, thus demonstrating his two natures, divine and human, indissolubly united, like the apostle Thomas acknowledged

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[7] "Enimvero cordate audi et intelligenter: Quod quidem attinet ad naturam virgineam, nullo omnino modo virgineae portae fuerunt apertae, volente eo qui nuper utero gestabatur, juxta illud de ipso oraculum: Haec porta Domini, et ingredietur et egredietur: et porta erit clausa" (Amphilochius Iconiensis s. a., 50).

[8] "Qui, dum pareretur, vulvam immaculatam adaperuit Dominus noster Christus, ipse et post partum, propria sapientia et facultate, non sine miraculo illam obsignavit, nullo modo sigillis virginitatis solutis. Quod Dei opus esse quicumque sanae mentis est, fatebitur" (Nilus Abbas s. a., 182).

[9] "Ingressus enim est Rex in urbem tuam, seu potius in uterum tuum, et rursus egressus est ut ipse voluit, et porta tua clausa est. Concepisti enim sine semine, et divinitus genuisti" (Cyrillus Alexandrinus s. a., 1031).

when the resuscitated Jesus entered the cenacle of the disciples without its closed doors preventing him (Proclus Constantinopolitanus s. a. a, 682-683).[10]

With this last explanation, Proclus is the first Greek Father to pose the parallelism – retaken so far by many Greek-Eastern and Latin Fathers and theologians – between the incarnation of Jesus entering (being conceived) and leaving (at birth) through the closed door of Mary's virginity, and his appearance already resurrected before his disciples entering the cenacle through its closed doors. With such parallelism, Proclus complements the other parallelism established by Ephrem the Syrian by relating the exit of the resurrected Christ from the sealed tomb and his conception and birth of Mary's closed womb.

In another text, Proclus wonders contemplating the miracle that Jesus, being a man, has "opened" (in the sense of "entering and leaving without resistance through") the doors of the maternal womb, and, being God, has not violated nor broken the seals of his mother's virginity (Proclus Constantinopolitanus s. a. a., 691). He concludes by saying that Jesus entered the womb of his mother without intercourse and left without corrupting her, as Ezekiel prefigured in his vision of the temple's closed door, which shows Mary as Mother of God (Proclus Constantinopolitanus s. a. a, 691). In another writing, Proclus qualifies Mary as the temple's closed eastern door, which, according to Ezekiel, was closed and will always remain closed because only God passed through it, meaning that Mary, after childbirth, always remained a virgin. (Proclus Constantinopolitanus s. a. b, 690).

Hesychius of Jerusalem († *post* 450) states that the prophecy of Isaiah announcing that a virgin would conceive and give birth to a son, and the prediction of Ezekiel proclaiming that the temple's eastern gate through which God will enter and exit, will always remain closed, they are explained in Mary, because she is a mother remaining a virgin, and after childbirth, she always kept intact the seal of virginity (Hesychius Hierosolymitanus s. a. a, 1459).[11] In another sermon, Hesychius, after pointing out that the figure of the burning bush that did not burn means the incarnation of the Only Begotten Son of God and Mary's virginal divine motherhood (Hesychius Hierosolymitanus s. a. b, 1462), states that Mary gave birth as a woman, although without corrupting her virginity, and, even if she became pregnant in her uterus according to the laws of nature, she conceived on the margin of natural laws. This was announced by Ezekiel when he called her the temple's eastern gate, which introduced the King of the closed gates since Mary was converted into a gate for the Only Begotten Son of God incarnate (Hesychius Hierosolymitanus. s. a. b, 1463). Hesychius concludes that the Virgin is the eastern gate, for the true light (Christ) that illuminates every man comes from her womb; and, after introducing (conceiving) in her womb the King of closed doors, she also took him out (gave birth to him); but, when conceived and delivered, the King of glory did not open the doors of his mother's vulva nor destroy the seals of her virginity (Hesychius Hierosolymitanus s. a. b, 1463).[12]

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[10] "At si etiam post partum virgo permansit, quomodo non etiam erit Deus, ac mysterium quale nemo effari potest? Nulla is corruptione natus est, qui nullo prohibente clausis januis ingressus est; cujus Thomas coniunctas naturas videns, exclamavit dixitque: Dominus meus et Deus meus" (Proclus Constantinopolitanus s. a. a, 682-683).

[11] "Intuere quid Isaias prophetans inclamet: *Ecce virgo in utero habebit, et pariet filium*. [...] Quid? lege studiose Ezechielem, et virum desideriorum, quo pacto ille quidem dicebat: *Haec est porta Domini, et ingredietur Dominus per eam et egredietur, et erit porta clausa*. [...] Virgo enim est mater, et post partum permansit sigillum virginitatis quod natura indidit, inconcussum custodiens" (Hesychius Hierosolymitanus s. a. a, 1459).

[12] "Portam in oriente sitam, quia lux vera, quae illuminat omnem hominem venientem in mundum, ex utero tuo processit, velut e quodam thalamo regio. Tu regem portarum clausarum introduxisti, atque

Theodotus of Ancyra (5th century), interpreting somewhat originally the parallelism between the birth and resurrection of Jesus through closed doors, points out that Christ, when resurrecting by opening his tomb, also opened the graves of the saints as a pledge for the resurrection of all people (Theodotus Ancyranus s. a., 1413); and when he was born from his mother's vulva, he did not open it: when he emerged from death and the womb of the earth in his resurrection, Christ opened all the tombs (to eternal life), but at the birth of the Virgin he did not open her uterus and left her womb closed (Theodotus Ancyranus s. a., 1413).[13]

Finally, Theodoret of Cyrus (393 – 465) states that the closed eastern gate revealed to Ezekiel alludes to God; but not because he needed a door to enter when he wanted, accustomed as he is to enter any door, but because by this closed door is meant Mary's virginal womb, through which no one entered or left, but God (Theodoretus Cyrensis s. a., 1234).[14]

Exegeses in Latin Church

In an analogous way to what happened in the Greek-Eastern Church, since the middle of the 4th century, comments had been made by thinkers of the Latin Church on the temple's closed door described by Ezekiel. St. Ambrose of Milan (330 – 397) is, to our knowledge, the first Latin Father to consider the closed door as a symbol of Mary in conceiving and virginally giving birth to Christ. In his *Letter 42*, after wondering what is that temple's outer door which is closed and nobody will pass through it, except God (Ambrosius Mediolanensis s. a. a, 1126),[15] he answers that it is the Virgin Mary, through which Jesus entered the world, through which the Lord entered, and it will remain closed: for Mary conceived and gave birth as a virgin, and remained a virgin after childbirth.[16]

In his treatise *De institutione virginis*, after stating that the closed door of the prophet, as well as the closed garden and the sealed fountain of the *Song of Songs*, are synonymous with Mary's virginity (Ambrosius Mediolanensis s. a. b, 321), Ambrose interpellates her by telling her that she is the shut door prophesied by Ezekiel, and no one opens it, because Jesus closed it forever, who opened it and nobody closed it and closed it, and no one opens it (Ambrosius Mediolanensis s. a. b, 321).[17] Later, after pointing out that this closed door is Mary in her condition as a virgin

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iterum eduxisti. Nequaquam enim Rex gloriae, dum conciperetur aut ederetur, vulvae tuae portas prorsus aperuit, neque virginitatis vincula laxavit" (Hesychius Hierosolymitanus s. a. b, 1463).

[13] "Resurgens e sepulcro sepulcra aperuit; natusque e vulva vulvam non aperuit. Ex morte enim ac terrae sinu emergens monumenta aperit, nascens vero ex Virgine uterum non aperuit: sed et nascitur, et Virginis sinum clausum relinquit" (Theodotus Ancyranus s. a., 1413).

[14] "Ostendit autem mihi quoque portam ad orientem conversam clausam praecepitque hanc continenter claudi et attribui ipsi auctori omnium rerum Domino, non quod porta indigeret cum ingredi velle, qui ubique interest et omnibus adest. Quomodo enim hac clausa ingressus esset, si per portas ingredi consuevisset?" (Theodoretus Cyrensis s. a., 1234).

[15] "Quae autem est illa porta sanctuarii, porta illa exterior ad Orientem, quae manet clausa; et nemo, inquit, pertransibit per eam, nisi solus Deus Israel (Ezek. 44.2)? Nonne haec porta Maria est, per quam in hunc mundum Redemptor intravit?" (Ambrosius Mediolanensis s. a. a, 1126).

[16] "Haec porta justitiae, sicut ipse dixit: Sine nos implere omnem justitiam (Mt. III, 15). Haec porta est beata Maria, de qua scriptum est quia Dominus pertransibit per eam et erit clausa (Ezech. XLIV,2) post partum; quia virgo concepit et genuit" (Ambrosius Mediolanensis s. a. a, 1126).

[17] "Porta clausa es, virgo, nemo aperiat januam tuam, quam semel clausit Sanctus et Verus, qui habet clavim David, qui aperit, et nemo claudit: claudit et nemo aperit (Apoc. m, 7)" (Ambrosius Mediolanensis s. a. b, 321).

(Ambrosius Mediolanensis s. a. b, 319-320),[18] he declares that this is justified because "Mary is the door through which Christ entered this world when he was begotten in a virginal birth, without breaking the genital closures of virginity" (Ambrosius Mediolanensis s. a. b, 319-320).

Ambrose clarifies later that, although every woman has a door in her belly, the only ventral door that is permanently closed is that of Mary, through which Jesus went out without breaking her genital closures, according to Ezekiel on the temple's closed oriental door, by which God entered and left without opening it. This means that Mary is the door that will remain closed before and after the passage of Jesus, and no one will open it again (Ambrosius Mediolanensis s. a. b, 319-320).

Ambrose concludes with two dogmatic consequences. Firstly, the assertion "that door facing East" means that Mary begot the East (Christ), diffuser of the true light, and gave birth to the Sun of justice, confirming why this door is not open and will remain shut because it only received God (Ambrosius Mediolanensis s. a. b, 319-320).[19] Secondly, the statement that this eastern door "will not open and remain shut" means that Mary will not be opened (through intercourse) by Joseph, her husband, for not being allowed to open it, for, after God has gone through it, it must remain shut (Ambrosius Mediolanensis s. a. b, 319-320).[20]

Finally, in his *Hymn XII* Ambrose acclaims the Virgin with these verses:

[Mary] became an accessible door for Christ,
Filled with the fullness of grace,
And the King passed by her and she remains
Closed forever, as she always was (Ambrosius Mediolanensis s. a. c, 1412). [21]

Ruffinus of Aquileia (345 – 411) highlights the merit that signifies the birth of one who, being the only Son in heaven, is also the only begotten child on earth, also being born in an unrepeatable way, so that the prophecy of Isaiah could be fulfilled: "a virgin will conceive and bear a son" (Rufinus Aquilensis s. a., 349). This would be the wonderful birth prefigured by Ezekiel by designating Mary as the closed door through which God entered the world (Rufinus Aquilensis s. a., 349).[22] According to Ruffinus, the symbolic figure of Ezekiel is the best to demonstrate the preservation of Mary's virginity: the door of her virginity being closed in her, through which God the Son passed (when he was conceived), through which he entered the world (being born) from the womb of the Virgin, and then Mary's door remained closed forever, preserving her perpetual virginity (Rufinus Aquilensis s. a., 349).[23]

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[18] "Quae est haec porta, nisi Maria; ideo clausa quia virgo?" (Ambrosius Mediolanensis s. a. b, 319-320).

[19] "Haec porta ad Orientem aspiciebat; quoniam verum lumen effudit, quae generavit Orientem, peperitque Solem iustitiae. [...] Sed confirmavit profecto, et servavit intactam. Denique non est aperta" (Ambrosius Mediolanensis s. a. b, 319-320).

[20] "Haec porta ad Orientem aspiciebat; quoniam verum lumen effudit, quae generavit Orientem, peperitque Solem iustitiae. [...] Sed confirmavit profecto, et servavit intactam. Denique non est aperta" (Ambrosius Mediolanensis s. a. b, 319-320).

[21] "Fit porta Christi pervia,
Referta plena gratia,
Transitque Rex, et permanet
Clausa, ut fuit, per saecula" (Ambrosius Mediolanensis s. a. c, 1412).

[22] "Sed et partus ipsius mirabilem modum Ezechiel propheta ante formaverat, Mariam figuraliter portam Domini nominans, per quam scilicet Dominus ingressus est mundum" (Rufinus Aquilensis s. a., 349).

[23] "Quid tam evidens de conservatione Virginis dici poterat? Clausa fuit in ea virginitatis porta: per ipsam

St. Jerome (c. 347 – 420) asserts that this closed eastern gate through which the Lord entered and will always remain closed means Mary, who before the childbirth and after the childbirth remained a virgin; therefore when Christ was born, she remained a virgin in perpetuity (Hieronymus Stridonensis 2006, 384).[24] In addition, in his *Dialogue against the Pelagians*, he reaffirms that only Christ "opened" (in the sense of "passing through") the closed doors of Virgin's vulva, which always remained closed, since Mary is the closed eastern door, the one that only God entered and left, being always closed (Hieronymus Stridonensis 2009, 880-882).

And in a sermon, St. Jerome asks how to understand that a virgin man (Christ) was born of a virgin (Mary) and that, after the birth of the virgin man, she is at the same time "mother and virgin, virgin before childbirth, virgin after childbirth" (Hieronymus Stridonensis 1999, 948-950). To this question, he answers with two arguments: a miracle and a prophetic metaphor. The miracle that the resurrected Jesus has passed with his real (not ghostly) body through the tightly closed doors of the cenacle where his disciples were gathered (Hieronymus Stridonensis 1999, 948-950)[25] underlines the essential link between two parallel prodigies: just as the true body of the resurrected Christ went through the closed doors of the cenacle without opening them or breaking them, in the same way, God the Son incarnate, being conceived and at birth, crossed the closed doors of Mary's virginity without opening or breaking them (Hieronymus Stridonensis 1999, 948-950). As for the metaphor of Ezekiel's prophecy about the temple's eastern door, which will always remain closed, and no one will enter through it, but only God, Jerome notes that this is understood when the powers of God are recognized, who was born of a Virgin, allowing her to always remain a virgin after childbirth (Hieronymus Stridonensis 1999, 948-950).

In another writing, Jerome, after stating that "Christ is a virgin and that the Mother of this virgin man is a perpetual Virgin, mother and virgin," reiterates that Jesus entered – both at birth and appearing resuscitated before his disciples in the cenacle – by the closed door, and in addition, he left his closed grave, excavated in a very hard stone (Hieronymus Stridonensis 2013, 436). With this idea, Jerome is the first Latin Father to highlight the symbolic triple analogy – later underscored by many Christian thinkers – between the three closed doors through which Jesus crosses: Mary's virginal womb when conceived and given birth: that of the tomb when resurrected: and those of the cenacle when he appeared resurrected to his disciples.

St. Augustine (354 – 430) takes up the parallelism between the virgin birth of Jesus and his resurrected appearance before his disciples in the cenacle: the closed doors of the cenacle did not resist the mass of that body in which the divinity was incarnated, so that Christ entered without opening them, just as at birth he allowed (the door of) the virginity of his mother to remain inviolate (closed) (Augustinus Hipponensis 2009a, 921).[26] In another text, Augustine repeats ideas similar to those of Jerome, asking why not believe that the same Christ who could as an adult enter the disciples' cenacle through shut doors could also exit as a tiny infant through the uncorrupted womb of Mary, two miracles that, although they do not want to believe the unbelievers, the

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intravit (al. introivit) Dominus Deus Israel, per ipsam in hunc mundum de utero Virginis processit, et in aeternum porta Virginis clausa, servata virginitate, permansit" (Rufinus Aquilensis s. a., 349).

[24] "Quod autem porta orientalis extra terminos mundi semper clausa sit [...]. Pulchre quidam portam clausam, per quam solus Dominus Deus Israel ingreditur et dux cui porta clausa est, Mariam uirginem intellegunt, quae et ante partum, et post partum uirgo permansit et enim eo tempore quo angelus loquebatur: Spiritus sanctus superueniet in te, et uirtus Altissimi obumbrabit te, quod autem nascetur ex te Sanctum uocabitur Filius Dei, et quando natus est, uirgo permansit aeterna" (Hieronymus Stridonensis 2006, 384).

[25] "Clausa erant ostia et ingressus est Iesus. Nulli dubium quin clausa sint ostia. Qui intrauit per ostia clausa, non erat phantasma, non erat spiritus, uere corpus erat" (Hieronymus Stridonensis 1999, 948-950).

[26] "Moli autem corporis ubi divinitas erat, ostia clausa non obstiteretur. Ille quippe non eis apertis intrare potuit, quo nascente virginitas matris inviolata permansit" (Augustinus Hipponensis 2009a, 921).

faithful believe them (Augustinus Hipponensis 1993a, 34-35).[27] The author reiterates these same arguments in another epistle (Augustinus Hipponensis s. a., 519).

Likewise, in glossing in his *Sermon 247* the Lord's miracles allowing a virgin (Mary) to conceive without intercourse, St. Augustine emphasizes that an inexplicable miracle like this produced in the virginal conception of Christ is also verified at his birth, for the Virgin gave birth while remaining a virgin, so that Jesus, long before he resurrected (and exited through the shut door of the tomb), had been born through the shut doors of his mother's virginity (Augustinus Hipponensis 2009d, 513-514).[28]

St. Peter Chrysologus (c. 380 – c. 450/451) emphasizes the idea that so clear a distinctive sign of the deity is having left closed (inviolate) the Virgin after childbirth as having left with the body a closed grave (Petrus Chrysologus s. a. a, 518).[29] In another text, after referring to the visit of the resurrected Christ to his disciples in the cenacle with its doors closed, he affirms that there is no reason to doubt that God the Son could (in his conception and birth as a man) penetrate the intimacy of the closed body of his mother and preserve closed her virginal womb, this same Divinity that, thickened with his human body, enters and leaves through closed doors (that of the sepulcher and those of the cenacle) after resurrecting (Petrus Chrysologus s. a. a, 518).[30] And in another sermon the Chrysologus insists that, in the conception of God the Son in the house (womb) of Mary, the one who entered (was conceived) and left (was born) without leaving a trace of his entrance or his exit is a divine, non-human tenant; for he who manages to keep his mother a virgin when conceived and given birth is not an earthly man, but a heavenly being (Petrus Chrysologus s. a. b, 865).[31]

Conclusions

This short study could be summarized in three basic conclusions:

1) Already since half a century before the Councils of Ephesus (431), Constantinople (448), and Chalcedon (451), many exegeses of Fathers of the Greek-Eastern and Latin Churches on the temple's *porta clausa* revealed to Ezekiel are documented.

2) All the Greek-Eastern and Latin Fathers agree in interpreting this oriental closed door of the temple in Mariological and Christological terms, in the sense that it is a simultaneous and complementary symbol of both the virginal divine maternity of Mary and her perpetual virginity, as well as the conception and birth of God the Son made man.

[27] "Cur ergo qui potuit per clausa ostia magnus intrare, non potuit etiam per incorrupta membra parvus exire?" (Augustinus Hipponensis 1993a, 34-35).

[28] "Ecce habes unum in Domini conceptu miraculum: audi etiam in partu. Virgo peperit, et virgo permansit. Iam tunc Dominus antequam resurgeret, per clausa ostia natus est" (Augustinus Hipponensis 2009d, 513-514).

[29] "Diuinitatis insigne est clausam uirginem reliquisse post partum ; de sepulchro exisse cum corpore est diuinitatis insigne" (Petrus Chrysologus s. a. a, 518).

[30] "Rogo, cur dubitatur clausi corporis archanum et obseratum tota integritate domicilium uirginale absoluta diuinitas potuisse penetrare, quae post resurrectionem corporis nostri crassata mysterio, foribus ingreditur et egreditur clausis [...]?" (Petrus Chrysologus s. a. a, 518).

[31] "Intra domum uirginis negotium caeleste sic geritur, ut manentibus claustris ipsa domus septa non sentiat. 6. *Concipies et paries filium*. Qui ingreditur et egreditur, et introitus sui et exitus sui nulla uestigia relinquit, diuinus habitator est, non humanus. Et qui conceptu suo uirginem seruat, et ortu suo relinquit uirginem, non terrenus homo est, sed caelestis" (Petrus Chrysologus s. a. b, 865).

3) As such interpretations are previous or, in the best case, contemporary to the three mentioned Councils, they can not be considered as their consequences, but rather as some antecedents that could have served the Church in those Councils to refute the heresies of Nestorius and Eutychius.

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OD *VITA MONASTICA* K *VIA CYRILLOMETHODIANA*
BENEDIKTÍNSKE FUNDAMENTY CYRILO-METODSKEJ DUCHOVNEJ CESTY MEDZI NITROU A SKALKOU

From *Vita Monastica* to *Via Cyrillomethodiana*
Benedictine Foundations of Cyrillo-Methodian
Spiritual Journey between Nitra and Skalka

Viliam Judák

Abstract: JUDÁK, Viliam. *From Vita Monastica to Via Cyrillomethodiana. Benedictine Foundations of Cyrillo-Methodian Spiritual Journey between Nitra and Skalka.* The time of Cyrillo-Methodian mission belongs to the most important periods in the histories of Slavic nations. Even nowadays we can still see the fruits of the Mission. Cyrillo-Methodian values and traditions were thanks to the Benedictine monasteries continuously preserved and kept. St. Andrew-Zorard and St. Benedict belonged to most important Benedictine–eremites who lived in the territory of Great Moravia. These monks adopted Syrio-Palestinian ascetic rules of eremic life, which were mostly practised at Oriental territories, from the brothers Sts. Constantine and Methodius. The rules were brought into life as it is mentioned in the Legend of St. Maurus, a contemporary living bishop of Pécs. Places where the Benedictines lived, namely the Monastery of Saint Hypolit at Zobor hill in Nitra and Skalka near the city of Trenčín, have remained important spiritual centres to this day.

Keywords: *Cyrillo-Methodian mission, Benedictine monasteries, eremites, St. Andrew-Zorard and St. Benedict, asceticism, Legend of St. Maurus, Nitra – Zobor, Skalka*

Úvod

Medzi významné dejinné udalosti slovanských národov patrí predovšetkým obdobie cyrilo-metodskej misie. Jej význam je zreteľný predovšetkým na poli náboženskom, ale aj občianskom, kultúrnom a spoločenskom a nemožno ho ohraničiť len jestvovaním Veľkomoravskej ríše.

Od čias, keď byzantskí misionári sv. Konštantín (Cyril) a sv. Metod pripútali našich predkov ku kresťanskému Rímu, a tým i západnej kultúrno-náboženskej orientácii, stala sa cyrilo-metodská idea po celé naše dejiny ich neoddeliteľnou súčasťou. Stopy cyrilo-metodstva v našich dejinách upevňovali nás nielen v jednote s Rímom, ale prehlbovali aj naše vedomie vlastných dejinných osudov. Jej ovocie takto nachádzame do dnešných čias (Kondrla – Králik 2016, 95).

Pápež Ján Pavol II. spája činnosť solúnskych bratov s ich duchovným otcom zakladateľom sv. Benediktom z Nursie; v apoštolskom liste *Egregaiae virtutis* uvádza, čo ho viedlo k takémuto závažnému kroku:

„Európa je totiž, ak sa na ňu dívame zo zemepisného hľadiska, aj ovocím dvoch prúdov kresťanskej tradície; k nim sa pripájajú tiež dve rôzne, ale súčasne v hĺbke navzájom sa dopĺňajúce kultúrne formy. Svätý Benedikt svojím vplyvom objal nielen Európu, predovšetkým západnú a strednú,

ale prostredníctvom kláštorov svojich duchovných synov prenikol tiež do ostatných svetadielov; je teda akoby v strede tohto prúdu, ktorý vychádza z Ríma, zo stolca nástupcu sv. Petra. U svätých solúnskych bratov vystupuje do popredia najskôr prínos antickej gréckej kultúry a potom význam vplyvu, ktorý mala carihradská cirkev a východná tradícia; táto tradícia hlboko prenikla do duchovného života a kultúry mnohých národov a zemí vo východnej časti európskeho svetadielu."[1]

Východná askéza ako spájajúci fenomén benediktínskej a cyrilo-metodskej misie na Veľkej Morave

So životom solúnskych bratov priamo či nepriamo súvisí pôsobenie benediktínov nanašom území. Benediktíni sú pokračovateľmi v ich činnosti kristianizácie, a to v šírení kresťanskej kultúry. Všimneme si to na živote benediktínov eremitov sv. Andreja-Svorada a Beňadika, ktorí sú v Nitrianskej diecéze uctievaní ako patróni biskupstva. Svorad je i patrónom mesta Nitra (Judák1999, 20).S ich životmi súvisí aj najstaršia zachovaná stredoveká próza, písaná po latinsky, ktorá sa zapodieva priamo slovenským prostredím, presnejšie okolím Nitry a Trenčína. Ide o legendu *Vita sanctorum heremitarum Zoerardi confessoris et Benedicti martyris* (Marsina 1997, 41-43).[2] Autorom tohto životopisného diela je päťkostolský biskup Maurus.Miesto jeho narodenia nie je známe, no zrejme pochádzal z územia Nitrianska, kde sa narodil začiatkom 11. storočia. Predpokladá sa, že ide o jeho rehoľné meno; pôvodné meno nie je známe (Kuzmik 1983, 268; Kútnik 1968, 155-172). Ešte pred obsadením Nitrianska a Nitry kráľom Štefanom I. (1018)bol Maurus novicom v zoborskom benediktínskom Kláštore sv. Hipolyta, v ktorom aj začal scholastikát. Pôvodná zoborská tradícia v súvislosti s týmto kláštorom hovorí o Svätoplukovi († 894) ako pustovníkovi, žijúcom na vrchu Zobor v benediktínskom kláštore – zmieňuje sa o tom český historik Kosmas (Foltýn 2009, 11-16).

Maurus ako mladý scholastik – „puerscholasticus" – na vlastné oči videl benediktínskeho mnícha Svorada. Stalo sa tak možno pri skladaní jeho rehoľnej profesie do rúk opáta Filipa. Udalosť na vnímavú dušu mladého scholastika silne zapôsobila.

Roku 1030 sa Maurus stal opátom Kláštora sv. Martina na Panónskej hore (Pannonhalma). Kráľ Štefan I. ho potom asi roku 1036 vymenoval za päťkostolského biskupa (Petrovich 1971, 88-91).

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[1] Apoštolský list bol vydaný 31. decembra 1980 (Acta Apostolicae Sedis 1981, 258-262). Porovnaj tiež Kocev et al. 2017.

[2] Maurovu legendu v priebehu 11. – 15. storočia odpisovali v benediktínskych kláštoroch na slovenskom území, osobitne v Kláštore sv. Hipolyta na Zobore, v ktorom úcta k obidvom pustovníkom zapustila hlboké korene. Najstarší zo zachovaných odpisov pochádza zo 14. storočia. V tomto kódexe je nielen úplná verzia Maurovej legendy, ale aj oficium „mučeníkov Andreja a Benedikta". Neúplnú, hoci staršiu verziu nachádzame v Záhrebskom breviári (1273 – 1294). V knižnici kolegiálnej Bratislavskej kapituly sv. Martina bol v minulosti rukopis Maurovej legendy v kódexe z roku 1340, avšak v súčasnosti je nezvestný. Rukopis Maurovej legendy obsahuje aj kódex, ktorý vznikol v 1. polovici 15. storočia v Pasove a teraz je uložený v Bavorskej štátnej knižnici v Mníchove. Z konca 15. storočia pochádza odpis legendy v kódexe z kláštora rehoľných kanonikov Rougu Cloitre (Rubrae Vallis) pri Bruseli. Uložený je v Kráľovskej knižnici Belgicka v Bruseli. Text odpisu bol blízky neznámemu rukopisu, ktorý v 2. polovici 16. storočia použil Surius v svojom diele *Vitae Sanctorum*. Základom vydania bollandistov sa stal ďalší rukopis, tzv. korssendocký, napísaný v 90. rokoch 15. storočia v Korssedocku pri Maastrichte v Belgicku. V seminárnej knižnici v Lubline sa tiež nachádzal rukopis Maurovej legendy z 15. storočia, no teraz je nezvestný. *Vita Ss. Zoerardi-Andreae et Benedicti* od konca 15. storočia patril k často vydávaným stredovekým literárnym pamiatkam. Nájdeme ho aj v zbierke Legendae Sanctorum Regni Hungariae. (Ďalšie vydania pre ich pomerne veľkú rozšírenosť neuvádzam.)

Ako možno usúdiť z jeho *Legendy o sv. Svoradovi-Andrejovi a Beňadikovi*, ani po odchode z Nitrianska sa Maurus neprestal živo zaujímať o účinkovanie pustovníka Svorada-Andreja. Spriatelil sa s jeho učeníkom a spolupracovníkom Beňadikom, ktorý pravdepodobne pochádzal z Ponitria, a postupne získal od neho mnohé cenné informácie o Svoradovi. Beňadik často prichádzal do Kláštora sv. Martina v Pannonhalme a nadšene rozprával o svojom učiteľovi, ako sa uvádza v Maurovej legende.[3]

Maurus bol tiež v stálom kontakte s nitrianskym opátom Filipom, ktorý ho takisto informoval o veľmi prísnej askéze pustovníka Svorada-Andreja. Od opáta Filipa sa potom dozvedel nielen o jeho smrti, ale aj o zázrakoch na jeho príhovor a zavraždení jeho učeníka Beňadika na Skalke pri Trenčíne, kde žil podľa príkladu svojho učiteľa.[4] Beňadik zomrel tri roky po smrti Svorada-Andreja. Rok Svoradovej smrti nie je istý. Jozef Kútnik (1969,62) jeho smrť datuje do roku 1031 alebo 1032. Beňadik teda zomrel buď roku 1034, alebo 1035. Józef Tadeusz Milik (1966, 28) datuje Svoradovu smrť do roku 1034. Pravdepodobnejšie je však datovanie Jozefa Kútnika (1969, 62), a to s ohľadom na život Beňadika, jeho smrť i zázraky, ktoré sa stali pred vysviackou Maura za biskupa, teda pred rokom 1036.

Zoborský opát Filip poslal Maurovi polovicu reťaze, ktorú Svorad nosil okolo pása a ktorá mu časom vrástla do tela. Filip ju objavil po Svoradovej smrti.

Výpovede Svoradovho učeníka Beňadika, ako aj opáta Filipa si Maurus starostlivo zaznačoval – práve ony sa neskôr stali podkladom jeho latinskej legendy. Józef Tadeusz Milik (1966, 9 nn.) hodnotí toto úsilie nasledujúcimi slovami: „Hoci Maurus ako päťkostolský biskup písal o udalostiach spred tridsiatich rokov až roku 1064, jeho relácia je predsa bezprostredná a spoľahlivá. Podávané fakty má živo v pamäti, pretože si od začiatku osobne ctil pustovníka Svorada a o jeho život i smrť sa intenzívne zaujímal. Svedčí o tom polovica reťaze, ktorú si od opáta Filipa vypýtal hneď po Svoradovej smrti a nábožne ju opatroval až do roku 1064, keď ju odovzdal kniežaťu Gejzovi.“

Z autopsie síce Svorada len videl pri jeho príchode do Kláštora sv. Hipolyta na Zobore, bol však jeho súčasníkom (i keď oveľa mladším). Vytrvalo a sústavne zbieral o ňom informácie „z prvej ruky“ a rehoľnícko-pustovnícke obdobie Svoradovho života zachytil dôkladne a podrobne.

V tejto súvislosti si chceme všimnúť predovšetkým askézu, ktorú uvádza Maurus vo svojej životopisnej legende a ktorá sa objavuje u obidvoch pustovníkov. Ona môže byť jasným spojivom medzi obdobím účinkovania solúnskych bratov sv. Konštantína-Cyrila a sv. Metoda na našom území a pokračovaním v ich činnosti, hoci celkom odlišným spôsobom.

Vnútorné prepojenie cyrilo-metodskej misie s mníšskou tradíciou na úrovni teologického myslenia potvrdzuje rovnako nasledujúci pohľad: „Pre Konštantínovu silnú väzbu na Sväté písmo, kázanie, duchovný život a kontempláciu je možné naznačiť aj spojnice s monastickou teológiou, ktorá predstavuje zásadný metodologický protipól scholastiky. Vo väzbe na Sväté písmo sa teda Konštantín javí ako verný žiak patristiky a zároveň ako inšpirátor či predchodca monastiky“ (Hlad 2013, 535).

K osobitným črtám pustovníckeho života Svorada-Andreja a jeho spoločníka Beňadika patrí – ako to vyplýva z reguly sv. Benedikta z Nursie –, že sa síce u mníchov zdôrazňovala aj práca, ale neuprednostňovala sa manuálna práca. Navyše v tomto prípade Maurus poukazuje na osobitný charakter askézy– na „veľké trápenie tela“ (Minárik 1994, 66).

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[3] V Maurovej legende sa píše: „Ad nostrum ergo monasterium in honorem beati pontificis Martini consecratum, cum iam dictus monachus Benedictus saepe venisset, mihi haec [...] de eius vita venerabili narravit.“

[4] Táto skutočnosť sa v Maurovej legende uvádza slovami: „Sed quae sequntur, Philippus abbas mihi constituto narrare consuevit.“

Pustovník Svorad-Andrej prišiel na svojrázny spôsob sebatýrznenia:[5] okolo pása nosil spomenutú železnú reťaz, ktorá sa časom vrástla do tela tohto prísneho askétu a pustovníka.[6] Maurus zaznamenal, že Svorad-Andrej vždy zachovával pôst, aby sa takto posilňoval v duchovnom živote a verne nasledoval Ježiša Krista. Tri dni nejedol celkom nič, a to z lásky ku Kristovi, ktorý sa pre nás stal človekom a na púšti sa postil štyridsať dní. Keď sa blížil čas Veľkého pôstu, pustovník prevzal od opáta Filipa štyridsať orechov ako živobytie na svoj štyridsaťdenný pôst.

Táto prax sa nazýva regulou opáta Zosima[7]– „exemplum vitae regularis sub qua Zosimus degebat"; podľa nej na Východe dostal každý mních na obdobie pôstu 45 datlí. Tento jasne rituálny výraz pomáhal mníchom vrátane sv. Andreja-Svorada spojiť sa s Kristovou obetou. Telesné umŕtvovanie, ktoré bolo obsahom pôstnej praxe, istým spôsobom predstavovalo liturgiu života – sv. Andrej-Svorad ju uskutočňoval podľa vzoru Krista. Javí sa to ako značne odlišný životný postoj v porovnaní so spôsobom myslenia nihilistov, tvrdiacich, že po tomto živote už nič nenasleduje, preto treba žiť dnes, nič neočakávať ani nemať zrak uprený vpred (Ďatelinka, 2021, 230).

Tento spôsob pôstnej praxe u pustovníka Andreja-Svorada staršia historiografia nevedela správne vysvetliť (Kútnik s. a., 12). Rudolf Holinka (1934, 319) ho napríklad vyhlásil za nejakú „literárnu reminiscenciu", pretože pokladal za „nehistorické" uzatvárať z toho závislosť od starých východných anachoretov. Napriek tomu nemožno nevidieť podobne veľké úsilie a pracovné nasadenie, aké pozorujeme u Antonija, prvého ruského mnícha z 11. storočia a zakladateľa Kyjevsko-pečerskej lavry. U pustovníka Andreja-Svorada sa ťažká manuálna práca spájala s ďalšími črtami pustovníckeho života: po namáhavej práci si nedoprial primeraný odpočinok a odriekavý spôsob života stupňoval nedostatkom spánku.

Oba smery spôsobu života zasvätených osôb – mníšsky i eremitský –, ktoré sa prejavili aj v živote zoborských mníchov, vznikli v 4. storočí na Východe, presnejšie v egyptskom púštnom prostredí, v kraji nazývanom Thebaida. Neskôr sa rozšírili po celej Byzantskej ríši. Niektorí mnísi sa však neuspokojili ani s eremitským smerom. Túžili po ešte väčšej dokonalosti, a tak sa natrvalo odlúčili od ostatných a žili v úplnej samote ako anachoreti – v stálej modlitbe a tichosti. Išlo o pustovníkov, ktorí sa ďalej špecificky mohli nazývať napr. akoimeti, teda bdejúci, nespiaci, alebo styliti, pretože celé roky svojho pustovníckeho života prestáli na stĺpoch, príp. dendriti, keďže väčšinu života prežili na stromoch (Colombás, 1990, 179-181).

V Ríme vznikli viaceré benediktínske kláštory, napr. Kláštor sv. Bonifáca a Alexia na Aventine, a boli v čulom styku s byzantskými mníchmi. Východní mnísi, ktorí sa vo veľkom počte usadili na území dnešného Talianska, vychádzali prevažne z eremitského smeru a kládli dôraz na kontempláciu. Sám Konštantín vstúpil v Ríme (868) práve do takéhoto kláštora a prijal meno Kyrillos = Cyril (Vragaš 1991, 68).

Byzantský spôsob mníšskeho života napokon ovplyvnil i celé západné mníšstvo. V 11. storočí pozorujeme na Západe renesanciu pustovníctva. Vplyv eremitského smeru mníšskeho života sa prejavil aj v benediktínskom prostredí zoborského Kláštora sv. Hipolyta, do ktorého okolo roku 1022 prišiel muž menom Svorad. Na základe Maurovej legendy môžeme usudzovať, že vtedy ešte nebol mníchom. Z rúk opáta Filipa prijal postrižiny a obliekol sa do rehoľného rúcha. Zložil

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[5] Svedčí o tom správa v Maurovej legende aj reliéf na stĺpe v katedrálnom chráme v Pécsi, na ktorom má pustovník zobrazený okolo pása výrazný železný kruh.

[6] Pozornosť si zasluhuje francúzska medirytina zo začiatku 17.storočia, ktorá podľa Maurovej legendy zobrazuje nočný odpočinok pustovníka Svorada-Andreja v bútľavom strome, do ktorého sú vbité železné kliny. Nad hlavou má zavesenú obruč so štyrmi veľkými kameňmi. Na rytine vidieť i časť železnej reťaze, ktorú nosil prísny askéta okolo pása, a pri jeho nohách niekoľko orechov. Autorom medirytiny je Caspar Wussim (1660 – 1700 v Prahe); v súbore obrazov *Das Leben der Einsiedler* je obraz sv. Svorada označený č. 37.

[7] Sýrsky mních sv. Zosimus žil v 6. storočí a vynikal prísnou askézou.

rehoľné sľuby a prijal meno Andrej. Rozhodol sa pre pustovnícky život, ale najskôr musel dlhší čas zotrvať v kláštore ako mních. S dovolením opáta Filipa sa potom utiahol do pustovne, aby sa mohol oddať eremitskému smeru mníšskeho života, ktorý predstavoval jeho vyvrcholenie.[8]

Jozef Kútnik (s. a., 12) dokazuje, že benediktínski mnísi na Veľkej Morave prevzali od sv. Konštantína a Metoda sýrsko-palestínske a vôbec orientálne eremitské asketické reguly a praktiky. Sv. Metod ako predstavený na maloázijskom Olympe sa s nimi mohol oboznámiť u sýrsko-palestínskych mníchov, ktorí unikali pred mohamedánmi a hľadal i útočisko v byzantskej mníšskej enkláve.

Znalec starého východného mníšstva eremitského typu Józef Tadeusz Milik (1966, 65-66; 143, pozn. 109) nie bez vecného dokladu tvrdí, že pod priamou redakciou sv. Metoda sa na Veľkej Morave preložila do staroslovenčiny a zaviedla do patrikonu *Zosimova Kefalaja*, stručný súhrn mysticko-asketických zásad, ktorá sa potom stala akousi metodikou eremitskej askézy. Tento druh askézy sa praktizoval aj v Kyjevsko-pečorskej lavre, kde sa preniesol z Veľkej Moravy.

Maurova relácia je teda vierohodným, historicky závažným svedectvom o mysticko-asketických praktikách starých eremitov na území Veľkej Moravy. Richard Pražák (1988, 71-72) v tejto súvislosti upozorňuje na skutočnosť, že sviatok sv. Andreja sa slávil v ten istý deň ako sviatok palestínskeho Zosima, t. j. 30. novembra – Svoradovo prijatie rehoľného mena Andrej môže preto dokazovať vplyv grécko-byzantského prostredia.

Kláštor sv. Hipolyta v Nitre ako duchovný pokračovateľ cyrilo-metodskej misie

Kláštor sv. Hipolyta v Nitre prešiel rôznymi vývinovými štádiami. Ich zaujímavý prehľad uvádza Jozef Kútnik Šmálov (2005, 27-150 a 230-325); rozlišuje niekoľko etáp jeho existencie:

I. Obdobie benediktínskej eremitskej cely s výraznými iroškótskymi tradíciami (polovica 8 storočia do roku 829) a závislej od Salzburgu.

II. Obdobie filiálneho benediktínskeho kláštora, zriadeného v čase, keď sa územie Nitry stalo misijným územím Pasovského biskupstva a biskup Reginhard vyvinul na ňom intenzívnu misionársku činnosť. Misionárska cela benediktínov na Zobore sa pravdepodobne v rokoch 830 – 855 premenila na filiálny kláštor s patrocíniom materského opátstva.

III. Za Svätopluka ako údelného kniežaťa v Nitre sa Kláštor sv. Hipolyta osamostatnil a pretvoril na opátstvo s výslovným interným a externým misijným poslaním. Kandidáti mohli pochádzať už aj z domáceho prostredia. Liturgickou rečou bola latinčina, katechizácia však prebiehala v ľudovom jazyku. Toto obdobie spadá približne do rokov 856 – 865.

IV. V období pôsobenia byzantskej misie, resp. v rokoch 865 – 899, sa benediktínom na Zobore otvorili veľké možnosti na okolitých územiach pohanských slovanských kmeňov. Sv. Konštantín a Metod si získali nitrianskych benediktínov, ktorí mali inštitúciu vysunutých cieľ v teréne mimo vlastného kláštora, a oboznámili ich so sýrsko-palestínskou eremitskou regulou. Je možné, že v kláštornom kostole a eremitských oratóriách, vyňatých spod jurisdikcie biskupa a archipresbyterov, sa konala bohoslužba v staroslovenskom jazyku. Tu mohli nájsť refugium i žiaci solúnskych bratov, a to dovtedy, kým Metod, už ako moravský arcibiskup a pápežský misijný legát, neprevzal správu veľkomoravských kostolov a nezačal oficiálne cirkevne aj štátne organizovať misie v susedných oblastiach. Niektorí, napr. Gorazd, sa mohli po Metodovej smrti roku 885 uchýliť do benediktínskych kláštorov. V tomto období nastali historicky prajné podmienky na vytvorenie filiálnych kláštorov združených s arciopátstvom na Zobore.

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8   Maurus o tom píše: „[...] heremi solitudinem subintravit.“

V. Nasledujúce obdobie trvalo počas 10. storočia až do prvej štvrtiny 11. storočia, keď sa pod patronáciou dynastií v utvárajúcich sa ríšach – Přemyslovcov v Čechách, Arpádovcov v Uhorsku, Piastovcov v Poľsku a Rurikovcov v Kyjevsku – zakladali kláštory nového, unifikovaného latinského typu v Břevnove, na Panónskom vrchu, v Týnci pri Krakove. Kyjev sa odklonil od Západu a priklonil sa k Východu. Benediktíni z arciopátstva na Zobore a pridružených kláštorov pokračovali s novým rozmachom v predošlej zdarnej misionárskej činnosti.

VI. Po pripojení Nitry k Uhorsku sa Kláštor sv. Hipolyta na Zobore za opáta Filipa zmenil z cyrilo-metodského typu na latinský typ. Tento prechod bol pokojný a rýchly. Možný bol i preto, lebo opátstvo na Zobore malo od čias Cyrila a Metoda viacrečový ráz: vyučovalo sa v ňom nielen v domácom jazyku, ale aj latinsky, grécky, staronemecky, ba začiatkom 10. storočia aj maďarsky. Kňazi mníси (literáti) zoborského arciopátstva boli stredovekými polyglotmi. Toto obdobie trvalo až do zániku benediktínskeho kláštora na Zobore (1468), resp. do jeho premeny na kamaldulský kláštor (1691). Kamalduli v ňom pôsobili až do zrušenia Jozefom II. (1782).

Zásluhou biskupa Karola Kmeťka bol kláštor roku 1937 obnovený a stal sa majetkom misionárov Božieho slova - SVD (Branecký 1945, 19-24). V súčasnosti sa v jeho priestoroch čiastočne nachádza Špecializovaná nemocnica sv. Svorada.

Opátstvo na Skalke pri Trenčíne ako locus východo-západnej eremitskej tradície a jeho misijný význam v dejinách Slovenska

Beňadik vstúpil do benediktínskeho Kláštora sv. Hipolyta na Zobore a neskôr ho pridelili Svoradovi za pomocníka v starobe a učeníka. Po smrti svojho učiteľa sa rozhodol bývať na tom istom mieste – tri roky podľa jeho príkladu viedol veľmi prísny život. Zmieňuje sa o tom životopisná Maurova legenda, no bližšie miesto neurčuje. Starobylá tradícia dosvedčuje, že išlo o Skalku pri Trenčíne. Tu Beňadika prepadli zbojníci, zviazali ho a hodili do rieky Váh. Ľudia dlho hľadali jeho telo, ale bez výsledku. Zbadali však, že orol po celý rok sedáva na brehu Váhu, akoby niečo pozoroval. A skutočne: našli telo, ktoré bolo po roku neporušené, akoby bol Beňadik zomrel len nedávno. Jozef Kútnik (1968, 63) vidí skôr politické než lúpežné príčiny jeho smrti; podľa neho vrahovia prišli z moravskej strany. Už roku 1208 však stál na tomto území kostol zasvätený sv. Beňadikovi, ako to uvádza listina šľachtica Tomáša – za hraničnú čiaru chotára obce Skala udáva Kostol sv. Beňadika na Skalke (Marsina 1991, 116).

Hoci existujú zmienky o tom, že Beňadik podobne ako Svorad pochádzal z poľského územia (Hodál 1928, 44-77)[9], viacerí, a to i znalec v tejto oblasti opäť Ľudovít Stárek (1852, 149), poukazujú na skutočnosť, že Beňadik nemohol byť Poliakom, pretože nevedel nič o živote Svorada v Poľsku. Ak by vedel, isto by o tom porozprával Maurovi, ktorý sa podrobne zaujímal o život pustovníka Svorada-Andreja. Historik Michal Lacko zastáva názor, že Beňadik bol Slovák a pochádzal z Ponitria (Bagin 1992, 28); dnes sa táto mienka všeobecne prijíma aj zo strany odbornej verejnosti.

Zbierka svätcov Uhorska označuje Beňadika za Považana: „S. Benedictus Vageus, eremita in Hungaria" – sv. Beňadik Vážsky (Acta Sanctorum 1868, 329). Potvrdzuje to i skutočnosť, na ktorú upozorňuje rektor jezuitského kláštora v Trenčíne Ladislav Vid. Uvádza, že v okolí Trenčína a Skalky je uctievaný a spomínaný len Beňadik – „populus Trenschini in Skalka solius Benedicti nomen circumfert" (Buday 1924, 6). Tradícia tiež zachovala, že si pltníci, plaviaci sa

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[9] Hodál s. a., Hl. III, 44-45. Ide o celoživotné dielo Dr. Juraja Hodála (1888 – 1963), stredoškolského profesora, uložené v archíve Biskupského úradu v Nitre. Rukopis má cca 1 500 strán. Porovnaj tiež Hodál 1928, 44-77.

okolo Skalky, uctievali sv. Beňadika ako svojho patróna a ochrancu a prosili ho o pomoc a ochranu zvláštnou modlitbou.[10]

V benediktínskom prostredí Uhorska koncom 11. storočia kult sv. Beňadika prevýšil kult sv. Svorada-Andreja. Neujal sa však v okolitých slovanských krajoch. U sv. Beňadika sa od začiatku stala miestom jeho úcty Skalka, miesto jeho umučenia. U sv. Svorada-Andreja to bola Nitra, miesto jeho pochovania. Telo sv. Beňadika uložili v nitrianskom Chráme sv. Emeráma, už vtedy označeného za baziliku, a to v tom istom hrobe, v ktorom bol pochovaný sv. Svorad-Andrej. Potvrdzuje to aj rektor Ladislav Vid v druhej polovici 17. storočia (Acta Sanctorum 1868, 327): „Nitriae major fit memoria s. Andreae Zoerardi, imo populus solius Zoerardi nomen circumfert, sicut Trenchini in Skalka solius Benedicti." Odvtedy si ich veriaci ľud uctieva ako svätcov. Oficiálne ich kult potvrdil pápež Gregor VII. roku 1083, a to spolu s inými uhorskými svätcami: sv. kráľom Štefanom, jeho synom sv. Imrichom a čanadským biskupom sv. Gerardom.[11]

Najväčšia časť relikvií obidvoch svätcov je uložená v Pálffyho relikviári z roku 1674, ktorý sa dnes nachádza v oltári Katedrály-Baziliky sv. Emeráma v Nitre.

Nitriansky biskup Jakub I. vo fundačnej listine Opátstva – *Sancti Benedicti* – na Skalke z roku 1224 ako dôvod, prečo práve na tomto mieste zakladá opátstvo k úcte sv. Beňadika, udáva zjavné stopy mučeníctva nájdené v jaskyni: „[...] in spelunca quae vulgo Scala dicitur, ubi etiam sanguis eiusdem martyris usque in hodiernum diem perfusus in pariete speluncae esse dinoscitur" (Marsina 1971, 216).

Skalka sa vďaka pôsobeniu obidvoch pustovníkov, no predovšetkým sv. Beňadika, postupne stala pútnickým miestom. Dnes možno povedať, že ide o najstaršie nemariánske pútnické miesto vtedajšieho Uhorska a významné duchovné centrum Slovenska po celé storočia.

Hmotné zabezpečenie novozriadeného opátstva bolo pomerne malé; išlo o malý kláštor, v ktorom mohlo žiť len niekoľko mníchov. To viedlo panovníka Belu IV. k rozšíreniu majetku kláštora (Vurum 1835, 168-170; Marsina 1997, 94). Opátstvo od svojho založenia až do začiatku 16. storočia spravovali benediktíni (Marsina 1997, 96-98) a bolo duchovným centrom Považia. Jeho šľachetné poslanie však narúšali časté vojnové nepokoje. Počas nájazdov husitov na Slovensko bol roku 1431 dobytý Trenčín a s najväčšou pravdepodobnosťou bol poškodený aj kláštor na Skalke (Stránsky 1933, 163).

Roku 1528 vojská Ferdinanda Habsburského dobyli Trenčiansky hrad a majetok kláštora bol použitý ako žold pre cisárskych vojakov. Správu opátstva prebrali nitrianski biskupi. Prvým opátom po vyhnaní benediktínov sa stal Štefan Podmanický. Patronátne právo nad opátstvom dostal 29. novembra 1528 a prešlo aj na jeho nástupcov (Cserenyey 1933, 182). Panovník Ferdinand I. listinou z 22. septembra 1553 potvrdil správcovi diecézy (nebiskupovi) Františkovi Turzovi – ako i jeho nástupcom na nitrianskom stolci – hodnosť opáta v Skalke (Branecký 1929, 30).

Nitriansky biskup Ján Püsky (opátom na Skalke bol od 9. novembra 1637) so súhlasom kráľa Ferdinanda III. a ostrihomského arcibiskupa Juraja Lipaya daroval 28. októbra 1644 opátstvo jezuitom (Cserenyey 1933, 215). V darovacej listine o. i. píše: „Rozhodli sme sa, že opátstvo sv. Beňadika, ležiace pri rieke Váh v Trenčianskej župe a Nitrianskej diecéze, všeobecne Skalkou zvané, odovzdáme otcom Spoločnosti Ježišovej" (Branecký 1929, 36-37).

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[10] Svedčia o tom napr. básne *Pieseň plavecká*, uverejnená v časopise Orol tatranský roku 1921, alebo *Sen o Skalke* od Jozefa Gálika, publikovaná roku 1924 v diele Jozefa Budaya Život sv. Andreja a Benedika, slovenských pustovníkov.

[11] V orácii hahotského sakramentára sa sv. Beňadik vzýva ako „tocius nostre gentis povisor" a jemu sa pripisuje „multimoda miracularum tuitio". Sekréta toho istého sakramentára sv.Svorada-Andreja tituluje len „patronus noster". Ich kult bol v niektorých oblastiach jednotlivý; v liturgickom oficiu od kanonizácie boli slávení spoločne.

V Trenčíne sa jezuiti nemohli usadiť pre nesúhlas mestskej rady. Hoci mali v tomto meste možnosť náboženských prejavov viaceré spoločenstvá, pre katolíkov v ňom platil prísny zákaz – „solo Religionis Catholicae exertitio excluso". Preto si zvolili bývalé benediktínske Opátstvo sv. Beňadika na Skalke, do ktorého prišli roku 1645. Samozrejme, ich túžbou bolo dostať sa do Trenčína, ale to sa im podarilo až 2. decembra 1646 (Branecký 1929, 42).

Prvým jezuitským predstaveným na Skalke sa stal Martin Fábri, Chorvát, s ktorým spolupracoval Daniel Zedník, Slovák, rodák z Pruského (Krapka – Mikula 1990, 116). Hodnotenie pastoračnej činnosti zaznamenal jezuita Martin Fábri nasledujúcimi slovami: „Katolíckemu ľudu poskytujeme pokrm učenia Kristovho čiastočne v kostolíku Skalky, čiastočne a najmä v kostolíku Panny Márie, postavenom na strmej skale pri Váhu, odkiaľ zhodili svätého Benedikta mučeníka do rieky. Sem chodievajú katolíci z mesta v nedeľu a sviatok, lebo evanjelici nestrpia katolíckeho kňaza v Trenčíne" (Krapka – Mikula 1990, 116).

Začiatky tejto práce na katolíckej obnove horného Považia boli ťažké a spojené s veľkými prekážkami. Plody apoštolskej horlivosti však postupne dozrievali a rady veriacich rástli nielen tu, ale aj na okolí. Na Skalke mohutnel nábožný spev zhromaždených veriacich po slovensky – „idiomate slavonico" (Krapka – Mikula 1990, 116).

Jezuiti sa popri mnohorakej pastoračnej a akademickej činnosti starali tiež o hmotné zveľadenie bývalého benediktínskeho opátstva. V rokoch 1653 – 1657 postavili v Trenčíne kostol zasvätený sv. Františkovi Xaverskému a v nasledujúcich rokoch, hneď po stavbe jezuitského kláštora v Trenčíne, začali so stavebnými prácami na Skalke. V rokoch 1667 – 1669 vybudovali v blízkosti polozrúcaného starého kláštora benediktínov nový kláštor (Branecký 1929, 54-56).

Neblahé pomery labansko-kuruckých vojen sa odrazili v Trenčíne aj na Skalke začiatkom 18. storočia. Bolo treba opäť pristúpiť k rozsiahlym stavebným úpravám, pretože 14. mája 1708 ľahlo popolom mesto a úplne vyhorel i jezuitský kostol v Trenčíne (J. V. G. 1940, 56).

Starostlivosť členovia Spoločnosti Ježišovej preukazovali aj dvojvežovému kostolíku Malej Skalky, zasväteného k úcte Panny Márie. Najskôr išlo o Kaplnku sv. Doroty, ktorú dal vystaviť gróf Juraj Turzo roku 1520, ako je zaznačené v opise pozemkov: „Ad templum velut in urbario refertur S. Dorotheae"; tiež možno nájsť záznam: „prius Capella erat S. Doroteae" (Branecký, 1929, 65-65).

Kaplnka pôvodne nemala vežu. Až roku 1713, keď ju jezuiti renovovali, pristavili k nej vežu. Roku 1745 rozšírili kaplnku na terajšiu podobu a pristavili dve veže. Trenčania do tohto kostola chodievali v rokoch 1645 – 1646 na bohoslužby, pretože bol bližšie k mestu ako Veľká Skalka.

Aj keď sa jezuiti presťahovali do Trenčína, o kostol sa naďalej starali. V tomto čase sa konávali procesie na Skalku, a to na sviatok sv. Marka, na druhý krížový deň a mariánske sviatky. Hlavným sviatkom Skalky bolo Nanebovzatie Panny Márie. Roku 1679 dal Michal Škerlec, rektor jezuitov, postaviť nový oltár a zasvätil ho Čenstochovskej Panne Márii, ktorej úcta bola vtedy veľmi rozšírená (Branecký 1929, 66-68).

Počas kuruckých vojen bol kostol poškodený a po roku 1711 bola potrebná jeho ďalšia rekonštrukcia. Roku 1749 v ňom postavili Boží hrob a na Veľký piatok sa tu konávali procesie. Neskôr postavili na Malej Skalke i kalváriu so štrnástimi stanicami (1676) (Branecký 1929, 70-72).

Plodný duch jezuitov tvorí jej významnú minulosť. Kláštor predstavoval dar duchovného, vzdelanostného a všeobecného kultúrneho vzrastu nielen pre jeho obyvateľov, ale aj pre celé Považie, ba značnú časť Slovenska. Bol ohniskom evanjelizácie i duchovnej a materiálnej kultúry. Jezuiti tu pôsobili do svojho zrušenia roku 1773 (Krapka – Mikula 1990, 286).

Po ich odchode posvätné miesto poznačili vojny a postupne pustlo. V 18. storočí boli kláštor aj kostol zničené. Na dlhý čas sa premenili na zrúcaniny, avšak zbožný ľud ani tak na toto miesto neprestával putovať a konať tu pobožnosti. Konečne roku 1853 bol z milodarov veriacich na Malej

Skalke znovu zreštaurovaný kostol, a to zásluhou trenčianskeho farára a opáta Ľudovíta Stáreka (Judák 1993, 61).

Po nasledujúcom spustošení a opätovnej celkovej rekonštrukcii bol kostol 13. júla 1924 posvätený nitrianskym biskupom Karolom Kmeťkom za prítomnosti spišského biskupa Jána Vojtaššáka a účasti 30 000 pútnikov. Pri tejto príležitosti bolo znovu zverejnené vyhlásenie, ktoré vzniklo 13. februára 1921 pri konsekrácii troch biskupov v Nitre. Práve vtedy totiž vznikla myšlienka, aby sa bývalé benediktínske opátstvo stalo „našou národnou katolíckou svätyňou a ohniskom nášho cirkevno-národného života" (Belás 1991, 43-44).

Tento celkový zámer so Skalkou sa však napokon pre mnohé príčiny nerealizoval. Vojnové udalosti rokov 1939 – 1945 neobišli ani Skalku. Oprava kostola bola ukončená slávnosťou, konanou v nedeľu 22. júla 1951. Slávnostnú svätú omšu celebroval nitriansky administrátor biskup Eduard Nécsey (Judák 2012, 167).

Nemožno obísť ani skutočnosť, že ateistický režim sa usiloval získať toto miesto a využívať ho výlučne na kultúrne účely, teda zbaviť ho akýchkoľvek náboženských prejavov, ako ani fakt, že každoročne – vždy „zhodou okolností" pred výročitou púťou – bolo prostredie Veľkej i Malej Skalky zdevastované (Maturkanič et al 2021, 54). Svedčí o tom *Historia domus parafia Skaliensis*[12] a korešpondencia medzi miestnym farským úradom, biskupským úradom a štátnymi úradmi v priebehu 60. a 70. rokov 20. storočia. Počas niektorých rokov (1972 – 1974) boli púte dokonca zakázané, a to údajne „kvôli bezpečnosti pútnikov". Duchovný správca Skalky musel tiež často zápasiť s vandalizmom – objavoval sa najmä na Veľkej Skalke, ale nebol ušetrený ani kostol či pútnický dom. Incidenty sa zvyčajne „nevyšetrili" (Čergeťová – Tomanová et al. 2021, 543-546).

K zmene situácie a novej perspektíve Skalky došlo až po zmene spoločenského systému, a to aj vďaka duchovnému správcovi Mgr. Stanislavovi Strapkovi († 2017), honorárnemu dekanovi, ktorý pôsobil na Skalke od roku 1996, teda 18 rokov (Schematizmus Nitrianskej diecézy 2010, 204). Jeho nástupca Mgr. Peter Beňo, pôsobiaci na Skalke od roku 2014 (Schematizmus Nitrianskej diecézy 2020, 158; 24. apríla 2021 bol konsekrovaný za pomocného nitrianskeho biskupa), pokračoval vo zveľaďovaní tohto pútnickeho miesta.

S rovnakým zámerom bol roku 2011 zriadený Investičný fond Beňadik. Roku 2014 bola vybudovaná krížová cesta. Prebehla oprava exteriéru aj interiéru pútnickeho kostola, ktorý bol vyhlásený za diecéznu svätyňu a konsekrovaný spolu s novým oltárom a liturgickým zariadením 7. mája 2016. V rokoch 2018 – 2019 bol vystavaný Dom sv. Beňadika, ktorý pútnikom ponúka možnosť ubytovania, a bolo upravené okolie pútnickeho miesta. Zreštaurovaná bola aj Veľká Skalka, na ktorej je počas turistickej sezóny zabezpečená sprievodcovská služba.

Skalka je – ako každé pútnické miesto – predovšetkým miestom modlitby a duchovného obohatenia. Denne sa tam preto konajú bohoslužby, organizujú sa púte, duchovné obnovy a iné podujatia, napr. každoročné medzinárodné tvorivé stretnutie umelcov *Ora et ars* či pútnický kongres *Svitanie*. Všetky tieto aktivity sa usilujú o to, aby na tomto vzácnom mieste obohatili a duchovne nasmerovali dnešného človeka k evanjeliovým hodnotám.[13]

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[12] *Historia domus parafia Skaliensis*, ktorá má 322 strán a bola zostavená Karolom Rumpelom, farárom na Skalke, sa začína rokom 1773, keď zodpovednosť za pútnický kostol prevzal skalský farár. Bolo to v čase zrušenia rehole jezuitov, ktorí sa dovtedy starali o toto miesto – pôsobili tu od roku 1644, ako už bolo uvedené. Kronika sa končí životopisom farára Karola Rumpela, ktorý pôsobil na Skalke do 3. augusta 1983. Zomrel 24. mája 1986 v Trenčíne-Orechovom, kde je aj pochovaný.

[13] Pútnické miesto má svoj pedagogický význam. Porovnaj: Tkáčová et al 2021.

Záver

Cyrilo-metodské hodnoty, prijaté a zachovávané aj v benediktínskych kláštoroch, ktoré reprezentujú osobnosti sv. Svorada-Andreja a sv. Beňadika, sa stali „ohňom, čo tlel pod popolom na spálenisku zanechanom vpádmi, plenmi a inými skúškami" (Tomko 1991, 54). Len vďaka nim mohlo Slovensko po strate štátnej samostatnosti a v susedstve silnejších etník nestratiť vlastnú identitu v búrlivých prúdoch dejín, ktoré sa celé stáročia hnali cez naše územie.

Ak platí, že historická cesta exodu, spojená so zjavením na Sinaji, zmluvou a liturgickou bohopoctou, ktoré konštituujú akúsi vnútornú krajinu, je nevyhnutnou podmienkou nadobudnutia vonkajšej krajiny[14], potom i cyrilo-metodská cesta, nielen tá vonkajšia, ale najmä vnútorná, ktorej cieľom je nový exodus, stretnutie Boha na vrchu Zobor a na Skalke, obnovenie zmluvy, aktívne prežívaná liturgia (čo predstavuje ďalšiu veľmi silnú spojnicu cyrilo-metodskej a benediktínskej tradície), nadobúda štátotvorný a národotvorný význam. Možno preto vyjadriť presvedčenie, že cyrilo-metodská viera uchovávaná v benediktínskej tradícii na týchto miestach nás môže naučiť, „ako nastoliť správnu, t. j. pozitívnu cestu budovania nášho národa, ktorý neustále hľadá tú správnu identitu starého kontinentu" (Maturkanič 2013, 623). Nitra i Skalka ako centrá religiózneho cestovného ruchu na Slovensku reflektujú historicky pevne zakorenenú religiozitu obyvateľov (Krogmann – Kramáreková – Petrikovičová 2020, 86). Obidve lokality sú súčasťou Európskej kultúrnej cesty sv. Cyrila a Metoda, ktorá bola certifikovaná v roku 2021 Radou Európy.[15]

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[14] Ide o ideu, ktorú ponúka Joseph Ratzinger v diele *Duch liturgie*. Uvažuje o dvoch cieľoch exodu – jeden z nich je bohopocta, ktorá neostáva len v rovine duchovnej, ale ovplyvňuje i dejinné reálie, teda zaujatie zasľúbenej zeme, čo je druhý cieľ exodu: „Čo to znamená pre nás, pre otázku o dvoch cieľoch liturgie? Môžeme vidieť, že to, čo sa udialo na Sinaji pri zastávke počas putovania púšťou, predstavuje prvoradý zmysel zaujatia krajiny. Sinaj nie je len medzistanicou, takpovediac zastávkou na ceste k vlastnej krajine, ale ustanovuje akúsi vnútornú krajinu, bez ktorej by vonkajšia zostala neobývateľnou. Len preto, že sa Izrael stáva prostredníctvom zmluvy a v nej obsiahnutého práva *ľudom*, že prijal spoločnú formu pravého života, len preto môže dostať do vlastníctva krajinu. Sinaj zostáva prítomný aj v prisľúbenej krajine; a v miere, v akej sa stráca jeho prítomnosť, v tej miere Izraeliti zároveň strácajú svoju krajinu" (Ratzinger, 2005, 14).

[15] https://www.cyril-methodius.cz/.

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GUILT AND CULPABILITY IN THE LAW OF GREAT MORAVIA[1]

Róbert Jáger

Abstract: JÁGER, Róbert. *Guilt and Culpability in the Law of Great Moravia.* The article describes the forms of guilt and culpability in the so-called normative texts of Great Moravia (Nomocanon, Admonitions to the Rulers and the Judicial Code for the People). The first part of the article describes the parts of the Judicial Code for the People, in which the actions are described, which we could define by modern legal understanding as intentional culpability and negligent culpability. In these provisions there are also indications of a distinction between direct and indirect intentions, and conscious and unconscious negligence. The author of the article considers in the text whether such a distinction of forms of culpability could have existed before the arrival of the Byzantine mission, or whether the distinction is the benefit of Byzantine (Roman) law for the domestic law of Great Moravia. The author also considers how these provisions have been implemented in practice. He points out that the rules in question contained a double sanction: secular and ecclesiastical sanctions, and sought to determine which of those sanctions had been imposed in practical life.

Keywords: *Great Moravia, guilt, culpability, Old Church Slavonic, law*

The concepts of guilt and culpability belong to the main concepts of contemporary law, whether in its legal-theoretical or positive-legal level. We encounter the term *guilt* in the Slovak language and in written documents written in Slovak from the earliest times of its development. However, the meaning of this word has differed slightly over the course of more than a thousand years of Slovak development, and in different periods it had its own specific meaning. The fact that the word guilt has been used since the earliest developmental periods of Slovak, as well as the use of words very similar or identical to Slovak guilt in other Slavic languages, indicates the use of this word in the period preceding origin of the Slovak language, which is generally placed at the turn of the 10th and the 11th century (Stanislav, 1956). Evidence of the use of the word guilt in the period preceding origin of the Slovak language, i. e., in the period of the use of Slavonic and Old Church Slavonic, is its abundant occurrence in the sources of the Great Moravian period.

As far as the scope of the use of the word guilt and its derivatives is concerned, the richest Great Moravian normative text is Nomocanon. This contains up to 41 uses of the word guilt or its derivatives. The Old Church Slavonic word *vina* (guilt) (in various grammatical variations – *vina, vinoju, viny, vinu*) was used a total of 16 times in the text.[2] The Old Church Slavonic word *povinen* (in various grammatical variations – *povinovati sę, povinetь sę, роviньnь, povinutie et c.*) was used a total of 25 times in the text.[3]

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[2]   The Old Church Slavonic word *vina* (guilt) and its various grammatical forms were mentioned in the text of the Nomocanon on the following pages (we present page numbers according to *Bartoňková, Dagmar et al.* (1971) in the further citation of this work we use the abbreviation MMFH IV/: 249, 254, 256, 268, 276, 278, 288, 371, 312, 312, 315, 341, 341, 342, 353, 358.)

[3]   The Old Church Slavonic word *povinen* (obliged) and its various grammatical forms were mentioned in

The Nomocanon contains the following uses of the Old Church Slavonic word *vina* with the meaning given in parentheses:[4] *ne svojeju ichъ vinoju* (not by their fault$_{249}$), *vinoju*[5] (under the pretext $_{254}$), *vinoju* (under the guise / under the pretext $_{256}$), *vinoju* (under the guise / under the pretext $_{268}$), *i inoja radi viny* (for another reason $_{276}$), *vina* (reason $_{278}$), *vinoju* (under the pretext $_{311}$), *vinoju* (under the pretext $_{312}$), *smotriti viny* (investigate the causes $_{312}$), *vinoju* (under the pretext $_{315}$), *bez viny jestъ* (is without guilt $_{341}$), *bez viny sutъ* (are without guilt $_{341}$), viny (guilty $_{353}$), *sam sebe vinъna tvoritъ* (he blames himself $_{358}$).

Based on this calculation, we can state that the Old Church Slavonic word *guilt* was used in Nomocanon 9 times with the meaning of reason, cause or pretext, and only 4 times the meaning of this word was in the form of Slovak *vina* (guilt) and *vinný* (guilty). It can therefore be stated that the Nomocanon used Old Church Slavonic *vina* (guilt) mainly to indicate cause or reason, and only to a lesser extent to indicate guilt. Given that Nomocanon is more or less a translation of a Greek model[6] that does not reflect the legal situation in Great Moravia, and given that other normative texts of the Great Moravian period also reflect the issue of guilt and culpability, we present in the following part the provisions of those parts of texts of Great Moravian origin, which directly or indirectly deal with the issue of guilt and culpability.

Despite the fact that the word *vina* (guilt) also existed in the Old Church Slavonic language, its use in the normative texts of the Great Moravian period is not common. Less rare is only the use of derivatives of the word guilt in the form of obligation, obligatory etc. However, despite the rare use of the Old Church Slavonic word *vina* (guilt) and the less rare use of derivatives of the word *vina* (guilt) in normative texts of the Great Moravian period, the issue of guilt, culpability, even some indication of differentiating various "forms of guilt" or indications of "acquittal" is relatively detailed in several places.[7]

Unlike Admonitions to the Rulers, which do not contain the direct use of the word guilt, but contain only the use of its derivatives, the Judicial Code for the People ("JCP") also contains one direct use of the word guilt in article 16.[8] In addition, it also contains the repeated use of the word obligation, obligatory in its 4th article,[9] in article no. 7a,[10] in article no. 8,[11] and in article no. 30.[12]

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the text of the Nomocanon on the following pages MMFH IV: 253, 256, 261, 266, 270, 271, 273, 295, 302, 306, 312, 313, 313, 314, 318, 319, 320, 330, 339, 339, 341, 346, 348, 353, 363.

[4] Number given in the form of $_{\text{a lower index}}$ refers to a page in the Nomocanon in MMFH IV in its first edition when the word vina (guilt) is mentioned.

[5] *Jako ne dostoitъ s(vę)*št(e)*niku svojeja* жены *izgoniti vinoju govĕnija ni po s(vę)*št(e)*nii* ženiti *sę, razvĕ tъkmo nes(vę)*št(e)*nomu podobajetъ* ženiti *sę.* A priest may not expel his wife either under the pretext of piety or marry after consecration, only the uninitiated can marry.

[6] On the influence of Byzantine law and Byzantine culture on the development of material aspects of society in Great Moravia, see the work of Peter Ivanič (2016, 3-10).

[7] We put the above phrases in quotation marks due to the fact that there were no equivalents for these terms in the contemporary language.

[8] *Let him who flees here acquaint the priest with his affair and the <u>guilt</u> he has committed.*

[9] *They are <u>obliged</u> to eat nothing but bread and water for seven years.*

[10] *About witnesses. Regarding all these (<u>perpetrators</u>), the prince and the judge should conduct an investigation with all care and patience, and not condemn without witnesses. However, one must seek true witnesses, fearful of God, respected, and those who have no hatred, no malice, no anger, no dispute, no <u>accusation</u> against those they testify of, but only fear of God and his righteousness. Let the number of witnesses be eleven or more than this number.*

[11] *However, if he is poor, have the judge flog him and expel him from his district. He is also <u>obliged</u> to submit to repentance for seven years, as we have written.*

[12] *Whoever lures someone else´s slave to himself, hides him and does not say where he is, is <u>obliged</u> to return him to his master or give him another, or his price.*

For getting to know the Slavonic and Old Church Slavonic terms used to denote the word guilt is interesting art. 16 of JCP, as this contains a direct use of the word guilt. It states as follows: *Nikyi že pribĕgajǫštajego vъ crъkъvь nǫždajǫ, nъ vĕštъ pribĕgyi javljajetъ popovi* <u>vinǫ</u> *otъ nego sъtvorenǫjǫ, da priimletъ jego ubega. Jako da po zakonu izištetъ sę i ispytajetъ sę* <u>obida</u> *jego. Ašte li kъto pokusitъ sę nǫždami otъ crъkъve izvesti pribĕgъšajego, kъto ljubo bǫdi, da priimetъ* rm[13] *rani, i tъgda jako podobajetъ da ispytajetъ sę* <u>obida</u> *pribĕgъšujemu.* Let no man put away him that fleeth into the temple by force: but let the refugee reveal the thing, and the guilt which he hath done, unto the priest, and let him accept him. As under the law let his guilt be examined and investigated. If someone tries to force a refugee out of the church by force, whoever it is, may they accept 140 blows, and then may the guilt of the refugee be investigated as appropriate (Žigo – Kučera 2012, 110).

Even at the first glance at the Slovak translation, it can be noticed that there is up to three times the term guilt mentioned in the provision of the JCP in question. However, by comparison with the original Old Church Slavonic text, we find a slight discrepancy. While in the Slovak translation the word *vina* (guilt) is found three times, in the Old Church Slavonic draft the word *vinǫ* (guilt) is found only once, and the other two Slovak words *vina* (guilt) have the Old Church Slavonic equivalent *obida*. It might seem that Old Church Slavonic thus knew two terms used to denote contemporary Slovak *vina* (guilt), i. e. *vinǫ* and *obida*. This is not the case: in the Etymological Dictionary of Old Church Slavonic[14], we find both of the following meanings in the entry *obida*: wrong, injustice, evil, crime, dispute, unfairness (Erhart, 1999, 562). The meaning of "guilt" is not among those listed. Similarly, Dayachenko does not even mention the meaning of "guilt" in his dictionary (1993, 362). The given translation may therefore be considered not the most appropriate, and it would be more appropriate for the two uses of the Old Church Slavonic word *obida* to be translated as "dispute" or "injustice" or "wrong". The translation contained in the MMFH IV is also in such a form.[15]

However, the Judicial Code for the People contains an article which, although it does not directly contain the term guilt or its derivatives, nevertheless most comprehensively regulates the perception of culpability in contemporary law. This is art. 15 regulating arson: setting fire to houses of other people with the differentiating between the setting fire to houses in towns and in the country. (Due to the larger extent of this provision, we have divided it into individual paragraphs and numbered them. There is no such division and numbering of the text in the original text).

1. *Iže za jetery vraždy li grablenьja dĕla imĕnija ognьmь vъžagajetъ chramy, ašte vъ gradĕ, da ognьmь sъžagajǫtъ i, ašte li vъ vьsi ili vъ selĕ mečemь da usĕkajǫtъ i. A po crъkъvьnujemu zakonu vъ postъ* vi[16] *lĕtъ prĕdajetъ sę, jako vražьbьnikъ jestъ.* Whoever sets fire to residential buildings because of enmity or the robbery of property, let him burn if it is in the town. If it is in the village or in the estate, let him be executed with the sword. But under ecclesiastical law, he is surrendered for repentance for 12 years, because he is the enemy.

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[13] 140.

[14] Kurz, 1972.

[15] Let no one forcibly bring out of the temple who flees into the temple, but let him who has fled here explain his case and the guilt he has committed to the priest, and let him take him as a refugee, so that his crime may be examined and investigated according to the law. If anyone, whoever it is, tries to force a man out of the temple who has escaped here by force to receive 140 blows, and then, as is appropriate, the crime of the one who has escaped be investigated. MMFH IV, 188.

[16] 12.

2. Ašte li kъto stъblъje ili trъnъje chotę požešti na svojei nivě vъzgnětitъ ognь, tъže ognь prošьdъ vъzbžetъ štuždǫ nivǫ ili (štuždъ) vinogradъ, dostoitъ sǫditi i ispytati, da ašte vъ nevěděnъje ili vъ mьdlьstvo vъzgnětivъšju ognь sę bǫdetъ. If someone, a stubble or thorns wanting to burn on their floodplain sets a fire, that fire spreads and sets a fire to another person's floodplain or a vineyard, it is necessary to judge and examine whether due to the inexperience or dullness of the person who set the fire this happened.

3. Bes tъštey sъgъrěvъšajego da tvoritъ, ljubo dъ věrъnъ dьnь vъzgnětilъ bǫdetъ ognь, ili ne sъchranilъ rekъ ne proidetъ (ognь) ili oblěvinъ sę, ili ne moglъ bǫdetъ. Let the thing come to pass without harm to the one who suffered the loss due to the fire, if he kindles a fire on a windy day, or has not safeguarded it, thinking that the fire will not spread, or will not do so out of laziness, or that he cannot.

4. Ašte li sъchranilъ bǫdetъ vъse, naprasъno že burja napadetъ i sego děla proidetъ odnь daleče, da ne osǫditъ sę. If he has provided everything, but suddenly the storm falls, and therefore the fire spreads further, let him not be condemned.

5. Ašte otъ tǫčę zažagajetъ sę chramъ ili i požьžetъ jetero čьto otъ svojego jemu chrama i proidetъ ognь i pročeje požьžetъ okrъstьnyichъ svoichъ jemu sǫsědъ chramy, jako vъnezapъnǫ byvъšu požьženъju tomu ne osǫždajetъ sę. If a house be kindled by lightning, and something from his house shall be burned, and fire shall break and continues to set fire to his neighbours' houses because suddenly a fire broke out, he is not condemned (Žigo – Kučera 2012, 110).

The first paragraph of article 15 of the JCP regulates an action in which someone sets fire to a residential building due to robbery, and imposes a sanction in the form of execution by burning (if the act happened in the town) or by cutting with a sword (if the act happened in the country), or by fasting according to ecclesiastical law.[17] The arson of a residential building due to robbery can be classified in the modern sense of the law as "intentional culpability"[18] with "direct intent". In the case of committing an act in the town, it can be stated that the sanction in the form of burning is a looser application of the Old Testament "eye for eye, tooth for tooth"[19]: the perpetrator will be burned for setting the house on fire.[20] Even when setting a building on fire in the town and in the countryside, the execution of the perpetrator is a sanction, but when committing an act in the town, the execution should be carried out in a more painful and slower way. We could only assume why there was such a distinction between arson and in the town and countryside: it may be due to the higher risk of fire spreading to other buildings in the town, which in the Middle Ages often caused "burning to ashes" of entire urban areas, while rural buildings were more distant from each other at the time and were not arranged "along the way" as it is today (this

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[17] On the issue of the administration of church affairs in our territory, see the work of Viliam Judák (1997) in more detail.

[18] We use quotation marks to refer to the phrases "intentional culpability" and "negligent culpability" as these are terms unknown to contemporary law and their use in this text is a neologism.

[19] onsistent application of the „eye for eye, tooth for tooth" rule should be a sanction for the perpetrator to set fire to his house. The analogy, however, can be seen in the fact that if the „legislator" chose the death penalty for the perpetrator of arson, he chose the same means of death as the act was committed, that is, by fire. We put the word of the legislator in quotation marks because the author of the JCP is Methodius, who did not have the status of a body authorized by the legislature in Great Moravia.

[20] The principle of similarity between the punishment and the sanction following the action can also be found in Article 29 of the JCP. It stipulates: *Whoever steals a free man and sells or enslaves him, let him be enslaved himself, since he also enslaved the free man, let him enter into the same servitude.* In this provision, the penalty of enslavement for enslavement is directly justified in the text of the JCP standard.

type of rural urbanization in our territory begins to take place only in connection with German colonization)[21] and thus the risk of spreading fire from one building to another in the countryside was lower. If the said distinction between different methods of execution was indeed justified by the different degree of risk of the fire spreading to other buildings, we can assume that the first paragraph of art. 15 of the JCP implicitly foreshadowed the regulation of the action, which we would call in today's language "intentional conduct with indirect intent", i. e., the conduct in which the perpetrator set fire to the house due to robbery ("direct intent") but this could have spread in the town due to closer location of buildings to other buildings ("indirect intention").[22] The last sentence of the first paragraph is also worth mentioning.[23] It sanctions an act in which someone set fire to a residential building for robbery, not with a death penalty, but with a church penance. This is a phenomenon that occurs multiple times in the JCP, and the essence of which was probably to alleviate too harsh sanctions of secular law.[24] However, it is not clear from the wording of the first paragraph which sanction was actually implemented in practical life. If the perpetrator was executed under secular law, it was not possible to impose repentance under ecclesiastical law. If the perpetrator was repented, secular law would remain unexecuted. We can only assume how this provision of the JCP was really implemented in practice, and whether sanctions of secular or ecclesiastical law were used to punish the perpetrator.

The implied discrepancy between the severity of the sanction imposed under secular law and the mildness of the sanction imposed under ecclesiastical law gives much scope for assessing all the circumstances of the particular case in which the act was committed, which we would call "mitigating" or "aggravating" circumstances in modern law. The retention of a sanction under secular law in most provisions of the JCP can be justified by a rather preventive-deterrent function: the potential perpetrator was to be deterred by a strict sanction of secular law, but could ultimately be repented. However, the above considerations on the preference of ecclesiastical fasting over the stricter death penalty are only the opinion of the author, which can be largely influenced by the current understanding of the law.

If we want to approach the contemporary interpretation of the indicated contradiction, we have not any preserved document from the Great Moravian area that could serve us for this task. However, a letter has been preserved in which Pope Nicholas I answered the questions of the Bulgarians from 866, i. e., from the time near the creation of the most important normative texts of the Great Moravian period. At the same time, the Bulgarian society was at a similar stage of

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[21] As to the topic in question see the work of Dušan Kováč et al. (1998, 137) in more detail.

[22] But in order for this to be an indirect intention in the sense of today's understanding, the perpetrator would have to understand that the fire could spread. In this case, it is important that the perpetrator wanted to act (e. g. set fire to house A in the city) even at the cost that the fire could spread to house B in the city. Either the fire would spread or not spread, so there would be a criminal as well as a non-criminal alternative, and the perpetrator knew and could have anticipated both of these alternatives and still wanted to act - set house A on fire. Therefore we may marginally state that there was also an indication of indirect intent, taking into account the fact that the fire in the city could actually spread due to the proximity of houses. Author of the note: Doc. JUDr. Simona Ferenčíková, PhD.

[23] *A po crьkъvьnujemu zakonu vъ postъ vi lětъ prědajetъ sę, jako vražъbьnikъ jestъ.* But according to ecclesiastical law, he is surrendered for repentance for 12 years, because he is the enemy.

[24] In the JCP, capital and crippling punishments are even more alleviated and replaced by ecclesiastical penance (fasting), according to Western European patterns distinguishing different degrees of penance. This may have reflected the attitude of the domestic population towards inappropriate cruel forms of punishment. Moreover, in the imposition of sentences, no distinction is made at all between the social status of perpetrators and victims (their affiliation to different social classes), which could also suit the social establishment of Great Moravia (Saturník 1922, 11).

development as the Great Moravian one[25], and in questions addressed to the Pope they deal with similar problems as in Great Moravia. The Bulgarians, too, have gradually embraced Christianity, and have had many questions[26] to answer. In the above letter, the Pope patiently answers their questions in detail and sensitively, sometimes with a high philosophical and theological commitment.[27]

The contradiction outlined above is not directly resolved between the Bulgarian questions and the Pope's answers, but the following can be abstracted from the spirit of the whole text: the Pope acknowledges the existence of both secular and spiritual laws, and recommends observing only "venerable secular laws." He also repeatedly recommends the commutation of sentences[28] and explicitly recommends permission to repent if the criminal wants to do so, and no one should prevent him from doing so.[29] Although we do not have a similar "implementing regulation" to normative texts from the times of Great Moravia, Methodius could have fulfilled the role of "interpreter" of these texts. And Methodius, as a person familiar with ecclesiastical law as well as of Christian philosophy, Christian doctrine or worldview, would probably take a similar view to the one presented in the letter of Pope to the Bulgarians, analogical to the above-mentioned contradiction.

Pope's letter to the Bulgarians can also indirectly give us an answer to the question outlined above, whether submitting to ecclesiastical repentance can replace punishment under secular law. Pope's answer XLI states that "*every sin is completely washed away by repentance*".[30] Even more apt is the last sentence of the answer, XXVL: "*I do not want the death of a sinner, but that he should be converted and alive*".[31] If this answer of the Pope reflects the general understanding of the fact at that time, and we assume that, at least for the clergy, yes, we dare to support the above statement that Methodius would incline to a milder "sanction" under ecclesiastical law in a particular case.

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[25] However, the development in Great Moravia was in some respects at a slightly higher level of development, ahead of the development in Bulgaria by several decades. Nevertheless, the contemporary interpretation and understanding of the norms of the law of a given society contained in the Pope's letter is applicable not only to Great Moravia but also to other countries with developing Christianity.

[26] The letter of the Pope to the Bulgarians consists of 106 (more or less) extensive answers, and each answer begins with a kind of "introduction to the issue", from which it is relatively easy to abstract the original question of the Bulgarians.

[27] It is probable that the author of this document was not directly Nicholas I, but his secretary Anastasius Bibliothecarius, administrator of the papal archive and head of the office (Vavřínek, 2013). Anastasius also met Constantine and Methodius personally during their stay in Rome. Peter Ivanič and Martina Lukáčová (2014b, 9-11) addressed the issue of the journey of Constantine and Methodius to Rome. In his work, Martin Husár also addressed the questions of the ceremonial course of the meetings of Constantine and Methodius in Rome (2016, 2938).

[28] *Circa hos, qui quando ad pugnam contra hostes proceditis, fugam arripiunt, si non misericorditer praeveniat compassio, saltem legum temperetur severitas*. As for those who flee [...] at least the strictness of the laws let be eased if merciful compassion is not applied (MMFH IV, 49).

[29] *Si, quemadmodum assertis, sponte poenitentiam agere volunt, non sunt prohibendi, sed per omnia poenitentiae summittendi, quam episcopus vel presbyter ordinatus ab illo considera verit. Nam non suscipere poenitentes non est catholicorum, sed Novatanorum*. If they want, as you assure, to perform voluntary repentance, they should not be prevented from doing so, but submit to all the repentance that the bishop or priest ordained by him deems good, because not accepting penitents is not a feature of Catholics but novices (MMFH IV, 77).

[30] *Utique denique omne peccatum paenitentia, quae nonnisi Dei gratia comitante proficit, omnino diluitur* (MMFH IV, 43).

[31] *"Nolo," inquit Dominus, "mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur et vivat"* (MMFH IV, 51).

The second paragraph of article 15 of the JCP generally deals with the need to examine the situation if someone lights a fire on their own property, and this will be spread further. This is a situation where someone lights a fire without the intention of damaging other people's property. It is therefore a conduct which does not and cannot take the form of "intentional culpability", as was the case in the situations covered by the first paragraph. The conduct described in the second paragraph therefore takes the form of "unintentional/negligent culpability". The following third and fourth paragraphs describe the situations from which we can abstract different forms of "negligent culpability".

The third paragraph describes the case where someone set a fire on a windy day, as well as the reasons why he did not take measures against the spread of fire: a) did not take measures against the spread of fire because he thought that the fire would not spread, b) did not take measures against the spread of fire for his ignorance c) did not take measures against the spread of fire because of his laziness. The first sentence of this paragraph begins with the words "without harm to the one who suffered the loss due to the fire". This wording can be interpreted as meaning that the person who started the fire (without intending to damage other people's property) is to compensate the injured party as a result of inaction - failure to take the necessary measures due to reliance on the fire not spreading or for failure to take the necessary measures due to their ignorance or laziness. It is a form of "negligent culpability".

Important for distinguishing between situations that we would describe in modern law as the "intentional culpability" contained in the first paragraph and the "negligent culpability" contained in the following paragraphs is the serious difference in the consequences of such conduct. In conduct having the characteristics of "intentional culpability", art. 15 of the JCP provided for the death penalty (with possible reparation by ecclesiastical penance), in conduct having signs of "negligent culpability" the result was compensation for the damage caused.

However, the fourth paragraph regulates the situation where the person who lit the fire did everything to prevent it from spreading, but only because of a natural event, the fire spread and damaged other people's property. He who started a fire and it spread only due to a natural event and damaged other people's property should not be condemned. By free interpretation and comparison with the wording of the third paragraph we can state that while in the third paragraph there is an obligation to pay damages, the fourth paragraph does not claim such damages, as the one who lit the fire did everything to prevent it from spreading and its spread was caused just by a natural event. The fourth paragraph therefore governs "negligent culpability", the degree of culpability of which is lower than that of the "negligent culpability" contained in the third paragraph, and no compensation is sought due to that lower degree of "negligent culpability". The degree of "negligent culpability" in this case is reduced to practically a minimum. This reduction is justified by direct action: the attempt to avert the harmful consequences, in contrast to the failure to take the necessary measures to prevent the harmful consequences of one´s conduct contained in the third paragraph. By comparing the third and fourth paragraphs, we could conclude that the regulation in question implicitly distinguished between conduct, which in modern law we refer to as "commissive" and "omissive" conduct.

The fifth paragraph regulates the situation where a house fire occurred as a result of a natural event, and the fire spread to another person´s house and damaged it. Even in this case, the JCP orders that the owner of a house whose house was lit by lightning and from whose house the fire spread further should not be condemned. The author of this part of the provision of art. 15 of the JCP implicitly relieves the owner of the house of any form of culpability and consequential liability (therefore no form of negligent culpability is allowed). This is a situation that we would call in our contemporary language *force majeure*.

Based on the above, we can conclude that the legislation contained in art. 15 of the JCP distinguished between "intentional" and "negligent" arson, although the terms "intentional and unintentional culpability" were not known to the language of the time. The absence of these terms was replaced by a verbal description of these events as well as a determination of the consequence with a possible sanction. Likewise, the legislation of the time provided for different consequences in "negligent culpability", where the actor did not take the necessary measures to prevent damage and the situation where the actor took all measures to prevent damage.

Certainly interesting, and not accidental, is the order of the sentences governing the various forms of culpability: it starts with "intentional culpability", continues with "negligent culpability" with a higher degree of culpability, "negligent culpability" with a lower degree of culpability, and finally the situation, in which the person is released from liability for damage as a result of *force majeure*. This sequence (whether ascending or descending) is not accidental, but was most likely an intentional act of the drafter of this provision.

Although art. 15 of the JCP deals with forms of culpability only in a specific situation of damage to foreign property caused by ignition, we believe that the distinction between sanctioning or non-sanctioning other actions in the present language called "intentional" and "negligent" can be also assumed in other situations. Contemporary law probably used the "analogy of the kinship of action" much more than is permissible in modern law. As an example, we can cite the well-known norm contained in the Code of Hammurabi, which was also incorporated into the Old Testament and applied through it in many medieval legal systems spreading with Christianity. The wording "eye for eye, tooth for tooth" has certainly not only been applied to cases of eye peeling and tooth breakage, but also to a number of other situations in the event of any personal injury (or killing) or property damage. We assume that the description of the situation of distinguishing different forms of culpability in the "ignition of fire" could be applied in contemporary society to other situations where it was necessary to distinguish the consequences of the conduct based on the will aspect of the actor. The fact that such an analogy of solving a specific situation using a case similar to contemporary thinking was not entirely strange is also evidenced by a letter from Pope Nicholas I to the Bulgarians,[32] in which response LV it is written that a statement should not be fulfilled according to the letter but according to the spirit.[33]

If the Great Moravian law contained in the Judicial Code for the People contained a distinction between "intentional and negligent culpability", we can state the relative maturity of this law. However, it is appropriate to ask whether such a distinction already existed before the arrival of Constantine and Methodius, or whether such a distinction was incorporated into domestic law by the Thessalonian brothers. On the basis that the institute of "intentional and negligent culpability" was in art. 15 of the JCP described only descriptively without the use of contemporary terms of the domestic language, we dare to state that probably Great Moravian law did not recognize the distinction between "intentional and negligent culpability" before 863. If it did, most likely the domestic language would already know the terms that could be used for it (as was the case with other institutes of contemporary law). In current legal-historical works[34] on Cyril and Methodius law[35], it has been pointed out several times that Constantine and Methodius, after their arrival in Great Moravia, used domestic language terms to denote legal institutes, on the basis of which

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[32] Answer LV does not respond directly to what is the subject of our present discussion, but we cite it as a recommendation to use the analogy of the similarity of situations.

[33] *Verum hoc sancti evangelii testimonum non per litteram, sed spisitum oportet impleri* (MMFH IV, 65).

[34] E. g. Gábriš – Jáger, 2016.

[35] Patrik Petráš (2017, 251-261) commented on the issue of the correct use of the Slovak adjective *cyrilo-metodský* (Cyrillo-Methodian).

it was stated that if contemporary language contained legal terms, most likely it also knew the institutes of law referred to by these terms. Thus, if Methodius, as the author of the Judicial Law for the People, used a purely description of the situation in a relatively extensive article 15 of the JCP, it is likely that the language of the time did not have term (s) to indicate various forms of culpability and therefore, probably domestic law did not even distinguish between different forms of culpability before 863.

The author of the Judicial Code for the People was Methodius.[36] As a trained lawyer, he knew the advanced Roman law used in the Byzantine Empire. Nevertheless, there are opinions that the author of the JCP allegedly did not understand some Roman law institutes during the translation and translated the passages of Roman law used in the Byzantine Empire incorrectly (e. g. Kizlink 1969, 476 interprets the punishment of self-help and its treatment as theft as a misunderstanding of the Roman law institute of self-help). We believe that the author of the JCP (Methodius) did not err in translating the original Roman law: we would like to support this statement by the absence of more serious translation errors in other translation works of Methodius. If the preserved parts of the JCP text were really an erroneous translation, these errors would be more likely to be caused by errors in the later rewriting of the original text. Such errors were very common in later transcripts.[37] If the text of the norms of Great Moravian law differs from the Roman-law drafts, this may be due rather to the author's efforts to adapt to the specific social conditions of the domestic Great Moravian environment. Based on the above, we dare to state that the conceptual distinction between "intentional and unintentional culpability" is probably Methodius's "benefit" for Great Moravian law.

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[36] His authorship has been questioned in the past (Kizlink,1969, 476).
[37] See in more detail e. g. (MMFH IV, 169).

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GALICH, WAS IT A REAL (PART OF) RUS'?[1]

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Abstract: VOLOSHCHUK, Myroslav. *Galich, was it a real (part of) Rus'?* Historical Galician land (*земля Галичкая*) during the 10th – 14th centuries remained the permanent intersection of civilizational influences that determined the ethnic background of the region, political orientations of the elites and local identity. For a long time since the end of the 11th century the local thrones were occupied by various branches of the Rurikids (the Rostislavovids and the Romanids), the bearers (with an official Orthodox Church support) of the concepts of "Rus'" and the "Rusyns" in the politics and language. The presence of the Ruthenian princes in Galich (Halych) consolidated the perception of the region at the inter-dynasty level as a part of the "Ruthenian world". However, the local definition of the inhabitants as the Galicians (it is known as a separate term *terminus post quem* 1138) and their homeland as Galicia (Galician land), which had been known since 1152, allowed to coexist, periodically to conflict and systematically to "fight" with "Ruthenian" definition in the ideological and often military-political spheres. Only before the final inclusion of Galicia to the possessions of the Romanids dynasty, "Russification" ("Ruthenization") of this region (included to the uninstitutionalized Kingdom of Rus' – *Regnum Russiae*) began after 1253. Hence, the Ruthenian identifications became stronger than Galician, influencing the perception of the Galician past and historical research during the 19th – beginning of the 20th century.

Keywords: *The Rurikids, the Rostislavovids and the Romanids, Rus', Regnum Russiae, Galicia (Galician land), terminology*

The affiliation of Galich (Halych) to the "Ruthenian (Rus'ian) land", or the "land of Rus'" (*Роусь, Роусьскаѧ землѧ, Рѹсьскаѧ землѧ*), which has been mentioned in the chronicles (*летописи*) and church literature since the 11th century[2], was periodically discussed as an issue in the field of Russianistics and Mediaeval studies due to the prominent role of the city-policy during the 12th – 13th centuries in the context of the Central-European history. The special studies by Henryk Paszkiewicz (Paszkiewicz 1996, 446-455; Paszkiewicz 2020, 96-108), Arseniy Nasonov (Nasonov 1951, 130-142), Dmitriy Obolensky (Obolensky 1971, 260-271), Simon Franklin, Jonathan Shepard (Franklin – Shepard 1996, 347-350, 366-367, 369; Franklin – Shepard 2009, 513-515, 527), Aleksandr Mayorov (Mayorov 2001, 89-187), Hardi Đura (Hardi 2002, 17-22) Serhii Plokhy (Plokhy 2006, 33-38, 40-41, 46, 50-51), Leontiy Voytovych (Voytovych 2015, 3-5, 26-30) are among the most indicative ones. The positive changes in the scholarly research of the Galician problems

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2   See, in particular, the reception of the concepts of the "Ruthenian land", "Ruthenian princes", the "lands of Rus'" for the "*Києво-Печерський патерик*" ("*Kyiv-Pechersk Patericon*") in the 13th century (Kashuba – Pikulyk 2007, 12-13, 48, 50-52, 54-55, 58, 63, 66, 69, 79, 82, 84).

that have recently appeared[3], allow us to rethink the terminological and further historical aspects of these problems in a new way (Nagirny – Voloshchuk 2018).

In a scrupulous review of some methodological aspects of the medieval studies of "the heritage of Rus'", it becomes clear that there is a complete or partial discrepancy between the modern knowledge and the terminology used in the scientific and educational literature on the subject of medieval Rus' and concrete historical realities of the mentioned period for its separate lands. Historical (since the middle of the 12th century) Galicia occupies the main place in this process. It owes its name to Galich – the largest city of the region in the 12th – 13th centuries. There were three stages of its development: the pre-chronicle (the 9/10th – 11th centuries), the chronicle (the 12th – 13th centuries) and the late medieval, widely-dated by the 14th – 18th centuries (Tomenchuk 1999, 299-307). Both historically and archaeologically, through the constant expeditions of the scholars since the second half of the 19th century and especially in the Soviet times as well as after 1991, paradoxically, we are able to give only a very general answer to the key questions of the formation and development of the place which was so important in the past. Many problems remain open.

One of the key questions is whether Galich was *Rus'* or not from the historical-terminological point of view. If it was, then when, under what circumstances, and in what aspects of everyday life and cult of its inhabitants, was it manifested? If not, then why the concept of *Galician Rus'* has been investigated in the scholarly publications by the huge number of a supporters since the 19th century? The comprehensive review of the specification and supplementation of the medieval Rus' terminology causes the necessity to find the answers to these important questions for a clearer understanding of the historical past of certain lands of the modern Ukraine, the role and place of its people among other European *gentes*.

Historically the Galician land[4], being quite attractive from the commercial and economic points of view, always remained at the intersection of the medieval inter-dynastic and trade links, which formed the ethnic background of the region, reflected in a number of archaeological cultures of the early Slavic and medieval times (Thracian Gal'stat, Pragues, Penkivska, Luka-Raikovetska, Carpathian burial mounds etc.). Later it was supplemented by the nomadic and semi-nomadic *gentes* (the Germans, Ghetto-Dacians, Sarmatians, Alans, Croats, Pechenegs, Cumanians, Tatars, and Vlachs) settled in these lands. It affected the formation of numerous ethnic groups, local names of the inhabitants (the Hutsuls, Boykos, Pokutians, Lemks, Bukovinians) (Kochkin – Nikitin 2009, 43-58) of this land.

Unfortunately, we do not know the actual geographic or political definition of the city or the region borders until the 12th century. Information from the "*Kyiv-Pechersk Paterycon*" (from the 13th century) about "Galician salt" at the end of the 11th century (Kashuba – Pikulyk 2007, 82) or the contemporary anonymous "*Gesta Hungarorum*" ("*The Deeds of the Hungarians*") (Jakubovich – Pais 1998, 47-50) about the location of Galich during the migration of Magyar tribes to Pannonia in the late 9th century is far from ideal.

The diverse world of religious ideas of its inhabitants, and also their culture, education, life and so on, are still known only partially (Tomenchuk 2018, 10-42). Only a few foreign sources[5]

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[3] See the publications of both series of the Collection of academic works "*Галич*" (Voloshchuk 2016-2020a; Voloshchuk 2016-2020b).

[4] For the first time the "*Галичане*" ("*Galicians*") were known since 1138 (Kloss 2001a, 305), "*Галич*" ("*Galich*") – since 1141 (Kloss 2001b, 304), "*землю Галичкую*" ("*Galician Land*") – since 1152 (Kloss 2001b, 448).

[5] In particular, it is an issue discussed in the writing of the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (905 – 959) between 948 and 952, in the "*De administrando Imperio*" ("*On the Administration of the*

give us some information about the settlement in the Pre-Carpathian territories by the Croats (that nowadays are mostly the part of modern Ukraine, partly of Slovakia and Poland) and about the existence of so-called Great Croatia (by the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus) at least till 992 AD (Moravcsik 1967, 153; Mayorov 2006, 166-169; Voytovych 2011, 40-44; Alimov 2016, 249-255). At the end of the 10th century, as a result of several large-scale archeologically proven military campaigns, the Croats were conquered by the Kyiv princes, especially Volodymyr Sviatoslavovych (960 – 1015) (Tomenchuk 2018, 35-36). So these lands, more or less, until the middle of the 14th century, with interruptions at the end of the 12th century and in the first half of the 13th century, belonged to the Rurikids. This dynasty had been associated with the cultural and religious promotion of the concepts of the *Rus'* in the narrative tradition, as well as in the Western European and Greek historical tradition.

Galich and, without a doubt, from the middle of the 12th century, Galician land occupied a special place in the possessions of the Rurikids. Unfortunately, the identification of its inhabitants (princes, elites, and lower segments of the population) of the mentioned period is known exclusively by the sources written outside the capital. It undoubtedly belonged to the large centers of the chronicle tradition and systematically "supplied information" to the scriptwriters of monasteries and cities from the different countries in the 12th – 13th centuries. It can be seen in the independent "Galician" passages of the Kyiv chronicles (*летописи*) since the 12th century (Kotliar 2009, 13; Yurieva 2017, 20-23).

The city belonged to a group of grandiose Croatian settlements (Plisnesk, Revna, Stylske, Iliv, etc.), stretching along the course of the Upper Dniester, bordering on its lower part with the settlement of the Ulychs and Tiverts (*gentes*), and closely coexisting with the carriers of the Scandinavian subculture at least in the 10th century (Liwoch 2003, 213-297; Liwoch 2005, 37-59; Liwoch 2006, 77-87; Liwoch 2011, 89-100; Liwoch 2018, 130, 135, 161, 163-164). Intercultural relationships affected the origin of the city's name and the identity of its inhabitants. The name *Galician grave* (now in Kachkiv, Krylos village, Galich district, Ivano-Frankivsk region, Ukraine) was mentioned between 1208 – 1211 in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* (the *Chronicle of the Romanids*). Its origin for unknown reasons was not discovered by the chronicler of the 13th century, but he could explain the name of the city (Dąbrowski – Jusupović 2017, 24-25). Until 1991 the problem remained unresolved, and the place of burial ground was not localized. The discovery of the cenotative *Galician grave* and its research during 1991 – 1992 allowed us to connect the city-making processes and the name of the settlement with a remarkable person of Scandinavian (Varangian) origin (modern scientists have no doubt about it). There have been found many items of exactly Scandinavian (but not Slavic or other) cultures (Gutsuliak – Drohomyretskyy – Tomenchuk 2005, 14-26; Tomenchuk 2006, 14-21; Baran – Tomenchuk – Figurnyy 2017, 15-17). It seems that we are talking about the analogy to the Polotsk variant of the centre that was accessible from the economic and commercial point of view and was also captured during the Kyiv prince's military campaigns. Of course, no kind of Rus' self-identity of the region or the city in the 9th – 10st centuries was mentioned. At least the sources are "silent" about this.

The conquest of Galich in 992/993 by Prince Volodymyr Sviatoslavovych caused a rather long period of decline in this area. After that period, as we know from the *Kyivan* and *Volynian chronicles* (*летописи*), as well as from the foreign narrative sources of the 12th – 13th centuries, within a relatively short time in the 12th century this city quickly gave a name to the region and

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Empire"), in the testimony of the Arabian and Persian travelers, as well as in the "*Повесть временных лет*" ("*The Tale of Bygone Years*") of the early 12th century.

its inhabitants[6]. Many sources since the 12th century mentioned the names of *Galicia* (in the Latin version *Galitia, Galithia, Galicia, Galatia* and others, in the Middle Greek – *Γἄλιτζα*), *Galician lands* and the *Galicians* (Kloss 2001b, 558; Kloss 2001a, XXXVI) that are obviously (self)identities which arose as a result of systematic contacts of the elites and the enlightened stratum of the medieval society from the different countries. This principality, though not big in a territory, but rather prosperous, was acquired by the Princes Rostislavovids around 1084 and became widely known. The collection of the West European Latin language texts[7], as well as the sources written in the Middle Greek[8] or Arabic (Konovalova 1999, 133-142) during the 12th – 13th centuries are the most typical in this regard from our point of view.

The descendants of Prince Volodymyr Sviatoslavovych, Rurik († 1092), Volodar († 1124) and Vasilko († 1124/1125), probably with the consent of the local elites, received the right to take possession of Przemysl, Zvenigorod and Terebovlya, which was backed by the princely congress in Liubech in 1097. The land was centralized in 1141 with the capital in Galich (Kloss 2001a, 257; *Cross – Sherbowitz-Wetzor* 1953, 187; Kloss 2001b, 230-231). The existent Rurikids undoubtedly should have been the bearers of the concept of *Rus'*. At least in such reception they are presented in the official court chronicles (*лемописи*). Everything that falls into the Rurikids spheres of influence and power is *Rus'* in the broad sense from the chronicler's (*лемописец*) point of view. However, a thorough analysis of the written sources of various origin convinces us about the controversial character of this terminology.

The concepts of *Ruthenia* or *Ruscia* are well known and used in the Western European history during the late 11th–12th centuries exclusively as related to the *states of the Rostislavovids*[9]. In our opinion, these definitions have become of the universal type, demonstrating the belonging of these lands to the members of the Rurikids family, from which the named three princes came out. All lands controlled by the Rurikids from Novgorod in the North to Tmutarakan' in the South and from Przemysl in the West to the Zalissya lands and the Over-Volga region in the East, were understood in the western courtyards and scribes as something integral from dynastic, probably confessional and partly culturally point of view [10].

However, other definitions that best reflected the mentality and local features of the culture, self-awareness and self-perception, as well as attitude towards "them", "strangers" and "others"

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[6] In short, in the European practice, in addition to Rome, which originated the Romans and subsequently Moscow with its Muscovites (Moscovites), this is chronologically the second case (Voloshchuk 2016, 7).

[7] See (Voloshchuk 2010, 165-178; Voloshchuk 2014, 113-125). In our opinion, in most cases, the Galician and Russian/Ruscian (Ruthenian) terminology are contradictory, thus reflecting less or more precise understanding by the authors of the texts of the historical realities of the described time.

[8] Applying to the Galician rulers and the local population the concepts of Tavroskifiya and Tavroskifs (Ταυροσκύθας), in a contrast to the terms *rus'* (Ρὼς), which are primarily characteristic of the Kyivan princes, the Greek authors also used the typical Galician nomenclature – Γαλίτζης (Maineke, 1836, 115.14-19, 232.7; *van Dieten* 1975, 129.29-30, 522-523; Ephraemii monachi imperatorum et patriarcharum recensus 1840 267) Γαλίτζας (Ανωνύμου Σύνοψις χρονική 1894, 428). For the given materials, I express my deep gratitude to Olga Kozachok from Lviv, Ukraine (Kozachok, 2017, 146-147). On the topic see the "Ruthenian" terminology (*Rossia, Ruthenia*) in the German and Middle Greek languages of the middle of the 12th century (Nazarenko, 1999, 166-179; Bibikov 2004, 117, 119-120).

[9] The Ukrainian historian Vitaliy Nagirnyy at the International Conference *Colloquia Russica*, Series II on "*Medieval Rus': Problems of Terminology*", (May 25-27, 2017, Ivano-Frankivsk and Galich, Ukraine) presented the topic "*The Galician Principality*" or "*The State of Rostyslavovychs*"? but has not published it.

[10] See the content of agreements of the princes of Smolensk with Riga, where "смолнⱦ#нинъ" and "русин" are noted, as different from the Ruthenian (Rus'ian) law (Avanesov 1963, 10-13, 20-35 etc.). Similar motives of contrasting the "movement" with other neighboring lands are also present in the *Novgorod chronicles* (*лемописи*) (*Forbes – Michell* 1914, 26, 30, 36, 51-52, 62 etc.).

were formed and gradually fixed in the narrative sources of the foreign, regional, national or international (here – the *Ruthenian*) origin (Voloshchuk 2010, 165-178). Undoubtedly, the princes Rostislavovids were considered in Galicia as native princes, despite their dynastic origin[11]. But the elites strongly influenced the princes' life[12]. The prince and boyar elites of the neighboring lands (controlled by the Rurikids, in particular, Volynian Volodymyr, Kyiv and Chernihiv), were perceived as the "others" and sometimes as "strangers". This opposition can be seen in *Kyivan* and *Volhynian chronicles* (*летописи*) of the 12th – 13th centuries which used Galician oral and written memory.

Here are some examples. Thus, during the so-called Battle of Holohory in 1144, we read: "взидоша Русскъи полци [Prince Izyaslav Davydovych. – M. V.] на горъ . и заидоша и ѿ Перемъшлѧ . и ѿ Галича . видѣвъше же то **Галичане**. сътъснушаси рекуще . мъ сде стоимъ . а внамо женъ нашѣ възмуть" (Kloss 2001a, 311-312)[13]. A similar example is the collision of Izyaslav Mstyslavovych (1097 – 1154) with the Galician prince Yaroslav Volodymyrkovych in 1153 (Kloss 2001a, 340-341; Kloss 2001b, 465-468). The campaign of the "land of Rus'" against Galich was noted in the *Novgorod first chronicle* (*Новгородская первая летопись*) in 1145 (*Forbes – Michell 1914, 18*). The negotiations of the Galician Prince Volodymyrko (near 1104 – 1152) with the ambassador of the Kyivan ruler Izyaslav Petro Boryslavych (about returning the number of cities promised by Volodymyrko to him) in 1152 became well known. After the Galician ruler refused to fulfill the promise, that was made incidentally, by an oath of the Life-giving Cross (цѣлова всечсͦтнаго хͦа), the ambassador was sent away from Galich: "[...] поѣди же къ своему кнͦзю Петръ же положа ему грамотъ . крͦстьнъiѧ. лѣзе вонъ . и не даша [Prince Volodymyrko. – M. V.] Петрови . ни повоза ни корма Петръ же поѣха на своиͯ конихъ. и ꙗкоже съѣха Петръ съ кнѧжа двора и Володимиръ поиде к божници . къ стͦму Спͦсу на вечернюю . и ꙗкоже бъ на переходѣͯ. до божници и ту види Петра ꙗдуща . и поругасѧ ему . и реͨ поѣха **мужъ Рускии** [sic! – M. V.] ѡбуимавъ всѧ волости и то рекъ" (Kloss 2001b, 463-463). Therefore, the question arises: didn't the Galician prince consider himself to be the Ruthenian (Rus'ian), as if related to the Rurikids biologically or genealogically? Apparently – not to the end; not to mention the self-identification of the inhabitants of all the land that he owned. Under 1202 it was written: "Романъ скопѧ полкъı. **Галичьскъıѣ**. и Володимерьскъıѣ. и въѣха в Рускую землю" (Kloss 2001a, 417). Finally, there is the appeal of the Galician boyar Volodyslav Kormylchych to the citizens of Przemysl in 1210/1211 in order to expel Prince Svyatoslav from the Ihorids family, who was the

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[11] Carried out in 2017 the DNA analysis of the remains of the Galician prince, whom some scholars consider to have been Yaroslav Volodymyrkovych, and who was nicknamed in the "*Слово о пълкоу Игоревъ*" ("*The Tale of Igor's Campaign*") as Osmomysl, – investigated by the Ukrainian archeologist Yaroslav Pasternak in 1937 (Zholob – Koval – Stasiuk 2018, 107-115), – causes serious doubts in his dynastic affiliation, perhaps due to the parental origin and therefore – to the review of his relationship with his contemporaries – the Kyiv, Chernihiv, Smolensk rulers, whether they were the representatives of the same genus "by the sword" ("for men's line"). See the documentary historical film "*Повернення*" ("*Return*") (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3pitjzmz0Uo), as well as the results of the official report on the Prince's remains from the Paleo DNA Lab of the University of Lakehead (Expert – Stefan Fratpietro), published there, for which we express our sincere gratitude to Igor Piddubnyy from Kharkiv, Ukraine (see below).

[12] The most eloquent example is the capture and burning of the alive mistress of the Galician prince Yaroslav referred in the chronicle as Nastasia from the nomadic genus of Chagr: "Таличани же накладъше ѡгнь сожгоша ю а снͦа еѧ в заточение послаша . а кнѧзѧ водивше ко крͦсту ꙗко ему имѣти кнѧгиню вь правду. и тако оуладивъшесѧ" (Kloss 2011b, 564).

[13] See also: Liaska 2017, 12-14.

representative of the Chernihovian Olgovids: "реч[е] им[ъ]: «Братïе, по|что смоущаетесѧ? Не сеи ли избиша ѿ[ь]ци ваши и | братïю вашю, а инïи имѣнïа ваша разграбиша и | дъщери ваша даша за рабы ваша, а ѿ[ь]чествïи ва|шими владѣша инïи пришел[ь]цих? То за тѣх[ъ] ли хоче|те д[у]шю свою положити?" (Dąbrowski – Jusupović 2017, 33). An epic confrontation of a large part of the Galician boyars[14] and the Romanids in the first half of the 13th century deserves particular attention.

The concept of the *Galician land* and the *Galicians* (in the broad sense of the term beyond the limits of Galich city policy[15]) was approved in the territories controlled by the Rostislavovids in the 12th century. This concept gradually penetrated beyond the borders of their domain, mainly to their closest neighbors that had common economic interests and the genealogical ties with them. The awareness of *Galicia* as something different from the rest of Rus' in official documentation is evidenced for the first time in the Galician titulature (*Galaciae Rex* – the King of Galicia (Hardi 2018, 251-264)) of the Hungarian King Bela III (1172 – 1196) used on May 2, 1189 and June 26, 1190 (Smičiklas 1904, 234, 247). His son Andrew II (1205 – 1235), after the meeting with a widow of Prince Roman in August 1205, converted this casus in the dynastical tradition (*Galitiae Lodomeriaequae Rex* – the King of Galich and Volhynian Volodymyr lands), existing in the royal Hungarian practice till the beginning of the 16th century (Font 2005, 196). According to the Bratislava-Vienna treaty of 1515, the death and defeat of King Louis II (1506 – 1526) from the Jagiellonian dynasty in the Battle of Mohács on August 29, 1526, the "Galician titular heritage" was acquired by his Austrian relatives of the Habsburg family. Theoretically they possessed it until 1772, and practically until November 1918[16]. However, the Hungarian royal dynasties during the 12th – 14th centuries did not appeal only to Galician and Volhynian titulature and did not consider Galich and the Galician land as *Ruthenia* in general (Voloshchuk 2014, 120, 122). Repeated use of the title *Ruthenorum Rex* (*Procházková 2016, 208-212; Font – Barabás 2017, 42*) by the *Galician King* Koloman (1208 – 1241) after 1215 requires additional study on the meaning of the terms *Rutheni* and *Ruthenia* in the Hungarian intellectual environment.

The *Galician* concept could supplant the *Ruthenian* during the first half of the 13th century in the circumstances of the opposition of a part of the local elites to the Princes Danylo (1200/01 – 1264) and Vasilko (1203 – 1269), the heirs of Roman (1155/1156 – 1205), the "autocrat of all Rus'", who died on June 19, 1205[17]. His sons personified the *Ruthenian* (*Rus'ian*) tradition in titulature and in practice. Undoubtedly, both brothers were associated with the "world of the Rurikids" among the Western European courts, and Galich belonged (but sporadically), only on the ideological level to

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[14] See the biohrams of the boyars (Jusupović 2013, 99-304).

[15] In a similar context see a modern analysis of the concepts the "Ruthenian (Rus'ian) land" (Kuchkin 1995, 74-100; Vediushkina 1995, 101-116).

[16] The Hungarian and hence the Austrian (later – Austro-Hungarian) monarchs used the title "king of Galicia" since the end of the 12th century. During the years 1387 – 1772 the historical Galician land was the part of the Polish kingdom (*Regnum Poloniae*), and since 1569, the part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (*Rzeczpospolita*). The situation changed only after its first division, when Maria Theresa (1717 – 1780) became *Dei gratia Galliciae Regina Apostolica,* as well as the ruler of Hungary (in practice – *Dei gratia Galliciae Regina Apostolica*), for the first time since Louis I of the Anjou dynasty (1342 – 1382) (Gall 1992, 50).

[17] The reasons for the using of the characteristically chronicle's (*лѣтописъ*) passage to the Prince Roman are due to the long sphragistic tradition, which was begun by his direct ancestor Vsevolod Yaroslavovych (1030 – 1093), married at the first time to the daughter or a close relative of the Emperor Constantine IX (1000 – 1055). The title of "princes of Rus'" or "princes of all Rus'" remained with this branch of princes (Alfyorov 2012, 143-146; Alfyorov 2016, 9-16).

this "world of the Rurikids". Their direct fiefdom was the land of Volynian Volodymyr, which was also known abroad and was reflected in both Romanids's intitulations.

The sources dated *terminus ante quem* 1245 – 1246, mostly mentioned princes Danylo and Vasylko in general as *dux Ruthenorum*[18], *dux Russiae*, *illustrissimus Dux* etc. (Voloshchuk 2017, 105). Even when they held the Galician throne, the closest neighbors knew the permanent titular (*Galitiae Lodomeriaequae Rex*) and sometimes their ownership of Galicia (1205 – 1206, 1207/8 – 1208/9, 1214 – 1221 with interruptions, 1228 – 1234 with interruptions) to the Hungarian King, and the representatives of his family. Even the Ruthenian princes, set in Galich, in one way or another were compelled to recognize the nominal or real dependence on the Kingdom of Hungary (Voloshchuk 2014, 151-152). However, after the Romanids' victory under Yaroslav on August 17, 1245 over the united Hungarian-Polish troops reinforced by hostile units of the Galician boyars, the return of Prince Danylo from the voyage to Mongol Khan Batu († 1255/56) in 1246 and more active contacts with Pope Innocent IV (1243 – 1254), the palette of the famous titles of both Romanids has changed significantly, though not in favour of the *Galicia*. Correspondence with the Pontiff since 1246 shows a peculiarly complex identification of Danylo as *Illuster Rex Russiae*, and his brother Vasylko as *Lodomerie Rex*, *Laudemerie Rex* (Welykyi 1953, 30, 33, 35-36, 38-42, 50-51).

These titles, especially Danylo's, in no way contradicted the titles of the Hungarian rulers, and even practically expanded their use in independent lands, which in the dynastic ideology of the princes were considered the "*Ruthenian*", "*Rus'ian*". Galicia, of course, belonged to these lands. The beginning of the process was the official coronation of Prince Danylo at the end of 1253 and the right *de iure* to use the title of *Rusciae Rex*. Historically, the prospect of the rise of the Kingdom of Rus' (*Regnum Russiae*) was opened. The institutional organization of it has been studied so far only very superficially (Grechylo 2008, 260-276; Odnorozhenko 2009; Voloshchuk 2019, 84-95).

The final occupation of the Galician land by the Romanids in the mid of the 13th century and the recognition by the part of the elites of their suzerainty led, first of all, to the loss of the main princely residence status of Galich in favour of Holm and Lviv. Consequently, it caused slow demographic downturn and economic decline. The smooth Rus'ification (Ruthenization) of Galicia continued (here not to be confused with the notion of "Russification" ("зросійщення") inherent in the Ukrainian-Russian relations of the 18th–20th centuries) and transformed it into a peculiar outpost of Rus' led by the heirs of King Danylo.

Even after the loss of opportunity to use the royal titulature in the relation to their own lands, they used its more neutral forms, always emphasized the affiliation with the "Rurikids (Ruthenian or Rus'ian) world", and retained the *Regnum Rusciae* concept for more than 150 years. Lev Danylovych († 1301), known in the foreign narratives as *the King of Rus'* (*rex Ruscie*) (Zemek 2003, 78), in diplomas rather avoided such a title because of the dependence on the Chingissids (Kupchynskyy 2004, 138, 529-530, 552, 569). His son, Yuriy I († 1308/15), with the only survivor seal, is known as *Rex Rusie*, *Dux Ladimerie* (Kupchynskyy 2004, 147-148). The heirs of the ruler, Lev II († 1323) and Andrew († 1323), however, were titled as *Dei gratia duces totius Terrae Russiae, Galiciae and Ladimiriae* (Kupchynskyy 2004, 150-151). In this case, other variants of the title are also known, including Prince Andrew as *dux Ladimiriae et dominus Russiae*, *dux Ladomiriensis et dominus Terrae Russiae* (Kupchynskyy 2004, 156, 160). Instead, his nephew Yuriy II Boleslav († 1340), preserving, on the one hand, the princely title *dux Russiae*, *dux Terrae Russiae Caliciae and Ladimeriae*, *dux et dominus Russiae*, *dux totius Russiae Minoris* (Kupchynskyy 2004, 169, 172,

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[18] Here it is important to note the distinction of Koloman's title the *Ruthenorum Rex* which in the feudalized world hierarchy was higher than Danylo's title *Ruthenorum Dux*.

178, 185), sometimes appealed to the royal traditions of his predecessors in the *dux et heres Regni Russiae* (Kupchynskyy 2004, 190) title and in his own seals he is titled as *Georgius Dei gracia Rex Russiae* (Mykhailovskyy 2013, 705-706; Longinov 1887).

Thus, Galicia and its inhabitants became an integral part of the *Kingdom of Rus'*. From an ideological point of view, they all became narrated in the sources as the *Rutheni* (as since the end of the 11th century). At the same time, the *Galician* terminology was definitely preserved in the oral tradition among inhabitants of the region, and before Galician Metropolis appearance in 1302/03 the mentioned terminology was noted in the church documents (Skochylias 2011, 246-279). The *Rus/Rusyn* (wider) and *Galician* (narrower) definitions undoubtedly co-existed in Galicia after the decline of the Kingdom of Rus' in the second half of the 14th century and during the subordination by the Kings of Poland 1387 – 1772 (since 1569 – Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth). The famous chronicler Jan Długosz (1415–1480) knew and used the term *terra Haliciensis* in the second half of the 15th century (Wyrozumski 2005, 107). Galician terminology is also known in the sources of the 14th – 18th centuries in the governing bodies of Galician Land of *Palatinatus Russiae*, like *Haliciensis starosta*, *castellanus*, *ensiger*, *notarius*, *pocillator* and others (Przyboś 1987, 35-77). It means that a partial preservation of "Galician memory", which was insufficient for more long-time memory, existed.

However, the Ruthenian self-identification was more stable. That is why it was not surprising that the concept of *Galician Rus'* (*Galician-Volhynian* or *Galician-Vladimir Rus'*) was significant at the time of the appearance in the 19th century of the local history works on the history of Galich and Galicia, historical intelligence and archaeological studies (Khrystan 2018, 160-174). A whole pleiad of the native-born authors of the historical Galician land considered it the integral part of the once seemingly single "world of Rus'" that was formed during the times of princes. Thus, the idea of the indisputable and continuous historical community of the lands of Rus', which in the 19th and early 20th centuries were a part of the possessions, for example, of the Habsburg and the Romanov dynasties, is promoted in the life and works of Denys Zubrytskyy, Ivan Vahylevych, Markiyan Shashkevych, Yakiv Holovatskyy, Antin Petrushevych, Bogdan Didytskyy, Isydor Sharanevych (Khrystan 2018, 165-173), Ivan Franko[19] and even Mykhailo Hrushevskyy[20] and many other modern scholars. This was a result of the characteristic "Rus'ian" ("Ruthenian") pseudo- Galician researchers whose works, dedicated to Galicia, stimulated establishment of associations, societies and later also political parties.

So, to what extent were Galicia and Galich (part of) *Rus'* during the 11th–14th centuries? The question would be more than rhetorical even for the Rurik dynasty representatives on the thrones in Galich, Przemysl, Zvenygorod, Terebovlya and others like that.

As a component (albeit not permanent) of the possessions of the Rurikids, the bearers and "missionaries" of the concepts of *Rus'*, Galicia and Galich from the 11th – 12th centuries were

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[19] Mykhailo Hrushevskyy, one of the most famous Ukrainian writers, was born in 1856 in the village of Naguevychi (now the village with the same title in Drohobych district of the Lviv region, Ukraine). He founded the Rus'ian-Ukrainian radical party ("*Русько-Українськоі Радикальноі Партіі*") (1890), and the Ukrainian-Rus'ian Publishing Union in Lviv ("*Українсько-Руськоі Видавничоі Спілки у Львові*") (1899). He was one of the first initiators of the broader use of the *Ukrainian* identity, as opposed to the identity of the *Rusyn*. (Hrytsak 2006, 175-199).

[20] It is worth paying attention to his work "*Звичайна схема "русскоі" історіі й справа раціонального укладу історіі східного слов'янства*" ("*The usual scheme of the „Rus'ian" history and the matter of the rational structure of the history of the Eastern Slavs*") (1903), represented also in a multi-volume work "*Історіі України-Руси*" ("*The history of Ukraine-Rus'*") (1895 – 1933), where the stories of Galicia did not have an independent historical line, but they are described in context of the history of Rus' (Hrushevsyy 1991, 7-13).

often associated abroad with the terms *Ruthenia, Rutenia, Ruscia, Russia, Rossia* etc. However, the prestige of the princes, the wealth of the elites, broad external contacts of the intellectual environment simultaneously strengthened in the history writings and official charters the term *Galicia*. A slow, but tireless "Rus'ification" ("Ruthenization") of the average citizen at the level of self-awareness began in the 12th century, especially after the coronation of Danylo as *Rusciae Rex* at the end of 1253, and the rise of *Regnum Russiae*. Hence both definitions (Galician and Ruscian) used in the sources and probably in the long oral tradition were doomed to coexistence and co-use. Galicia was more actively manifested in religious life of the 14th–18th centuries and in the management of Galician Land of *Palatinatus Russiae. Ruthenian* terminology was, however, more actively used by the scholars from Galicia in the 19th – 20th centuries in their research and political activities.

In modern historical studies and in the process of revision of the long-established historical narratives, often enshrined by the imperial ideology, which may operate using the terms that distort the perception of the historical past, there is a need to get rid of the previous load of illogical historiographical concepts. We hope this study contributes to that endeavour.

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TWO PERSPECTIVES ON THE ISSUE OF PRUDENCE (*PRUDENTIA*): THOMAS AQUINAS AND WILLIAM OF OCKHAM[1]

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Abstract: NEMEC, Rastislav – BLAŠČÍKOVÁ, Andrea. *Two Perspectives on the Issue of Prudence (Prudentia): Thomas Aquinas and William of Ockham*. The text focuses on a comparison of the concept of prudence from the points of view of Thomas Aquinas and William of Ockham, detailing four various insights into the core of prudence. The first concerns the position of the virtue of prudence within the framework of ethics; the second deals with the role of will and the intellect in regard to virtue; the third describes the principles of prudence; and the fourth is dedicated to relations between an exterior and interior act of virtue. On the basis of the comparison, we discover that the understanding of prudence has changed radically along with the transformation of the relations among reason, will and natural inclinations. While prudence, according to Aquinas, illuminates us the ways to properly pursue the good of our natural inclinations, Ockham does not associate prudence and virtue with the idea of inclination at all. This change also had an impact on the perception of an exterior act of virtue. An interior act is crucial for both authors, but while Aquinas sees an exterior act as the apex of prudence, Ockham is not convinced about the importance of reaching it. In the case of Ockham's ethical theory, there is a distinct shift from the ethics of virtue towards the incoming modern formalism and individualism.

Keywords: *prudence (prudentia), virtue, Thomas Aquinas, William of Ockham*

Introduction

The aim of the paper is to compare the concepts of prudence (*prudentia*) in two authors of the medieval world – Thomas Aquinas and William Ockham. Since prudence is a part of complex topics related to human moral conduct in both authors, to the extent that they shed light on the nature of prudence, these contexts will also be the subject of comparison. For both authors, we will gradually comment on four points that are essential to their understanding of prudence: a) the place of prudence as a virtue in their ethical system following Aristotle as the reference point; b) the role of will and intellect in virtue and especially in the virtue of prudence; (c) the principles of prudence; (d) the relationship between exterior and interior act of the virtue. We will first (1) examine these points of comparison with Thomas Aquinas. Since the link between Thomas Aquinas and William Ockham is represented by John Duns Scotus, in the next part (2) we will very briefly outline Scotus's way of thinking about virtue. In the third step (3), we will focus on

the concept of prudence in William of Ockham. In conclusion (4) we depict and summarize the similarities and differences between the two authors.

1. Thomas Aquinas on prudence

Thomas Aquinas (1225 – 1274) was significantly influenced by Aristotle in his understanding of ethics as well as the virtue of prudence (prudentia). However, this does not mean that in some aspects he did not bring innovations or use elements of thinking of other authors (Volek 2011, 11). In analyzing his concept of prudence, we rely primarily on his work *Summa theologiae* (hereinafter STh).

Prudence has a special position in Thomas's systematization of virtues. With regard to its essence, it belongs to the intellectual virtues, but with regard to the matter to which it relates, it belongs to the moral virtues. Thomas also places it among the principal or cardinal virtues. Its place is in the practical reason, which directs the known truth to operation. Tomas defines it as a *recta ratio agibilium*, which means "a correct understanding of what can be caused by action" (Němec 2008, 144).

But what can be caused by our actions? We make something and we do something by our acts. Making is an action by which we change the external world, for example, to build, to saw, and so forth. Doing is an action abiding in the agent, e. g. to understand, to will, and the like. The virtue that improves the making is called art or technical skill (*ars*). The result is a good work, which does not necessarily mean the good character of the acting person. An artist does not have to be a moral person, although he can be a good artist. The virtue that causes the good character of its owner is called prudence (Machula 2020, 11).

A good character can be considered as the interior good of man. Prudence is a virtue that advises a man how to become a good man and thus achieve beatitude. All our acts are motivated by the desire to attain beatitude (STh I-II, q. 1, a. 6). All people agree in this natural desire, although they do not agree in what the beatitude of man is. According to Thomas, beatitude is an object of the will, but it lies in the activity of the intellect, especially speculative rather than practical. According to Thomas, the intellect is the best human ability (*optima potentia*). The best object of the intellect is the highest good, the divine good. The will is attracted by the highest good, but it is the intellect that apprehends and grasps the good. The will thus achieves its object as apprehended by the intellect. Only when the intellect apprehends the essence of the highest good, the will attains final rest and delight (enjoyment). In the conditions of this life, the apprehension of the highest good essence is only partial. Therefore, in this life a man can attain only an imperfect beatitude. The imperfect beatitude also lies primarily in vision, i. e. in the activity of the speculative intellect. But secondarily also in the activity of the practical intellect, directing human actions and passions.

The activity of the practical intellect, since it concerns human acts and human good in the present life, is necessarily connected with the activity of the will. Human life "consists of many acts of the will together with the external acts arising from them" (Gallagher 2002, 78).[2] Among the individual objects (acts), the will chooses those that promise to achieve better the intended end. Thomas understands these chosen subjects as means to the end (*ea quae sunt ad finem*). In order for the will to be correct, it is required that it chooses the subjects on the basis of the judgement

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[2]   The emphasis on the intentionality of the will and the doer inner way of thinking, which precedes exterior acts, was placed in ethics in the 12th century by Peter Abelard (Vašek 2013, 487).

of reason. Recognizing the proportionality of an act in relation to the end is a task of the practical reason.

Prudence improves the intellectual ability to correctly specify the proportion of the act in relation to the end. According to Thomas, a man would not be able to find appropriate ways to his beatitude if he were not disposed to it both on the side of appetite and reason. Prudence presupposes as its prerequisite the right appetite and the rational disposition containing the first principles of human acts (*synderesis*).

A prerequisite for prudence on the side of appetite is an inclination to the appropriate end. This inclination is given both by nature and by moral virtue. "For example, justice makes it [appetite] incline towards the good that is equality in things that are part of our shared life, while temperateness makes it incline towards the good of restraining oneself from the objects of sensual desire, and so on with each virtue" (De virtutibus, q. 1, a. 6). However, the natural inclination for good of virtue is only the beginning of the virtue (*inchoatio virtutis*), not the perfect virtue. "For the stronger this inclination is, the more perilous may it prove to be, unless it be accompanied by right reason, which rectifies the choice of fitting means towards the due end" (STh I-II, q. 58, a. 4 to 3). What it means to be just, temperate, brave in particular situations has many forms. Prudence specifies what the end is in the particular situation. However, it does not belong to prudence to establish the end to moral virtues, but only to regulate the means to the end.

Prudence is thus preceded, in terms of appetite, by a natural inclination towards the end, the human good. On the part of reason, it is preceded by the natural knowledge that the human good to which moral virtues are directed is to be in accord with reason (*secundum rationem esse*). Thus, man naturally knows that as a person he develops himself when he chooses in accord with reason. He knows that he must act in accord with that his reason recognizes to be right. He knows that "good is to be done and pursued, and evil is to be avoided" (STh I-II, q. 94, a. 2). This guidance is naturally known to him as the habit of practical reason, called synderesis. Thomas considers it to be the second prerequisite for prudence.

Knowing the end of appetitive power means knowing the basic principle of action. This principle will develop into the so-called natural law, when a man rationally recognizes the individual goods to which his nature inclines. Human nature tends towards three groups of goods: the preservation of one's own existence, the good of sensitive knowledge and sensitive appetite, and the good of rational knowledge and rational appetite. The good of social life also belongs to this third inclination (Chabada – Szapuová 2017, 699-700). The most universal principles are based on the knowledge of these inclinations, such as: Acting in such a way that one ensures his own persistence and avoids what contradicts the preservation of being. Educate offspring. Avoid ignorance. Not to offend those among whom one has to live and other such things (STh I-II, q. 94, a. 2).

However, knowing inclinations and the goods of human nature as principles of action does not mean achieving the end of moral virtue. It belongs to the ruling of prudence to decide in what manner and by what means a man shall obtain the mean of reason in his acts. This is achieved only when reason correctly determines how and through what (*qualiter et per quae*) one should act in order to be directed to the end.

This operation is performed by prudence as a kind of practical syllogism. "Practical syllogism [...] resembles the speculative in its structure, but differs with respect to its connection with desire and action" (Osborne 2014, 62). According to M. Rhonheimer's explanation, the first premise of practical syllogism captures the good of human appetite as what is to be realized as an end. For example: "I want to stay alive / It is good (for me) to keep myself alive." The second premise is a statement based on experience, a statement about a practically relevant state of affairs. This statement is a speculative judgment, or theoretical judgment or a sense perception. For example: "Taking in nourishment keeps me alive." The conclusion specifies how and through what the goal

is achieved, i. e. the act to be performed: "I want to take in nourishment / It is good (for me) to take in nourishment" (Rhonheimer 2011, 117-118).

Practical syllogism corresponds to two operations of rationality: the counsel and the judgment. To counsel (*consilium*), by its definition, is an intellectual search for an action by which human good, and thus the end of moral virtue, could be achieved in a particular situation. The main criterion of a right counsel is the end, but in the search for appropriate means to the end, other principles also help prudence, namely principles adopted in sense experience or principles universally known through speculative or practical science. The classification also includes consideration of the numerous conditions and circumstances of the act. Judgment (*iudicium*) is the conclusion of syllogism, and thus the final statement of what is to be done.

For Thomas, however, the competence of reason does not end with the judgment. A man can know what to do and still not perform the act. He may be deterred from committing an act by an obstacle on the part of his sense appetite, that is, by an inordinate desire, as a result of which he lacks the permanence and determination to carry the judgement out. This withdrawal from the execution of an act is consummated (*consummator*) in the reason, "which is deceived in rejecting what before it had rightly accepted" (STh II-II, q. 53, a. 5). In order not to fail to apply the judgment to the acts, the reason must be perfected accordingly. This operational perfection of the practical reason, which is at the same time the main act of prudence, is called a command (*praeceptum*, *imperium*).

According to Thomas, the command is not an act of will, but of reason. The will moves the individual powers to perform an act (*usus*), but reason directs this motion. The will is the root of liberty and action, but reason is its cause (STh I-II, q. 17, a. 1). Therefore, the command to perform an act belongs to reason, presupposing an act of the will. Without this operation, the end of the practical reason – human act – would not be achieved.

As a result of the cooperation of the intellectual and appetitive power, human action has two components: interior and exterior. The interior one consists of: a) the initial apprehension of the good to which a man inclines, and the intention to achieve that good; b) the counsel and the judgment on what it means to achieve the intended good in particular; c) the choice followed by the command to perform the act. An exterior act is an execution of a command, using the will. Just as virtue is the result of the cooperation of will and reason, so the act of virtue is the result of the dynamics of will and reason in the execution of the act. Immanence, which characterizes the activity of prudence thus "results necessarily in a sort of emanation, and spilling over into interactions with the world, a growth of the individual in its virtue which manifests itself in its external actions" (Kremple 2017, 570).

2. Ockham and his starting points

The issue of prudence is quite complex in Ockham (1285 – 1347). In our analyses, we will rely primarily on two of his works: *Quaestiones variae* (OTh VIII) and *Ordinatio* (OTh I).

Ockham was influenced by the teachings of Duns Scotus (1266 – 1308) in this subject. In short (also for the sake of chronological accuracy) we will indicate Scotus' understanding of prudence and virtue in general. Scotus responds to Aquinas directly, while Ockham responds only to certain passages. Therefore, by his teaching we will better connect this topic and better explain the background that forms the centre of Ockham's teaching on prudence.

Scotus rejects the position that virtues are based on good that are indicated by natural inclinations shared with non-rational creatures. For Scotus, the source and principle of virtue is the will, which is free. The will is free, which means, on the one hand, that it has a power

over the acts one intends to perform. And on the other hand, it is free if nothing impedes it from choosing: to decide whether to act (to act or not to act) and what to act (whether or not to do). It is free even because it can decide against what the intellectual judgment offers (which Aquinas did not accept) and it can even decide for evil. Therefore, for Scotus, a free act results from free will – only if the will is free, can its acts also be free, and only then they are virtuous. According to him, virtues differ only in what their end is and what the will is decided for. The end of speculative knowledge is theoretical truth; the end of practical knowledge is truth related to practical action. We use speculative and practical reason in both cases – these are the basic differences compared to Aquinas (Osborne 2014, 82-83). How does he understand prudence in this way?

According to Aristotle's way of thinking in the Nicomachean Ethics 6, 3 1139b15, which states that prudence refers to a specific action, Scotus in some of his works, but especially in *Lectura in Librum Primum Sententiarum* (Prol. 4, q. 1-2, 174) distinguishes three instances of practical reason: the first are the general principles, the second is moral science, and the third is prudence acquired from experience. The first instance is represented by the principles that the human mind recognizes by itself. These are principles that have a theoretical basis and are indisputable (e. g. *honestum vivendum est*). Such basic moral principles are evident to the intellect: "God is to be loved above all things" and many more. The other two are problematic: prudence (*prudentia*) and moral science (*scientia moralis*). Moral science is a general source of practical action because it contains the principles and rules by which action must be taken. They are learned. Prudence is not so universal and it is much more "concrete". It directly encourages action, which moral science does only in general. Moral science represents knowledge that we have learned or that we have come to on the basis of rational reasoning. These alone are not enough to determine what exactly we need to do. It is practical knowledge only secondarily, as it comes to action only on the basis of discursive considerations. Therefore, we could, to some extent, label moral science as speculative knowledge. Moral science is universal in this sense, but a specific moral act is particular. And therefore the third instance is important: prudence (*prudentia*) as a practical habit that directly controls the practical realm, it is the immediate and "closest disposition to action that is connected with the correct knowledge" (Scotus 2005, 183).

Scotus hereby suggests, with the intentions of Aquinas, that moral science alone is not enough. It is not enough just to know the principles of action in order for man to be prudent. It is not enough even to make decisions according to these principles. Prudence is related to specific practical actions, the first principle of which is will (Chabada 2008, 244). Therefore, if in this case there is no minimum act of will which has some practical end, there can be no virtue of prudence. On the contrary, if there is an end that is not practical, there is only a theoretical consideration of the principles of action. But prudence requires having a practical act as its end. And virtue is a practical act (will). At this point, Scotus will be an inspiration to Ockham.

But what is the difference compared to Aquinas? Scotus claims that there is only one *prudentia*, but it should be understood as a *genus*. This means that it refers to different cases and different actions as one common prudence, although it has different lesser species, which Ockham agrees with. Scotus notes that someone may lack the opportunity to gain prudence in one type of activity, even though they have it in another sphere, in different actions or considerations. If he does not have it in one sphere (e. g. in moderation), he can have it in another (courage to battle). Just like when he has one technical skill and has no other. Ockham, unlike Scott, will argue that there are exactly as many kinds of prudence as there are habits of practical knowledge. As there are many habits of practical knowledge, there will be so many kinds of prudence.

3. Ockham on prudence

In this, Ockham follows Scott in his critique of Aquinas. In particular, he agrees with Scotus's distinction that moral science is universal and that the habitus of prudence refers to a specific act (*habitus prudentiae sunt particulares*). He even adds the fact that universal principles are not only those which the reason recognizes a priori, but also those which the reason derives from experience (Ockham 2016, 110). Unlike Thomas, Ockham does not think that interest in specifics is a characteristic privilege of practical action. The typical opinion of the *doctor invincibilis* is that the premises in syllogism can be speculative even if they are specifics. According to him, universality is not only the privilege of the speculative knowledge, but also the practical one.

In his work *De connexione virtutum*, Ockham characterizes prudence in four ways: first, he defines it as a moral science (*scientia moralis*), in a broader and narrower sense. In a broader sense, it is a combination of speculative and practical knowledge. Thus, moral science in this sense represents considerations of action in general, and Ockham matches it with various philosophical and ethical writings (e. g. Nicomachean Ethics, or the Gospel). Moral science in the narrower sense is understood by practical knowledge directly in a situation where we can do something (Ockham 1967, I Prol. Q. XII Resp ad Hen. 15-20). In this case, we can do something, *as long as* the situation allows and *as long as* the situation requires. In the case of *scientia moralis*, therefore, it is not a matter of metaethics and a reflection on circumstances and appropriate means as in Aquinas, but of practical knowledge, although this more narrowly defined part of moral science is nevertheless governed by universal knowledge of moral principles. Moral science is thus focused on practice, but it does not determine how to act in an individual case. Take, for example, the moral principle: "Omni benefactori est benefaciendum". We can grasp this sentence in different ways. However, it is not for moral science to determine how to understand it. This can be done by prudence, in which he distinguishes between two meanings. By first meaning, he grasps prudence as the knowledge that immediately leads us to action (as Aristotle also understood it). But unlike Aristotle, Ockham associates it more with the experience from which prudence draws on. Although Ockham says that prudence is the "evident knowledge" (*notitia evidens*), he adds that it is also acquired through experience (*mediante experientia*), which is governed by a contingent proposition. What does it mean?

Ockham claims that experience (*experientia*) offers us equally proven evidence and verified knowledge. He even sees in it a possible source of new principles of action, which Aquinas rejected. Although moral science and prudence in principle also lead to practice, Ockham is well aware of the important function of practical experience. In many cases, as he claimed, personal experience is needed to be able to put the general principles into practice at all. Therefore, the general knowledge acquired through the study of morality is not always sufficient. The practical experience by which we acquire the principle, although it is less universal, gives us greater certainty in action – which we do not gain by general knowledge. Practically experienced people (*experts*) act more confidently, although they do not have to show any high abstract thinking and do not know how to perceive causal connections. Thinking in causal contexts from principles to consequences is rather marked by the knowledge of specialists (*artifices*).

Thus, there is a kind of tension in Ockham himself as to what place belongs to moral science and what place belongs to rationality. From a reflection on this problem, we could say the following: from the point of view of science and in the perspective of knowledge, Ockham puts moral science higher than *prudentia*. Knowledge of principles also belongs to *scientia moralis*. However, moral science, which is purely scientific, lacks the certainty of action which belongs to prudence on the basis of the experience that people achieved. If we look at this relation from the perspective of certainty, then Ockham values prudence above moral science.

The contingency of the world, on the one hand, makes it always questionable whether our actions will be "morally successful" because of the changing conditions of the world. Ockham – as we will see below – does not even depend on his external feasibility. It takes into account the possibility that the intention may not be carried out externally. Sometimes "success does not depend on the doer" (Niederberger 2013, 128). Sometimes it is determined by both the circumstances and the bodily constitution of the doer. Therefore, it is not relevant if the act succeeded when we should decide about goodness of the doer and his intentions. Otherwise would circumstances determine whether the act is moral or not.

Ockham approaches the last kind of prudence as something that is different for individual virtues – and it is in this difference that specific kinds of prudence are characterized. This last type of prudence Ockham relates directly to the actual act. Just as prudence in the previous meaning was based on experience, and experience can only be learned if experience is repeated (*habitus* arises), or if we discover something unknown by our findings, this kind of prudence refers to current action and decision-making and does not take this repetition into consideration. In general, Ockham emphasizes that both the ethical principles (of moral science) and all the circumstances of the act (will, reason, chosen end) must be specified for a specific situation – that is, they must be act(ualized) by the current act – action. Unlike Thomas Aquinas, he understands virtue primarily as an act of will. In this case, prudence cannot be referred as a habit. It is at this point that Ockham comes into conflict with the Aristotelian teaching of virtue as *habitus* – custom, habit, repetition, as in the case of the relationship between moral science and reason and the conflict between actual and habitual knowledge. In what relationship could the two instances work together?

It can be said that Ockham establishes two basic versions: either the "pure" application of the principles contained in moral science in a particular act is conceivable, which would mean that our action would "fit" into a series of similar actions in similar situations, but a man would not think or choose – which are *de facto* circumstances of moral conduct. In this type of action, it immediately occurs to us that it is not at all certain whether we would call such an action proper and moral at all. If it lacks the aspect of knowledge and voluntariness, we cannot speak of virtuous conduct (*ex libertate*) (*nullus virtuose agit nisi scienter agat et ex libertate*) (Ockham 2016, 135). Applying the principles of moral conduct without rational consideration would not be a virtuous act.

At this point, he gives the example of a man who acts according to how he has acted and what he has known in the past. Ockham describes him as "fatuus virtuosus" – and Rega Wood sees in this term *fatuus* a reference to some mental disorder (Wood 1997, 238). For example, an enraged man does not know about himself and he does not even know what he is doing. In the past, however, he has learned to do something that seems reasonable and now he repeats this action. Thus, it may give other people the impression that what he is doing is morally praiseworthy, even though he is actually doing something he learned as a child. As a child, he was aware of some moral principles, and he now – with a mental disorder – implements them as a habit. Ockham refuses to call such a person sensible and virtuous and his action as right.

The second option, in the case of an aporia of the relationship between habitual and current knowledge, would be "actualization" of this habitual knowledge. The acting person is therefore aware of himself as the doer and decides on some end of the action. This second option allows us, in some kind of intuition, to emphasize what is morally correct and in a given situation, to look intuitively for a way that the general norm is not completely denied and at the same time not reduced precisely because of this particular situation. According to Ockham, prudence is sufficiently justified only in this case. It actively considers and sensitively and perceptively searches for the most appropriate way to execute something that the will has willed to be done. The choice,

therefore, is not just to find the right means to an end. The choice is an act of will, and therefore, if it is free, it is already good in itself. According to Ockham, the search for means is related to their external realization, which may not succeed, and yet such an act is good in nature. He sees the core of such an act in the intention (*intentio*) of the doer.

Emphasizing the intention in moral action, Ockham – like Aquinas – outlines his theory of virtue in relation to exterior and interior acts. However, this version of Ockham is radically different from the theory of Aquinas and Scotus. Virtues are often used to refer to something that happens outside. An act which is performed and it is said that it is virtuous. However, Ockham argues that only an interior act of will, accompanied by a judgment of reason, can be virtuous. This interior act of will is the first stage of the action. The human will does not yet enter into the realm of the contingent circumstances of this world as exterior acts, which often divert these circumstances from the end. And above all, it is in the power of the will.

Ockham argues that any action is virtuous only because of prudence *(nihil actus virtuosus sine prudentia)*. But he means that it is a part of an interior act by which the will realizes its intention. Unlike Aquinas, it is not at all paramount whether it gets to an exterior act at all.

Conclusion

For both Aquinas and Ockham, prudence is related to the choice of a particular act. According to both, this choice is free, but they understand freedom of choice differently. In Thomas, the root of freedom is the will, but the cause is reason. Will is a rational appetite. Reason is connected with the will, because it finds its principle in the natural inclination of the will to goodness and happiness. Reason and will are intertwined.

For Ockham, as well as for his teacher Scotus, the will itself moves to action and thus is the justification for free choice. It follows that the will may or may not adhere to the judgment of reason. The difference is on the side of reason that it is, so to speak, external to the decision of the will. The will is free in itself, and any influence could restrict its freedom.

The essential difference of the relationship between reason and will was also signed under the understanding of prudence. At the forefront of Thomas's thinking about prudence is practical reason, naturally equipped with knowledge of the first principles of action. These principles are the ends of moral virtues. The end of moral virtue is to maintain the good of a particular natural inclination in its proper proportion to the good of whole life (beatitude) and to what is the requirement of a particular situation. Prudence has the task of recognizing which act is appropriate in order to preserve the good of the individual inclination with regard to the overall goodness of a man, which is *to be in accord with reason*. Prudence for this appropriate recognition requires not only the knowledge of the ends, but also the support of the appetitive power, that is, the right inclination or moral virtue. Without moral virtue, prudence would not be perfect in its main act – the command to perform an act. A command is the last stage of an interior act, followed by a commanded (exterior) act. The cooperation of reason and will in the interior act thus leads to the exterior act, to the interaction with the world and to the growth in virtue.

For Ockham, natural inclinations fell out of consideration of prudence and virtue in general. If the will is free, it must not be guided by anything else, not by the request of lower potencies. In Thomas's conception, reason interprets these affections as a good to be preserved. But Ockham does not perceive inclinations and their role as essential and does not interpret them in this way. When virtue arises, free will is fundamental. Only such a free act can stand in the creation of a virtue in which the will applies the principles of practical reason. Reason therefore remained a subject of moral conduct. However, it is completely external to the proceedings. According to

Ockham, the derivation of the principles of action does not yet imply anything moral; morality is exclusively connected with the act of will, only it is free.

The comparison of two views on the issue of virtue and especially rationality presented by Thomas Aquinas and William Ockham might seem unproblematic at first glance, as the authors referred to Aristotle. However, a more detailed insight into the issue of virtue showed us the fundamental differences and conclusions for both authors. Although the terms they both use have a common frame of reference, their content and interpretation change radically.

According to Thomas, human freedom "could never lead a human being to act contrary to his own interests. To choose against the principles of natural law would not constitute freedom, but rather foolishness" (Celano 2018). Ockham has a different opinion. What the will decides to do and knows as a principle of moral science, it compares with the principles of practical knowledge, which it acquires on the basis of specific experience and on the basis of judgment resulting from practical syllogism. In some cases, he does not have to adhere to the principles of natural law (which he calls the principles of moral science), because he is guided by a practical syllogism that is closer to action than moral science. For him, freedom is an act of will that adheres to what mediates its prudence – this can sometimes differ from the principles of moral science.

Compared to Thomas Aquinas' thinking, there is a clear shift in Ockham's ethical theory – especially by differentiating between interior and exterior acts and emphasizing the interior ones – from the ethics of virtue to the incoming modern formalism and individualism and interpretation of virtue, which we can find in works of N. Machiavelli or T. Hobbes.

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Η ΕΝΔΟΟΙΚΟΓΕΝΕΙΑΚΗ ΒΙΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΩΣ ΑΙΤΙΑ ΑΓΙΟΚΑΤΑΤΑΞΗΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΣΤΗ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΗ ΑΓΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ

Domestic Violence Against Women as a Reason for Their Canonization in Byzantine Hagiography

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Abstract: PANAGOPOULOS, Spyros P. *Domestic Violence Against Women as a Reason for Their Canonization in Byzantine Hagiography.* Domestic violence against women is a taboo topic, normally silenced or ignored in the literature, though socially accepted as a common way of male control over woman in the familiar context. In early Christian literature, it is difficult to find cases of violent behavior, as Christian moral principles could potentially help to conceal domestic violence against women, as it would be illegal and would offend the hierarchs' statements to avoid violence. The lives of Matrona of Perge, Mary the Younger, and Thomaïs of Lesbos are rare examples of how domestic violence against women could be also interpreted as a reason to sanctify the woman who suffered abuses of this sort. Through the study of these three hagiographical texts, we will observe married life and its difficulties during the Middle Ages, when women actually had to submit to men, thus putting into practice the words of the Apostle Paul, "Wives, submit yourselves to your own husbands as you do to the Lord" (Ephes. 5,22).

Keywords: *Byzantine Hagiography, Female Saints, Domestic Violence, Gender Studies, sanctification*

1. Εισαγωγή

Η ενδοοικογενειακή βία κατά των γυναικών αντιπροσωπεύει ένα από τα σπουδαιότερα ζητήματα του σύγχρονου πολιτισμού, όσον αφορά στις κοινωνικές σχέσεις μεταξύ ανδρών και γυναικών. Για εκτενές χρονικό διάστημα έχει υποστηριχθεί ότι οι γυναίκες είναι κατώτερες από τους άνδρες, όσον αφορά στη σωματική διάπλαση και στη νοημοσύνη, και θεωρήθηκε ότι ανήκαν μόνο στην αρμοδιότητα της ανδρικής εξουσίας: κατά πρώτον, ο πατέρας τους, αργότερα ο σύζυγός τους και τελικά, όταν χήρευαν, ο πνευματικός τους. Αυτή η ανάγκη κηδεμονίας πρέπει να ερμηνευθεί υπό μια ευρύτερη αντίληψη η οποία έχει τις ρίζες της στον κλασικό κόσμο και αναπτύσσεται ιδιαίτερα στην παλαιοχριστιανική λογοτεχνία, όπου οι γυναίκες διέρχονται από τρεις διαφορετικές καταστάσεις κατά τη διάρκεια του βίου τους: παρθένος, σύζυγος-μητέρα και χήρα. Αυτά τα τρία στάδια (παιδική ηλικία, γάμος και μητρότητα, χηρεία και γηρατειά) θα διατηρηθούν στην Ύστερη Αρχαιότητα και το Βυζάντιο, όπου οι μεικτές αντιλήψεις για την κοινωνική ζωή και τη θρησκεία, οι οποίες εκληρονομήθηκαν τόσο από τον ελληνορωμαϊκό κόσμο όσο και από τον Χριστιανισμό, θα διατηρηθούν.

Ο γάμος στον Πρώιμο Χριστιανισμό θεωρείται ως μία ιερή ένωση στην οποία δύο άτομα θέτουν έναν ευσεβή σύνδεσμο για να αφιερωθούν στον θρησκευτικό βίο με αγνότητα, η οποία

θα μπορούσε να παραβιασθεί μόνο για την τεκνοποίηση (Α΄ Κορ. 7). Ακόμη και αν η αγνότητα προτιμάται από τους χριστιανούς θεολόγους των πρώτων αιώνων και γίνεται εμμονή σε ορισμένες κοινότητες εκείνης της εποχής όπως οι μοντανιστές ή οι εγκρατευτές,[1] ο γάμος απεικονίζεται ως η αρχή της ζωής και ως κοινωνικός θεσμός που πρέπει να φροντίζεται και να προστατεύεται. Συνιστάται ο αμοιβαίος σεβασμός και η αγάπη στους συζύγους στο Κολ 3,19. Στην πραγματικότητα, η παλαιοχριστιανική περίοδος είναι μια ανήσυχη εποχή κατά την οποία η βία κυριαρχεί στην πολιτική και θρησκευτική συζήτηση. Σε αυτό το πλαίσιο, η βία κατά των γυναικών είναι ιδιαίτερα σκληρή και σε φιλολογικές πηγές αναφέρονται ορισμένες περιπτώσεις σεξουαλικών επιθέσεων εναντίον τους.

Μεταξύ των πολυάριθμων *μαρτυρίων* γυναικών της πρώιμης χριστιανικής εποχής ή της Ύστερης Αρχαιότητας, εμφανίζονται ορισμένα βασανιστήρια με σεξουαλικό περιεχόμενο. Σε διάφορα *μαρτύρια* γυναικών μαρτύρων, όπως των αγίων Αγάθης Σικελίας (*BHG* 36-37), Βαρβάρας και Ιουλιανής (*BHG* 213-214) ή Σουζάνας (*BHG* 1673), ο δικαστής διατάσσει το κόψιμο των μαστών αυτών των γυναικών, πράξη που δείχνει με κάθε προφάνεια την σκληρή πρόθεση των βασανιστών, ακρωτηριάζοντας ένα από τα πιο αξιοσημείωτα φυσικά χαρακτηριστικά της γυναικείας φύσης. Η στάση είτε του Αλέξανδρου, ο οποίος προκαλεί το δεύτερο μαρτύριο της Θέκλας, είτε των ανδρών που βασανίζουν αυτές τις γυναίκες στα πρώιμα *μαρτύρια* υπακούει, εν πάση περιπτώσει, σε θρησκευτικά και πολιτικά κίνητρα και δεν έχει επιπτώσεις στην ενδοοικογενειακή βία, καθώς δεν υφίσταται οποιοσδήποτε οικείος ή συζυγικός δεσμός μεταξύ του επιτιθέμενου και της γυναίκας που δέχεται την επίθεση. Ακόμη και αν κάποιος πρέπει να συμφωνήσει να ερμηνεύσει τους κομμένους μαστούς μιας γυναίκας ως ένα καινοτόμο μοτίβο που σχετίζεται με τη λογοτεχνία του *μαρτυρίου*, μια μαρτυρία αυτού του είδους αντιπροσωπεύει ένα ενδιαφέρον προηγούμενο του θέματος περί της ενδοοικογενειακής βίας που χρησιμοποιείται ως δικαιολογία της ιερότητας, το οποίο θα αναπτυχθεί στην Ύστερη Αρχαιότητα και συγκεκριμένα στην αγιολογία της μέσης βυζαντινής περιόδου.

2. Γάμος και ενδοοικογενειακή βία στη βυζαντινή αγιολογία

Ο γάμος θεωρείται αμφίσημος στις βιογραφίες των έγγαμων γυναικών της Βυζαντινής Αγιολογίας. Όπως αναφέρθηκε ανωτέρω, μετά την ανάγνωση και των δύο *Βίων*, καταλήγουμε στο συμπέρασμα ότι ο γάμος δεν θεωρείται εμπόδιο για την επίτευξη αγιότητας, αλλά αυτό το γενικό συμπέρασμα δεν αποκλείει μια πολύ πιο περίπλοκη εκτίμηση του γάμου είτε ως κοινωνικού βασικού θεσμού, ακόμη και ως ιερού και ενάρετου σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις, είτε ως επίγειας κόλασης, παρόλο που θα ήταν ακριβώς ένας λόγος για να δικαιολογήσει τον μελλοντικό σεβασμό του Αγίου.

Στους περισσότερους *Βίους*, ωστόσο, η νεαρή γυναίκα δεν έχει άλλη επιλογή και, ακόμη και αν δείχνει συχνά μια αρχική απροθυμία προς τον γάμο, υπακούει τελικά στη βούληση των γονέων της και δέχεται να νυμφευθεί έναν σύζυγο. Οι αγιολόγοι υπογραμμίζουν την επιθυμία της γυναίκας να παραμείνει άγαμη, και αυτή η στάση γίνεται επίσης ένα μοτίβο που αναπτύσσεται ευρέως σε αγιολογικά κείμενα για τις γυναίκες. Εν πάση περιπτώσει, ανήκει σε ένα ευρύτερο σύστημα ιδεών, που κληρονομείται από την πρώιμη χριστιανική θεολογία, στο οποίο η παρθενία εκλαμβάνεται ως η πιο τέλεια κατάσταση για τις γυναίκες, καθώς θεωρείται ότι είναι ο πλησιέστερος τρόπος γήινου βίου με τους αγγέλους. Έτσι, ο λεγόμενος αγγελικός βίος αντιπροσωπεύει αυτήν την

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[1]   Στην πραγματικότητα, επιβλήθηκε ένας μετριοπαθής εγκρατισμός ως η επίσημη θέση της Εκκλησίας σχετικά με το σεξ, το γάμο και την αναπαραγωγή μεταξύ των περισσότερων από τις πρώτες χριστιανικές κοινότητες.

πεποίθηση για την ανωτερότητα της παρθενίας,[2] μέσα στην παραδοσιακή τριμερή διαίρεση των καταστάσεων των γυναικών (παρθένα, μητέρα και χήρα), και διαφέρει από την ίδια έννοια που εμφανίζεται στους *Βίους* μοναχών και ερημιτών, ειδικά των Πατέρων της Ερήμου, καθώς σε αυτές τις περιπτώσεις ο «αγγελικός βίος» περιγράφει εικόνες του απωλεσθέντος παραδείσου, στον οποίο ο μοναχικός και πνευματικός τρόπος βίου οδηγεί τον ασκητή.

Στην πρώιμη χριστιανική λογοτεχνία είναι δύσκολο να βρεθούν περιπτώσεις βίαιης συμπεριφοράς, δεδομένου ότι οι χριστιανικές ηθικές αρχές θα μπορούσαν πιθανώς να βοηθήσουν στην απόκρυψη της ενδοοικογενειακής βίας εναντίον των γυναικών, καθώς θα ήταν παράνομη και θα προσέβαλε τις δηλώσεις των ιεραρχών για την αποφυγή της συζυγικής βίας. Έτσι, στους βυζαντινούς χρόνους οι κοινωνικές σκέψεις που κληρονομήθηκαν από την ελληνορωμαϊκή κοινωνία θα βοηθούσαν στη διατήρηση της ενδοοικογενειακής βίας ως φυσικής πηγής ελέγχου των γυναικών σε ένα οικείο πλαίσιο και οι χριστιανικές πεποιθήσεις, από την πλευρά τους, θα συνέβαλλαν στη σιωπή της συζήτησης για αυτές τις καταστάσεις και τη στροφή της ενδοοικογενειακής βίας σε ένα θέμα ταμπού. Ακριβώς για αυτούς τους λόγους, τα επεισόδια ενδοοικογενειακής βίας που αναφέρονται στους *Βίους* των αγίων Ματρώνας Πέργης, Μαρίας της νέας και Θωμαΐδος Λέσβου προσφέρουν μια ασύγκριτη ευκαιρία για να ασχοληθούν με ένα τέτοιο κοινωνικό ζήτημα. Αυτοί οι τρεις *Βίοι* έχουν επιλεγεί, καθώς είναι τα τρία μόνα αγιολογικά κείμενα στα οποία εμφανίζονται βίαιες σκηνές εναντίον μίας γυναίκας στο οικογενειακό περιβάλλον. Στην πραγματικότητα, η ιερή κατάσταση αυτών των Αγίων, όταν η γυναίκα πεθαίνει και θαυματουργική δραστηριότητα αρχίζει να εκδηλώνεται πέριξ του τάφου ή των λειψάνων της, χρησιμοποιείται για να αμφισβητηθεί έντονα από τους απλούς ανθρώπους, ακόμη και από μοναχούς ή ιερείς, όπως περιγράφεται στον *Βίο* της Μαρίας της νέας.

Τα κεφάλαια 19-20 αυτού του *Βίου* αναφέρουν πώς μια ομάδα μοναχών δημιουργεί αμφιβολίες σχετικά με τη θαυματουργική ικανότητα των λειψάνων της Αγίας και πώς ο Στέφανος, ο επίσκοπος Βρύσεως, πλήττεται επίσης «από την ασθένεια της αμφιβολίας» (τῆς ἀπιστίας τὸ πάθος). Ο τελευταίος θα μετανοούσε εφόσον έβλεπε μία δαιμονισμένη γυναίκα να θεραπεύεται ασπαζόμενος το δεξί χέρι του αδιάφθορου σώματος της Αγίας τοποθετημένο στο φέρετρό της. Αυτή η εκ βαθέων εξέταση των δραστηριοτήτων της Αγίας είναι ιδιαίτερα έντονη στον *Βίο* τόσο της Μαρίας όσο και της Θωμαΐδος, των δύο ευσεβών λαϊκών γυναικών χωρίς ισχυρούς δεσμούς με τις θρησκευτικές κοινότητες, αφού η Ματρώνα αφιέρωσε το εκτενέστερο μέρος του βίου της στη μοναστική δραστηριότητα. Σε αυτές τις περιπτώσεις, οι αγιολόγοι φαίνεται να αναγκάζονται να υπερασπιστούν και να δικαιολογήσουν επαναληπτικά την ιερή κατάσταση της γυναίκας μέσω άλλων χαρακτήρων της ιστορίας, οι οποίοι υπερασπίζονται την αυθεντικότητα των θεραπειών της Αγίας, με βάση τις ευσεβείς αρετές της. Στην πραγματικότητα, ο ειρωνικός και παράδοξος τόνος που εντοπίζεται σε ορισμένα αποσπάσματα στον *Βίο* της Μαρίας της Νέας οφείλεται «πιθανώς στο γεγονός ότι ο ίδιος ο συγγραφέας βρήκε την ιστορία λίγο παραπλανητική και ότι είχε και τις αμφιβολίες του για τη διαδικασία που μετέβαλε την Μαρία σε Αγία». Αυτός ο σκεπτικισμός δεν είναι ιδιαιτέρως συνηθισμένος στην αγιολογία, αλλά δείχνει μια πιο κριτική στάση απέναντι στην αγιότητα και στα θαύματα που αποδίδονται στους Αγίους.[3]

Ωστόσο, η ενδοοικογενειακή βία γίνεται ακριβώς ένας από τους λόγους για να θεωρηθεί η Μαρία ως Αγία, ακόμη και αν είναι ένα μοτίβο που εμφανίζεται σε *Βίους* τριών γυναικών Αγίων, η αντιμετώπισή της σε κάθε περίπτωση διαφέρει και καταδεικνύει πως πρέπει να θεωρείται ως μια κοινωνική πραγματικότητα που αντικατοπτρίζεται και προσαρμόζεται στην αγιογραφική λογοτεχνία, και όχι μόνο ένα από αυτά τα λογοτεχνικά μοτίβα που διαμορφώνονται διαρκώς

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[2] Η ιδέα της παρθενίας αναπτύσσεται ιδιαίτερα από τον άγιο Γρηγόριο Νύσσης στον Βίο της αγίας Μακρίνας, όπως έδειξε ο Giannarelli (1980, 36-38).

[3] Για τον σκεπτικισμό στη βυζαντινή αγιολογία, βλ. Kaldellis (2014, passim).

και σχεδόν μηχανικά επαναλαμβάνονται στους *Βίους* των Αγίων. Στην πραγματικότητα, υπάρχει μια βασική διαφορά μεταξύ του ρόλου της ενδοοικογενειακής βίας στην ιστορία της Ματρώνας Πέργης, και των *Βίων* της Μαρίας και Θωμαΐδος, όσον αφορά στην απόκτηση ενός ιερού καθεστώτος. Στην πρώτη περίπτωση, η ενδοοικογενειακή βία είναι δευτερεύουσα, δεδομένου ότι η Ματρώνα θα αναπτύξει μια έντονη μοναστική «σταδιοδρομία», ενώ στα άλλα δύο κείμενα, υπάρχει ένα κεντρικό στοιχείο για την επίτευξη αγιότητας, από τότε που ήταν λαϊκές γυναίκες και παντρεύτηκαν κατά τη διάρκεια της ζωής τους.

3. Παραδείγματα ενδοοικογενειακής βίας στο Βυζάντιο:

α) Ματρώνα Πέργης

Στον *Βίο* της αγίας Ματρώνας Πέργης του 6ου αιώνα, η ενδοοικογενειακή βία εμφανίζεται όταν αυτή η γυναίκα αρχίζει να φροντίζει κρυφά από τον σύζυγό της Δομετιανό τους φτωχούς, να ασχολείται με ασκητικές πρακτικές και να εκπαιδεύεται για να ενστερνιστεί τον μοναστικό τρόπο βίου. Η βία απεικονίζεται ως τρόπος για να δείξει την ανδρική υπεροχή και τον έλεγχο της γυναίκας όταν αυτή αρχίζει να παρακούει τον σύζυγό της. Αντίθετα, το εκρηκτικό στοιχείο θα είναι η παρουσία της σε νυκτερινές αγρυπνίες, καθώς ο ζηλότυπος σύζυγός της «οἰόμενον τὴν μακαρίαν ἑταιρίζεσθαι» (κεφ. 3). Ως αποτέλεσμα, ο Δομετιανός της απαγορεύει να μεταβαίνει στην εκκλησία. Στην πραγματικότητα, η ζήλια του Δομετιανού αυξάνεται με την ίδια ταχύτητα με την εξέλιξη των ασκητικών πρακτικών και του ενδιαφέροντος για τον μοναστικό βίο της Ματρώνας, η οποία εκδηλώνει φόβο έναντι του συζύγου της, ο οποίος θα μπορούσε να προκαλέσει προβλήματα στο μοναστήρι που την δέχεται (κεφ. 4). Με αυτόν τον τρόπο, η βίαιη και εμμονική συμπεριφορά του Δομετιανού υπογραμμίζεται σαφώς και η μόνη λύση για την Ματρώνα, η οποία εμπνέεται, επιπλέον, από ένα θεόσταλτο νυκτερινό όραμα, για να δραπετεύσει και να ολοκληρώσει τη σωτηρία της φαίνεται να είναι η παρενδυσία. Με αυτόν τον τρόπο, θα μπορεί να εισέλθει σε ένα ανδρικό μοναστήρι, όπου θα είναι ασφαλής. Ωστόσο, όταν ανακαλυφθεί η πραγματική ταυτότητά της, πρέπει να εγκαταλείψει το ανδρικό μοναστήρι. Ακριβώς σε αυτό το πλαίσιο, στη συνομιλία με τον ηγούμενο Βασσιανό, η Ματρώνα του εξηγεί γιατί σχεδίασε μια τέτοια στρατηγική και πώς ο Δομετιανός την προσβάλλει και μάλιστα της επιτίθεται.[4]

 Το επιθετικό προφίλ του συζύγου της Ματρώνας τονίζεται αφού ενημερωθεί για τη φυγή της συζύγου του από το μοναστήρι του Βασσιανού, όπου ο Δομετιανός περιγράφεται ως «πλέον μὲν τῷ θυμῷ ἐκεντεῖτο καὶ τῇ ὀργῇ ἐξεκαίετο» (κεφ. 10). Αυτό το αρνητικό συναίσθημα αναγκάζει τον Δομετιανό να ακολουθήσει τη Ματρώνα προς την Έμμεσα, όπου καταφέρνει να δραπετεύσει επίσης, και μετά στην περιοχή της Βηρυτού. Σε αυτό το σημείο της αφήγησης, ο αγιολόγος χρησιμοποιεί εκ νέου μια παρόμοια έκφραση για να περιγράψει πώς ο Δομετιανός «καταζητῶν τὰ ἴχνη αὐτῆς ὥσπερ τις κύων λακωνικὸς καὶ εἰς θήραν δεδιδαγμένος» (κεφ. 14). Και στις δύο περιπτώσεις, η προαναφερθείσα ομοίωση με ένα άγριο θηρίο, ο αγιολόγος εμφανίζει μια ρητορική στρατηγική για να δημιουργήσει μια σαφέστερη εικόνα της σκληρότητας του συζύγου της Ματρώνας στο μυαλό των αναγνωστών του. Όταν η Ματρώνα αναχωρεί από τη Βηρυτό για να μεταβεί στην Κωνσταντινούπολη, ο Δομετιανός «εξαφανίζεται» εντελώς από

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[4] «Ἐγώ, δέομαι τῆς ἁγιωσύνης σου, ἐγενόμην ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς γυνὴ καὶ μιᾶς παιδὸς μήτηρ· δουλεύειν δὲ Θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ γάμῳ καὶ ἁμαρτίᾳ βουλομένη εἰς τὰς παννυχίδας τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων ἀπήειν· ὁ δὲ ἀνήρ μου ἐκώλυέν με ποτὲ μὲν ὑβρίζων, ποτὲ δὲ μαχόμενος καὶ τύπτων, ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ ἀπειλῶν. Ταῦτα ὁρῶσα καὶ πάσχουσα ἐφ' ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἠθύμουν, ἐστέναζον καὶ ἔκλαιον, παρακαλοῦσα τὸν Θεὸν νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας τούτου τοῦ μὲν τὴν καρδίαν μαλάξαι, ἐμοῦ δὲ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν πληρῶσαι».

την πλοκή και ο αγιολόγος εστιάζει μόνο στη μοναστική πορεία της Ματρώνας. Με αυτόν τον τρόπο, επιβεβαιώνεται ο τρόπος με τον οποίο η ενδοοικογενειακή βία έχει χρησιμοποιηθεί ως λογοτεχνικό μοτίβο, με σκοπό να εκτελέσει η Ματρώνα τα πρώτα βήματα στη θρησκευτική ζωή με πιο ηρωικό και δραματικό τρόπο. Κατά συνέπεια, πρέπει να θεωρηθεί ένα δευτερεύον μοτίβο αυτής της ιστορίας, καθώς το πιο αξιοσημείωτο στοιχείο του ιερού της προφίλ είναι οι μοναστικές δραστηριότητές της και η ενδοοικογενειακή βία θα αποτελούσαν ένα ακόμη πρόβλημα που έπρεπε να ξεπεραστεί.

β) Μαρία η Νέα

Θα πρέπει να εφαρμοστεί μια διαφορετική ανάλυση αυτών των σκηνών στις οποίες απεικονίζεται η ενδοοικογενειακή βία τόσο για την αγία Μαρία τη Νέα όσο και για την αγία Θωμαΐδα της Λέσβου, καθώς οι *Βίοι* τους στερούνται παραδοσιακού λόγου να αγιοκατατάξουν αυτές τις γυναίκες, όπως το μαρτύριο, μια εντατική ζωή ασκητισμού ή μια σχέση με έναν μοναστικό θεσμό. Είναι αλήθεια ότι η λατρεία τους δεν ήταν εκτεταμένη και εντοπίστηκε σε ένα πολύ ακριβές γεωγραφικό πλαίσιο, αλλά η εμφάνισή τους ανάμεσα στην τεράστια παραγωγή αγιολογικών λογοτεχνικών έργων εκείνης της εποχής αξίζει περαιτέρω προσοχής για να παρατηρηθεί ολόκληρο το πανόραμα της μεσοβυζαντινής λατρείας των Αγίων. Σε αυτές τις περιπτώσεις, η βία που υπέστησαν από τα χέρια των συζύγων τους αποκτά σημαντικό ρόλο και, ακόμα και αν πρέπει να ερμηνευθεί μαζί με άλλες αρετές και θρησκευτικές πρακτικές, γίνεται βασικός λόγος για την επίτευξη της αγιότητας.

Ο πρόλογος του *Βίου της αγίας Μαρίας της Νέας*, του οποίου η ημερομηνία σύνθεσης έχει συζητηθεί σε μεγάλο βαθμό, αλλά παρόλα αυτά επικεντρώνεται μεταξύ των αρχών του 10ου και του πρώτου μισού του 11ου αιώνα,[5] συνίσταται σε μια σαφή υπεράσπιση για την ιερότητα της Μαρίας και μπορεί να αναγνωσθεί ως ένα είδος μανιφέστου για να υπερασπιστεί τη γυναικεία αγιότητα. Όπως επισημαίνει η Constantinou, σχετικά με την εκτίμηση της ιερότητας υπάρχει μια «σεξουαλική διάκριση», καθώς «για να ανέλθουν στην αγιότητα οι γυναίκες πρέπει να εκτελούν περισσότερες πράξεις από τους άντρες ομολόγους τους» (Constantinou 2005, 28). Αυτή η συσσώρευση αξιών μερικές φορές συνοδεύεται από μια ρητή υπεράσπιση της ιερότητας της γυναίκας, όπως σε αυτήν τη συγκεκριμένη περίπτωση.

Ο αγιολόγος παρουσιάζει μια μεταφορά που συγκρίνει κοσμικούς και πνευματικούς διαγωνισμούς «της αρένας της αρετής» (τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς στάδιον), απηχώντας έτσι ένα θέμα πολύ διαδεδομένο στη χριστιανική λογοτεχνία για τους μάρτυρες, το οποίο ο αγιολόγος ενισχύει ακόμη και όταν διεκδικεί την ισότητα των φύλων ενώπιον του Θεού, δεδομένου ότι «κοινὰ τὰ γέρα καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους ἑκατέρω τῷ γένει φιλοτίμως ἀποχαρίζεται» (Laiou 1996, 254). Αυτός ο υπαινιγμός για το «στεφάνι» πρέπει να ερμηνευθεί ως πρόθεση του συγγραφέα να συνδέσει το πορτρέτο της Μαρίας με αυτό των πρώτων χριστιανών μαρτύρων, καθώς υπέφερε καθημερινά μαρτύριο, λόγω της οργής και της ζήλιας του βίαιου συζύγου της, και στην πραγματικότητα πέθανε στα χέρια του. Παρόλα αυτά, ο αγιολόγος είναι απόλυτα συνειδητοποιημένος για τις δυσκολίες που υφίσταται για να αποδεχθεί την αγιότητα της Μαρίας, αφού δεν ήταν μοναχή, ούτε ερημήτρια, αλλά ύπανδρη λαϊκή γυναίκα, η οποία είχε αποκτήσει τέσσερα τέκνα. Ωστόσο, υπερασπίζεται την προαναφερθείσα συμβατότητα μεταξύ γάμου, ακόμη και μεταξύ της μητρότητας και της αγιότητας. Στην πραγματικότητα θεωρεί αυτά τα στοιχεία τους λόγους για να την οδηγήσει σε μια ιερή κατάσταση, υπαινιγμός και στην παροιμιώδη αδυναμία των γυναικών (κεφάλαιο 1). Στην περιγραφή της, η μετριοπάθεια (σωφροσύνη) παίζει πολύ σημαντικό ρόλο, καθώς θα γίνει

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[5]   Για τη συζήτηση σχετικά με τη σύνθεση του Βίου, βλ. Laiou (1996, 242-243).

πολύτιμη αρετή για να υποφέρει τον θάνατο των δύο πρώτων τέκνων της, όπως περιγράφεται στα κεφάλαια 4 και 6, καθώς επίσης να υπομείνει και την κακοποίηση που υφίστατο από τον σύζυγό της. Στην πραγματικότητα, ο αγιολόγος προσπαθεί να αποτρέψει τους αναγνώστες να σκεφτούν ότι ο Νικηφόρος θα μπορούσε να έχει οποιονδήποτε λόγο να συμπεριφέρεται βίαια απέναντι στη γυναίκα του.

Η περιγραφή του Νικηφόρου ταιριάζει με τη συμπεριφορά του συζύγου της Ματρώνας. Όπως και στην πραγματική ζωή της, οι πράξεις φιλανθρωπίας της Μαρίας για λογαριασμό των φτωχών ήταν συχνές. Επιπλέον, η Μαρία κατηγορείται επίσης ψευδώς. Αφού η Μαρία αρνήθηκε την κατηγορία, ο Νικηφόρος αρχίζει να περιφρονεί τη γυναίκα του και πλησιάζει τους κατηγορούμενους. Αυτό το ζήτημα πυροδοτεί τη βίαιη αντίδραση του Νικηφόρου εναντίον μιας υπηρέτριας της Μαρίας, η οποία επιβεβαίωσε ότι η Μαρία δεν είχε καμία σχέση με τον υπηρέτη της. Η οργισμένη εικόνα του Νικηφόρου, ρίχνοντας στο έδαφος την υπηρέτρια και διατάζοντας να χτυπηθεί ανηλεώς, δείχνει μια αυξανόμενη επιθετική συμπεριφορά, αλλά απαιτούνταν μια δεύτερη ψευδή κατηγορία για να αντιδράσει με αυτόν τον τρόπο εναντίον της γυναίκας του.

Κάποιος Δρόσος έχει εντολή να επιτηρεί τις δραστηριότητες της Μαρίας. Ενώ γευμάτιζε με μερικούς από τους συγγενείς της, μίλησε στις γυναίκες που ήταν μαζί της ότι η εχθρότητα του Νικηφόρου απέναντί της ήταν έργο του Σατανά. Μόλις ενημέρωσε τον Δρόσο, παραμόρφωσε τα λόγια της Μαρίας και ανέφερε στον Νικηφόρο ότι τον αποκάλεσε ανοιχτά Σατανά. Με αυτά τα λόγια, ο Νικηφόρος εκρήγνυται και η βίαιη αντίδραση εναντίον της Μαρίας μετατρέπεται σε δραματική αφήγηση. Η αντίθεση μεταξύ της Μαρίας και του συζύγου της, όπως είχε προηγουμένως επισημανθεί στο κείμενο, χαρακτηρίζεται εμφανώς στην περιγραφή της βίαιης σκηνής που οδηγεί τη Μαρία στον θάνατο. Έτσι, η ειρηνική εικόνα της Μαρίας που κοιτάζει την εικόνα της Παναγίας, η οποία απεικονίζεται ξαπλωμένη στο κρεβάτι και κρατά τον Ιησού στην αγκαλιά της, διακόπτεται απροσδόκητα από την άφιξη του Νικηφόρου (κεφάλαιο 9).

Η μοιραία επιθετικότητα περιγράφεται ως ανελέητη (ἀφειδῶς) και ο αγιολόγος εμφανίζει, εκτός από τη μετοχή δραξάμενος, δύο ρήματα που ανήκουν στο πεδίο της βίας όπως το <u>ἕλκω</u> και το <u>τύπτω</u>. Οι τραυματισμοί που προκλήθηκαν από αυτήν την επίθεση θα οδηγήσουν τη Μαρία στον θάνατο. Ο αγιολόγος παίρνει το αποκορύφωμα της αφήγησής του, κατασκευάζοντας σιγά-σιγά το βίαιο προφίλ του Νικηφόρου. Όλα ξεκινούν με μια ψευδή κατηγορία, στη συνέχεια παραμερίζει τη Μαρία, έπειτα εμπιστοσύνη στις συκοφαντίες και ξυλοδαρμό του υπηρέτη που υπερασπίστηκε την αλήθεια, και τελειώνει όταν η βία φτάσει στο αποκορύφωμά της και η οργή προκαλεί τον Νικηφόρο να επιτεθεί σωματικά στη σύζυγό του. Παρόλα αυτά, παραμένει ζωντανή για δέκα ημέρες και μετά τον θάνατό της ζητά από τον σύζυγό της να έρθει να μιλήσει μαζί της για να του ζητήσει να κρατήσει ασφαλή τα παιδιά τους.

Όταν ο αγιολόγος διηγείται τα μεταθανάτια θαύματά της, επισημαίνει ότι δεν μπορούσαν να ξεφύγουν από την οπτική της δικαιοσύνης (ὁ τῆς δίκης ὀφθαλμὸς, κεφ. 21) και αναφέρει τους θανάτους της Ελένης, της αδερφής του Νικηφόρου, του Δρόσου, του κατηγόρου που προσελήφθη από τον Νικηφόρο για να παρακολουθεί τη σύζυγό του και τον ίδιο τον Νικηφόρο. Επιπλέον, είχε προηγουμένως δεχθεί σε ένα όνειρο την επίσκεψη της συζύγου του, η οποία τον παρότρυνε να κτίσει μια εκκλησία για αυτήν και να μεταφέρει τα λείψανά της στον καθεδρικό ναό της Βιζύης. Καθώς αγνόησε τις εντολές της Αγίας, υπέφερε από οφθαλμική νόσο, η οποία σταμάτησε μόλις ολοκλήρωσε το έργο της εκκλησίας.

γ) Θωμαΐς της Λέσβου

Το τρίτο παράδειγμα ευσεβών λαϊκών γυναικών, στο οποίο η ενδοοικογενειακή βία διαδραματίζει σημαντικό ρόλο, η Θωμαΐς της Λέσβου, υφίσταται μεγαλύτερη συνεχή κακοποίηση από τον

σύζυγό της. Ο *Βίος* της χρονολογείται τον δέκατο αιώνα, αλλά πιθανότατα συνετέθη εκείνη την εποχή και αναθεωρήθηκε αργότερα (Halsall 1996, 292).[6] Στην ιστορία της Μαρίας της Νέας, η σωματική επιθετικότητα του Νικηφόρου εναντίον της συζύγου του αναφέρεται ως αποτέλεσμα της αυξανόμενης οργής που προκαλείται από φήμες και συκοφαντίες παρά από μια γενική συμπεριφορά αυτού του άνδρα. Στην πραγματικότητα, ο Νικηφόρος δεν απεικονίζεται από την αρχή της ιστορίας ως σκληρός και ευέξαπτος άνθρωπος, όπως θα πράξει ο Στέφανος στην περίπτωση της Θωμαΐδος. Παρόλα αυτά, και οι δύο *Βίοι* έχουν πολλά κοινά αφηγηματικά στοιχεία, αν και παρουσιάζουν μια διαφορετική δομή και διαφορετικές στάσεις απέναντι στην ενδοοικογενειακή βία.

Όπως προαναφέρθηκε, ο αγιολόγος του *Βίου* της Μαρίας της Νέας υπαινίσσεται τη σύγκριση μεταξύ των αγώνων της Αγίας και εκείνων των μαρτύρων, αναφέροντας ως συμβολικό στοιχείο το «στέμμα» (στέφανος). Στον *Βίο* της Θωμαΐδος της Λέσβου, αντιθέτως, η ενδοοικογενειακή βία θα συγκριθεί ρητά με το μαρτύριο, καθώς αποτελεί μια άδικη τιμωρία μετά από καταχρηστική και βίαιη συμπεριφορά από τον Στέφανο, τον σύζυγό της (Delierneux 2014, 375). Η περιγραφή του γάμου προβλέπει μια ζωή γεμάτη αγώνες και πόνο και διαφέρει πολύ από τη θεώρηση του γάμου από τους γονείς της Θωμαΐδος, αντίστοιχα με τον Ιωακείμ και την Άννα. Ο αγιολόγος χρησιμοποιεί μια μεταφορά στην οποία αναφέρεται το στέμμα. Σε αυτήν την περίπτωση, υπάρχει ένα διπλό λογοπαίγνιο σε σχέση με αυτόν τον όρο, δεδομένου ότι ο σύζυγός ονομαζόταν Στέφανος (κεφ. 6).

Η εχθρότητα του Στέφανου τονίζεται σαφώς από τη χρήση δύο όρων που σχετίζονται με το σημασιολογικό πεδίο του πολέμου, όπως μαχητής και πολέμιος, που έρχεται σε αντίθεση με τις ευσεβείς δραστηριότητες της Θωμαΐδος, που περιγράφονται μερικές γραμμές κατωτέρω, ευχαριστώντας τον Θεό, διερχόμενη τον χρόνο της στις εκκλησίες και φροντίζοντας τους πένητες. Αυτή η αρνητική εκτίμηση του Στέφανου σχετικά με τις θρησκευτικές αρετές της Θωμαΐδος οδηγεί τον αγιολόγο να τον συγκρίνει με τον Σατανά, όπως εκφράζεται σαφώς στο κεφάλαιο 7. Ακριβώς σε αυτό το τμήμα του κειμένου, εμφανίζεται ο πρώτος υπαινιγμός για τη βία του Στέφανου εναντίον της συζύγου του. Η διαφορά σχετικά με την ιστορία της Μαρίας της νέας, όπως σημειώνεται ανωτέρω, είναι η συχνότητα αυτών των κακοποιήσεων και η επιμονή του αγιολόγου σε αυτές. Εμφανίζονται ανοιχτά τρεις φορές στην αφήγηση. Στο κεφάλαιο 7 ο συγγραφέας αυτού του *Βίου* ισχυρίζεται ότι ο Στέφανος «ἔπαιε συχνῶς τὴν γενναίαν, διεχλεύαζεν, ἐμυκτήριζεν». Στο κεφάλαιο 9 μια παρόμοια επιβεβαίωση γίνεται όταν λέει ότι «ὁ Στέφανος οὐκ ἐπαύσατο τὴν καλὴν συνεργόν, [...] ταῖς ἀφορήτοις παίειν πληγαῖς». Τέλος, στο κεφάλαιο 15 ο αγιολόγος αφιερώνει ένα μικρό απόσπασμα για να αφηγηθεί τη θεραπεία του συζύγου της και επιβεβαιώνει ότι «ἤσχαλλε παιομένη δεινῶς, ἔφερεν αἰκιζομένη ἀνηλέως· τὰς κολάσεις ὑπέμενε γενναίῳ φρονήματι, τῆς κατὰ Θεὸν πολιτείας ἐχομένη διηνεκῶς».

Αυτή η λεπτομερής αφήγηση για τη βία που υπέστη η Θωμαΐς συμπληρώνεται από μια αρνητική εκτίμηση του Στέφανου, ο οποίος έχει προηγουμένως συγκριθεί με τον Σατανά και αποτελεί σημαντικό εμπόδιο στην άσκηση της αρετής και του θρησκευτικού βίου της Θωμαΐδος. Με αυτόν τον τρόπο, θεωρείται ως «κοσμικὸς ἀνὴρ ἀλόγοις παρόμοιος κτήνεσι, κεφ. 8», ως ο απεχθής χαλκουργός (τῷ βδελυρῷ χαλκεῖ) που εμφανίζεται στις Επιστολές του Αποστόλου Παύλου (κεφ. 9),[7] και επίσης ως ένας βίαιος τύραννος (κεφ. 15: τις βιαστικὸς τύραννος). Όσον αφορά σε αυτήν την αρνητική περιγραφή της στάσης του Στέφανου, η οικογενειακή ζωή της Θωμαΐδος θεωρείται ως ισότιμη με εκείνη των μαρτύρων. Αυτή η σχέση μεταξύ της ενδοοικογενειακής βίας και του μαρτυρίου φαίνεται να είναι, κατά την άποψη του αγιολόγου, το κλειδί για την κατανόηση της

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6   Σχετικά με τις αμφιβολίες για τη χρονολόγηση του Βίου τον 10ο αιώνα, βλ. KAZHDAN (1986, vol. 3, col. 2076).

7   Σχετικά με τον χαλκουργό Αλέξανδρο, αντίπαλο του Αποστόλου Παύλου, βλ. 2 Τιμ. 4, 14 και 1 Τιμ. 1, 20.

ιερότητας της Θωμαΐδος, μιας ευσεβούς λαϊκής γυναίκας χωρίς κάποια ιδιαίτερη σχέση με την παρθενία, το μαρτύριο, τουλάχιστον στην παραδοσιακή σύλληψή του, ή με τον μοναστικό βίο.

Ενώ η Μαρία πεθαίνει εξαιτίας των τραυματισμών που προκλήθηκαν από την ευερέθιστη επίθεση του συζύγου της, δεν υπάρχουν πληροφορίες σχετικά με την αιτία τού θανάτου της Θωμαΐδος. Ωστόσο, ο αγιολόγος επιμένει στην πρόωρη αναχώρησή της – πεθαίνει σε ηλικία τριάντα οκτώ ετών – και στη βία και τις κακοποιήσεις που υπέστη λόγω του συζύγου της. Στην πραγματικότητα, μπορεί κάποιος να έχει την εντύπωση ότι ο συγγραφέας αυτού του *Βίου* αποπειράται να καλύψει συνειδητά την πραγματική αιτία του θανάτου της, ίσως μια ασθένεια, και εστιάζει μόνο στον πόνο και στις βλαβερές συνέπειες των επιθέσεων που δεχόταν στην οικία της και οι οποίες επέφεραν επιπτώσεις στην υγεία της Αγίας. Με αυτόν τον τρόπο, αν και όχι με άμεσο τρόπο, οι συνεχείς κακοποιήσεις εκ μέρους του Στέφανου θα προκαλούσαν επίσης τον θάνατο της Θωμαΐδος, όπως και τα κτυπήματα του Νικηφόρου εναντίον της Μαρίας της Νέας.

Τελικές παρατηρήσεις

Αφού εξετάσαμε τους τρεις βυζαντινούς *Βίους* των αγίων γυναικών στις οποίες απεικονίζεται η ενδοοικογενειακή βία, το πρώτο συμπέρασμα πρέπει να είναι ότι αντιπροσωπεύει ένα σημαντικό θέμα γυναικείας αγιολογίας, ειδικά σε έναν ιδιαιτέρως συγκεκριμένο τύπο αγίων γυναικών, όπως αυτό των ευσεβών λαϊκών γυναικών. Οι ιστορικές και θρησκευτικές συνθήκες μπορούν να βοηθήσουν να αναπτυχθεί ένα μοντέλο αγιότητας αυτού του είδους, δεδομένου ότι οι δύο μόνο τρόποι για να επιτευχθεί η αγιότητα ήταν το μαρτύριο ή ο μοναστικός βίος και, μεταξύ των αγίων γυναικών, η παρθενία έχει θεωρηθεί επανειλημμένα η πιο πολύτιμη αρετή. Από αυτήν την άποψη, οι *Βίοι* της Μαρίας της Νέας και της Θωμαΐδος της Λέσβου σπάζουν τους παραδοσιακούς κανόνες αγιότητας, αφού αυτές οι γυναίκες δεν είναι παρθένες ούτε μοναχές. Γι' αυτόν τον λόγο, η υπόθεση της Ματρώνας Πέργης πρέπει να μελετηθεί ξεχωριστά από εκείνη τόσο της Μαρίας όσο και της Θωμαΐδος, καθώς στον πρώτο *Βίο* χρησιμοποιείται ως μυθιστόρημα και δεν αντιπροσωπεύει έναν από τους κύριους λόγους εξαγιασμού της γυναίκας.

Η ενδοοικογενειακή βία είναι ένας λόγος για να εγκαταλείψουν την οικογενειακή εστία και να ενστερνιστούν τον μοναστικό βίο, όπως συνέβη στην αγιολογία της Ύστερης Αρχαιότητας. Η πιο σημαντική καινοτομία σε σχέση με την τελευταία θα ήταν η σαφής έκφραση της ενδοοικογενειακής βίας που υφίσταντο οι γυναίκες. Η βία κατά των γυναικών, όπως προαναφέρθηκε, ήταν ιδιαίτερα σκληρή σε σκηνές μαρτυρίου, αλλά σε αυτό το είδος ιστορίας στην οποία ένας σύζυγος εξοργίζεται με την εγκατάλειψη της συζύγου του, η γενική αντίδραση που απεικονίζεται είναι κάποιο είδος καταχρηστικής τιμωρίας παρά μία ρητή βίαιη επίθεση. Σε κάθε περίπτωση, ο *Βίος της αγίας Ματρώνας* του 6ου αιώνα, δημιουργεί ένα νέο μοτίβο που χρησιμοποιείται στη γυναικεία αγιολογία, η οποία έχει ήδη σιωπήσει εδώ και πολύ καιρό, όπως η ενδοοικογενειακή βία κατά των γυναικών. Το τελευταίο θα επανέλθει αιώνες αργότερα, κατά τη διάρκεια της πιο έντονης περιόδου δημιουργίας της αγιολογικής φιλολογίας.[8]

Εν πάση περιπτώσει, στους *Βίους* αυτών των γυναικών, μπορεί να παρατηρηθεί μια επαναλαμβανόμενη παρουσία αξιών όπως η φιλανθρωπία, η βοήθεια για τους άπορους ή η ελεημοσύνη. Υποδηλώνει πώς ένα τέτοιο ζήτημα έγινε αντιληπτό, τουλάχιστον, σε ορισμένους τομείς, ως σημαντικό κοινωνικό ζήτημα και ακόμη και ως θρησκευτικό καθήκον. Ακόμα κι αν είναι μονίμως προβληματικό να ταυτίζουμε τη φαντασία με την πραγματικότητα, μπορεί κάποιος

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[8]   Βλ. Paschalidis (2011, 143-171). Η εναρκτήρια πρόταση αυτού του άρθρου είναι διαφωτιστική (Paschalidis 2011, 143): «Scholarly opinion generally recognizes the period from the end of Iconoclasm to the end of the tenth century as the high point of Byzantine hagiography».

να υποθέσει ότι η ενδοοικογενειακή βία μπορεί να είναι συνήθης αυτή τη στιγμή, στο βαθμό που ήταν, δυστυχώς, από την Αρχαιότητα μέχρι τη σύγχρονη εποχή. Η περιγραφή αυτής της βίας αποτελεί μείζονα ρόλο στους *Βίους* της Μαρίας της Νέας και της Θωμαΐδος της Λέσβου, και η σύγκριση με τους μάρτυρες πρέπει να ερμηνευθεί ως αποτέλεσμα μιας νέας συμπονετικής ευαισθησίας απέναντι στα δεινά των γυναικών, που υπέφεραν στην εξουσία των συζύγων τους. Και αυτή η βία, λοιπόν, πρέπει να θεωρηθεί ως τρόπος εξαγιασμού για αυτές τις γυναίκες, για τις οποίες η απόκτηση αγιότητας θα ήταν ανταμοιβή αναφορικά με την εξαιρετικά ευσεβή, αλλά ταυτόχρονα σκληρή και ταραγμένη ζωή τους.

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THE MEANING OF RIGHTEOUSNESS IN GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS'S WORK 'THE EVANGELICAL LAW' (*NOMOΣ EYAΓΓEΛIKOΣ*)

Soultana D. Lamprou

Abstract: LAMPROU, Soultana. *The Meaning of Righteousness in Gennadios II Scholarios's Work 'The Evangelical Law' (Νόμος Εὐαγγελικός).* Gennadios II Scholarios, Patriarch of Constantinople, was an outstanding figure in the 15th century who influenced the religious and political life of the Imperial Capital. Numbered in the literary production of Gennadios is the work entitled *Concerning the worship of God first or the evangelical law in summary*, written by the patriarch in the year 1458 at the Monastery of the Honourable Forerunner in Serres on Mount Monoikeion. In the present study, prompted by what has been written in the *Evangelical Law,* we engaged in the selection of quotations from the whole of his literary production, concerning the theme -the righteousness- being discussed in the aforementioned work with the goal of examining, more fully if possible, his teaching and positions on the particular Christian meaning.

In a separate chapter of the *Evangelical Law,* but also sporadically in the aforementioned work as well as in the whole of his work, the patriarch discusses the topic of the virtue of justice in its social as well as spiritual aspects.

Keywords: *Gennadios II Scholarios, Constantinople, Monastery of the Honourable Forerunner in Serres, Simonida Asanina, "Evangelical Law", righteousness, virtue of justice*

Gennadios Scholarios (Zisis 1988) was an outstanding figure who influenced the religious and political life of the Imperial Capital. He was born in the year 1400 in Constantinople of a Thessalian father. His secular name was Georgios, and Scholarios was his family name which originates from an ancestor who served in the class of scholars (a military guard of the palaces, or the head of a school).

He received a well-rounded education and later paid close attention to the distinguished teachers of the period. But mainly he was an autodidact due to his natural skills. He learned rhetoric, philosophy, and poetry. He studied Aristotle, knew the Latin language, and translated works by Thomas Aquinas.

Professionally, he was primarily involved with theology and philosophy. He taught grammar, philosophy, rhetoric at the school where he kept his residence and he taught theology at the Academy of the Palance. Moreover, he remained the general secretary of the Emperor and "universal judge of the Romans". He was selected as a member of the delegation of the Byzantines to the Council of Ferrera–Florence (1438 – 1439) where the issue of the union of the Eastern and Western Churches was discussed.

Identifying with his spiritual teacher, Mark Evgenikos of Ephesus, he did not sign the act of union of the council and departed with Georgios Gemiston Plethon and Bishop Demetrios who was the brother of Emperor John XIII Palaiologos.

After the death of his parents and upon closing his school and abandoning his administrative positions, he was tonsured a monk at the Monastery of Charsianeitos in the year 1450. After the Fall of Constantinople he took his nephew, Theodoros Sophianos, and went to Adrianople, where he was freed on request of Mehmet the Conqueror and returned to the Imperial City in the autumn of 1453. He ascended the Patriarchal throne in January 1454 and managed to have beneficial privileges granted by the Sultan to the enslaved people. From May of 1456 on, he reportedly lived as a monk at the Holy Monastery of Vatopaidi of Mount Athos and after the death of his nephew there, he lived at the Monastery of the Honourable Forerunner in Serres where he remained until his death in 1472, and where he is still buried.

The publication of the Collected Works by L. Petit, X. Siderides and M. Jugie (1928-1936) convincingly indicates the extent, breadth, and variety of the themes in the literary production of Gennadios II Scholarios, Patriarch of Constantinople. As a teacher of philosophy but also as an authentic exemplar of the theology of the East (Θεοδώρου Ἀγαλλιανοῦ, Λόγος Αʹ Περί τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτόν ἤ κατά τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ; Theodoros Agallianos 1966, 97.217-219. Compare Blanchet 2008, 32), he wrote dogmatic and apologetic essays, as well as hermeneutical, historical, ethical-pastoral, liturgical works from his youth until his seventies, in addition to poetic and philosophical work, homilies and orations, epistles, grammar, and he also translated Latin works.

His *Concerning the worship of God first or the evangelical law in summary*[1] was written in the year 1458, according to his self-written note in the margin of the Codex Parisinus 1289, at the Monastery of the Honourable Forerunner in Serres on Mount Monoikeion (Papageorgiou 1894, 316).

This important work by the patriarch is contained in a number of manuscript codices (20) stored in libraries in Greece (Mount Athos, Patmos, Zagora) and abroad (at the Vatican, and in Paris, Vienna, Bucharest, and Spain). It is also included in the fourth volume of the *Collected Works of Georgios Scholarios,* p. 236-264 (fig. 1), the publishers of which also took the publication of Sergios Makraios entitled *A Glance at Teaching of the blessed Patriarch Scholarios of Constantinople or the evangelical law,* Constantinople 1806[2] (fig. 2) (Evangelidis 1896, 74) into consideration for the publication of the aforementioned work for its section on manuscript tradition. We also bring to mind the inclusion on the work of St Nikodemos the Athonite, *The Garden of Graces* (p. 223-249), Ioannina 1819[3] (fig. 3). We would also like to mention its

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[1] The title in Greek: *Περί τῆς πρώτης τοῦ Θεοῦ λατρείας ἤ νόμος εὐαγγελικός ἐν ἐπιτομῇ.*

[2] The title of the publication: *Διδασκαλία εὐσύνοπτος τοῦ μακαρίου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Σχολαρίου ἤ νόμος εὐαγγελικός, ἐν ἐπιτομῇ σαφῶς καί εὐλήπτως ἐκτεθείς, νῦν πρῶτον τύποις ἐκδοθεῖσα διά προτροπῆς καί φιλοτίμου δαπάνης τοῦ πανιερωτάτου καί θεοπροβλήτου μητροπολίτου ἁγίου Προύσης κυρίου κυρίου Ἀνθίμου, ἐπιμελείᾳ δέ τοῦ σοφολογιωτάτου διδασκάλου κυρίου Σεργίου τοῦ Μακραίου, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Πατριαρχείου τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τυπογραφείῳ ἔτει 1806.*

[3] The exact title of the work is: *Κῆπος Χαρίτων ἤτοι Ἑρμηνεία γλαφυρά εἰς τάς Θʹ ᾠδάς τῆς στιχολογίας ἐκ διαφόρων συνερανισθεῖσα παρά τοῦ ἀειμνήστου διδασκάλου Νικοδήμου Ἁγιορείτου, ἤ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ προσετέθησαν ἡ Κυριακή Προσευχή τοῦ Πάτερ ἡμῶν εἰς μέτρον ἡρωϊκόν, ἕν κεφάλαιον ὠφελιμότατον Καλλίστου πατριάρχου, ἕν τεμάχιον ἐκ τῆς χειρογράφου βίβλου Ἰωσήφ τοῦ Καλοθέτου, Νόμος Εὐαγγελικός ἐν ἐπιτομῇ εἰς τεσσαράκοντα κεφάλαια διῃρημένος, συγγραφείς ὑπό τοῦ σοφοῦ Γενναδίου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Σχολαρίου, πρός τούτοις τεσσαράκοντα χαρακτῆρες ἐπιστολῶν ἑλληνικῶν, καί ἕτεροι τύποι ἐπιστολῶν ἁπλοϊκῶν Χριστοφόρου τοῦ Προδρομίτου, εἷς τύπος Διαθήκης, καί ἄλλος τύπος Ὁμολογίας, καί μία χείρ τεχνικωτάτη περί τοῦ Ἁγίου Πάσχα, καί τῶν παρεπομένων αὐτῷ μετά τῆς ἑρμηνείας αὐτῆς, τέλος ἕν παράρτημα κύκλων ἡλίου καί σελήνης, ὁμοίως περί βισέκτου, ἰνδικτιῶνος, καί ἐπακτῶν παρά Κωνσταντίνου Σακελλαροπώλου τοῦ ἐξ Ἄρτης, πάντα δέ ταῦτα νῦν πρῶτον τύποις ἐξεδόθησαν διά δαπάνης τῶν ἐλαχίστων ἱερομονάχων Στεφάνου καί Νεοφύτου τῶν ἐν τῷ ἁγιωνύμῳ ὄρει Σκουρταίων καί συνδρομῆς ἐν μέρει τινῶν ἀδελφῶν φιλογενῶν τε καί φιλοχρίστων εἰς κοινήν ἁπάντων τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ὠφέλειαν, ἐνετίησιν παρά Νικολάῳ Γλυκεῖ τῷ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων 1819.*

publication in Modern Greek by the Holy Hesychasterion of the Dormition of the Theotokos, Katounakia-Mount Athos 1997[4] (fig. 4).

The patriarch, placing his signature on his epistle entitled "To the Lady Sophrosyne, a sister of the most high queen and most pious and most venerable amongst the nuns"[5] (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Τῇ Σωφροσύνῃ Ἐπιστολή; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 234-235. Compare Petit 1935, xv-xvi. Lampros 1924, 322-324), who is Simonida Asanina, the sister of Theodora Asanina the wife of Demetrios Palaiologos, the Despot of Mystras, according to Lambros (1924, xxxv-xxxvi. Compare Jugie 1935, 157-158); as "the servant of the children of God, Gennadios"[6] (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Τῇ Σωφροσύνῃ Ἐπιστολή; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 235.33), provides the information that the epistle is to accompany the work being sent, *Concerning the worship of God first or the evangelical law;* "I send to you the evangelical law which you shall find in no other book anywhere else[7] (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Τῇ Σωφροσύνῃ Ἐπιστολή; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 234.16-17; Compare Zisis 1988, 309; Blanchet 2008, 222; Rigo 2016, 370). In the letter which was composed with the intention of strengthening the nun Sophrosyne in her struggle, he notes that certain aspects of the contents of the work in discussion apply only to men. Nevertheless, he advises her to read, to observe, and to maintain the things of the household. Moreover, it urges Sophrosyne to read the ascetical work of Basil the Great, which describes the rules of the monastics, and to uphold her struggle in these two readings (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Τῇ Σωφροσύνῃ Ἐπιστολή; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 234.17-25).

"Concerning the worship of God first or the evangelical law in summary. Extemporaneously written in an easily comprehensible manner for a friend who seeks it"[8] (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Νόμος Εὐαγγελικός; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 234-264. Compare Zisis 1988, 308-309. Blanchet 2008, 222). The title of the work clearly defines the content and also the purpose of its composition. For Scholarios, remarkably, the observance of the commandments of the Gospel and, indeed, the moral teaching of the Lord based on his Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5; 6; 7), as it is mentioned in the title and is articulated in the introduction of the work, constitutes the first and most indispensable worship of God, while the second and lesser worship of God is characterised by prayers and psalmody (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Νόμος Εὐαγγελικός Προοίμιον; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 236.5-10). The evangelical law, which is called 'spiritual' by Scholarios, is above both the natural law and the written law of Moses, given that it was given as a law and taught by the Incarnate Lord and it is He who leads man to salvation (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Νόμος Εὐαγγελικός Προοίμιον; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 236.13-15-237.5-10).

Indeed, in the introduction of the work, the manner of observing the commandments of God is also indicated, that is, "with love", because He is the creator, the father, and the benefactor of the human race, and "with fear", considering that he is master and eternal judge (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Νόμος Εὐαγγελικός Προοίμιον; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 236.6-9).

The essay is divided into forty chapters, of which, as mentioned, the introduction comes first and the work concludes with an epilogue. Some of the themes which are described in summary, as is also expressed in the title from the beginning, pertain to: faith, God's omnipresence, love for

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[4] The title of the work is: *Τοῦ σοφοῦ Γενναδίου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Σχολαρίου, Νόμος Εὐαγγελικός (εἰς μ´ κεφάλαια),* Ἰ. Ἡσυχαστήριον τῆς Κοιμήσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου, Κατουνάκια-Ἅγιον Ὄρος 1997.

[5] «τῇ κυρᾷ Σωφροσύνῃ, ἀδελφῇ τῆς ὑψηλοτάτης βασιλίσσης καὶ ἐν μοναχαῖς ὁσιωτάτη καὶ αἰδεσιμωτάτῃ».

[6] «ὁ δοῦλος τῶν τέκνων τοῦ Θεοῦ Γεννάδιος».

[7] «στέλλω σοι τόν εὐαγγελικόν νόμον, ὅν οὐδαμοῦ ἄλλοθι εὑρήσεις ἐν οὐδενί βιβλίῳ».

[8] «*Περί τῆς πρώτης τοῦ Θεοῦ λατρείας ἤ νόμος εὐαγγελικός ἐν ἐπιτομῇ. Αὐτοσχεδίως καί εὐλήπτως ἐξεδόθη μοναχῷ τινι φίλῳ ζητήσαντι*» (Paris. gr. 1294).

God, mourning, desire, anger, justice, mercifulness, purity of heart, peace, forgiveness, repentance, humility, forbearance, etc.

The aforementioned work reflects on the general principles of the moral teaching of Christianity and constitutes a type of guide of faith for the Orthodox Christian (Makraios 1806, 3). Although, as it has been noted (Petit 1935, xv-xvi), it does not follow a strict system or internal unity (Diamantopoulos 1935, 471), its usefulness makes its translation into other languages necessary.

Clearly, it would be unfair to the theological depth of the patriarch's systematic thought for us to simply quote the evangelical oracles as they are embodied in the *Evangelical Law*. For this reason, in the present study, prompted by what has been written in the *Evangelical Law,* we elaborate on the selection of quotations from his literary production concerning the themes being discussed in the aforementioned work with the goal to present, more fully if possible, his teaching and positions on the particular Christian meanings.

In a separate chapter of the *Evangelical Law* (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Νόμος Εὐαγγελικός 8; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 243-245)*,* but also sporadically in the aforementioned work as well as in his work in general, the patriarch discusses the topic of the virtue of justice in its social as well as spiritual aspects. Scholarios differentiates justice into "lower and popular", which is observed on a social level in interactions between people, and into "higher or general", of which the most precise terms are stipulated in the Bible (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ὁμιλία εἰς τήν ἑορτήν τῶν Εἰσοδίων 11; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 171.19-20). Those who follow it are those who observe with voracious desire the commandments of the Lord who with irrational exaggeration pays them a salary in the present and in the future life (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί τῶν κατ᾽ ἀρετήν ἔργων, ὧν ἄνευ ἡ πίστις ἄκαρπός ἐστι τοῖς πιστεύουσιν 2; Gennadios Scholarios 1930, 419.24-31). Occasionally, he considers justice to be identical in meaning to that of virtue (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Παραμυθητικός τῷ βασιλεῖ Κωνσταντίνῳ ἐπί τῇ μεταστάσει τῆς μητρός αὐτοῦ 11; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 268.29).

The "lower and popular" justice is social virtue which is taken up with an economic sense, primarily with a political and, certainly, by whoever practices judicial authority (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί τοῦ πῶς διακρίνονται αἱ θεῖαι ἐνέργειαι πρός τε ἀλλήλας καί τήν θείαν οὐσίαν, ἧς εἰσιν ἐνέργειαι καί ἐν ᾗ εἰσιν 3; Gennadios Scholarios 1930, 231.34-36). In analysing those things pertaining to the science of natural philosophy, Scholarios notes that the study of nature, from the practical virtues, uses justice "for the knowledge of the order of the elements and of the location of everything and of balance"[9], in this manner, also ending up in the perfection of the soul (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ἐκ τῶν Σιμπλικίου προλεγόμενα τῆς φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως; Gennadios Scholarios 1936, 159.27-29).

The "high and general" justice is associated with other virtues which are demonstrated in his work, and it bears fruit and defines the virtuous Christian. Indeed, regarding the cooperation of the virtues and their common goal, the divine purpose for it, he writes characteristically "for as the natural law educates, as does the law which is in writing, and the evangelical law of grace, and those laws of the saints of God, and all together the philosophy concerning moral character, it concerns such things, and leads to blessedness, and on the contrary, also the virtues, and those things which are called evil have order, which the members of men also have, which also have in them practical wisdom, virtue of reason, and righteousness in a different manner, self-control, desire and anger, manliness, and another virtue of intellection, and another of language, and another of labour and in birthgiving, another is brought forth from it, and it prepares the way, and it purifies, and it perfects and opens, through which they accompany man in an orderly

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[9]   «διά τήν γνῶσιν τῆς τάξεως τῶν στοιχείων καί τῶν μερῶν τοῦ παντός καί τῆς ἰσότητος».

manner to come into the destination of blessedness"[10] (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί θείας προνοίας καί προορισμοῦ 12; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 400.18-28). In this manner, he elsewhere calls justice a coming together of peace and calm for the children of God (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί τῆς δευτέρας παρουσίας τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν καί περί τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ἀναστάσεως 3; Gennadios Scholarios 1930, 334.16-17). A ridge and its passing indicate mercy. This is because no one who is unrighteous can become merciful, given that the latter guards the justice of the divine law and the ordinances of nature (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί ἐλεημοσύνης 11; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 101.3-11). Incidentally, he points out that both justice and mercy must accompany fasting, according to the law of the Lord (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί ἐλεημοσύνης 3; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 93.21-25).

In his *Homily on the parable of the publican and the pharisee*, Scholarios illustrates that a righteous person is taken into account or he who, as a member of the community, lives lawfully or the person who is devoted to God, who observes His law; who does not boast about being free of sin and the practice of virtue, because pride, as he explains parenthetically, is the beginning of every sin, moreover, he does not burn out and he does not judge his neighbour, he considers himself a base slave, he counts his shortcomings rather than his good deeds, every success he attributes to God and every shortcoming to himself, he does not pursue acclaim when he fasts or shows mercy, he repents for his offences and does not demand salvation as his due, etc. Of particular interest is his position which comprises a foundation of the complete patristic teaching, that the things mentioned above amount to and correspond to the purification from every prideful thought, reasoning, and deed on the one hand, and with the multifaceted manner of practicing the virtue of humility on the other (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ὁμιλία ἐπί τῇ παραβολῇ τοῦ τελώνου καί φαρισαίου 12; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 69.33-40-70.1-13).

So, every faithful Christian is commanded to embrace justice and, based on the Apostle Matthew (5: 6), to bless whoever is consumed with burning desire and passionate love for this virtue, because, on the one hand it functions as the medicine which protects and delivers one from every demonic and human influence, and on the other, it functions as the means by which God offers future repose. After all, the divine grace which accompanies the righteous man replenishes and strengthens his powers in order to get through his life (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Νόμος Εὐαγγελικός 8; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 243.20-26).

In particular, the patriarch addresses specific social groups which practice judicial, economic, and spiritual authority and indicates the Christian manner of practicing justice. He encourages the political leader to distribute, from the common resources which he administers, to each according to the benefit or offering. He requests the judge not to compromise justice and to apply the impositions of the law fairly in each circumstance and without being influenced by the social order of the judiciary (equality of law, equal rights). The soldier, he says, must follow the order, and neither slander nor harass anyone, nor seize things indifferently for himself other than what is necessary for his wages. The merchant must not deceive the customers with tricks in terms of the quality and the quantity of his wares. He must also avoid covetousness for the securing of

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[10] «ὅσα τε γάρ ὁ φυσικός ἐκπαιδεύει νόμος καί ὁ ἐν τῷ γράμματι καί ὁ τῆς χάριτος ὁ εὐαγγελικός καί οἱ τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ Θεοῦ νόμοι καί σύμπασα ἡ περί τά ἤθη φιλοσοφία, περί τούτων εἰσίν, ἅ πρός τήν εὐδαιμονίαν φέρει, καί τοὐναντίον, καί τά μέν ἀρεταί, τά δέ κακίαι ὀνομάζονται, ἔχοντα τάξιν, οἵαν καί τά μόρια τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὧν εἰσι καί ἐν οἷς γίνονται, οἷον φρόνησις μέν, λόγου ἀρετή, καί δικαιοσύνη ἕτερον τρόπο, σωφροσύνη δέ, ἐπιθυμίας καί θυμοῦ, ἀνδρεία, καί ἄλλη μέν ἀρετή διανοίας, ἄλλη δέ γλώττης, ἄλλη δέ ἔργου καί γεννᾷ μέν ἥδε ἐκείνην, φύεται δέ ἄλλη ἐκ ταύτης, καί ἡ μέν προοδοποιεῖ, ἡ δέ καθαίρει, ἡ δέ τελειοῖ καί ἀνάγει, δι᾽ ὧν ὁδεύοντα εὐτάκτως τόν ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἔστι μή εἰς τό τῆς εὐδαιμονίας πέρας ἐλθεῖ».

his livelihood, the inhumane enriching which causes woe to others and weighs them down with interest, so that it can justly serve one's annual needs with self-sufficiency while maintaining capital. He points out that it is very important to determine the time and the place of his commercial activity and, mainly, not to turn, according to what is written to the Apostle John (2: 16), the house of God into a place of business, by turning, as he writes characteristically, the day of piety to a day of impiety (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Νόμος Εὐαγγελικός 8; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 243.26-36-244.1-9).

Moreover, addressing the wealthy citizens, he advises them not to take the possessions of the poor illegally, underhandedly or overtly, taking into account the administration of justice of the corrupt judges. And he encourages the poor to labour for wages and even to beg, but under no circumstances to rob graves, temples or, more generally, to steal (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Νόμος Εὐαγγελικός 8; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 244.9-13).

The teachers and "guides of reason" are obliged to teach with their reason and to cultivate justice by their deeds. Scholarios, speaking with the words of the Apostle Matthew (5: 19), underlines the importance of accord between words and deeds of the teachers, explaining that in this way, they are justified as the greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven, while in the opposite circumstance they are called the least because they wrong themselves by their deeds, and, rather than benefiting, by their example they alienate their listeners from the correct teaching and scandalise the conscience of their brothers. Indeed, their sin is so grave, that he considers it better "for him if a millstone were hung around his neck, and he were drowned in the depth of the sea"[11] than to cause another person to be scandalized (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Νόμος Εὐαγγελικός 8; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 244.34-37-245.1-8).

The exhortations of the patriarch also pertain to church leadership; he prescribes the bishop to be the example of righteousness for his flock, practicing and teaching dispassionately, distributing the degrees of the priesthood and grace without reward, in accordance with the worthiness of each person and further more excluding those who are unworthy of the sacred things. Indeed, he points out the importance of avoiding the sacrilege of Simon (i.e. Simony) by the rulers of the Church, that is of the sale of favours or holy things and of the ordination of clergymen through bribery, addressing, in this manner, the serious problem which the Church confronted at that difficult period, concerning which he composed a related work entitled *Against the heresy of Simony or faithlessness*[12] (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Κατά τῆς σιμωνιακῆς αἱρέσεως ἤ ἀπιστίας; Gennadios Scholarios 1930, 239-251). Of particular interest is the position of Scholarios regarding the priest, where he indicates he must be the fairest of all the above, because the priest, as he explains, is neither allowed unfair nor any profitable commercial exchange. His righteousness, in fact, must be superior to that of the Scribes and the Pharisees who while feigning the legal tax, seized the possessions of the poor and orphans without mercy and for their own gain, given that the priest must be attentive to his work, that is, to the occupation of the worship of God and care for the salvation of the souls of the faithful, knowing that God provides for the necessary things for his livelihood. And concerning the monk, he notes that he must unwaveringly keep his promises, he must cut off all worldly desires, be tolerant when he is deprived of his belongings, and consequently, must not express their legal claim, but instead he must pursue poverty and obedience, so as not to lose the Kingdom of Heaven.

Finally, Scholarios, in addressing more generally all classes and men, enjoins the sense of fullness from righteousness more than unrighteousness, the desire to be wronged more than to do wrong, the recognition of justice either originates from the laws of polity or from the sacred

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[11] «λίθῳ βαρυτάτῳ τήν κεφαλήν προσδήσαντας ἐν τῷ πελάγει βυθισθῆναι».

[12] *Κατά τῆς σιμωνιακῆς αἱρέσεως ἤ ἀπιστίας.*

and divine and, above all, from the law of conscience, by which he is in accord with, as he emphasises, every divine and human law. Below this prism the behaviour of man, who must judge justly in regards to his relationship between God and the ruler, between God and all people, to settle the issues between God and *Mammon* (wealth) justly, to justly determine the relationship between the soul and the body is also prescribed; to thus ascribe to the ruler and to men whatever is beneficial, not to offer any service to *Mammon*, to allow his soul to govern the body, and in every circumstance to offer everything to the Lord and to serve Him in everything (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Νόμος Εὐαγγελικός 8; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 245.11-30).

In an important ethical work where Scholarios discusses the difference between pardonable sins and deadly sins, and closely follows the *Evangelical Law* in Sergios Makraios' publication, mentions that the corruption of love which occurs where we wrong our neighbour is difficult to heal. And he explains: because the goodness of God only scrutinises the return of the sinner, it is expressed on the one hand, by the return of the sinner, and on the other, by the love for God put into practice with fervent works of love, and divine justice, however, does not only scrutinise the sins towards one's neighbour but also the satisfaction of the wrongdoer (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί διαφορᾶς τῶν συγγνωστῶν καί θανασίμων ἁμαρτημάτων σύντομον καί σαφές 4; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 277.32-37).

For the topic that was especially sensitive for him such as the restitution of righteousness, given that he was wronged by his colleagues and resigned from the patriarchal throne, Gennadios advises the faithful not to be gripped by sorrow but to be graceful when they are persecuted for the faith and for righteousness because the wickedness of the persecutors establishes virtue in them firmly and confirms them in the Kingdom of Heaven (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Νόμος Εὐαγγελικός 8; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 248.1-4. Compare Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί τῶν κατ᾽ ἀρετήν ἔργων, ὧν ἄνευ ἡ πίστις ἄκαρπός ἐστι τοῖς πιστεύουσιν 2; Gennadios Scholarios 1930, 420.21-25). It is necessary for us to struggle and to patiently endure the burdens (afflictions) in fulfilling divine righteousness, that we might not be deprived of life eternal (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ὁμιλία εἰς τήν ἑορτήν τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων 8; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 180. 18-20).

Indeed, he recognizes the beneficial value of divine justice because the sufferings of life are an incentive for correction in repentance (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ἐγκύκλιος ἐπί τῇ ἁλώσει τῆς Πόλεως καί τῇ παραιτήσει τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης 9; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 222.4-20. Compare Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ὁμιλία εἰς τήν ἑορτήν τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων 7; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 179. 17-37. Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Κατά τῆς σιμωνιακῆς αἱρέσεως ἤ ἀπιστίας 6; Gennadios Scholarios 1930, 250.23-30). Let us note, moreover, that he calls the wrathful actions of God 'a work of salvation of divine righteousness' because they stop wickedness and corruption from sin, and he includes examples from the Bible (Genesis 19: 12-29) for the effect of those things, such as the ruin of the Sodomites (Tobit 14: 15), and the destruction of the Ninevites (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Παραμυθητική ἐπιστολή 2; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 299.29-36).

Moreover, in the *Encyclical concerning the fall of Constantinople and the resignation from the Patriarchate*, he believes that the reason for the Fall of Constantinople is divine abandonment due to the faithlessness of the generation. He confesses that the generation was humbled by justice because, while the eternal Logos and God became human for us and gloriously completed that highest humility, it became corrupt and did not avert the disaster. Nevertheless, he clarifies that its fatherly love was not embittered and with a proverbial word he explains "but the smoke of our own sins cleared out the source of compassion in us, and the whole scale of balance of righteousness tipped in our favour, and he who first lifted high the many and innumerable gifts has now

exceedingly humbled himself in mercy"[13] (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ἐγκύκλιος ἐπί τῇ ἁλώσει τῆς Πόλεως καί τῇ παραιτήσει τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης 9; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 222.4-20. Compare Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ὁμιλία εἰς τήν ἑορτήν τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων 7; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 179. 17-37. Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Κατά τῆς σιμωνιακῆς αἱρέσεως ἤ ἀπιστίας 6; Gennadios Scholarios 1930, 250.23-30).

Certainly, the continual reference to the favourite topic of the patristic literature inundates the entirety of the writings of the patriarch, from one end to the other; references to divine righteousness, which he calls excellent (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Εὐχή προοιμιαστική τοῦ ὄρθρου; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 326.15) and is ascribed to the sun (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Λόγος εἰς τόν Εὐαγγελισμόν τῆς Θεοτόκου 59; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 57.11) and the overseer of righteousness (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ὁμιλία ἐπί τῇ παραβολῇ τοῦ τελώνου καί φαρισαίου 10; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 68.33), God, all-good creator and father of all.

Because of insubordination, the separation of man from God led him to the furthest point of error and there was no hope of salvation. Only divine righteousness and goodness could heal and save the human race. For this reason, when the fullness of time came, the Son of God became human (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ὁμιλία εἰς τήν Ἁγίαν καί Μεγάλην Παρασκευήν 3; 5; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 138.27-35; 141. 2-23).

As a standard of righteousness, Scholarios considered the super-rational, great, and supernatural good-will of God, that sent the co-eternal and consubstantial Word, who supernaturally took on humanity and made it the medium for atonement through his precious blood for the salvation of humankind and their reconciliation with God (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ὁμιλία ἐπί τῇ μεταστάσει τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου 16; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 209.10-17. Compare Romans 3: 25). Indeed, he describes divine clemency just as the Prophet-King David (Psalm 83: 11) proclaimed it; mercy had to meet the truth and righteousness had to embrace peace, the fruit of divine goodwill (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί τῆς λογικῆς καί ἀνθρωπίνης ψυχῆς δεύτερον 19; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 500.28-31). Nevertheless, human nature had to submit to justice so that everyone might not receive the benefit irresponsibly (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ὁμιλία εἰς τήν Γέννησιν τοῦ Κυρίου 8; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 231.12-15).

Until the coming of the Lord, personal righteousness and virtue of man could not remove the impediment of the Ancestral Fall and everyone, righteous and unrighteous, were bound in the dungeons of Hades. By the benevolence of divine *oikonomia*, the bonds of the righteous and faithful were loosed and they were freed from Hades and henceforth found themselves in the land of prosperity, while the faithless and reprobates found themselves in the depths of Hades. It is worth noting that through the death and resurrection of Christ and through the mystery of Baptism, the ancestral sin is washed away and henceforth man has a choice to follow the path of eternal life through repentance (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί τοῦ καιροῦ καί τοῦ τρόπου ὑπάρξεως τῶν νοερῶν καί ἀθανάτων ψυχῶν, τουτέστι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων 8; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 472.35-40-473.1-10. Compare Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ἐκ τῶν περί τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ προφητειῶν αἱ σαφέστεραι ἐνταῦθα ἐτέθησαν, πλείστων οὐσῶν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς τῶν προφητῶν λόγοις; Gennadios Scholarios 1930, 313.30-37-314.1-9; Zisis 1988, 458-460). As a result, he considers the most wretched of men, who, with voluntary blindness, do not see the light of righteousness, and are thus deprived of the benevolence of God and prefer the darkness of error to the beautiful light, which is the Divine Logos (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Εὐχή εἰς τόν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς νυκτός; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 363.29-33).

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[13] «ἀλλ᾽ ὁ καπνός τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτιῶν τήν πηγήν ἡμῖν ἀνεστόμωσε τῆς σῆς εὐσπλαγχνίας, καί ὅλη καθ᾽ ἡμῶν ἡ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἔρρεψε πλάστιγξ, καί ὁ ταῖς πολλαῖς καί ἀναριθμήτοις ὑψώσας πρότερον δωρεαῖς, νῦν λίαν ἐλεεινῶς ἐταπείνωσας».

God foresees the improvement of each man who walks along the path of truth and goodness and is able to be exalted to the place of prosperity without compulsion and worthily. Divine foreknowledge attends to the good, it shows compassion to the reprobates when they repent and are corrected, but he also attributes divine righteousness to the incurable, as the patriarch characterises them (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί τοῦ θείου προορισμοῦ τέταρτον 15; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 452.20-22). Based on the parable of the Lord of parable of the rich man and poor Lazarus (Luke 16: 19-31), he affirms that the righteousness of God opens the gates of heaven for the righteous, while, according to the parable of the vineyard labourers (Matthew 20: 1-16), it shows his mercy and clemency to the unrighteous who sincerely repented towards the end of their lives (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ψυχῶν, τί αὐταῖς γίνεται μετά τήν τῶν σωμάτων ἀπαλλαγήν 4; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 511.1-16). Indeed, concerning the spiritual benefit of man he also states limits of life and, furthermore, either administers the endurance of the soul in the body or appoints its release from the bonds of the body by his ineffable words of wisdom and his righteousness (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί τοῦ θείου προορισμοῦ δεύτερον 3; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 414.21-25).

Consequently, the place which has been prepared for man is binary; the pure and righteous enter into the place that is proper for them, while the sinners and unrighteous enter the place of darkness and misery. One is by God prepared and offered to those who lived according to their nature, while the other is for those who lived against it. The patriarch illustrates that "the first place the goodness of God prepares it, with his righteousness reckoned together, and the other place His divine righteousness prepares without the goodness to contradict it; because the goodness wills the righteous things" [14] (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί θείας προνοίας καί προορισμοῦ 9; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 397.34-36-398.1-18).

In addition, as he describes the middle situation of the soul which also represented a topic for discussion at the Council of Ferrara–Florence amongst the Byzantines and Latins, he points out that souls, which despite having repented for their sins before the end of their life, do not immediately ascend to Heaven but are temporarily found in a middle situation because they did not satisfy divine righteousness (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί ψυχῆς τέταρτον 3; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 523.33-38-524.1-9).

Gennadios concludes that at the Second Coming of the Saviour, for their exactitude of Righteousness good people will receive honour for the things they have done, while the wicked will receive justice for their wickedness (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Λόγος εἰς τόν Εὐαγγελισμόν τῆς Θεοτόκου 58; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 55.15-18). In particular, referring to the affinity of soul and body in man and to their common struggle in this life, he emphasises that the presentation of the crown on the day of judgment to those who completed the race struggling in both soul and body are laid up for divine righteousness. Indeed, he clarifies that the crown is counted as the fulfilment of both by the communion of the supernatural gifts of the future blessedness (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ψυχῶν, τί αὐταῖς γίνεται μετά τήν τῶν σωμάτων ἀπαλλαγήν 10; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 517.34-38-518.1-6) and is rendered according to the benefit of the athletes who competed righteously, namely as a reward and not as grace. To highlight the aforementioned things, he underlines the manner in which the verb "laid up for" (ἀποδώσει) is used by the Apostle Paul in the passage *2 Timothy* 4:7[15], where the apostle, in commenting, did not say "the crown is given to me", which has the sense of a gift rather than grace, but he said "it is laid up for me", which expresses

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[14] «τόν μέν ἡ ἀγαθότης τοῦ Θεοῦ ἑτοιμάζει, τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ συμψηφιζομένης (ἀγαθή γάρ ἐστι καί αὐτή), τόν δέ ἡ θεία δικαιοσύνη, τῆς ἀγαθότητος οὐ ἀντιλεγούσης· καί αὐτή γάρ τά δίκαια βούλεται».

[15] «τόν καλόν ἀγῶνα ἠγώνισμαι, τόν δρόμο τετέλεκα, τήν πίστιν τετήρηκα· λοιπόν ἀπόκειταί μοι ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος, ὅν ἀποδώσει μοι ὁ Κύριος».

the rendering of that which is due (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ἀπόδειξις ὅτι μείζων πάντων τῶν ἁγίων ὁ ἅγιος Παῦλος 2; Gennadios Scholarios 1930, 429.36-38-430.1-7).

From the above, it is clearly shown that the patriarch precisely defined the manner of achieving the salvation of man, along with the work of divine righteousness in it: "while divine goodness is sought by us, divine righteousness is prepared, and both according to such a supernatural accordance of them and the venerator of everything permitted in our own choosing"[16] (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ἐγκύκλιος ἐπί τῇ ἁλώσει τῆς Πόλεως καί τῇ παραιτήσει τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης 3; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 215.8-10).

In closing, we note that from the themes which were presented by way of example it is clear that the outstanding spiritual personality of Byzantium and great figure of Christian literature, Patriarch Gennadios II Scholarios, is a distinctly authentic transmitter of the hagiographical and patristic tradition. His robust writing in topics of true faith and of the practice of the virtues, in those things which generally determine the spiritual course of the Christian in the Church with the purpose of achieving spiritual perfection and his salvation, was able to restore and to strengthen the faith of the frustrated generation at the time of the Fall, and he continues to guide the god-loving readers of every period. And moreover, the sanctity of his life made him an authentic exemplar of an Orthodox Christian.

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[16] «τό μέν τῆς θείας ἀγαθότητος ἀφ' ἡμῶν ζητούσης, τό δέ τῆς θείας δικαιοσύνης ἑτοιμαζούσης, καί κατά τινα ὑπερφυᾶ συμφωνίαν αὐτῶν καί προσκυνητήν τοῦ παντός τῇ ἡμετέρα αἱρέσει λοιπόν ἐπιτετραμμένου (ἐπιτρεπομένου)».

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ПРОПОВЕДЬ НА ПРАЗДНИК АКАФИСТА БОГОРОДИЦЕ В РУКОПИСИ XVII В.: ИСТОРИКО-ЛИТЕРАТУРНЫЙ КОНТЕКСТ И АРХИТЕКТОНИКА[1]

A Sermon on the Feast of the Akathist to the Mother of God in a 17th-century Manuscript: Historical and Literary Context and Architectonics

Larisa Soboleva

Abstract: SOBOLEVA Larisa. *A Sermon on the Feast of the Akathist to the Mother of God in a 17th century Manuscript: Historical and Literary Context and Architectonics*. The article examines the manuscript collection of sermons of the 17th century „Statir" (Moscow, Russian State Library, Collection of Rumyantsev 411). The book was compiled by a priest from the Church of the Praise of the Mother of God in Orel-gorodok on the River Kama, the estate of the Stroganovs. The manuscript contains 156 homilies for various feasts, from which the text written for the service in honor of the feast of the Mother of God is selected. The historical context of the choice of the sermon's name is explained and the poetics of the sermon is examined. The main originality of the text is seen in the author's vivid presence, the idea of overcoming sinfulness is given a personal evaluation by the preacher. The author seeks to create the effect of people's unity in communion with the perfect image of the Mother of God. The Precept creates a synthesis of epic eschatological expectation and lyrical treatment of the soul. The sermon reveals individual feelings in line with the biography and personal qualities of the author, foreshadowing the future development of Russian philosophical lyricism.

Keywords: *lyrical empathy, Akathist to the Mother of God, the name of the church, homily, sermon, spiritual literature of 17th century*

Введение

Христианское богослужение обладало особым типом креативности, основанном на сложном единении в пространстве храма визуального, музыкального и словесного искусств. Синтез позволял создавать особую атмосферу возвышенной эмотивности. В службе радостные похвалы сакральным силам и умилительное восхищение праведностью святых соединялись с драматическими переживаниями греховности земного существования человека и убежденности в возможности ее преодоления. Храмовое пространство и богослужение выполняли исторически обусловленные многообразные

функции, структурируя и придавая жизненному процессу необходимое целеполагание. Восприятие молитвословия подразумевало активное пробуждение творческой энергии человека, направленной к спасению, а следовательно, актуализировался лирический элемент, связанный с личностным отношением к сакральному миру. Это лежало в основе поэтической симфонии человека и Бога – идеи, продолженной темой божественного вдохновения в поэзии Нового времени.

Церковная служба имела, помимо прославляющей, дидактическую функцию, формируя у верующих идеал чувства-переживания и следующей из этого модель поведения. В драматургии богослужения сочетаются разнообразные по характеру и генезису виды литературы, представленные молитвословиями, цитатами и притчами из Святого писания, обращениями к пастве священнослужителя, вербальным и невербальным общением клира и паствы. Назидание-поучение присутствовало в разной степени во всех частях службы, наиболее зримо учительное начало демонстрировалось в проповедях, читавшихся священником на праздники подвижного и неподвижного сакрального календаря.[2] В текстах сочетаются похвалы празднику с обличениями греховности и призывами к выбору пути спасения.

Проповедь в «переходное время» XVII века

Проповеднические тексты многофункциональны, они вбирают в себя, помимо задач прославления праздника, тему обличения греховности земной жизни, и, являя собой поддержку словом человеку в преодолении его слабостей, должны способствовать борьбе с телесными и душевными искушениями. Проповеди привлекались из специальных богослужебных «учительных» книг или авторских сборников, а также могли составляться храмовым священником определенного статуса самостоятельно.[3] В текстах различных проповедников варьировались соотнесенные с церковными праздниками темы и приводилась аргументация, вызванная жизненными условиями и запросами паствы.

Развитие проповеди, связующей профанный и сакральный миры, будучи неравномерным в разные периоды русской религиозной культуры, обретает особый вес в «переходный» XVII век (Yeremin 1948, 363). Оживление жанра авторской проповеди во второй половине века свидетельствует о новом представлении деятельного участия человека в формировании социальной жизни. Церковная проповедь, отзываясь на противоречивость мира, воспроизводила, отрицая или утверждая, новые черты в поведении человека, показывала столкновение разных оценок явлений и людей. Феномен «оцерковления» человека в предпетровский период отражает ситуацию как кризиса, так и утопических надежд удержать прежними формами духовного творчества ситуацию под контролем (Panchenko 1984, 104-112). Человек этого времени, по характеристике М. Плюхановой, «Являлся неоднозначным, не равным самому себе, выявляя в себе сакральную ипостась... Еще погруженный в старые представления, но уже лишенный стабилизирующих основ древнерусской жизни, десоциализированный, смятенный человек мог понять себя лишь как величину сакральную и, чтобы обрести равновесие, перемещал себя из обыденной жизни в сакральный мир» (Pliuhanova 1982,

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[2] Учительное слово по Уставу могло быть произнесено на вечерне, на утрени и на Литургии. Наиболее оправданным считается произнесение поучений и житий на вечерних богослужениях.

[3] Церковь в своих канонах усваивает право литургийной проповеди только лицам, имеющим благодать священства, и притом только епископам и пресвитерам (58-е Правило апостолов; Правило 64-е IV Вселенского собора).

184). Объяснимым оказывается внимание к бытованию проповеди как факту устной речевой традиции, по крайней мере, ожидание ее распространения в таком варианте. В этом сказывалась надежда церковных интеллектуалов, владеющих искусством слова, на эффект обновления системной картины мира и углубления христианской аксиологии. Культура устного храмового слова не стала обязательным навыком для каждого священника, и вряд ли в условиях будущего сверхнормативного государственного устройства имела перспективы развития в направлении индивидуализации проповеди, но последней трети XVII – начале XVIII века, потенциальные возможности жанра были реализованы в появлении сборников авторских проповедей. Русская православная традиция столкнулась с вызовами, пришедшими с проповедниками из западных присоединенных земель, где умение выстраивать поучение соединялось с искусством похвалы земной власти, что на первых порах вызывало энтузиазм и поддержку при дворе царя и российской элиты. Пафос поучения и глорификация в авторитетных произведениях Кирилла Транквиллиона, Иоанникия Галятовского, Лазаря Барановича творчески претворяется затем в сочинениях Симеона Полоцкого (как в богослужебных – «Обед душевный», «Вечеря душевная», так и в текстах придворной культуры – «Рифмологион»). Продолжением этого творческого направления станут сочинения Димитрия Ростовского, Стефана Яворского, Феофана Прокоповича и др. (Yeremin 1948). Успешная карьера Симеона Полоцкого, предопределенная талантом писателя, убеждение окружающих в результативности (политической и культурной) влияния произнесенного и написанного слова, обнародованного и преподнесенного государю в нужный момент, формировали уверенность в возможности участия творческой индивидуальности в обрисовке аксиологических постулатов на основе христианской аргументации. Достоинство жанра для литературы состояло в возможности включать в текст описание личных переживаний священника. Их удельный вес, глубина субъективности и разнообразие зависели от смелости и готовности проповедника открыть себя пастве, чему способствовали жанровые каноны. Вектор лирического высказывания был намечен именно в этом типе литературы, аккумулирующей образное воплощение эмотивности из разных источников и жанров (притчи, пророчества, толкования, песнопения и т. п.). Искусство синтеза зависело от таланта, но очевидно, что в логике литературного процесса это был путь к отделению в словесности нового времени индивидуального «я» от субстанциальной целостности нации «ее состояний, образа мыслей, действий и судеб» (Hegel 1958, 232). Личностная рефлексия и осознание доминанты изображения собственного переживания в проповеди антиномично соединяется с дидактикой поучения, обрисовывая динамику становления нового качества писательского и читательского горизонта.

Талант проповедника оказался востребованным не только в столичном – контексте (феномен Симеона Полоцкого, Димитрия Ростовского и др.), но и в далеком географически, но не по самоощущению роли в социуме, Орле-городке на Каме – центре владений уральских землевладельцев – «именитых людей» Строгановых. Именно здесь анонимным протопопом из церкви во имя Похвалы Богородицы был создан эквивалент учительным сочинениям Симеона Полоцкого – рукописный сборник, в составе которого 156 авторских проповедей на праздники Триодного круга, Минейные, а также «на случай».[4] Автор назвал

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4   Москва, РГБ. Собр. Румянцева № 411. Сборник слов и поучений «Статир». XVII в. (третья четверть). 815 лл. размер: 30,7 на 19,8, п/у одного почерка, авторский счет листов трижды начинается с первого. Записи на форзацных листах, где могла быть информация об авторстве, утрачены, переплетные листы второй половины XVIII в. Переплет поновлен, XIX в., на обороте верхней крышки экслибрис Румянцева. (Vostokov 1842, 629-633. № 411). О месте написания

его «Статир», используя сопоставление своего труда с ловлей рыбы апостолом Петром и платой золотой монетой, по слову Христа, «за Мя за ся» (Soboleva 2020, 343).

Рукопись включает в себя проповеди различного характера, соответствующие ритуальному времени и отвечающие потребностям паствы. Характер проповедей, их тональность и цель произнесения также не единообразны: от Слов похвальных, соответствующих типу праздника, разъясняющих смысл основных догматов христианского вероучения, до проповедей с обличительной доминантой и задачей формирования морального постулата и житейского поведения.[5] В исследованиях об истории церкви XVII в. упоминания о сборнике неоднократно включаются, но преимущественно как свидетельство развития культуры письменности Прикамья,[6] конкретные тексты сборника до настоящего времени мало опубликованы и недостаточно изучены.[7]

Церковь «Похвалы Богородице»: исторический контекст именования

В разнообразии именований христианской церкви можно обнаружить определенную связь с пониманием заказчиками и строителями духа времени и особенностями пространства, где возводился храм. Особое почитание Богородицы было присуще русской религиозности, начиная с момента крещения, исторические формы воплощения богородичного культа в искусстве – многогранная тема, имеющая солидную библиографию. Книжники XVII в. находились в уверенности об особой приверженности христианству славянских народов, и о покровительстве Богородицы Руси, что находило отражение в многочисленных чудотворных иконах и праздниках, связанных с мариелогией (Bogdanov 2011, 432). Религиозная семантика богородичных праздников дополнялась их историко-патриотическим и социо-культурным звучанием.[8] Выбор имени «похвальской»

[ ] рукописи свидетельствует полустертая запись: «Начася лѣта 7191 [1683] го(да) м(е)с(я)ца априллія в 8 д(е)нь написася же 192 [684] го(да) августа в 20(е)нь при державѣ б(о)гоизбранных ц(а)рей и правовѣрных г(о)с(у)д(а)рей двою братови Іоаннѣ Аксіевичѣ и Петрѣ Аксіевичѣ в вотчинѣ имянитого ч(е)л(ове)ка Григорія Димитріевича Строганова на Орлѣ-городкѣ, на ус(тье) Яйвы-рѣки» (л. 9 об., I сч.). *Здесь и далее при передаче текста рукописи сохраняем графему ѣ, юс малый передается через я, омега через о, i сохраняем в отдельных значимых случаях, титлы раскрываем и вводим сокращенные графемы, Знаки препинания расставляем при смысловой необходимости.*

[5] Общую характеристику содержания «Статира» см.: [Soboleva 2012]

[6] Приведем наиболее значимые имена исследователей XIX – XX вв., привлекавших рукопись «Статира»: И. К. Яхонтов, М. А. Паторжанский, А. И. Клибанов, А. В. Карташов, И. П. Еремин, А. С. Елеонская, П. Т. Алексеев, А. А. Введенский, Д. М. Буланин, Л. С. Соболева и др.

[7] Обращение к рукописи до последнего времени осуществлялось через издание сокращенных текстов в переводе на русский язык XIX в. богословом И. К. Яхонтовым для ознакомления приходского духовенства с историей проповеди (журнал «Духовная беседа», 1858 г.) [Yakhontov 1858]. Отрывки из этого издания были воспроизведены в учебных курсах М. А. Паторжинского [Patorzhinsky 1879, 289-303] и П. В. Знаменского [Znamensky 1896, 304-305].

[8] Зримым примеров служит праздник Покрова Пресвятой Богородицы, в котором, начиная с момента возникновения, включалось особое представление о Церкви как покрове, ограде и защите (Pliuhanova 1995, 52-63). В XVI – XVII вв. в. это становится востребованным, о чем свидетельствует строительство Иваном Грозным храма Покрова на Красной площади (более известного как «Храм Василия Блаженного»), Храма в Медведково (1653), построенного Дмитрием Пожарским, Покровского монастыря, выстроенного государем Михаилом Романовым (1635). Икона Казанской божьей матери со второй половины XVII в. считалась покровительницей дома Романовых, и праздники во имя иконы из местночтимых – московских и казанских – стали общероссийскими.

церкви мог быть предопределен несколькими факторами. Предприниматели из рода Строгановых, происходившего из Русского Севера, в 1558 г. «бьют челом» государю Ивану IV о пожаловании им прикамских земель. Просьба сопровождается образным описанием «пустых» мест и обещанием успешной колонизации во имя интересов государства, главным аргументом было то, что в царскую казну «с того места пошлина никакая не бывала» (Andreev 2000, 225-226). Инициатива возымела действие: Строгановы получили наделы и освобождение от налогов на 20 лет. Основное условие состояло в обязательном строительстве землевладельцами укрепленных городков для защиты жителей «для береженья от ногайских людей и от иных орд» (Ibid.) Эти задачи были более чем насущными, в 1572 г. под Орлом-городком при нападении местных племен на новопоселенцев было убито 78 человек. Настаивая на суровом наказании нападавших, государь пишет в грамоте о бережном отношении к тем, кто готов подчиниться Москве, и союзе с теми, кто выступает против «изменщиков» (Ibid., 236-237). Празднование победы над язычеством и уверенность в опеке Богородицы, магия ее присутствия при упоминании имени вызвали к жизни именование храма в честь богослужебного текста / иконы / праздника Акафиста Богородицы.[9]

Возник этот тип изображения в поздневизантийское время, дополнив собой предшествующие иконные образы. Богородица появлялась на иконе в «венке» из пророков, их лица выражали величайшую любовь и поклонение. История появления Акафиста подробно рисуется в «Повести о Неседальном», размещаемой в конце Постной Триоди. Установление изначально местночтимого праздника во Влахерне (пригороде Константинополя) было связано с идеей избавления христианской столицы от угрозы нападения и завоевания персами / аварами (по разной датировке от VII до IX в.). Появление иконы в честь праздника оказывается существенно для истории Константинополя и оптимистичного ожидания спасения от Защитницы мира. Календарное положение праздника (суббота 5 недели Великого поста) – в предвестии Пасхальных торжеств – должно было приободрить верующих в ожидании завершения скорбных дней. Акафист – особое песнопение, прославляющее Богородицу и состоящее из двенадцати икосов и кондаков,[10] получил широкое распространение в восточном христианстве (Psarev 1909). Тогда же «в русле стремления проиллюстрировать отдельные части литургического действа, прокомментировать в образах наиболее известные поэтические тексты» (Gromova 2005, 10) была создана икона «Похвала Богоматери» в иконографии «Одигитрия» (сейчас находится в Дионисиатском монастыре на Афоне).

На Руси тема была актуализирована в XII в. по традиционной версии усилиями князя Андрея Боголюбского. Праздники в честь охранительно-защитной функции Богородицы (Покрова, Акафиста, Ризы Богородицы) были выделены в системе богослужения

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[9] Иконы, посвященные раскрытию смысла эпитета или метафорической символики при воспевании Богородицы в Акафисте и иных церковных песнопениях, именуют «Акафистный образ». Иконографические схемы строятся по принципу иллюстрирования того или иного эпитета, которым Богоматерь величается в Акафисте. Акафистная иконография становится универсальным воплощением как всех предыдущих Богородичных иконографических типов, так и визуальной кульминацией мариологического христианства, «отразив в иконографических образах все возможные символические смыслы и значения, относящиеся к Богородице» (Yazykova 1994, 92).

[10] История и художественные особенности Великого Акафиста неоднократно становились предметом исследований. Обзор см.: (Turilov; Kazachkova; Nikiforova 2000).

православной церковью.[11] В концепте богородичных праздников присутствовала социальная составляющая – «общественное звучание» – благотворного покровительства Богородицы (Pliuhanova 1995, 52-63). Это было осознано летописцем при передаче сведений о встрече отца Андрея Боголюбского, суздальского князя Юрия Долгорукова (правнука византийского императора Константина Мономаха) с князем Святославом Ольговичем (Новгород-Северским) 4 апреля 1147 г., который, получив приглашение, «приди ко мнѣ брате въ Московъ», посетил брата «и тако любезно цѣловастас̑ въ д(е)нь пѧтокъ на Похвалоу с(вя)тѣи Б(огороди)ци и тако бъша весели. на оутрии же д(е)нь повелѣ Гюрги оустроити wбѣдъ силенъ и створи ч(е)сть великоу имъ» (Polnoe sobranie 1908, Stlb. 339). Упоминание автором летописи праздника Похвалы, имеющего семантику многократного спасения Царьграда от врагов, не только историческая деталь, а указание на сакральный смысл покровительства Богородицей союза князей, об обязательствах и целях их сотрудничества, об ответственности перед Богом. Княжеский «обед силен» в праздник Акафиста должен был ритуально удостоверить взаимные обещания. Существенным является закрепление этим праздником за Москвой аллюзии на столицу православного мира – Константинополь. Год встречи князей в праздник «Похвалы» становится для истории годом основания Москвы под покровительством Богородицы. Перипетии военных набегов и противостояние с Ордой соотносятся с идеей защиты Богородицей Царьграда. К зримой демонстрации преемственности столиц примыкает основание митрополитом Ионой в 1459 г. в Успенском соборе придела в честь праздника Похвалы Богородицы. Именно в нем происходило избрание и нарекание митрополитов русской церкви, которых на следующий день поставляли в чин. В росписи стен собора присутствуют мотивы из Жития Богородицы и образы Акафиста, выполненные в XVII в. (Gromova 2005). Из функционального аспекта, наиболее свойственного иконографии данного периода, выделяется ракурс «духовное материнство по отношению к верующим», где на иконах представлена Богоматерь в роли «мать всего земного на земле», в иерархическом аспекте ракурс «предводитель небесного воинства» – Богоматерь представлена защитницей Московского царства (Ibid.). В дальнейшем бытовании в православной традиции празднично-богородичные иконы соотносятся либо с событиями государственной и религиозно-национальной защиты, либо со сбережением витальной силы человека и избавления его от болезней.[12] В описаниях русских путешественников XII – XV веков часто упоминаются посещения Влахернского храма, где хранились риза и пояс Богородицы, происходили чудеса спасительного свойства (Maleto 2003). Чудеса, связанные с иконами Владимирской, Казанской, Смоленской Божьей Матери и др., в русской истории вплетены в событийную канву противостояния междоусобицам и вражеским нападениям.

К XVI в. сложился извод иконописного изображения Акафиста, где Богородица, изображена сидящей на престоле, над ней фигура благословляющего Христа. Вокруг, спускаясь к основанию иконы, фигуры пророков, каждый из которых протягивает Богородице рукописание с текстами их сочинений и символы Богородицы, упомянутые в Акафисте.[13] Богородичные иконы широко представлены в художественном наследии Строгановых. Близко к этому времени данный сюжет был задействован для росписи

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[11] В данной статье не актуальна дискуссионная литература о времени и месте происхождения праздника. См.: (Slovo na Pokrov 1987).

[12] Несколько иную, благодарственную, но более частную семантику имел храм Похвалы Богородицы, возведенный в Кремле в 1652 г. боярином Ильей Милославским, ставшим царским тестем (1648 г.).

[13] Символы Богородицы: Аввакум с горой, Иезекииль с вратами, Иеремия с каменной Скрижалью

сольвычегодского храма Благовещенья Пресвятой Богородицы (освященный в 1563 г.), воздвигнутом по инициативе Строгановых. Иконописный ансамбль, в котором развивается тема Боговоплощения, заступничества за род человеческий и искупления Спасителем греховной природы человека, по типу изображения был близок к комплексу икон Благовещенского собора Московского Кремля, что было своего рода «самоутверждением, декларацией особого положения представителей рода Строгановых в обществе, если не равного, то, во всяком случае, близкого царскому» (Pivovarova 2017, 141).

Стремлением утвердить идею покровительства Богородицей при освоении новых территорий становится строительство в Орле-городке на берегу Камы (центре владений Строгановых с конца XVI – до начала XVIII в.) церкви во имя Похвалы Богородицы.[14] Событийная канва «Повести о Неседальном», заключенная в охране православных людей Богородицей, в конце XVI в. была актуальна на окраине государства.

Указать точный год закладки и освящения церкви не позволяют сохранившиеся документы. Разрешение на создание пограничного городка было получено Григорием Аникиевичем Строгановым от Ивана Грозного в 1564 г. О том, что церковный проект был изначально включен в строительство Орла-городка, свидетельствует «Житие» святого Трифона Вятского (1546 – 1612), известного исторического и религиозного деятеля конца XVI – XVII в., основателя Успенского монастыря в Хлынове (Вятке). Житие повествует о подвижнике, как тот «прииде в Пермь великую, въ Строгановыхъ городокъ, рекомый Орловъ. И ту живяше блаженный, странствуя нищетою годищное время, пребывая у церкви Божией», где обитал до 1565 г. (Zhitie 1868, 18). Храм Похвалы Пречистый Богородицы, еще деревянный, «о пяти верхах, кресты и главы обиты железом белым» впервые был описан Кайсаровым в Писцовой книге Великопермских вотчин Строгановых 1623 – 24 года (Dmitriev 1892, 163-176). Богатое состояние храма может свидетельствовать о нескольких поколениях вкладчиков и его основании в конце XVI в. (Kazarinova, Sysoeva, 2017). Иконы в честь праздника Похвалы Богородице присутствовали не только в этом храме, но и в других церквах вотчины.

Род Строгановых был причастен к историческим событиям российского масштаба (Mezenina, Mosin, Mudrova, Nekliudov 2007). Будучи в XVI в. на восточном рубеже российского государства, они взяли на себя ответственность за охрану границ и продвижение на восток. Овладение новыми территориями не проходило мирно, опасность набегов заставляя действовать решительно, надеяться приходилось на себя, укрепляя дух верой в помощь высших сил. Выбор церковного праздника, в именовании которого Прикамье символически соединялось не только с Москвой, но и Царьградом, могло быть обусловлено политическими амбициями Строгановых. Впечатляющий материал о культуре строгановского региона, собранный исследователями к сегодняшнему дню, дает основание согласиться с характеристикой искусствоведа А. Преображенского, что Строгановы «отличались особой чуткостью к судьбам мира и склонностью

Завета, Иаков с лествицей, Аарон с цветущим жезлом, Гедеон с руном, Моисей с горящей купиной, Даниил с горой, Давид с ковчегом, Исаия с клещами. Внизу – Валаам со звездой.

[14] Количество церквей, названных в честь Акафиста в истории русской церкви невелико, что объясняется с уникальностью именования праздника, художественный канон иконы Акафиста пронизан идеей письменной похвалы (в руках пророков воспроизводятся манускрипты с формулами глорификации Богоматери). Это своего рода элитарное посвящение в церковном именословии, праздник не обладал потенциальной возможностью конкурировать с посвящениями двунадесятым праздникам или святым. В реестре российских православных храмов среди 23361 именований церквей только 43 – в честь Похвалы Богородицы, из них 6 возникли до 18 в. См.: (Statistika po naimenovaniyam).

к размышлениям о пути человека к спасению души, а православия – к финалу своей исторической миссии» (Preobrazhenskiy 2017, 228).

С образом Богородицы в составе сборника «Статир» соотносятся десять проповедей.[15] Помимо традиционных праздников (Рождество, Сретение, Введение во Храм, Успение), автор подробно описывает присутствие Богородицы и ее плача при погребении Сына Божия, а в Слове на пятницу пасхальной недели восхваляется чудо явления Божьей Матери.

Одной из самых эмоционально насыщенных проповедей в сборнике является уникальный текст, написанный в честь престольного праздника «Поучение въ субботу пятую святаго поста» (лл. 129-136 об., III сч.). Проповедь расположена среди праздников, прикрепленным к дням года (памяти святым) и «на случай».[16]

Престольные праздники были широко распространены на всей территории России, и Прикамье не было исключением. Будучи вызваны религиозным обиходом, они встраивались в народную культуру, становились знаками семейно-родовой общности и территориального единения. В Прикамье среди престольных праздников было немало, посвященных иконам Божией матери (Владимирской, Грузинской, Донской, Казанской, Тихвинской, Неопалимой купины и др.).[17] (Chernyh 2014, 52). Обычно собиралась многочисленная публика, приезжали знакомые и родственники из соседних поселков и деревень. Во время праздника, кроме службы, могли быть крестные ходы к почитаемым водным источникам, а также обходы домов прихожан. Традиция «гостевания» увеличивала число прихожан на службе, ее посещение было обязательным для всех гостей (Tultceva 2001, 127-130, 148-149). Престольный праздник становился фактором, объединяющим людей не только территориально, но патриархальной родовой близостью. Его атмосфере было присуще настроение веселья, и торжествовала традиция широкого гулянья, выражавшая идею витальности родового единства. У проповедника были основания для произнесения Поучения и напоминания христианского смысла праздника.

Оригинальность Поучения из «Статира»

Внимание к теме Похвалы Богородицы в русском православии было поддержано обращением к западно-украинским церковным авторам. Поучения на этот праздник не представлены в традиционном Учительном Евангелии, в Евангелии учительном Кирилла Транквиллиона-Ставровецкого (Рахманов, 1619), книгах проповедей Симеона Полоцкого, но «Слово на суботу 5 с(едмицы)…» обнаруживается в сборнике «Мечь духовный» (Киев, 1666) Лазаря Барановича (Lazar' Baranovich 1666, 412 об.-421 об.). Ее основное содержание составляют просьбы к Богородице об «освобождении» от напастей в пустыне, в граде, на реке и на море в сочетании с похвалой. Тексту предшествует заставка, где дан вариант иконы Акафиста с изображением пророков. Выделяет особо этот праздник его последователь

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[15] Слова 3, 6, 111 из первой части; 3, 6, 10, 20, 21, 26 – из второй.

[16] Проповедь помещена автором во второй части сборника (л. 129-137, III сч.) между Словом 25 «Поучение в день принесения Нерукотворнаго образа, и от яковых нас злых Христос избави, и о еже не бояти, аще и укосним, но прибегнем к Владыце и на безумную седину» (9 августа) и Словом 27 «Поучение на Рождество Иоанна Предтечи, и о чюдном житии его и похвала о добродетелех» (24 июня).

[17] Наличие в календаре Русской церкви порядка 260 чудотворных и литургически празднуемых икон в иконографии Богоматери свидетельствует о востребованности образа в национальной религиозной культуре (Uspenskiy 2001, 6).

польско-украинский проповедник Антоний Радивиловский. В сборнике своих гомилий под названием «Огородок Марии Богородицы...» (Киев, 1676) он со свойственной ему велеречивостью и энциклопедичностью публикует 6 слов, посвященных празднику (Antoniy Radivilovskiy 1676, 920-969, нумерация постраничная). В качестве заставки проповедник также использует гравюру с близким изображением иконы Акафиста. Автор обращается не только к библейскому мифу, но и пересказывает исторические события, приведшие к появлению праздника.

Произведение из сборника «Статир» не повторяет украинских проповедников, отличается ярким лирическим пафосом и стройной организацией. Сложная архитектоника текста возникает как следствие нескольких задач, успешно претворяемых автором в художественную структуру. Доминантной является раскрытие сути праздника и системы символико-метафорических уподоблений Богородицы в соответствие с иконописным сюжетом. С этой задачей сопряжена дидактическая цель, достигаемая в процессе коммуникации. Успешность воздействия на ума и сердца слушателей видится автором в соединении высокого накала богословской образности и веры в телеологию спасения с личными переживаниями проповедника, горестно сомневающегося в благочестии паствы и сокрушающегося о своих грехах. В этой проповеди, как и в других поучениях сборника, внимание слушателя обостряется вследствие прихотливого сочетания ритмических частей, объединенных еще и рифмой (чаще всего глагольной) и прозаических высказываний. Ритмические фрагменты придают законченную форму эмоциональным воззваниям. Прозаические настраивают слушателя на глубину библейской истории, выявляя соотношение небесного и земного в осмыслении образа Пречистой Богородицы.

Автор сам определяет специфику проповеди, предлагая «бесѣду пресладкую и веселую, слушателемъ на утѣшение, а Тебѣ, о, Б(о)гоизбранная Д(е)в(и)це, на похваление» (л. 129).[18]

Наполняя храмовое пространство «беседой», автор все пророчества вводит через глаголы устной речи, кроме традиционного «рече» и «глаголя», автор дает ряд синонимических конструкций: сказа, увѣряя, гласъ мой возвышаю, яснѣйши сказуетъ, согласуется, воспѣваетъ, сотвори ми пресладкий гласъ твои, похвалимъ единодушно и т. п. В Поучении используется прием многоголосия. Автор изначально опирается на выделение своего голоса, описывая чувства и эмоции, перебивая прославление собственными репликами: «Н(ы)нѣ д(у)ша моя радости наполнися и с(е)рдце мое веселиемъ играетъ», прописывая и проговаривая текст от первого лица: «гласъ мой возвышаю», но затем, призывая к празднованию «православный народе» начинает величать Богородицу от лица всех, употребляя местоимение мы: «мы днесь ублажимъ...».

Включает, цитируя Евангелие, автор глас Богородицы, в котором слышится весть, принесенная архангелом Гавриилом и слова Елизаветы, уверившие Марию в чудесном зачатии. Следуя за Акафистом и расширяя словесно иконописный сюжет, автор не только перечисляет всех 12 ветхозаветных пророков, предрекших рождение Сына Божия и давших символические толкования, раскрывающие суть Пречистой Девы как связующего звена вечного и преходящего, как возможности земному существу достичь небесного совершенства, но, цитируя отрывки из пророчеств, создает своеобразный прославляющий хор, сменяющий похвалу автора. Традиционный набор пророчеств иконного ряда автор дополняет, обращаясь к книге «Песнь песней», что вносит в пророчески-афористические высказывания лирическую ноту. Переживания «премудрого песнопевца» поддерживают

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[18] Здесь и далее при цитировании указываем листы рукописи в авторской нумерации по третьему счету.

эмоциональное выражение личных чувств автора и становятся своего рода крещендо
в симфонии голосов. От возглашаемых пророками смыслов предметы перестают быть
равными себе, наполняясь новым одухотворенным содержанием, что должно было задеть
разум слушателя и приподнять его над обыденностью. Автор далее вновь включает похвалу
от паствы, основанную на желании понять сложную сущность происходящего.

Из всех особенностей, свойственных индивидуальному стилю автора, надо выделить
приверженность к антиномичности, пронизывающей разные элементы художественной
организации текста. Принцип антиномичности был заложен в христианской философии
изначально, став залогом развития, сохраняя в себе идею непостижимости и познаваемости
мира одновременно. Идея Богочеловеческой природы Христа, непорочного зачатия,
смерти, ставшей Воскресением – эти принципы антиномичности претворяются автором
в Поучении, развивая тему совершенства Божией матери в несовершенном мире, который
живет, преодолевая искушение и в ожидании спасения. Церковь, утверждая «кровную
связь Богоматери с падшим человечеством, несущим последствия первородного греха»
видит, что «из всего рода человеческого Она первая достигла той цели, которая поставлена
перед всеми людьми – полного преображения всего человеческого естества» (Uspenskiy
2001, 28).

От разъяснения смысла явления Богородицы через семантику символов автор
переходит к призыву: «Вы же, о, возлюбленная ми братия и о(т)цы, приложите д(у)ши
и сердца к моимъ словесемъ» похвалить Богородицу и дает чередование хайретизмов,
основанное на Акафисте. Среди хайретизмов встречается парафраз из Учительного
Евангелия Кирилла Транквиллиона (Слово на Сретение). Завершая хайретизмы, автор
вновь обращается к общему хору: «Сего ради, о, любезнѣйшии мои, послушати возопиемъ
свѣтлымъ гласомъ веселымъ с(е)рдцемъ и возрадованными д(у)шами принесем пѣсни
похвалныя» (л. 134 об.), привлекая к высказыванию благодарности и похвалы всю
паству. И обращаясь к Песни Песней (гл. 2, 2), вводит в общую похвалу нотки сердечного
восхищения: «Пребл(а)гословеннѣйшая Д(е)во во дщерахъ Сионских, яко Кринъ бл(а)
говонный посредѣ терния, и яко С(о)лнце, посредѣ звѣздъ сияющи зарею свѣта б(о)ж(е)-
ственнаго. Радуйся, Сокровище чистоты и с(вя)тости...» (л. 134 об.)

Завершением поучения становится прямое обращение-пожелание к социуму «купно
всякого возраста и сана», выделенного автором в зависимости от достатка («богатымъ
и нищимъ»), возраста («старцем и юношамъ»), статуса («с(вя)щеннымъ и мирским»),
пола («женам и д(е)вамъ»), власти («гордящиеся» и «рабы»), священникам («премудрии
словосказатели»). И от каждого автор требует: «принесите достойная Достойнѣй»,
устанавливая своеобразное равновесие: дара Богородицы – Сына Божия – и даров людских:
от богатых – милостыня, от судий – справедливость, от гордящихся «д(у)хъ сокрушенъ»,
от рабов – послушание и т. п. Завершая и обращаясь ко всем присутствующим, автор
проговаривает постулат о значении священства: «...исторгните изъ с(е)рд(е)цъ вашихъ
всякий злый плодъ, и всякая скверная и гнилая дѣяния, и помѣстите предъ ногами о(т)ецъ
вашихъ д(у)х(о)вных...» (л. 135). Таким образом, достигается важная цель проповеди –
возможность каждому ощутить себя в одном пространстве с Богородицей, приобщиться
к совершенству мира через ее образ.

Проповедник ввергает паству в пространство своих переживаний от несовершенства
мира и людей и со свойственной ему страстью оратора восклицает: «Горе ми, окаянному...
Кая бо ми полза от лучь с(о)лн(е)чных, егда печаль васъ ради многою помрачаетъ очи
тмою», раскрывая свое состояние как результат увиденных прегрешений и далее
разворачивает описание через цитату-сравнение из Псалтири (Пс 37, 11) «Поистиннѣ
не лжу, егда увижу неправы обычаи ваши, тогда, аки мертвъ, являюся, яко раслабленъ,

яко иступленъ умомъ и по прор(о)ческому слову, о, яко свѣтъ очию моею, и той нѣсть со мною!» (л. 136 об.). Автор готов к любым упрекам («хуханию») и обидам не только для будущего спасения паствы, но и для мирного жительства «здѣ». Наказание же их попрекам автор предвидит от Бога, проявляя при этом свойственное эпохе сочетание уничижения и амбиций: «Мы же вси братия, единъ же нашъ наставник есть Хр(ис)тосъ, есть же и в братии – единому повелѣвати, а инымъ послушати. Есть же в васъ мнози порицают мя разглаголником и ласкателемъ, и о семъ н(ы)нѣ ни единаго слова имамъ имъ изрещи, каковаго мя помышляют, таковую и мзду от Бога восприимутъ» (л. 136 об.). Порицая и обличая грешников, проповедник оборачивает острие высказываний против себя, утверждая, что ему надо учиться у паствы, и ее благополучие составляет его счастье: «Молю вы и колѣнъ касаюся, исполните радость мою, сие токмо надежду имѣю, сие ми постъ, сие ми м(о)л(и)тва, да желаю преспѣяния вашего во благое… яко все мое веселие вы есте…» (л. 136).

Антиномичность отражается в композиции, где сочетаются в одном пространстве текста сугубо личные переживания автора и отношение всего христианского мира, в едином хоре сливаются слова пророков и архангела с прославлением от имени грешников, сознающих свое ничтожество. Образ Богородицы показывается в его антиномической сущности, которая постоянно подчеркивается автором: Госпожа и раба, отроковица и Матерь безмужная, Лѣствице одушевленная, земли Ширшая, небеси Пространнѣйшая, Вмѣстилище Невмѣстимаго, Престолъ Вышняго, всѣх Царя Сѣдалище, Ковчеже одушевленный, Пристанище небурное, Прибѣжище теплое, Забрало твердое, Стѣна непреоборимая и т. п. Все эти определения воплощают творчески переосмысленную автором христианскую антиномичность, соединившую библейский символический параллелизм и античную риторику.

В Предисловии к проповедям автор подчеркивает недостаток своего богословского образования. Возможно, это соответствует действительности, и автор преимущественно занимается самообразованием в библиотеке Пыскорского монастыря. Таким образом, талант автора и его уверенность в нужности проповедей, поддержанное положением патрона Г. Д. Строганова, приводят к уникальному результату – созданию оригинальных текстов, не ограниченных жестко правилами риторических норм, более воплощающих авторское вдохновение, проповедническое негодование, личное ощущение трагического падения нравов. Приведенная проповедь – светлый лирический гимн Богородице, в поэтике которого присутствует барочная напряженность. Поэтике барокко присущи, по замечанию Виппера. «обостренный интерес к динамическим аспектам действительности, к преисполненному драматизма движению характеров, событий и обстоятельств, к осмыслению и воспроизведению противоречий, служащих источником этого неумолимо устремляющегося вперед жизненного потока...» (Vipper 1969, 24). Анонимный автор оказывается в самом эпицентре этого движения, парадоксальным образом воспроизводя эти интенции времени в классическом церковнослужебном жанре.

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CERVANTES, THE HELLENISTIC NOVEL AND THE BYZANTINE NOVEL: THEODORE PRODROMOS AND *THE LIBERAL LOVER*

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Abstract: MORFAKIDIS FILACTOS, Moschos. *Cervantes, the Hellenistic Novel and the Byzantine Novel: Theodore Prodromos and The Liberal Lover.* Traditionally it was considered that Cervantes was inspired by the *Ethiopics* or *Theagenes and Chariclea* by Heliodorus and *Leukippe and Kleitophon* by Achilles Tatius when writing his novel, *The Liberal Lover*, and for this reason this novel was included in the genre which has erroneously been called the "Spanish Byzantine Novel". It is true that this novel by Cervantes largely follows the structure and various characteristics of the novels by both authors from the Hellenistic period, however, it is observed that in both its theme and structure, it is even more similar to the novel *Rodanthe and Dosicles* by the 12th-century Byzantine philologist and writer, Theodore Prodromos. The question which arises is whether Cervantes could have known about this novel in its original Greek, or in a Latin or Spanish translation now lost. In this case, the life of Cervantes is related to the Renaissance movement in Seville.

Keywords: *Cervantes' novel, the Hellenistic novel, the Byzantine novel*

In 1613, eight years after the publication of *Don Quixote* (1605), Cervantes edited a collection of twelve prose novels entitled *Exemplary Novels*, to which the subtitle *Most Honest Entertainment* was later added, which clarified its moralistic and pedagogical character and its alignment with the dominant morality[1]. This is the first example of a short work in Spanish prose, where the term "novel"[2] is used, and its success established a new orientation in the novel genre in Spain, despite the important influences of the Italian short novel[3]. From then on, the novel would be distanced from the romantic character of the Italian and French novels which were translated at the time.

The collection is considered the most important work by Cervantes after *Don Quixote* and its success established a new genre that includes themes from real life, which is diametrically opposed to the very extensive chivalric novels, the plots of which went back to ancient times and where the heroes moved between history, mythology and legend (Riley 1962). It is characterized by the use of extensive dialogue and the interpolation of various episodes that do not, however, deprive it of its organic unity (Murillo l988, 231-250).

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[1] *Nouelas exemplares de Miguel de Ceruantes Saauedra, dirigido a Don Pedro Fernández de Castro* [*Exemplary Novels of Miguel de Ceruantes Saauedra, addressed to Don Pedro Fernández de Castro*], Madrid, Iuan de La Cuesta, 1613. In relation to this collection (Riley 1981, 69-85).

[2] The term "novella" of Italian origin, had until then in Spain the meaning of "lie", "mockery", as well as "fact", "event". In the sense of a literary work of a narrative style, it was also conceived as a story (Pabst l972).

[3] Until then, mainly works by Boccaccio, Matteo Bandello and Giraldi Cintio were circulating, which were of an intensely erotic character with descriptions of events that did not fit with the strict morality of Spanish society at that time (Alarcos 1950, 195-235; González de Amezua – Mayo 2001).

In the second novel in the collection, entitled *The Liberal Lover*, literary criticism saw the influence of two Hellenistic novels, specifically: a) *Leukippe and Kleitophon* (*Tὰ κατὰ Λευκίππην καὶ Κλειτοφώντα*) by Achilles Tatius (Ἀχιλλεύς Τάτιος), of whom it has been argued that he influenced storytelling techniques like no other with his flat, unpretentious, often fresh and vivid style and in the emotional passages (Plepelits 1996, 35); and b) *The Ethiopics* or *Theagenes and Chariclea* (*Αἰθιοπικά ἤ Τὰ περὶ Θεαγένην καὶ Χαρίκλειαν*) by Heliodorus (Ηλιόδωρος), a writer from the 3rd-4th century AD[4], who was mistakenly believed to be Byzantine. For that reason, The Liberal Lover was framed within the so-called "Spanish Byzantine Novel"[5]. This is the literary trend that developed during the 16th and 17th centuries and which is characterized by the adoption of the characteristics of the Hellenistic novel (González Rovira 1996), a fact we see widely in the *Exemplary Novels* by Cervantes.

The hypothesis of the influence of Heliodorus and Tatius has been supported by several researchers, mainly by St. Zimic, who considers the adventures of *Leukippe and Kleitophon* to be the main source of the work, although also with certain influences from Heliodorus (Zimic 1964, 363-365, 383-385; 1989, 139-165). Others followed him, based mainly on the fact that it is a typical adventure novel, like others by Cervantes, inspired by both Hellenistic novelists[6]. Even though it is true that Cervantes knew both *The Ethiopics*[7] and *Leukippe and Kleitophon*[8], their plots are very different from *The Liberal Lover*, but with respect to the narrative technique, he follows the tradition of the Hellenistic novel in several respects (Hagg 1971 & García Gual 1988):

a) *In its structure* (*Díez Taboada* 1979-1980, 87-105):

▪ It is escape literature focused on love, violence or isolation.
▪ Starts *in media res* and has a happy ending.
▪ The reader is gradually and progressively informed about what has happened until then.
▪ There are interlocking love stories which come to entangle the story even more, although their role is not as important in the Hellenistic novel.

b) *In content*:

▪ Its theme is centred on the love of two young people, who are separated by chance, and their adventures, until their reunion and a happy ending (García Gual 2019, 22-24).
▪ Their mutual love and fidelity at all costs are the most important elements of the story.
▪ The purity of love is accentuated even more by the appearance of immoral and degenerate characters, whose sexual appetites endanger the love of the two young people.
▪ The young protagonists are ordinary characters and not heroes, kings or princes, as in classic literature (Hagg 1983, 90-101).
▪ The co-protagonism of women (John 1983, 151-208; García Gual 2019, 27-29) gave rise to what has been called "sexual symmetry": equality of lovers in age, social status and emotional capacity;

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[4]   About the author dating cf. Heliodorus, *Ethiopics* ... 1979, 7-21; E. Crespo Güemes 1996, 129-152.
[5]   The genre called "Spanish Byzantine Novel" has been studied, among others, by Zimic 1989, 139-165 & Córdoba 2008, 309-329.
[6]   Cf. Amezúa y Mayo 1958, 42-66, º the opinions previously expressed about the novel are collected.
[7]   Heliodorus' *Ethiopics* had a great influence on French, Italian and Spanish novels. In fact, it was translated into French in 1554 and into Spanish in 1587 by Fernando de Mena who used the Latin version that he also compared with the Greek original.
[8]   The complete text, in Italian translation, was published by A. Coccio in 1551, and one year later the Spanish version by Alonso Núñez de Reinoso (Venice 1552).

the males do not play the role of brave saviours and they cry easily, while the women are strong-willed and resourceful (Konstan 1994).
▪ The desire to endow the story with a certain verisimilitude, placing it in a specific historical setting and with some real characters (Heliodoro 1979, 35-40).
▪ Dramatic dialogues are interspersed with lyrical passages, reflections, etc.
▪ Much of the plot takes place at sea, where pirates, storms, shipwrecks and sudden changes of luck violently separate the protagonists, take them to strange and exotic places or lead to their reunion and liberation[9].
▪ Intermediaries bring about the solution to the problem.
▪ The two lovers use tricks based on lies and deception to achieve their aim (Riley 1962).

Certainly, it has been shown that Cervantes knew of the *Ethiopics* by Heliodorus while he was writing *Don Quixote* through the second edition of 1587 (the 1st edition was published in Antwerp in 1554). *Leukippe and Kleitophon* was known not only from the French translations which had been in circulation since 1551, but also from Italian and Spanish translations[10]. It is also evident that *The Liberal Lover* contains the characteristics listed above and, consequently, it has correctly been framed in the aforementioned genre of the "Spanish Byzantine novel". However, original elements are also detected that frequently differentiate it from the Hellenistic novel, while in plot development, the coincidences with the two mentioned novels are not so frequent and sometimes they are even minimal (in the case of Heliodorus). In general, in this novel by Cervantes, as in other novels of his, we can observe:

a) *From a literary perspective*:
▪ the circular structure of the action (the starting point and end point is Trapani of Sicily), a fact that differentiates *The Liberal Lover* from the linear structure of the *Ethiopics*,
▪ a strict unity in the action that takes place with few digressions and interspersed stories,
▪ an apparent realism that responds to the concept of the amazing believable where monstrous beings, prophecies and other things belonging to *mirabilia* are scarce (Pierce l953, l34-142),
▪ regarding time and space, the story of the novel does not take place in a timeless environment but responds to the reality of the author's time and is set in the geographical triangle of Sicily, Tunisia and Cyprus. Even so, it follows the definition of the chronotope that M. Bakhtine has written about as "a foreign world in the time of adventures" (Bakhtine 1978, 239-260),
▪ the absence of the element of recognising the protagonists after a long and involuntary separation.

b) *In content*:
▪ The values of Renaissance humanism, which emphasises the image of a woman who is not the prize for the heroes' exploits and who is in charge of her life (Corral 1981, 397-408).
▪ The case of Cyprus acquires special drama, as a Christian land that recently (in 1571) fell into the hands of the infidel and therefore, the image of the island is not limited to a simple decoration, but to a poignant geographical space. The text reflects the commotion experienced in the West after the conquest of the island by the Turks as well as the personal life of the author. Let us remember that Cervantes was in Sicily as a soldier, participated in the failed maritime expedition to save Cyprus from the Turkish attack, was discouraged by the news of the Holocaust in Nicosia and Famagusta, followed the process of the creation of the Holy League and participated in the battle of Lepanto, where his left arm was injured. His presence in the Greek seas was followed by

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[9]   For the elements of the adventures Cf. Billault 1991.
[10]   See the works of Zimic 1967, 166-75; 1974-75, 37-58; 1964.

other naval expeditions by Don Juan de Austria and, as if that were not enough, in 1575 he became a prisoner at the hands of Turkish-Berber corsairs and spent five years in captivity in Algiers (Garcés 2002). This last adventure will appear repeatedly in his work with fixed motifs: corsairs, galleys, captivity, the payment of ransoms and the conflict of the two worlds in general.

▪ Contrary to the *Ethiopics*, there is no divine intervention.

▪ If there is a certain apologetic attitude towards Christianity in Cervantes' work, it is through the representation of Islam as a superficial and extremely formalistic religion, with its followers plunged into barbarism. It is a fact seen in most literature of the time, where the absolute rejection of the Orient is observed. In this context, the emphasis given to the theme of the repentance of renegades and their return to the true faith is relevant.

▪ However, a more cultural vision is observed in *The Liberal Lover*, focused on the clash of two different worlds, which is not always negative, a fact that led to talk of a certain orientalism in Cervantes (Clamurro 1994, 193-200). However, it is clear that an analysis is made of the differences that make the coexistence of these worlds almost impossible and the author´s true intention is to present the enormous gap that separates the West from the East in the area of values through the classic motives of love and captivity (Fernández-Morera 2005, 123-166). The best way to signal the superiority of the Christian world is by accentuating differences and developing approaches to identity issues: collective, state, ethnic, religious, individual, sex, etc. (Clamuro 1994, 193-200).

▪ Regarding the theme of love and the figure of women, it is clear that this is based on the concepts that coexisted in the Renaissance: a) the improved situation of women as individuals and the relative freedom they acquire in the matter of choosing their partner (Alban 1982, 96-157); b) the notion of purity and virginity, which in the Christian world is framed in the person of the Virgin (García Elorrio 1947, 3-15) which dominated worship, art and literature in the Christian West; c) the idea of the institution of marriage in relationships between the sexes, which was the main objective of the work for many people (Pabon 1982, 47-52). The story deals in a dynamic way with the difference between the situation of women in the Christian West and the Islamic East, where they are degraded as purely sexual objects and the cause of all evils: kidnapping, slavery, commercialization, adultery, deception, crime, etc. (Abi-Ayad 1999, 173-184).

Regarding the main reason behind the inspiration for *The Liberal Lover*, apart from Cervantes's tendency to use the theme of captivity in his works after his traumatic experience of captivity in Algiers (1575 – 1580), it has been noted that it could also be due to:

a) His intention to show that personal sacrifice is the way to reach the liberality (generosity and sacrifice) that ideal love requires.

b) Early Orientalism and a desire to achieve an approach to the almost demonized Turks through descriptions of exotic ceremonies, clothing, customs, etc., or an alleged admiration for the Ottoman judicial system. However, it is noteworthy that this work shows a series of similarities with one of the best-known novels of the period of the so-called Second Byzantine Renaissance or Comnenos´ Renaissance (Magdalino 1983, 326-348): that of *Rodanthe and Dosicles* (*Τὰ κατὰ Ροδάνθην καὶ Δοσικλέα*) by Theodore Prodromos[11], the well-known 12th-century philologist and writer. Apart from the standard elements Prodromos´ novel shares with the Hellenistic novel, like

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[11] *Il romanzo bizantino del XII secolo*. Introduzione, revisione del testo, traduzione e note di Teodoro Prodromo, Niceta Eugeniano, Eustazio Macrembolita e Costantino Manasse, Torino 1994 & Prodromus, Theodore, *Rhodanthe und Dosikles Theodoros Prodromos: eingeleitet, übersetzt und erläutert von Karl Plepelits* (translation by Plepelits, Karl), Stuttgart, A. Hiersemann (Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur 42. Abteilung Byzantinistik), 1996; Cf. Martínez Manzano, 2003, 77-92.

the rest of the novelists of his time (Agapitos-Langwitz Smith 1992), numerous similarities and coincidences are also detected in the plot of both works:

Rodanthe and Dosicles	*The Liberal Lover*
In the city of Abydos, the parents of the beautiful Rodanthe have arranged a wedding for her; she and her beloved Dosicles flee to the island of Rhodes.	In the city of Trapani, the beautiful Leonisa gets engaged to Cornelius; Ricardo, who is madly in love with her, confronts Cornelius to avoid the wedding.
Rodanthe and Dosicles are captured by pirates.	Leonisa and Ricardo are captured by Turkish corsairs.
Pirates are impressed by the beauty of Rodanthe.	One of the chief corsairs is captivated by the beauty of Leonisa.
The satrap Briaxes defeats the pirates, seizes the two young people and separates them into different ships.	The leaders of the corsairs separate the two young people and they embark on separate ships.
Rodanthe's ship sinks, although she is saved by a merchant ship.	Leonisa's ship sinks and she is rescued by an Arab merchant ship.
Rodanthe is taken to Cyprus where she is sold as a slave to Craton, Cratandro's father.	A Jew buys Leonisa and takes her to Cyprus to sell her. Two pashas desire her and to avoid confrontation, the qadi (who also falls in love with her) takes her as a gift to the sultan.
Dosicles has a companion in captivity, Cratandro, his compatriot from Abydos. They bind their fate together.	Ricardo becomes friends with the captive and convert Mahamut, who is also from Trapani. They bind their fate together.
Cratandro and Dosicles are taken by Craton from Pisa to Cyprus.	Ricardo arrives in Cyprus as a slave of the island's new pasha.
Reunion of the two young people. Recognition (at first they do not recognise each other).	Reunion of the two young people. They immediately recognize each other.
Craton's daughter Mirila falls in love with Dosicles and poisons Rodanthe. Dosicles and Cratandro save her thanks to a miraculous plant.	The wife of the qadi, Calima, falls in love with Ricardo and wants to run away with him. He pretends that he accepts in order to save the situation.
Thanks to a stroke of luck, Cratandro and Dosicles escape being sacrificed and regain their freedom.	Thanks to a stroke of luck, Ricardo and Mahamut become masters of the situation on the high seas and regain their freedom.
The young lovers return to Abydos.	The young lovers return to Trapani.
The parents of the two young people give their consent for them to marry.	Leonisa's parents give their consent for them to marry.
Rodanthe and Dosicles' wedding.	Leonisa and Ricardo's wedding.

NARRATIVE TECHNIQUES	
Rodanthe and Dosicles	*The Liberal Lover*
Written in verse (Byzantine dodeca-syllable).	Written in prose.
Love is the central focus of the plot.	Love is the central focus of the plot.
Captivity is the cause of the protagonists' misfortunes.	Captivity is the cause of the protagonists' misfortunes.
Begins *in media res*.	Begins *in media res*.
Many terrible adventures in strange lands.	Many terrible adventures in strange lands.
Reunion > recognition > wedding.	Reunion > recognition > wedding.
The narrator agrees with the author.	The narrator agrees with the author.
It is leisure literature, which follows Hellenistic models. It also has imperial propaganda purposes (Jeffreys 1974, 143- 195).	It is leisure literature, although it also has propaganda purposes against the Muslim world.
Prodrome writes in classic Greek and addresses a limited audience that reads historical and rhetorical works.	Cervantes writes in the spoken language of his time and consequently addresses a wide audience.
Intense and, at times, abusive use of rhetorical forms.	Rhetoricism is observed that, at times, slows down the action.
Extensive dialogues or monologues.	Extensive dialogues or monologues.
Timelessness of the work which is detached from historical events.	The work is set in his time and reflects the confrontation between the Christian world and the Turkish-Muslim world (16th and 17th centuries).
The pirate attack on Rhodes that H. Hunger relates to the orthodox Normand king Roger II against Corfu (1147) (Hunger 1968, 64).	Cervantes narrates aspects of the conquest of Tripoli by Carlos V (1530).
Aspects of Byzantine culture are shown: imperial protocol, court and administrative life, details of the embassies.	Aspects of Turkish-Muslim culture are shown: protocol of the handover of the city of Nicosia from one pasha to another. Administrative and judicial life.
The work is detached from religious concepts. The action takes place in a pagan setting in Greek antiquity, where Christianity does not appear at all.	The work exalts Christian culture. The action takes place in a contemporary setting with the author.
The individual is the protagonist and centre of attention.	The individual is the protagonist and centre of attention. Emphasizes the role of women.

Despite the setbacks, the maiden retains her virginity.	Despite the setbacks, the maiden retains her virginity.

There are many similarities since:

a) In both cases there is a love triangle, where the young man in love takes the maiden away from another young man she had a relationship with and a commitment to.
b) The striking return of the two couples to their homelands (Trapani of Sicily and Ábido of the Dardanelles) is noteworthy.
c) The two novels end with the description of the young people's adventures, their parents' consent to marry and the festivities that take place in their cities for the event.
d) The intention to impress with descriptions of exotic ceremonies, clothing, customs, etc. is observed.

All this inevitably leads us to think that it is very probable that Cervantes knew the work of Theodore Prodromos and that he had taken elements of its theme and structure. However, in such a case, the question inevitably arises as to how a Spanish writer of the Renaissance could have access to the text by the Byzantine novelist, poet and philologist. Was a Latin translation available to him? The truth is that in the West, from the sixteenth and especially in the seventeenth century, interest in Greek texts was no longer limited to the classical and Hellenistic period, but is beginning to look tentatively towards works by Byzantine writers. The question is whether Prodromos was among them and whether his texts had reached Italian or Spanish libraries with other manuscripts, during the formation of the large or small collections of Greek codices, among which the collections of the Escorial and the National Library of Spain stand out, in comparison with others with a smaller number of codices, although they are not for that reason of less importance. It is similarly the time when university libraries or humanist private libraries are enriched by the first editions of original works by Byzantine authors. Among them, it would not be impossible for the novel *Rodanthe and Dosicles* by Theodore Prodromos to attract attention, given its marked classicist character and due to it faithfully following the mould of the Hellenistic novel.

However, the oldest translation of this work into Latin that we know about is from 1625[12], that is, 12 years after the publication of Cervantes' *The Liberal Lover*. Consequently, the question remains: is it possible that Cervantes had access to Prodromos' text by other means? Could there be another translation of the work that we do not know about today? Is it possible that he had access to any of the manuscripts which came from the West, made it especially in Italy, where he lived for a long time (1569-1580) and that he understood its content with the help of a Greek or Greek connoisseur in his environment? It is impossible to ignore the fact that of the four manuscripts of Prodromes' novel that are preserved today, three are in Italy. Specifically, two (from the 13th and 15th centuries) are in the Vatican Library and one (from the 16th century) is in the Laurentian Library in Florence (Jouanno 2014, 203-234). The hypothesis about his knowledge of Prodromos´ novel in the original Greek text or in translation can be reinforced by the fact that texts of Byzantine love novels from the period of the Komnene dynasty, such as *Υσμίνη και Υσμινίας* by Eustathios Makremvolites, which follow the prototypes of the Hellenistic novel and specifically Achilles Tatius, attracted so much attention that they were translated in the West as

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[12] *Theodori Prodromi philosophi Rhodantes et Dosiclis Amorumlibri IX. Graece et Latine*, interprete Gil[berto] Gaulmino Molinensi, Parisiis, 1625.

early as the 16th century[13]. Furthermore, the fact that many translations of Hellenistic novels were lost, including Heliodorus´ *Ethiopics*, one of the most widely read novels in Western Europe including Spain, should not be ignored (Crespo 1996, 43-55).

Another element that should be taken into account is that from 1587 to 1597, Cervantes lived in the city of Seville as a collector of taxes and merchandise called "Royal Commissioner of Supplies" for cereals and oil, in Andalusia and commissioner of supplies for the Spanish Armada. During this time, and despite the serious problems he had in his work, he became part of the brilliant group of intellectuals and writers who formed what was at that time known as the Renaissance movement in Seville. Indeed, he was lucky to be in this city which in the 16th and 17th centuries was one of the largest metropolises in Europe and one of the most prominent cultural centres, where study of the classics and knowledge of Latin and Greek were booming.

At the time Cervantes was in Seville, the teacher of the Seville school, Juan de Mal Lara (1527 – 1591), was still living. He was the author of the work *Philosophía vulgar* and of outstanding poems inspired by Greco-Latin antiquity. Together with his Academy, Mal Lara was the one who laid the foundations of the humanist and Erasmian intellectual court which cultivated and was inspired by the Greco-Latin classics and the poets of the Italian Renaissance, especially Petrarch. His work was responsible for the appearance of artistic and literary circles sponsored by patrons[14] and of great figures of the Spanish Renaissance[15]. The establishment in Seville of a chair of Greek which promoted the diffusion of Greek arts and where many of the members of the city´s intelligentsia studied, laid the foundations for a good knowledge of Greek-Latin antiquity and for a rich editorial activity that included editions of translations of works by Greek and Latin authors (Martínez Carrasco 2020, 14 et seq.), and the cultivation of epic poetry or being inspired by mythological motifs (Lleó Cañal 1979). Most of them were holders of manuscripts and rich bibliographic collections of classical antiquity, among which, in all probability, works by Byzantine authors would have been included[16]. Proof of this is the use of Byzantine works in the original or in translation, such as the Latin translation of the work *Proofs of Histories* (Ἀποδείξεις ἱστοριῶν) by Laonikos Chalkokondyles and another by an anonymous author from the history of Scanderberg (Martínez Carrasco 2020, 32). As in the rest of Spain, the interest in Greek arts and everything Greek in general – ancient, Byzantine and post-Byzantine – (Hassiotis 2020, 147-208) was surely reinforced by the presence of a considerable Greek community in the city, mainly consisting of merchants and sailors, attracted by the possibilities that the monopoly the port of Seville would have had with the trade of the Spanish colonies of America (Canellas Anoz 2011, 125-172). This presence undoubtedly facilitated the arrival of manuscripts brought from Greek lands, as occurred in other centres where classical studies were developed in Spain (Gil Fernández, 1997). The truth is that many of these books, including translations by ancient Greek, Latin and possibly Byzantine authors, were lost after the decline Seville plunged into after the plague that ravaged the city in 1649.

Miguel de Cervantes moved and was trained in this environment, he made references to Greek antiquity and mythology on numerous occasions (López Férez 2008, 119-132) and he also studied

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[13] He was put in jail because of embezzling wheat and being paid his salary twice.

[14] Such as the Counts of Gelves, Álvaro de Portugal and Leonor de Milan, and the Marquis of Tarifa, Pedro Afán de Ribera (Cfr. Martínez Carrasco 2020, 12 and ss.), Juan de Arguijo (Escobar 2016 & Solís de los Santos 2016).

[15] Such as Fernando de Herrera, Garcilaso de la Vega, Francisco Pacheco, Baltasar de Alcázar, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Juan de la Cueva or Luis Barahona de Soto (Sánchez 1948, 317-343).

[16] Bibliography on the Renaissance libraries of Seville and, especially that of its University, includes the work of Solís de los Santos (2017, 63-78).

the lyrical poetry that he inserted in his novels[17]. Several of his works were written in Seville, while various parts of the city were a source of inspiration for others[18]. Here, he was inspired and wrote a large part of his most famous work *Don Quixote,* but also some of his *Exemplary Novels* including *The Liberal Lover*. In conclusion, we could say that, despite the information we have today, it is not possible to give an answer to questions about the similarity and the circumstances surrounding the writing of *The Liberal Lover*. However, it can be assumed that Cervantes could have an original or a translation of *Rodanthe and Dosicles* by Theodore Prodromos to hand and could have made use of its argument and structure which, after all, also followed the canons of the Hellenistic novel.

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[17] Cf. the Voyage of Parnassus (1614), an allegory of the poetic reality of its time; *La Galatea* (1585), a mixture of prose and poetry in the pastoral line; famous for its humour and irony sonnet "To the tumulus of Felipe II"; the poems of the "Preliminaries" of *Don Quixote* or the "Epistle to Mateo Vázquez".

[18] The romance *Desdén* (1592), the sonnet *To the tumulus of King Felipe II* in Seville (1598), the picaresque genre novels *El colloquio de los perros and Rinconete y Cortadillo* or the picaresque comedy *The Blissful Ruffian*.

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ОГЛАВЛЕНИЕ ЕВАНГЕЛИЯ ОТ ИОАННА В СТАРОПЕЧАТНЫХ КИРИЛЛИЧЕСКИХ БОГОСЛУЖЕБНЫХ ЕВАНГЕЛИЯХ-ТЕТР[1]

The List of Chapter Titles of the Gospel of John in Early Printed Cyrillic Liturgical Tetraevangelions

Jerzy Ostapczuk

Abstract: OSTAPCZUK, Jerzy. *The list of chapter titles of the Gospel of John in early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelions.* This article presents the results of a text-critical analysis of the list of chapter titles (τὰ κεφαλαία) of the Gospel of John in the early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelions. The research was carried out on the basis of 94 (out of the total 109 copies) of the Tetraevangelions issued from 1512 to 1800 in the Middle-Bulgarian, Serbian and East Slavonic redactions of the Church Slavonic Language. All of the Tetraevangelions issued in 16th and 17th centuries were researched along with 48 editions from the 18th century.

The text-critical analysis proved the existence of textual readings in the list of chapter titles of the Gospel of John and the possibility of dividing the Gospel of John into 24 chapters instead of 18 (which was confirmed by Michal Sliozka's two Lvov editions). However, this manner of dividing the text is not found in any other known Church Slavonic, Greek and Latin manuscript or early print containing the Gospel of John. On the basis of textual readings, all of the studied Tetraevangelions were divided into three main groups and several subgroups.

Keywords: *Chapter Titles, Gospel of John, Tetraevangelion, Early Printed Cyrillic Book*

В старопечатных кириллических богослужебных Евангелиях-тетр помимо четырех евангелий находятся и другие тексты, иногда небольшие по объему. К таковым относятся перечни евангельских глав, т. е. оглавления, расположенные в старопечатных кириллических тетрах в начале текста всех четырех евангелий. Данная особенность является унаследованной, т. к. она характерна для рукописных церковнославянских (т. е. кириллических и глаголических) и греческих Евангелий-тетр[2].

Списки евангельских глав[3] в греческих рукописях, считавшиеся одним из вспомогательных элементов для читателей (Metzger 1968, 21; Goswell 2010, 68-97) или исследователей (Soden 1911, 430; McArthur 1964, 272) Священного Писания[4],

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2   О делении евангельского текста в латинских рукописях см. Gregory 1909, 861; Bruyne 1914; McGurk 1961; Houghton 2011, 315-356; Knust – Wasserman 2018, 260-261.

3   Они иногда считаются своего рода «перечислением содержания» Евангелий (Goswell 2009, 138).

4   О других возможных причинах такого деления евангельского текста см. McArthur 1964, 271; Goswell 2009, 139-142; Edwards 2010, 413-416; Smith 2014, 161.

свидетельствуют о существовавшем уже в древнейшие[5] времена делении евангельского текста на части. Так в унциальном Ватиканском кодексе (B или 03), датируемом IV в., Евангелие от Матфея разделено на 170 глав, от Марка на 62, от Луки на 152 и от Иоанна на 80[6] (Gregory 1909, 860; Metzger 1991, 41; Aland, Aland, 1991, 118; Parker 2008, 316; Knust – Wasserman 2018, 260). Данный тип деления Евангелий на главы, не получивший большого распространения, считается самым древним (Metzger 1968, 22; Smith 2014, 156.160; Goswell 2009, 134-134). В других унциальных кодексах, датируемых V столетием, кроме присутствующего в них деления Аммония Александрийского на главы[7], Евангелие от Матфея разделено на 68 глав, от Марка – на 48, от Луки – на 83 и от Иоанна – на 18 (Soden 1911, 403.405-411; Metzger 1991, 41; Goswell 2009, 138.142-146.153-156.169-172; Knust – Wasserman 2018, 260). Это деление[8] евангельского текста на части подтверждено унциальными кодексами, датируемыми не только V в. (Александрийский[9] {A или 02}[10] и Ефрема {C или 04})[11] или VI в. (Петербургский Пурпурный[12] {N или 022}[13] и Нитрийский {R или 027} (Goswell 2009, 139)), но также и греческими рукописями VII[14] – XVII[15] вв. Списки евангельских глав представлены в древнейших греческих старопечатных изданиях Нового Завета, начиная со второго[16] издания Эразма Роттердамского (Erasmus Desiderius 1519, 110-118; 1522, [58]-[66]; 1527, [39]-[47]; 1535, [37]-[44]); и в третьем издании Робера Этьенне (Roberti Stephani 1550, [30].59.97.159).

Оглавления четырех Евангелий, впервые встречаемые в греческом Александрийском кодексе, известны в научной литературе как обширные[17] главы (лат. *kephalaia majora* (Goswell 2009, 138)). Будучи самыми распространенными в греческой рукописной традиции (Parker 2008, 316; Smith 2014, 160; Knust – Wasserman 2018, 260), они были унаследованы

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[5] Некоторые считают, что деление Евангелия на части началось уже в II-III в. и получило особое распространение в IV-V вв. (McArthur 1964, 272).

[6] О иных рукописях (Codex Zacynthius {Ξ или 040}), в которых присутствует это деление на главы, см. Tregelles 1861, VIII-XII; Smith 2014, 157-160; Goswell 2009, 134-135.

[7] На их основе Евсевий Кесарийский выработал т. н. каноны, подробнее о них см. Soden 1911, 387-402; McArthur 1965, 250-256; Metzger 1991, 42; Knust – Wasserman 2018, 257-258. О аммониевых главах, называемых иногда „kephalaia minora" (Goswell 2009, 138), в славянских рукописях см. Drogramadžieva 1993, 15.

[8] О разных видах деления евангельского текста см. Gregory 1909, 859-872; Parker 2008, 316.

[9] Об особенностях этого деления в Александрийском кодексе см. Goswell 2009, 134-174; Smith 2014, 156-179.

[10] См. Woide – Cowper 1860, [XXXIX-XL], 65-66.107-108.177. Электронная копия рукописи размещена на сайте http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_1_d_viii_fs001r (10.05.2020), см. л. 5б, 19а–б, 42а.

[11] См. издание текста: Tischendorf 1843 или копию рукописи: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8470433r/f15.item.r=.langEN.zoom (10.05.2020).

[12] В литературе он известен как Codex Petropolitanus Purpureu.

[13] См. издания текста: Cronin 1899; *Purple codex* 2002.

[14] VIII в. датируются Королевский (Le или 019) и Базельский (Ee или 07) кодексы; IX в. рукопись Коридети (Θ или 038) и Петербургский (Π или 041) кодекс; X в. IV Тишендорфа (Γ или 036) и Борилианский (Fe или 09) кодексы и т. д.

[15] К XVII в. относится рукопись Национальной Библиотеки Греции в Афинах № 2408 (современное обозначение рукописи среди греческих новозаветных источников GA 1700).

[16] Первое издание вышло в 1516 г. и не содержало оглавлений, см. Erasmus Desiderius 1516.

[17] В английской терминологии „long", немецкой „grösseren" и славянской „обширните главы" (Gregory 1909, 860; Parker 2008, 316; Drogramadžieva 1993, 15). Меньшее количество глав должно было охватывать больше евангельского текста, см. Gregory 1909, 405-411.433-435.

рукописными церковнославянскими Евангелиями-тетр. По мнению Л. Мошиньского (Moszyński 1990, 5),[18] это произошло в период между 885 г. – кон. X в. Из рукописных источников оглавления затем проникли в старопечатные кириллические богослужебные тетры.

Греческим евангельским оглавлениям, в отличие от апостольских[19], в научной литературе не уделено должного внимания. Обычно они лишь упоминаются в работах по исследованию греческого евангельского текста (Erasmus Desiderius 1519, 110-118; 1535, [37-44]; Roberti Stephani 1550, [30], 59, 97, 159; Milli, 1710, 4.70.121.199; 1723, 4.70.121.199; Matthaei 1788a, 5-9; 1788b, 5-8; 1788c, 5-8; 1786, 6)[20], в том числе и катен (Cramer 1844a, 1-3.261-262; 1844b, 1-3.177), или отдельных рукописных кодексов. Среди исследователей следует указать Германа фон Зодена (Herman von Soden, 1852-1914) с его монументальным трудом (Soden 1911, 402-438) и работы Гарвея К. МакАртура (McArthur 1964), Грега Госвелла и В. Андрея Смита, посвященные отдельным рукописным источникам (т. е. кодексам Александрийскому {Goswell 2009; Smith 2013; 2014}, Синайскому {Goswell 2010, 68-97}, Ватиканскому {Goswell 2011, 51-82} и т.д.). Номера евангельских глав, но без оглавлений в начале четырех евангелий, иногда[21] могли помещаться на (внутренних) полях критических изданий греческого текста Нового Завета; например, они содержатся в 27-издании Novum Testmantum Graece (NTG[27]).

В славянской традиции исследования евангельских и апостольских[22] оглавлений довольно редки. Перечни евангельских глав указаны обычно в изданиях отдельных рукописных Евангелий-тетр (например, Зографского (Jagić 1879, 79-80), Мостарского (Speranskij 1906a, 175-176; 1906b, 206), Иоанна-Александра (Popova – Miklas 2017, 24-25.193.289-291.444) и т. д.), а также в некоторых критических изданиях церковнославянского евангельского текста (*Evangelie ot Matfeă* 2005, 177-180) и отдельных научных исследованиях (Moszyński 2009). В петербургских церковнославянских изданиях евангелий от Иоанна и Матфея ситуация различна. Оглавления, к которым подведены разночтения из шести рукописей, присутствуют во втором издании, т. е. в Евангелии от Матфея (*Evangelie ot Matfeă* 2005, 177-180), а в Евангелии от Иоанна (*Evangelie ot Ioanna* 1998) они отсутствуют. Особого внимания заслуживает изданный в 1990 г. труд Лешека Мошиньского (Moszyński 1990) „*Cerkiewnosłowiańskie tytuły Ewangelijne*". Он посвящен исследованию текстов, называемых в греческой традиции τὰ κεφαλαία и οἱ τίτλοι (Moszyński 1990, 5). Первые относятся к помещаемым перед четырьмя Евангелиями перечням евангельских глав, т. е. оглавлениям, а вторые – к названиям глав, представленным на верхних или нижних полях листов с евангельским текстом[23]. Л. Мошиньский использовал в своем исследовании шесть рукописей – две глаголических и четыре кириллических[24]. На сегодняшний день работа Л. Мошиньского является одним из главных исследований, наряду с изданием

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[18] В глаголических четвероевангелиях оглавления представлены не вполне последовательно. Чем младше рукописный список, тем чаще встречаются оглавления (Moszyński 1990, 5).

[19] Об исследовании греческого аппарата Евфалия см. Blomkvist 2012; Willard 2009; Goswell 2011, 51-82. Перечни апостольских глав (т. е. оглавления к книгам Апостольских Деяний и Посланий) получили название аппарата Евфалия, так как их автором является Евфалий.

[20] Здесь следует указать на работы по введению в изучение Нового Завета, например, Parker 2008.

[21] О необходимости учитывать деления текста в критических изданиях см. Olley 1998, 111-125.

[22] Об исследовании славянской традиции аппарата Евфалия см. Novak 2017a, 93-94; 2017b, 383-391; 2018, 6-15.

[23] В работе Л. Мошиньского разночтения из названий глав, выписанных на полях, получили добавочное (к названию рукописи) сокращение „marg" (см. Moszyński 1990, 11-12).

[24] Перечень источников см. Moszyński 1990, 11-12.

Евангелия от Матфея в славянской традиции (*Evangelie ot Matfeǎ* 2005), содержащих исходный материал, указывающий текстологические изменения в евангельских оглавлениях в рукописной традиции. Эти две работы были использованы в единственном текстологическом исследовании оглавления Евангелия от Матфея в старопечатных кириллических богослужебных Евангелиях-тетр (Ostapczuk 2020a, 200-216).

    Список глав, т. е. оглавление, Евангелия от Иоанна[25] в старопечатных кириллических богослужебных Евангелиях-тетр ранее не был предметом научного исследования. В этой статье будут представлены результаты текстологического анализа списка глав Евангелия от Иоанна. Исследование проводилось на материале 94 старопечатных Евангелий-тетр[26]. Объектом анализа послужили все издания XVI и XVII вв., т. е. соответственно 15[27] и 31. Из изданий XVIII в. к исследованию привлечено 48 печатных тетров (из 60)[28] и одно издание 1800 г. Следовательно, было использовано[29] около 87% сохранившихся старопечатных кириллических богослужебных Евангелий-тетр; 100% изданий XVI и XVII вв. и 80% изданий XVIII в.

    В подавляющем большинстве старопечатных[30] кириллических богослужебных Евангелий тетр оглавление Евангелия от Иоанна имеет следующее название: єже ѿ іѡанна свꙗтаго єѵаггеліа главы[31]. Разночтения были отмечены в двух киевских изданиях[32] (1697 и 1712 г.), восьми львовских и единственном виленского братства (1644 г.)[33]. Во всех

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[25] То же самое касается Евангелия от Марка. О текстологическом исследовании оглавления Евангелий от Матфея и Луки в старопечатных кириллических Евангелиях-тетр см. Ostapczuk 2020a, 200-216; 2021.

[26] Все использованные в текстологическом исследовании кириллические богослужебные Евангелия-тетр изданы до 1800 г. включительно. Самое младшее четвероевангелие напечатано в 1800 г. (в Москве).

[27] В Евангелии-тетр на церковнославянском и румынском языках из города Сибиу, напечатанного в 1551-1553 гг., сохранилась только часть Евангелия от Матфея (Guseva 2003, 25 {№ 1}; Stabile 2019, 59).

[28] В исследование не вошли материалы 12 изданий XVIII в., т. е. одиннадцати московских (1722, 1730, 1735 (октябрь), 1741, 1744, 1759, 1762, 1763 (август), 1782, 1794 и 1798 гг.) и одного киевского (1737 г.).

[29] Исследованные тетры были изданы в: Тырговище (1512 г.), Руяне (1537 г.), Сибиу (1546 г.), Белграде (1552 г.), Брашове (1561/62 г.), Мрькшиной Церкви (1562 г.), Вильне (1575, 1600 {без сигнатур}, около 1620 {с сигнатурами} и 1644 гг.), Шебеше (1579 и 1583 гг.), Балграде, т.е. в Альба Юлии (в 1579 г.), Монастыре св. Иоанна возле Бухареста (1582 и после 1582 г.), Львове (1636, 1644, 1665, 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 и 1743 гг.), Киеве (1697, 1712, 1733, 1746, 1759, 1771, 1773 и 1784 гг.), Почаеве (1759, 1768, 1771 и две в 1780 {1° и 2°} гг.); Клинцах (1786 г.) и Москве (58 изданий, в 1553/54 {узкошрифтное}, 1558/59 {среднешрифтное}, 1563/64 {широкошрифтное}, 1606, 1613 (иногда как место печати указывается Нижний Новгород {Počinskaya 2012, 314-336, 352-354}), 1627, 1628, 1633, 1637, 1640, 1644, 1648, 1651, 1653, 1657, 1663, 1668, 1677, 1681, 1685, 1688, 1689, 1694, 1697, 1698, 1701, 1703, 1711, 1716, 1717, ноябре 1735, 1744, 1745, марте и ноябре 1748, 1751, 1753, 1754, 1757, 1758, 1760, 1762, феврале 1763, 1766, январе и мае 1771, 1774, 1775, июне и августе 1779, 1784, 1785, ноябре 1786, сентябре и ноябре 1789, 1791, 1796 и в 1800 г.).

[30] Оглавление Евангелия от Иоанна шести рукописных источников см. Moszyński 1990, 119.

[31] Что соответствует греческому τοῦ κατὰ ᾿Ιωαννὴν εὐαγγελίου τὰ κεφαλαία (Soden 1911, 411). В кириллическом издании 1583 г. существительное главы (с выносным в {т. е. глва}) находится в начале – что подтверждено и в рукописных Евангелиях Мариинском, Добромира и Никольском (Moszyński 1990, 119), а в издании 1579 г. (Шебеш) это существительное пропущено.

[32] О разночтениях в рукописной традиции см. Moszyński 1990, 119.

[33] Оригиналом Евангелия тетр напечатанного виленским братством было первое львовское издание Евангелия тетр 1636 г. (Ostapczuk 2017a, 291-297; 2019c, 271-282; 2020b, 87-97).

одиннадцати изданиях[34] вместо наименования глави используется название оглавленїе, помещенное в начале названия евангельских глав. Кроме этого, в первых двух киевских четвероевангелиях в конце сделано небольшое добавление изрѧднѣишихъ вєщєи[35].

Во всех церковнославянских (Moszyński 1990, 120-128), греческих (Soden 1911, 411; Goswell 2009, 138) и даже латинских[36] рукописных источниках, также как и в подавляющем большинстве исследованных кириллических старопечатных богослужебных Евангелий-тетр (в 92 из 94) текст Евангелия от Иоанна разбит на 18[37] глав. Только два издания, выпущенные во Львове в 1644 и 1665 гг. Михаилом Слезкой, являются исключением. В этих двух львовских тетрах текст Евангелия от Иоанна разбит на 24 главы, т. е. в них выделено на шесть глав больше, чем в иных исследуемых печатных источниках. Внимания заслуживает тот факт, что главы с первой по шестнадцатую, заканчивающуюся Ион 15, 25, во всех старопечатных тетрах не имеют различий в делении текста. Лишь две последние главы (17-я и 18-я), содержащие текст Евангелия от Иоанна с 15, 26 по 21, 24, – в тетрах Михаила Слезки были разделены на четыре части каждая.

В 17-й главе, охватывающей текст Евангелия от Иоанна с 15, 26 по 19, 37, части были выделены следующим образом:
- 1-я часть – глава 17-я (о обѣщанїю послати ꙋтешиⷮ, которая в других старопечатных Евангелиях тетр имеет название о оутѣшителѣ или о параклитѣ), содержащая текст Евангелия от Иоанна с 15, 26 по [17, 26][38];
- 2-я часть – глава 18-я (о прєданїи), охватывающая текст Евангелия от Иоанна с [18, 1] по 18, 27;
- 3-я часть – глава 19-я (о стрⷭти), включающая текст Евангелия от Иоанна с 18, 28 по [19, 16а];
- и 4-я часть – глава 20-я (о распѧтїи), содержащая текст Евангелия от Иоанна с [19, 16б] по 19, 37;

18-я глава, охватывающая текст Евангелия от Иоанна с 19, 38 по 21, 24, была разделена на четыре части следующим образом:
- 1-я часть – глава 21-я (с названием, как и в других старопечатных Евангелиях тетр, о испрошенїи тѣлесе господнѧ {глава 18-ая}), включающая текст Евангелия от Иоанна с 19, 38 по 20, 18;

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[34] В львовском издании 1743 г. вместо єѵⷢлїа стоит єѵⷢлїє.

[35] В первых двух киевских четвероевангелиях в названии глав Евангелия от Матфея тоже добавлено изрѧднѣишихъ вєщєи, но в начале названия.

[36] В латинских рукописных евангелиях текст Евангелия от Иоанна разбит на 13, 14, 35, 36, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 50 или 68 глав (Houghton 2011, 326-347).

[37] В греческих источниках только иногда как 19-я глава Евангелия от Иоанна указывался текст Ион 7, 53-8, 11 (Soden 1911, 403; Goswell 2009, 170). В рукописном Евангелии тетр хранящимся в Харьковской государственной научной библиотеке имени В. Г. Короленко под № 819115 на 142 л. помещено перечисление 18 глав Евангелия от Иоанна, к которым более поздним письмом добавлена еще одна глава ѡ женѣ помиꙗнои во прелюбодеⷶи. Из указания номера этой главы сохранилась только выносная буква л с титлом).

[38] Отождествление евангельских фрагментов, принадлежащих главам 17-24 в двух Евангелиях-тетр М. Слезки, было возможно на основе номеров глав на полях с евангельским текстом, а в случае их отсутствия на основе названия главы и содержания евангельского текста – тогда номер главы и стиха современного деления евангельского текста был указан в квадратных скобках. В львовском издании 1644 г. из глав 17-24 на полях листов с евангельским текстом не указаны только две главы – 18-я и 20-я, а в издании 1665 г. на полях из глав 17-24 указана только одна глава – 17-я.

- 2-я часть – глава 22-я (о ꙗвленїи ꙋ̑чн҃ккѡмъ по воскр҃нїи), охватывающая текст Евангелия от Иоанна с 20, 19 по 20, 31;
- 3-я часть – глава 23-я (о ꙗвленїи на мори тѵверїадскомъ), содержащая текст Евангелия от Иоанна с 21, 1 по 21, 14;
- и 4-я часть – глава 24-я (о трикратномъ въпрошенїи петра еже любиши ли мѧ), включающая текст Евангелия от Иоанна с 21, 15 по 21, 25.

Старопечатные кириллические Евангелия-тетр (кроме изданий Михаила Слезки)		Два евангелия тетр Михаила Слезки 1644 и 1665 гг.		
№ главы	Объем текста	№ главы	Название главы	Объем текста
17-я глава	15,26-19,37	17	о ѡ̑бѣщанїю послати ꙋ̑теши҃т	15,26-17,26
		18	о преданїи	18,1-18,27
		19	о стрⷭ҇ти	18,28-19,16а
		20	о распатїи	19,16б-19,37
18-я глава	19,38-21,24	21	о испрошенїи тѣлесе господнѧ	19,38-20,18
		22	о ꙗвленїи ꙋ̑чн҃ккѡмъ по воскр҃нїи	20,19-20,31
		23	о ꙗвленїи на мори тѵверїадскомъ	21,1-21,14
		24	о трикратномъ въпрошенїи петра еже любиши ли мѧ	21,15-21,25

Таблица № 1 / Table 1

Причина деления текста Евангелия от Иоанна в изданиях Михаила Слезки на 24 главы вместо 18, как это имеет место во всех остальных старопечатных кириллических, рукописных церковнославянских и греческих Евангелиях-тетр, пока не известна. Возможно, она является результатом стремления разделить две последние главы Евангелия от Иоанна (т. е. 17-ю и 18-ю), охватывающие шесть глав современного деления евангельского текста на главы (с 15, 26 по 21, 24), на более равномерные части[39] или обращения внимания читателей

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[39] В исследованиях неоднократно указывалось, что встречаемое в Александрийском кодексе древнее деление евангельского текста на части – соответствующее исследованным главам, весьма разнообразно. Евангельский текст одной главы в рукописях может охватывать от 4-11 линий текста по 110-180 или даже 515 линий рукописного текста (Goswell 2009, 137-138).

на значимые события евангельского повествования, находящие иногда отражение в евангельских богослужебных *зачалах*[40]. Так 18-я глава Евангелия от Иоанна (ѡ прєданїи) соответствует 65-й главе Евангелия от Матфея (ѡ прєданїи ї҃совѣ) и 46-й главе Евангелия от Марка, с которыми две следующие 19-я (ѡ стр҃ти) и 20-я (ѡ распѧтїи) непосредственно связаны. Главы 22-я и 23-я говорят о явлениях воскресшего Спасителя (ѡ ꙗвлєнїи ꙋ҃чн҃кѡмъ по воскр҃нїи и ѡ ꙗвлєнїи на мори тѵвєрїадскомъ) и последняя – 24-я – о присутствующем только в четвертом Евангелии трехкратном вопрошении Петра Иисусом (ѡ трикратномъ въпрошєнїи пєтра єжє любиши ли мѧ), что является его реабилитацией в связи с его трехкратным отречением (название глав: ѡ ѿмѣтанїи или ѿвєржєнїи пєтровѣ), описанным в 66-й главе Евангелия от Матфея и 47-й Евангелия от Марка.

Немногочисленные текстологические разночтения, выявленные при анализе перечня евангельских глав, т. е. оглавлений, Евангелия от Иоанна в старопечатных кириллических богослужебных Евангелиях-тетр, дали возможность распределить исследованные тетры на несколько групп. Полученная классификация подтверждает результаты более ранних текстологических исследований разных частей старопечатных кириллических тетров, т. е. евангельских чтений на всякую потребу (Ostapczuk 2015, 105-120), шести зачал Евангелия от Матфея (Ostapczuk 2016, 275-286), девяти зачал Евангелия от Марка (Ostapczuk 2017b, 357-367; 2018, 62-73) или предисловий блаженного Феофилакта Болгарского (Ostapczuk 2019a, 315-329; 2019b, 115-126).

Часть текстологических разночтений характерна лишь для одиннадцати тетров среднеболгарского и сербского изводов, напечатанных в 1512, 1537, 1546, 1552, 1561/62, 1562, 1579 {два издания[41]}, 1582 {два издания[42]} и 1583 гг. Среди них можно указать три следующих разночтения:

№ главы	Четвероевангелия	
	все восточнославянские	все среднеболгарские и сербские
2[1]	отсутствие[2] указания на параллельную главу в другом Евангелии	присутствие указания на параллельную[3] главу в Евангелии от Марка (глава № 34[4])
6[5]	ѡ цр҃євѣ моужи	ѡ цр҃комъ моужи
17	ѡ оутѣшитєлѣ[6]	ѡ параклитѣ

Таблица № 2 / Table 2

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[40] Из присутствующих только в львовских Евангелиях-тетр 1644 и 1665 гг. *новых* восьми глав (17-24) только две (18-я и 24-я) являются идентичными по объёму стихов с богослужебными евангельскими зачалами (т. е. со 2-м Страстным Евангелием и 11-м Утренним Евангелием). См. Alekseev 2008, 217.

Деление евангельского текста в Учительных Евангелиях неразрывно связано с богослужебными евангельскими *зачалами,* читаемыми на воскресных и праздничных богослужениях (Čuba 2011, 6; Krutova 2016, 324). Тем самым влияние Учительного Евангелия на деление евангельского текста от Иоанна на восемь *новых* глав в львовских тетрах 1644 и 1665 г. является сомнительным.

[41] Т. е. издания из городов Шебеш и Альба Юлия (т. е. Балград).

[42] Т. е. издания из монастыря св. Иоанна возле Бухареста, изданные в 1582 и после 1582 г.

Часть разночтений характерна лишь для пяти позднейших среднеболгарских Евангелий-тетр, напечатанных в 1561/62, 1579 (два издания) и 1582 (два издания) гг. Все восточнославянские Евангелия-тетр, два древнейших издания среднеболгарского извода (т. е. 1512 и 1546 гг.), три издания сербского извода (1537, 1552 и 1562 гг.) и одно среднеболгарское издание 1583 г. этих разночтений не подтверждают. Данное сопоставление Евангелий-тетр позволяет выявить следующие разночтения:

№ главы	Четвероевангелия	
	все восточнославянские и сербские[7], древнейшие среднеболгарские[8] и одно издание 1583 г.	среднеболгарские позднейшие[9]
1	в кана, в канѣ или в кани	в канъ
7	о имоуцемъ или о имоуци	о имоуцихъ (и в тетрах 1537 и 1583 гг.)
8[10]	о патихъ хлѣбѣхъ или о пати хлѣбѣхъ	о пати хлѣбъ
15	о пришедшихъ еллинѣхъ	о пришедшимь еллинѣхъ (и в тетре 1583 г.)
18	в качестве параллельной указана 48-я глава Евангелия от Марка[11]	в качестве параллельной указана 40-я[12] глава Евангелия от Марка[13]

Таблица № 3 / Table 3

Последнее разночтение, касающееся 18-й главы о испрошении тѣлесе господня, интересно тем, что во втором указании (из трех)[43] на параллельную евангельскую главу вместо 48-й главы Евангелия от Марка, которая имеет такое же название, как и 18-я глава Евангелия от Иоанна, дана 40-я глава Евангелия от Марка, название которой немного схожее – о въпрошении господнии. О том, что ссылки на параллельные евангельские главы в пяти позднейших среднеболгарских старопечатных четвероевангелиях содержат ошибку, свидетельствует следующее:

- в 40-й главе Евангелия от Марка в качестве параллельной указана не 18-я глава Евангелия от Иоанна, а 12-я, носящая название о помазавшеи господа мѵромъ;
- правильное указание в 48-й главе Евангелия от Марка на 18-ю главу Евангелия от Иоанна как на параллельную (ср. Soden 1911, 409.415.); обе главы имеют тождественные названия.

Особого внимания заслуживает тот факт, что только в этих пяти позднейших среднеболгарских кириллических старопечатных четвероевангелиях (изданных в 1561/62 гг. и двукратно в 1579 и 1582 гг.) в Евангелии от Марка вместо 48 глав выделено 51[44], что

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[43] 18-я глава Евангелия от Иоанна имеет указания на три параллельные главы в других Евангелиях. Первое указывает на 68-ю главу Евангелии от Матфея и третье на 82-ю главу Евангелия от Луки. Ссылки даны правильно.

[44] В последнем среднеболгарском четвероевангелии 1583 г. представлено 47 глав вместо 48.

не подтверждается ни славянскими рукописными (Moszyński 1990, 50-73), ни греческими рукописными и печатными источниками (Soden 1911, 407-409; Erasmus Desiderius 1519, 110-118; 1522, [58]-[66]; 1527, [39]-[47]; 1535, [37]-[44]; Roberti Stephani 1550, [30].59.97.159). Большее количество глав является результатом разделения названия некоторых глав (занимающих более чем одну линию текста) на две отдельные главы. Как пример можно указать название 35-й главы О въпросшихъ господа архиереехъ и книжницѣхъ, которое разбито на две: О въпросшихъ господа и О архиереи и книжницѣхъ.

Часть текстологических разночтений характерна для древнейших среднеболгарских Евангелий-тетр (1512 и 1546 гг.), а также для издания 1583 г., трех сербских, львовских (кроме последнего) и издания виленского братства 1644 г. Среди них можно указать следующие два разночтения:

	Четвероевангелия	
№ главы	восточнославянские (кроме львовских и виленского 1644 г.) и позднейшие среднеболгарские	древнейшие среднеболгарские и издание 1583 г., три сербских, львовские (кроме последнего 1743 г.) и виленского братства 1644 г.
4[14]	о вопрошении (о)[15] очищении или о въпрошении очищеніа	о очищении вопрошение
7	о имоущемъ или о имоущихъ	о имоуци (без тетров 1537 и 1583 гг.[16])

Таблица № 4 / Table 4

Иная группа текстологических разночтений выявлена в шести Евангелиях-тетр львовского братства, одном издании виленского братства 1644 г. и двух изданиях Михаила Слезки:

	Четвероевангелия		
№ главы	восточнославянские (кроме львовских), среднеболгарские и сербские	львовские	
		1636, 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 и 1743 гг. и виленское 1644 г.	1644 и 1665 гг.
7	о имоущемъ или о имоущихъ	о имоущемъ	о разслабленнѣмъ имѹщемъ
9	о морстѣмъ хождении		о по водамъ морстѣмъ хождению
10[17]	о рожденнѣмъ слѣпцѣ	о рожденнѣмъ слѣпѣ[18]	о слѣпо рожденнѣмъ

11	о лазарѣ (или о лазари)		о лазари в̲о̲с̲к̲р̲е̲с̲ш̲о̲ⷨ ч̲е̲т̲в̲е̲р̲о̲д̲н̲е̲ⷠ
12	о помазавшеи господа		о ж̲е̲н̲ѣ̲ помазавшеи господа
14[19]	о ослати (или о ослатѣ)		о ослати и̲ в̲о̲ і̲е̲р̲̲ⷭл̲и̲м̲ъ̲ в̲ъ̲х̲о̲ж̲д̲е̲н̲и̲и̲
16	о оумывании или о оумывени	о оумывании н̲о̲г̲ъ̲	о оумывании н̲о̲г̲ъ̲ ꙋ̲ч̲н̲к̲о̲м̲ъ̲
17	о оутѣшителѣ или о параклитѣ	о п̲о̲с̲л̲а̲н̲и̲и̲ оутѣшителꙗ[20]	о о̲б̲ѣ̲щ̲а̲н̲и̲ю̲ послати оутешителꙗ

Таблица № 5 / Table 5

В исследованном оглавлении Евангелия от Иоанна старопечатных Евангелий-тетр выявлены еще два разночтения. Они указывают на возможность выделения иных групп четвероевангелий, выявленных в ранее проведенных исследованиях (избранных зачал Евангелия от Матфея {Ostapczuk 2016, 283-284} и Марка {Ostapczuk 2017b, 366-367} и предисловий Феофилакта Болгарского {Ostapczuk 2019a, 315-329; 2019b, 115-126; 2020b, 87-97}).

Разночтение в 1-й главе разделяет четвероевангелия на две группы: 1) выпущенные до 1651 г. и львовские (кроме последнего); 2) выпущенные после 1653 г.

№ главы	Четвероевангелия	
	изданные до 1651 г. и львовские (кроме издания 1743 г.)	изданные после 1653 г.
1[21]	в кана (или в кань) галилеи	в канѣ галилеистѣи

Таблица № 6 / Table 6

Разночтение в 7-й главе разделяет четвероевангелия на две группы: 1) древнейшие среднеболгарские и сербские; 2) позднейшие среднеболгарские и восточнославянские.

№ главы	Четвероевангелия		
	древнейшие среднеболгарские и все сербские	восточнославянские до 1648 г. и позднейшие среднеболгарские	восточнославянские после 1651 г.
7	три десѧтъ и осмъ (и в тетре 1553 – 54 г.)	л҃и	три десѧтъ осмъ

Таблица № 7 / Table 7

Разночтение 7-й главы, в котором в среднеболгарских и сербских Евангелиях-тетр присутствует соединительный союз и, отсутствующий в других тетрах, может считаться незначительным, так как в церковнославянских текстах союз и часто добавлялся или опускался. В этом случае присутствие союза и можно считать отражением греческой традиции, в которой отсутствие καί подтверждено только в греческих византийских евангельских текстах (т. е. K, Kʳ и Kᵃ по классификации Г. фон Зодена).

Заключение

Исследование, проведенное на основе перечня глав Евангелия от Иоанна, выявило текстологические разночтения в некоторых старопечатных Евангелиях-тетр, на основе которых возможна группировка напечатанных до 1800 г. богослужебных Евангелий по годам, местам или изводам их изданий:

1) четвероевангелия среднеболгарского и сербского изводов XVI века, которые можно разделить на две подгруппы:
   - древнейшие среднеболгарские и сербские четвероевангелия (т. е. издания 1512, 1537, 1546, 1552 и 1562 гг.);
   - позднейшие среднеболгарские четвероевангелия (т. е. издания 1561/62, 1579 {два} и 1582 {два} гг.);
2) восемь львовских четвероевангелий (т. е. издания 1636, 1644, 1665, 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 и 1743 гг.) и единственное издание виленского братства 1644 г., которые можно разделить на две подгруппы:
   - шесть изданий львовского братства и одно виленское (1644 г.);
   - два издания Михаила Слезки, изданные в 1644 и 1665 гг.;
3) восточнославянские издания (московские, киевские и почаевские), выпущенные до 1651 г. (вместе со львовскими, кроме издания 1743 г.) и после 1653 г.

Текстологический анализ списка глав Евангелия от Иоанна подтвердил результаты, полученные в предыдущих исследованиях, а также предоставил новые, ранее неизвестные ни в церковнославянской, ни греческой традициях данные, свидетельствующие о возможности деления Евангелия от Иоанна не на 18, а на 24 главы, что подтверждают два издания Михаила Слезки.

TABLE NOTES

[1] При номерах глав в сносках будут указываться выявленные Л. Мошиньским (Moszyński 1990) и Г. фон Зоденом (Soden 1911, 411-432) разночтения славянских и греческих рукописей, не подтвержденные данными старопечатных кириллических Евангелий-тетр.

[2] В работе Л. Мошинского указания на параллельные места в других евангелиях не были исследованы (Moszyński 1990).

[3] Причем названия глав различны: 34-я глава Евангелия от Марка озаглавлена ѡ непомнѣнїи ѕла, а 2-я главы Евангелия от Иоанна ѡ изгнанныхъ изъ церкве.

[4] м҃ лд҃. или марко лд҃.

[5] В славянских рукописях подтверждено разночтение ѡ цр҃и могжи (Moszyński 1990, 122).

[6] В старопечатных львовских Евангелиях-тетр выявлены разночтения ѡ послании ѹтѣшителѧ и ѡ обѣщанїю послати ѹтѣшиᵗ, о которых речь пойдет дальше.

[7] Четвероевангелия сербского извода были изданы в 1537, 1552 и 1562 гг.

[8] К древнейшим среднеболгарским четвероевангелиям относятся три издания: 1512, 1546 и 1551-53 гг. Из последнего сохранилась только часть Евангелия от Матфея, а именно зачала 7-112 (Guseva 2003, 25 {No 1}; Stabile 2019, 59).

[9] К позднейшим среднеболгарским четвероевангелиям относятся пять изданий: 1561/62, 1579 (два издания) и 1582 (два издания).

[10] В названии восьмой главы Евангелия от Иоанна в кириллических старопечатных Евангелиях-тетр отсутствует вторая часть названия, которой соответствует греческий текст καὶ τῶν δύο ἰχθύων (Soden 1911, 412). Предполагается влияние названия 21-й главы Евангелия от Марка на название 8-й главы Евангелия от Иоанна (Soden 1911, 412).

[11] В изданиях Евангелий-тетр читаются следующие указания: в марцѣ м҃и; м҃ м҃и; в м҃л м҃и; марко м҃и; в маркѣ м҃и; въ маркꙋ м҃и.

[12] В Евангелии-тетр, выпущенном после 1582 г., указание двух параллельных мест (марко м҃ и лꙋка п҃в) было ошибочно соединено в одно (марко п҃в).

[13] В изданиях Евангелий-тетр читаются следующие указания: м҃ м҃ или марко м҃.

[14] В греческих рукописях подтверждены разночтения περὶ καθαρισμοῦ ζήτησις и ζήτησις περὶ καθαρισμοῦ (Soden 1911, 419).

[15] В изданиях Евангелий-тетр 1561/62, 1579 (два) и 1582 (два) гг. ѡ пропущено.

[16] В них подтверждено чтение ѡ имоугщихъ.

[17] В греческих рукописях подтверждены следующие разночтения: περὶ τοῦ ἐκ γενετῆς τυφλοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἐκ γεννήσης τυφλοῦ и περὶ τοῦ τυφλοῦ (Soden 1911, 413).

[18] Разночтение не подтверждено в львовских изданиях XVIII в. (т. е. 1704, 1722 и 1743 гг.), но присутствует во всех среднеболгарских, сербских и виленских кириллических старопечатных Евангелиях-тетр.

[19] В греческих рукописях подтверждены следующие разночтения: περὶ τοῦ ὄνου и περὶ τοῦ πώλου (Soden 1911, 413), тем самым предполагается влияние названия 68-й главы Евангелия от Луки (Soden 1911, 413).

[20] За исключением тетра 1743 г., в котором подтверждено чтение ѡ оутѣшители.

[21] В греческих рукописях отмечено περὶ τοῦ ἐν Κάνα γάμου (Soden 1911, 411) без τῆς Γαλιλαίας.

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BANSKOBYSTRICKÁ KAPITULA AKO HODNOVERNÉ MIESTO VO SVETLE DOCHOVANÝCH PRAMEŇOV V ROKOCH 1780 – 1790

Banská Bystrica Chapter as the Place of Authentication in the Light of Preserved Sources in 1780 – 1790

Zuzana Mičková – Peter Mičko

Abstract: MIČKOVÁ, Zuzana – MIČKO, Peter. *Banská Bystrica Chapter as the Place of Authentication in the Light of Preserved Sources in 1780 – 1790.* The research subject of the presented study is the activity of the Banská Bystrica Chapter as the place of authentication *(locus credibilis)* in the first decade of its existence. The authors focus on the establishment conditions of the Chapter as part of the Diocese of Banská Bystrica in 1776 and the subsequent relocation of the Turiec convent *place of authentication* archives from Kláštor pod Znievom to Banská Bystrica in 1780. Moreover, the authors attempt to reconstruct the activities of a place of authentication, to present the personnel and economic background of the Chapter according to authentic descriptions drawing on the canonical visitations of 1785. Subsequently, they aim to demonstrate the structure and the amount of agenda of the place of authentication in the first decade of its existence according to the hitherto unresearched protocol of the credible place from 1780 – 1795 stored in the archives of the Diocese of Banská Bystrica. Finally, the authors follow the efforts of Emperor Joseph II to gradually centralize the places of authentication archives which, however, were not implemented due to the reasons stated in the study.

Keywords: *chapter, Banská Bystrica, locus credibilis, place of authentication, Joseph II.*

Úvod

Hodnoverné miesta (*loca credibilia*) ako inštitúcie verejného notárstva sú špecifikom uhorských dejín a ich význam je zo všetkých aspektov historického výskumu, či už ide o cirkevné dejiny, právne dejiny, pomocné vedy historické, či regionálne dejiny, nedoceniteľný. Vrcholom pôsobenia hodnoverných miest je obdobie konca stredoveku a počiatku novoveku. V neskoršom období si svoj status v oblasti notárstva síce udržali, no ich význam postupne klesal. Najstarším hodnoverným miestam pôsobiacim na území dnešného Slovenska sa už slovenská historiografia vo väčšej miere venovala. Čo sa týka Banskobystrickej kapituly ako hodnoverného miesta, tu je situácia odlišná. Banskobystrická kapitula ako hodnoverné miesto začala svoju činnosť v roku 1780 v pozícii priameho pokračovateľa hodnoverného miesta – Turčianskeho konventu, ktoré bolo premonštrátmi založené už v roku 1251, pričom prvý známy odtlačok stredovekej pečate tejto inštitúcie pochádza z roku 1291 (Takács 1992, 90). Banskobystrické obdobie daného hodnoverného miesta tak patrí do záverečnej éry fungovania a vplyvu inštitúcií hodnoverných miest. Z aspektu cirkevnej histórie sa z radov teológov venovalo niekoľko prác Banskobystrickej kapitule (Juhaniak 2016;

Brendza 2003), no Banskobystrická kapitula a jej činnosť hodnoverného miesta je dosiaľ v podstate nespracovanou témou. Kým archív hodnoverného miesta v Turci je sústredený v Slovenskom národnom archíve v Bratislave s označením fondu Hodnoverné miesto Konventu premonštrátov v Turci, s časovým rozsahom (1259) 1288 – 1912, jeho časť práve z obdobia pôsobenia hodnoverného miesta v Banskej Bystrici sa nachádza v Diecéznom archíve Banskobystrického biskupstva dosiaľ v nespracovanom a nezdokumentovanom stave. Predmetom tejto štúdie je poukázať na kľúčové body, ako sú založenie diecézy a kapituly v Banskej Bystrici, celospoločenské faktory, ktoré k takémuto vývoju prispeli, dôvody a spôsob presťahovania archívu hodnoverného miesta a náčrt fungovania inštitúcie v prvom desaťročí svojho pôsobenia v Banskej Bystrici.

Založenie Banskobystrickej diecézy a prepošstva v Banskej Bystrici

Zámer vytvoriť v rámci ostrihomskej arcidiecézy menšie cirkevné správne jednotky – diecézy možno sledovať už od vlády Ľudovíta I. Veľkého (Tomko 1995). K reálnemu aktu dismembrácie ostrihomskej arcidiecézy však konečne došlo oveľa neskôr, konkrétne dňa 13. marca v roku 1776, keď Pápež Pius VI. vyhovel žiadosti resp. návrhu Márie Terézie a v pápežskej bule Regalium principum vyslovil súhlas, že na území Ostrihomskej arcidiecézy vzniknú tri nové diecézy, a to v Banskej Bystrici, Rožňave a Spišskej Kapitule.[1] Dôvody, prečo k tomuto aktu napriek veľkej rozlohe a hustote obyvateľstva arcidiecézy neprišlo skôr, možno hľadať najmä v nestabilnej politickej a náboženskej situácii v Uhorsku počas predchádzajúcich storočí. Podmienky na uskutočnenie aktu dismembrácie Ostrihomskej arcidiecézy tak definitívne dozreli v poslednej štvrtine 18. storočia. Výrazné urýchľovače procesu vytvorenia nových diecéz boli najmä dva. Zrušenie Spoločnosti Ježišovej na základe breve pápeža Klementa XIV. zo dňa 21. júla 1773, ku ktorému v habsburskej monarchii došlo v októbri toho istého roka (Krapka – Mikula 1990, 276, 282) a zároveň absolutistické chápanie moci panovníka, zahŕňajúcej i oblasť cirkevnej politiky. Zásahy štátnej moci do cirkevných záležitostí so snahou o ich reformovanie v duchu jozefinizmu[2] sú tak typickou črtou tohto obdobia.

Odrazom uvedeného je aj nami spracovaná otázka fungovania Banskobystrickej kapituly ako hodnoverného miesta v rokoch 1780 – 1790.

Zároveň s Banskobystrickou diecézou bolo spomínanou bulou zriadené taktiež prepošstvo, ktorého súčasťou bola sídelná kapitula – zbor kanonikov pri katedrálnom kostole. Kapitula sa skladala zo šiestich členov: veľprepošta, lektora, kantora, kustóda a dvoch kanonikov bez hodnosti (Koniarová 2002, 41-42). Možno konštatovať, že išlo o štandardnú štruktúru kapituly

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[1]   Úryvok z pápežskej buly Regaliumprincipum §3 *„My, po zvážení všetkých záležitostí v pravom čase, po vypočutí rady [...] chceme vyhovieť Márii Terézii [...]. Z vlastnej pohnútky (motu proprio) a zo zisteného poznania uvedené mesto Banskú Bystricu apoštolskou mocou úplne a naveky odčleňujeme od Ostrihomskej arcidiecézy, a samotné mesto Banskú Bystricu uvedenou apoštolskou mocou podľa kánonických predpisov natrvalo povyšujeme titulom a poctou biskupského mesta. Náš milovaný syn, viedenský nuncius Apoštolskej stolice, má určiť, ktorý kostol v tomto meste, v Banskej Bystrici [...] sa stane katedrálnym kostolom [...]. A v tomto kostole má byť zriadené jedno prepošstvo, kde bude okrem veľprepošta aj jeden lektor, to bude druhá hodnosť, bude tam jeden kantor, to bude tretia hodnosť a bude tam jeden strážca, čiže budú tam štyria hodnostári. Taktiež rôzne kanonikáty a prebedy pre všetkých klerikov, či budúcich kňazov, aj pre lektora, kantora, kustóda a pre jedného i druhého kanonika, a tak ako sa ukazuje, treba zvoliť kapitulu spomínaného kostola, ktorý bude povýšený na katedrálny. Kapitula spomínaného kostola sa má skladať zo šiestich členov [...]"* (Koniarová 2002, 41-42).

[2]   K otázke jozefinizmu pozri bližšie: Winter 1948.

z konca 18. storočia.[3] Kanonikov menovala sama panovníčka.[4] Pôvodne bolo menovanie kanonikov v Uhorsku v kompetencii biskupov, no na základe breve, v ktorom Pápež Klement XIII. udelil Márii Terézii a jej potomkom titul *„Rex Apostolicus"* si uvedené právo v kombinácii s patronátnym právom uhorských kráľov a myšlienkami jozefinizmu prisvojila panovníčka (Tomko 1995, 33-34). Právo mala panovníčka v konečnom dôsledku potvrdené i pápežom v spomínanej bule Regalium principum.[5]

Na zabezpečenie ľudských a ekonomických zdrojov novovzniknutej Kapituly boli využité v oboch sférach kapacity, ktoré sa uvoľnili po zrušení Spoločnosti Ježišovej.

Do konca roka boli kanonikáty obsadené najmä bývalými jezuitmi a základným hospodárskym zázemím biskupstva a kapituly sa zase stali niekdajšie jezuitské majetky.

Banskobystrická kapitula nemala spočiatku vlastné štatúty, a tak sa riadila štatútmi používanými kapitulou v Bratislave[6] (tento stav trval do toku 1785). Inštaláciou nových kanonikov bol poverený kanonik Bratislavskej kapituly, Martin Gőrgei, ktorý ich v novovymenovanej Katedrále sv. Františka Xaverského v Banskej Bystrici uviedol do úradu 27. októbra 1776 (Schematismus 1876, 48; Juhaniak 2016, 32). Prvé konzistórium sa konalo 19. decembra 1776 (Schematismus 1876, 11; Koniarová 2002, 56).

Prvým veľprepoštom Banskobystrickej kapituly bol panovníčkou menovaný bývalý viedenský univerzitný profesor a rakúsky provinciál zrušenej Spoločnosti Ježišovej v Rakúsku, Mikuláš Muszka (62 r.). Hodnosť veľprepošta zastával do svojej smrti 11. septembra 1783 (Schematismus 1876, 55-56).

Prvým lektorom Kapituly sa stal Martin Matejovicz (42 r.). Pred menovaním za kanonika pôsobil ako farár v Sobotišti a vicearchidiakon senického dištriktu. Po smrti Mikuláša Muszku bol menovaný za veľprepošta (DABB, f. KVBD, 1754 – 1830, CV19C II., 27).

Kantorom bol menovaný Jozef Juraczska (51 r.), pôvodne zvolenský farár a vicearchidiakon dolného zvolenského dištriktu (DABB, f. KVBD, 1754 – 1830, CV19C II., 27).

Kustódom sa stal Karol Pallits (42 r.), ktorý na rozdiel od ostatných kanonikov nepochádzal z územia severného Uhorska, ale z Banátu. Pred menovaním za kanonika bola jeho posledným pôsobiskom farnosť Slovenská Ľupča, pričom zároveň zastával post vicearchidiakona horného zvolenského dištriktu. Od roku 1794, po smrti spolukanonika Jozefa Juracsku, sa stal kantorom kapituly (DABB, f. KVBD, 1754 – 1830, CV19C II., 27).

Kanonici bez hodnosti – jednoduchí kanonici, boli dvaja. Prvý bol menovaný do pozície kanonika seniora Jozef Janovszky (46 r.) a druhý do pozície kanonika juniora Mathias Plathy (51 r.). Obaja boli bývalí jezuiti, svojho času prednášajúci na Trnavskej univerzite.

Jozef Janovzsky v kapitule zastával zároveň post dekana (DABB, f. KVBD, 1754 – 1830, CV19C II., 28).

Mathias Plathy z Paludze[7] sa pred svojím pôsobením v kapitule venoval najmä pedagogickej činnosti. Neskôr spravoval záležitosti spoločnosti Ježišovej v Budíne a bezprostredne po jej zrušení sa uplatnil pri kráľovskej kúrii, konkrétne u kráľovského prokurátora. Znalosti práva využil

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[3] Obdobnú štruktúru kapituly možno sledovať v Rožňave a neskôr i v Košiciach (Zubko 2003, 9).

[4] K otázke patronátneho práva pozri bližšie: Tomko 1995.

[5] Úryvok z pápežskej buly Regaliumprincipum §5 *Okrem toho takým istým spôsobom Márii Terézii, apoštolskej kráľovnej, aj jej kráľovským nástupcom v spomínanom kráľovstve apoštolskou mocou naveky udeľujeme a ponechávame právo udeľovať všetky cirkevné benefíciá, kanonikáty a prebendy v kapitule spomínaného, nami povýšeného banskobystrického katedrálneho kostola..."*(Koniarová, 2002, 46).

[6] Táto skutočnosť vysvetľuje dôvod, prečo sa v banskobystrickom diecéznom archíve nachádzajú štatúty Bratislavskej kapituly. Tieto štatúty sú síce bez datovania, no z ich obsahu vyplýva, že ide o štatúty novoveké (DABB, f. K-BB, k. P115).

[7] Dnes zaniknutá obec Palúdzka je súčasťou Liptovského Mikuláša.

aj v Banskej Bystrici, keď kapitulu zastupoval v právnych sporoch. Po smrti prvého veľprepošta sa stal lektorom kapituly. Popri kanonikáte bol zároveň riaditeľom banskobystrického biskupského gymnázia (pokračovateľa jezuitského kolégia) a turčianskym archidiakonom (DABB, f. KVBD, 1754 – 1830, CV19C II., 27).

V roku 1784 počet kanonikov po smrti veľprepošta doplnil opäť bývalý jezuita Anton Okolicsány, ktorý pôsobil do menovania za kanonika ako farár v Detve (DABB, f. KVBD, 1754 – 1830, CV19C II.).

Sídlom kapituly sa stalo bývalé jezuitské kolégium. Veľprepošt obýval dom na hlavnom námestí vedľa Katedrály sv. Františka Xaverského v tzv. Oberhause a ostatní kanonici obývali samostatné byty v budove bývalého jezuitského kolégia (Schematismus 1876, 48).

Hospodárske zázemie kapituly sa nachádzalo najmä v Hontianskej stolici v okolí Bátoviec-Pečenice a Dolné Jabloňovce, v Hokovciach, v Hontianskych Trsťanoch, ďalej išlo o usadlosť Korbasz, situovanú medzi obcami Hokovce a Opátove Moravce[8] a usadlosť Hereczeg, ležiacu medzi Domadicami a Bormi. Okrem spomenutého mala kapitula v správe i majetky v Liptovskej Sielnici, príjmy opátstva vo Svätej Mare v Liptove a neskôr bola kapitule pridelená obec Zvolenská Sielnica. V rámci týchto majetkov kapitula disponovala poľami, lúkami, lesmi, vinicami, rožným statkom, ovčími stádami. V menovaných majetkoch sa nachádzali mlyny, stodoly, bitúnky, pivovar, pálenice, kováčske dielne, pivnice. Na konci parcely svojej banskobystrickej rezidencie, siahajúcej od námestia po Hron, mala kapitula záhrady (DABB, f. KVBD, 1754 – 1830, CV19C II., 33-35).

Kapitula sa tak ako jej predchodcovia, jezuiti, zaoberala aj predajom vína na banskobystrickom námestí, pričom sa odvolávala na staré právo predaja vína, či piva viazaného k cirkulárnych domom (Jurkovič 2005, 202).[9]

Dozor nad celým hospodárením kapituly mal kanonik, dekan, ktorému sa zodpovedali správcovia jednotlivých hospodárskych majetkov, dohliadajúci zároveň na plnenie povinnosti urbariálnych poddaných.

Kapitule prináležal ďalej desiatok z bojnického panstva, ktorý bol však prenajatý Jánovi Pálffymu za 1632 zlatých. Kapitula spravovala mnohé fundácie a od roku 1780 mala aj príjmy z činnosti hodnoverného miesta (DABB, f. KVBD, 1754 – 1830, CV19C II., 36).

Súčasťou personálneho zázemia kapituly boli okrem už spomenutých urbariálnych poddaných a správcov majetkov svetské osoby ako sluhovia, či zvonár. V katedrálnom kostole, ktorý patril pôvodne jezuitom, pôsobili okrem kanonikov ešte ďalší štyria kňazi (DABB, f. KVBD, 1754 – 1830, CV19C I., 26-27).[10]

Po oficiálnom zrušení Spoločnosti Ježišovej sa tak v Banskej Bystrici naďalej v pretransformovanej forme stretávame s jej bývalými členmi i majetkom.

Vyššie spomenuté potvrdzujú i zápisy z banskobystrickej katolíckej matriky zosnulých, v ktorej možno sledovať, že okrem spomenutých kanonikov sa v Banskej Bystrici stretávame ešte s niekoľkými členmi zrušenej Spoločnosti Ježišovej, ktorí tu dožili. Ako príklad možno spomenúť bývalého rektora jezuitského kolégia, neskoršieho administrátora banskobystrickej farnosti Michaela Scheftsika, ďalej profesora gymnázia Ignáca Gyürtsaka, či neskoršieho banskobystrického farára Ignáca Raucha (ŠA BB f. ZM, MD 1780 – 1841, RC – FBB).

Z uvedeného je teda evidentné, že bývalí jezuiti sa v novovytvorenom biskupstve hojne uplatnili. Takéto riešenie nebolo špecifické len pre Banskú Bystricu, viacerí poprední jezuiti dostali

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8   V súčasnosti je to súčasť obce Hontianske Moravce.
9   O oprávnenosť predaja vína sa mesto súdilo i s jezuitmi a po vzniku biskupstva aj s kapitulou (Jurkovič 2005, 202).
10 DABB, fond Kánonické vizitácie Banskobystrickej diecézy 1754 – 1830, CV19C I. 26-27.

po zrušení rehole významné cirkevné pozície a rádoví členovia svoje farnosti (Krapka – Mikula 1990, 307).

Sťahovanie archívu hodnoverného mieste, začiatok činnosti hodnoverného miesta v Banskej Bystrici

Banskobystrická kapitula prebrala okrem svojich cirkevných povinností, ktoré nie sú predmetom tejto štúdie, aj povinnosti svetského charakteru. Od roku 1780 začala vykonávať činnosť hodnoverného miesta ako priameho nástupcu hodnoverného miesta Turčianskeho konventu Panny Márie v Kláštore pod Znievom.

Administratívnym podkladom zmeny bolo rozhodnutie Miestodržiteľskej rady, odsúhlasené Máriou Teréziou, o presťahovaní archívu hodnoverného miesta z Kláštora pod Znievom do Banskej Bystrice, ktoré bolo vydané 10. júla 1780. O tomto kroku boli písomne upovedomené všetky dotknuté strany. Podľa odpisu dokumentu v protokole hodnoverného miesta (DABB, f. K-BB, k. P113)[11] vieme o priebehu realizovaného aktu nasledovné:

V bode a) bol určený termín presťahovania archívu hodnoverného miesta, ktorý bol podľa zistení Miestodržiteľskej rady „*desolato in statu*". Sťahovanie malo prebehnúť po 1. auguste toho istého roku.

V bode b) Miestodržiteľská rada nariadila, že až do konania zasadania snemu majú byť dokumenty naďalej vydávané pod pečaťou Turčianskeho konventu Panny Márie. (Tento stav sa nakoniec nezmenil pri najbližšom zasadaní snemu, ktorý bol zvolaný Leopoldom II. v roku 1790, ale až v roku 1802, keď bola Františkom II. po schválení snemu, teda po prebehnutí legislatívneho procesu, udelená Banskobystrickej kapitule konečne vlastná pečať).[12]

V bode c) sa nariaďovalo, aby bol presťahovaný archív uložený na mieste bezpečnom, suchom a spoľahlivo chránenom v prípade požiaru.

V bode d) bolo presne popísané, ako sa má preberanie archívu zrealizovať. Za Banskobystrickú kapitulu mali byť v dohodnutom čase a na určenom mieste, kde bol uchovávaný archív vyslaní veľprepošt a lektor, ktorí ešte predtým zložili prísahu konventu. Na mieste, za účasti súčasných príslušníkov konventu, turčianskych stoličných úradníkov a notára turčianskeho konventu prebrali od znievskeho farára, zároveň správcu hodnoverného miesta, podľa predloženého súhrnu všetky prezreté spisy. Následne mali byť všetky spisy v sprievode turčianskych stoličných úradníkov opatrené pečaťou a rýchlo prevezené do Banskej Bystrice. V Banskej Bystrici za prítomnosti celej kapituly, stoličných úradníkov turčianskych, ako aj zvolenských mali byť spisy odpečatené, znovu prezreté a uložené na určené miesto. Od 1. augusta tak kapitula mohla začať podľa zaslaného rozhodnutia vystavovať dokumenty.

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[11] Ide o prvý protokol vedený Banskobystrickou kapitulou a rozhodnutie Miestodržiteľskej rady je prvým zaprotokolovaným dokumentom. Protocollum Loci Credibilis 1780 – 1795 je uložený v Diecéznom archíve v Banskej Bystrici, vo fonde Kapitula – Banská Bystrica v kartóne označenom ako P113.

[12] Na sneme v roku 1802, zákonom č. 15 bolo rozhodnuté poveriť Banskobystrickú kapitulu samostatným vedením hodnoverného miesta s vlastnou pečaťou, ktorú jej mal podľa §1 určiť panovník. Za právoplatné boli dodatočne uznané všetky verejné listiny, ktoré kapitula vydala v mene Turčianskeho konventu od roku 1780 (Mišík 1963, 80). Podoba pečate je nasledovná: V hlavnom poli je vyobrazená Panna Mária sediaca na tróne s korunou na hlave a s Jezuliatkom stojacim na jej ľavom stehne. Po stranách stredového poľa pečate sa nachádzajú taktiež ako na pečati turčianskeho konventu na ľavej strane písmená I.H.V. (IN HONOREM VIRGINIS), pod ktorými je hviezda a na pravej strane písmená MR.DNI (MATRIS DOMINI), pod ktorými je rastúca luna. Na okraji pečatného poľa sa nachádza majuskulná legenda SIGILLUM CAPITULI NEOSOLIENSIS ANNO 1802 (Juhaniak 2016, 38, XVI).

Zároveň s predchádzajúcimi bodmi bolo hodnovernému miestu ako hospodárske zázemie udelená obec Zvolenská Sielnica, ktorá predtým patrila turčianskemu prepošstvu – prepozitúre, neskôr bola súčasťou fondu na financovanie univerzity v Budíne a pred 10. júlom 1780 bola súčasťou všeobecného študentského fondu(*ad generalem fundi studiorum pretinentem*).

Rozhodnutie Miestodržiteľskej rady bolo plne akceptované. Svedčia o tom nasledujúce odpisy v protokole. Dňa 28. júla 1780, zložili konventuálnu prísahu predzniévskym farárom Ignácom Czeppánom a zároveň predstaveným konventu, ostatnými členmi konventu a zástupcami Turčianskej stolice vyslaní zástupcovia Banskobystrickej kapituly, veľprepošt Mikuláš Muszka a lektor Martin Matejovicz.

Uskutočneným aktom predstaviteľa Banskobystrickej kapituly prevzali na seba záväzok správy a starosti o pečať hodnoverného miesta, protokoly a listiny a prisahali vernosť nadriadeným cirkevným hodnostárom.

Podľa dokumentu, ktorý vznikol 3. augusta 1780, došlo následne k odovzdaniu pečate a archívu za prítomnosti už vyššie spomenutých svedkov. Bol vypracovaný zoznam archívnych protokolov a očíslovaných nezaprotokolovaných zväzkov. Celý tento zoznam sa stal súčasťou odovzdania archívu.

Dňa 9. augusta bol archív hodnoverného miesta už definitívne v Banskej Bystrici. Na mieste zložili konventuálnu prísahu všetci ostatní banskobystrickí kanonici a ďalší zúčastnení úradníci. Dňa 10. augusta zložil prísahu aj novovymenovaný notár hodnoverného miesta Karol Matyus.

Posledným aktom sa prenos archívu zavŕšil a Banskobystrická kapitula pod hlavičkou Turčianskeho konventu Panny Márie a s pečaťou tohto konventu začala činnosť hodnoverného miesta (DABB, f. K-BB, k. P113).

Presídlenie konventu sa nestretlo so spokojnosťou najmä v zainteresovaných stoliciach, pričom konkrétne dôvody nepoznáme. V roku 1782 podali urgenciu so žiadosťou, aby snem rozhodol o návrate konventu do Kláštora pod Znievom. Snem sa ale do roku 1790 nezišiel, urgencia stratila za tento čas na aktuálnosti a do zániku hodnoverných miest v roku 1874 už zostalo pri *status quo* (Mišík 1963, 80).

Vnútorná organizácia Banskobystrickej kapituly ako hodnoverného miesta v rokoch 1780 – 1790

O vnútornej organizácii a živote kapituly ako hodnoverného miestasa dozvedáme najmä vďaka kanonickým vizitáciám. V nami sledovanom období bola vykonaná vizitácia kapituly v roku 1785, prvým banskobystrickým biskupom grófom Františkom Berchtoldom. Čo sa týka činnosti hodnoverného miesta – konventu, najviac sa dozvedáme v kapitole 8.vizitačného protokolu *De Actibus et Obligationibus Fide Dignitatis Legalis* a v štatútoch kapituly, zaznamenaných v totožnom vizitačnom protokole (DABB, f. KVBD, 1754 – 1830, CV19C I.).

Na činnosti hodnoverného miesta sa z kanonického zboru podieľali najmä veľprepošt, lektor a kustód. No nie je výnimkou, že na listinách sú okrem lektora a kustóda ako zástupcovia kapituly uvádzaní všetci členovia konventu alebo len lektor a kanonik bez hodnosti (DABB, f. K-BB, k. P120). Nevyhnutnou súčasťou vierohodného miesta bol aj notár.

Veľprepošt kapituly dohliadal na činnosť celej kapituly a ako predstavený Konventu Panny Márie v Turci bolo v jeho kompetencii povolávať kanonikov konventu k vydávaniu dosvedčujúcich listín, štatutácií, testamentov, prokuračných listín, splnomocňujúcich listín a všetkých ostatných dokumentov týkajúcich sa verejných právnych záležitostí (DABB, f. KVBD, 1754 – 1830, CV19C I., 65).

Zuzana Mičková – Peter Mičko

Povinnosťou lektora – kanonika v organizácii hodnoverného miesta – konventu bolo všetky návrhy vydávaných listín koncipovať a predčítať kapitule. Písomnosti musel následne doslovne zaznamenať do protokolu – knihy zaprotokolovaných dokumentov, či už išlo o panovnícke mandáty, úradné nariadenia Miestodržiteľskej rady, Kráľovskej komory, rozhodnutia diecézneho biskupa, či všetky reskripty priamo smerované na kapitulu. Zostavoval taktiež odpovede kapituly v rámci úradnej korešpondencie. Jeho úlohou bolo zachovávať poriadok v archíve kapituly, pričom v tomto prípade išlo o archív kapituly – „*archivum Capituli*", nie archív hodnoverného miesta. Nakoniec všetky dokumenty, už prečítané notárom musel opätovne, predložiť, prečítať a následne podpísať (DABB, f. KVBD, 1754 – 1830, CV19C I., 66).

Kustód – so zreteľom na činnosť hodnoverného miesta, mal povinnosť vydané a lektorom podpísané dokumenty, opatriť pečaťou. Pri pečatení mal byť prítomný lektor, členovia konventu, minimálne však notár. Uchovával taktiež kľúče od archívu hodnoverného miesta – „*archivum publicum*", ktoré nesmel zveriť nikomu okrem členov konventu, i to len s vedomím prepošta a v prípade jeho neprítomnosti. Pod jeho dozorom bola aj autentická pečať hodnoverného miesta, ktorá bola zároveň s dokumentmi zamknutá v archíve. Úlohou kustóda bolo taktiež odpečaťovať za prítomnosti členov konventu vyšetrovacie mandáty „*mandata requisitoria*". Vyberal poplatky za vystavenie dokumentov hodnoverného miesta a na konci roka nazhromaždenú sumu rozdelil medzi ordinárov kapituly, podľa zaužívaného pravidla (DABB, f. KVBD, 1754 – 1830, CV19C II., 30). Dôsledne sa mal starať o protokoly, ktoré u seba nemohol uchovávať, ale ihneď po vydaní hľadaných listín, ich musel vrátiť do archívu. Kľúče od sakristie, kde sa konali konzistóriá kapituly, nemohol za žiadnych okolností zveriť svetskému človeku, ale v prípade choroby alebo z iného závažného dôvodu ich mal zveriť niekomu z grémia s vedomím prepošta, a v jeho neprítomnosti lektora. V neposlednom rade boli v jeho kompetencii osoby, ktoré kráľovská kúria postúpila na kapitulu, z dôvodu vykonania právneho aktu prísahy. Prísaha bola zložená po hlavnej omši prisahajúcimi osobami, ktoré ju obrátené smerom k oltáru a nad knihou Svätého písma, za prítomnosti niekoľkých kanonikov predniesli zreteľným hlasom (DABB, f. KVBD, 1754 – 1830, CV19C I., 67).

Svetský element hodnoverného miesta – notár bol na začiatku svojho pôsobenia povinný zložiť presne formulovanú prísahu,[13] ktorou sa zaviazal vydávať pravé a zákonné dokumenty v súlade so zákonmi krajiny. Okrem základnej povinnosti dodržiavania prísahy bolo jeho ďalšou povinnosťou uchovávať protokoly konventu, v ktorých nemal právo pridať, odstrániť alebo opraviť ani „jotu" alebo „dĺžku". Riadiť sa mal nariadeniami konventu a bez vedomia veľprepošta sa nesmel z blízkosti kapituly vzdialiť na viac ako deň. Ku klientom – *causantibus* sa mal správať ľudsky. Nemal zdržovať vybavovanie odkladmi. Nesmel žiadať vyššiu sumu, ako boli predpísané poplatky. Pevný plat notára konventu v tomto čase predstavoval 100 zlatých, k čomu malnárok na ďalšie vyúčtovanie z vydaných listín (DABB, f. KVBD, 1754 – 1830, CV19C I., 38-39).

Prvým notárom konventu bol už spomínaný Karol Matyus. V roku 1785 bol zvolený nový notár pre hodnoverné miesto, Joannes Schurman (DABB, f. K-BB, k. P113, 216), vo vizitáciách opísaný ako znalý krajinského práva a pevnej viery „*Iuris patrii gnarus et integrae fidei*". Post notára konventu zastával až do svojej rezignácie v roku 1794, keď sa jeho nástupcom stal Jozef Thuolth, ktorý podľa zápisu v protokole vypomáhal konventu ako notár už pre rokom 1794 (DABB, f. K-BB, k. P113, 704).

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[13] Prísaha notára znela nasledovne: „*Ego N.N. electus Notarius Conventus B. M.V de Thurócz juro per Deum Sanctum. Sanctam et individuam Trinitatem Beatissimam Mariam semper Virginem, et omnes Sanctos, quod ego omnibus, et singulis, coram me causantis de Lege Regni veras et legitimas litteras emanabo, Protocolla conventus fideliter conservabo, superioribus meis fidelis ero, sic me Deus adjuvet, B. V. Maria et omnes Sancti*" (DABB, f. KVBD, 1754 – 1830, CV19C I., 38).

Vykonávanie aktu vierohodnosti od prijatia žiadosti po vydanie požadovaného dokumentu prípadne svedectva malo jasné pravidlá.

Žiadosť na vydanie akéhokoľvek dokumentu konventom musela byť najprv prečítaná za prítomnosti členov konventu. Požadovaný dokument lektor následne spísal a spolu s kustódom zaniesol notárovi konventu. Notár upravil dokument formálne a štylisticky. Takto pripravený dokument bol prinesený opäť lektorovi, ktorý ho starostlivo skontroloval, eventuálne pri odpise porovnal s originálnym dokumentom. V prípade potrebnej opravy sa za žiadnych okolností nemohlo zasahovať do samotného textu. Na konci dokumentu (predtým, ako bol opatrený pečaťou) vlastnou rukou pridal lektor formulku, v ktorej bola uvedená osoba upravujúca základné znenie dokumentu a navrhujúca správnu formuláciu konkrétneho riadku. Pripravený dokument lektor podpísal s vyjadrením „prečítané a vydané lektorom konventu N. N.“. Pečatenie dokumentu vykonával kustód za prítomnosti notára. Všetky verejnoprávne dokumenty boli uchovávané v archíve na suchom mieste pod dozorom kustóda.

Vyhlasujúce či dosvedčujúce listiny boli vystavené aj za prítomnosti tých, ktorí ich predkladali, a pred podpisom boliešte prečítané lektorom (DABB, f. KVBD, 1754 – 1830,CV19C II., 46).

Poplatky za jednotlivé typy dokumentov sa vyberali podľa kráľovského mandátu z 13. augusta 1770. Pokiaľ sa však spory a právne záležitosti týkali chudobných alebo biednych osôb, o ktorých to bolo buď verejne známe, alebo dokázané dosvedčujúcimi listinami, vtedy mali byť písomnosti vyhotovené zadarmo, bez zbytočných prieťahov (DABB, f. KVBD, 1754 – 1830, CV19C II., 47).

Agenda hodnoverného miesta v rokoch 1780 – 1790

Od roku 1780, konkrétne od dátumu, keď Miestodržiteľská rada nariadila presťahovanie archívu hodnoverného miesta do Banskej Bystrice, bola agenda hodnoverného miesta zaprotokolovaná v protokole Konventu Panny Márie z Turca Banskobystrickou kapitulou. Tento protokol sa v súčasnosti nachádza v Diecéznom archíve banskobystrického biskupstva (DABB, f. K-BB, k. P113). Vďaka jeho existencii si tak možno spraviť presnú predstavu o množstve a typológii jednotlivých právnych aktov,[14] vykonaných hodnoverným miestom v sledovanom období.

V priebehu prvého desaťročia fungovania hodnoverného miesta v Banskej Bystrici jeho agenda obsahovala najviac svedectiev o právnych úkonoch, ktoré sa týkali zastupovania strany v právnom konaní, teda prokuračných listín (*litterae procuratoriae*), pričom za celé nami sledované obdobie sme právnych aktov tohto druhu identifikovali 72. Druhým najpočetnejším typom dokumentov boli plnomocenstvá (*l. plenipotentiales*) v počte 41.

Z dosvedčovacích listín, ktoré vydala Banskobystrická kapitula bola typovo najviac zastúpená protestačná listina (*l. protestationes seu conradictoriae*), keď za 10 rokov bolo v protokole zapísaných 41 takýchto dokumentov. Odvolacích listín (*l. revocatoriae*) bolo zapísaných 8. V počte 23 boli zastúpené vyhlásenia – fasie, medzi ktoré zaraďujeme svedectvá s trvalou platnosťou (*fassiones perennales*), zmluvné vyhlásenia (*fassiones contractuales*) a odstupovacie listiny (*l. cessionales*). Zálohové, či dlžobné úpisy (*l. pignoratoriae*) boli vystavené len 2 a svedectiev (*l. testimoniales*) 5. Čo sa týka vyhotovovania jednoduchých odpisov listín – transsumptov, v protokole ich bolo nájdených 5.

Posledná hojne zastúpená skupina záznamov v protokole súvisela s dohľadávaním dokumentov v archíve hodnoverného miesta. Išlo o všeobecné vyšetrovacie listiny (*requisitoria generalia*), ktoré boli zasielané panovníkom, krajinským sudcom, sedmipanskou tabuľou z dôvodu dohľadania v archíve hodnoverného miesta, buď konkrétneho dokumentu, prípadne všetkých dokladov

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[14] Bližšie k typológii právnych aktov pozri: Láclavíková – Švecová 2007.

týkajúcich sa určitej kauzy, ktoré mohli byť použité vo vyšetrovanom prípade. Takýchto záznamov bolo 31.

Okrem spomenutých kategórií boli zaprotokolované napríklad aj cisárske nariadenia, úradné odpovede konventu na cisárske nariadenia a niekoľko nezaradených dokumentov.

Najviac zaprotokolovaných dokladov bolo v roku 1782 a to 36; najmenej v roku 1789, 11 (v tomto prípade vynechávame rok 1780, keďže hodnoverné miesto bolo presťahované do Banskej Bystrice a tu pôsobilo len od 1. augusta).

Listiny zapísané v protokole boli dominantne v latinskom jazyku. Maďarčina a slovenčina sa vyskytujú sporadicky a nemčina okrem odpisov starších dokumentov vôbec (DABB, f. K-BB, k. P113), čo je zaujímavé vzhľadom na presadzovanie nemčiny ako administratívneho jazyka Jozefom II., konkrétne intimátom Miestodržiteľskej rady vydaným 4. júna 1784 (Markov 1973, 117). I všeobecné vyšetrovacie listiny (*requisitoria generalia*), zasielané kapitule pod pečaťou panovníka, prípadne krajinského sudcu, boli aj po roku 1784 písané v latinskom jazyku.[15]

Vydávanie všetkých dokumentov sa riadilo krajinským právom, a teda mali platnosť v celej krajine. Výnimkou boli plnomocenstvá, keď právomoc kapituly bola obmedzená len na susedné stolice (DABB, f. KVBD, 1754 – 1830,CV19C II., 45).

Archív hodnoverného miesta v rokoch 1780 – 1790

Otom, že bol archív na dobre chránenom mieste, svedčí fakt, že sa zachoval neporušený napriek niekoľkým ničivým požiarom v meste. Napríklad v máji 1783 vypukol v Banskej Bystrici požiar, ktorý mal okrem mnohých ľudských obetí aj devastačné materiálne následky. Zničil priestor s príbytkami kapituly, rozšíril sa na novopostavenú biskupskú rezidenciu, kde zároveň zhoreli diecézne protokoly. Zasiahol všetky mestské kostoly a 340 domov (Schematismus 1876, 50; Lacko 2011, 141). Našťastie archív hodnoverného miesta zostal uchránený. V protokole hodnoverného miesta je za rok 1783 zapísaných o viac ako polovicu menej právnych aktov(konkrétne 14), ako v predchádzajúcom roku (36), ale aj nasledujúcom (34), no zmienka o požiari je spomenutá len v súvislosti s jedným dokumentom, ktorý je v protokole kvôli poškodeniu prepísaný vo fragmente. Tento dokument sa mal práve v čase požiaru nachádzať u notára (DABB, f. K-BB, k. P113, 120).

Reformným snahám Jozefa II. sa nevyhli ani hodnoverné miesta, resp. ich archívy. Na zistenie stavu archívov hodnoverných miest sa zameral cisár Jozef II. od roku 1786. Podľa cisárskeho mandátu číslo 2293 z 24. júna 1786 bolo Banskobystrickej kapitule prostredníctvom sedmipanskej tabule oznámené (totožná korešpondencia bola poslaná aj iným hodnoverným miestam), aby kapitula ako hodnoverné miesto, v prípade ak nemá dôsledne vypracované elenchi[16] k zaprotokolovaným dokumentom vydaným a uloženým v archíve hodnoverného miesta, dôsledne vypracovala takéto elenchi. Ďalej sa požadovalo zhotoviť presný popis rozsahu archívu, spôsob jeho uchovávania a popis vykurovania miestností, v ktorých sa nachádzal. Registrácia mala byť uskutočnená podľa zaužívanej normy. K tejto činnosti sa malo pristúpiť ihneď, a pokiaľ nebola dokončená, boli hodnoverné miesta povinné každých 15 dní posielať správu panovníkovi, ako práce pokračujú (DABB, f. K-BB, k. P120, nečíslované; DABB, f. K-BB, k. P113, 249-250).

Banskobystrická kapitula poslala prvú a zároveň najobsiahlejšiu správu ohľadom archívu 23. júla toho istého roku. V správe sa konštatovalo, že archív bol po prevzatí v roku 1780 vo veľmi

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[15] V Diecéznom archíve sa nachádzajú spomínané dokumenty nielen ako odpisy v protokole, ale dokumenty od roku 1785 i ako originály (DABB, f. K-BB, k. P120).

[16] Elench – ide o registratúrnu knihu, ktorej obsahom sú menné alebo vecné heslá, ktoré sú nápomocné pri orientácii v archivovaných dokumentoch, s ich presnou registráciou.

neusporiadanom stave. Všetky spisy boli vzájomne domiešané. Z tohto dôvodu museli byť spisy usporiadané do fasciklov a označené číslami. Niektoré už boli v danom čase registrované, ale niektoré iba v procese registrácie. Protokolov bolo podľa správy 30, z čoho 25 so svojimi elenchami, k zvyšným 5 protokolom boli elenchi práve v procese vyhotovovania.

Ďalšie informácie sa týkali pomerne podrobného opisu priestoru archívu hodnoverného miesta, kde sa uchovávali písomnosti a autentická pečať, pričom členovia kapituly ho vyhodnotili ako veľmi bezpečný (DABB, f. K-BB, k. P120, nečíslované; DABB, f. K-BB, k. P113, 250-252).[17]

Ďalší mandát z dôvodu doplnenia informácií bol z Budína poslaný 1. augusta 1886. Predmetom záujmu bola tentokrát informácia, ktorá súvisela so schránkami, skriňami, kde boli dokumenty uchovávané. Ďalej bolo pripomenuté, že elenchi, ktoré existujú, majú byť hodnoverne prepísané a tieto kópie majú byť ihneď poslané do Budína (DABB, f. K-BB, k. P120, nečíslované; DABB, f. K-BB, k. P113, 253-254).

Dňa 20. augusta sa v odpovedi dočítame, že žiadne skrine sa v archíve konventu nenachádzajú a dokumenty sú uložené a „koldokola" uzavreté v schránkach[18] (DABB, f. K-BB, k. P120, nečíslované ; DABB, f. K-BB, k. P113, 255-256).

Pôvodne mal byť proces registrácie ukončený do konca aktuálneho roku, teda roku 1886, no táto činnosť sa neustále predlžovala. Kapitula bola pravidelne vyzývaná, aby svoju činnosť urýchlila. Posledný dokument tohto charakteru v protokole kapituly nachádzame s datovaním 22. októbra 1789 a je odpoveďou na ďalšie cisárske nariadenie číslo 5601 zaslané toho istého roku 30. septembra. Kapitula v odpovedi uvádza, že výzva na urýchlené odovzdanie vypracovaných kópií elenchov je neopodstatnená, pretože túto povinnosť si kapitula už splnila (DABB, f. K-BB, k. P113; DABB, f. K-BB, k. P113, 306-307).

Všetky vyššie uvedené snahy o zistenie stavu jednotlivých archívov a množstva dokumentov v nich (okrem sprehľadnenia, ktoré tieto archívy nevyhnutne potrebovali) sledovali svoj hlavný cieľ – centralizáciu archívov hodnoverných miest. Na jeseň 1789 totiž Jozef II. vydal jeden zo svojich mnohých mandátov, podľa ktorého mali byť archívy hodnoverných miest sústredené do centrálneho depozitára v Budíne(Gregor 2017, 98; Javošová – Kuzmíková 2001, 266).

Plánovaný zámer sa však nakoniec neuskutočnil. Na jednej strane sa cisárske plány v danej sfére stretli s odmietnutím a proti reakciou dotknutých strán, na strane druhej jednoznačne najviac situáciu ovplyvnila celková politická klíma a začiatkom nasledujúceho roka smrť samotného cisára (Schematismus 1876, 48).[19]

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[17] Priestor, kde boli archívne spisy uchovávané bol opísaný ako kamenný a klenbový, rozlohou štvorcový. Viedla do neho brána, ktorá od smeru vchodu bola železná. Nachádzalo sa tu taktiež okno opatrené železnými okenicami. Spolu so spismi bola v tomto priestore uchovávaná aj pečať. Na daný priestor nadväzovala ďalšia prázdna miestnosť, za ktorou bola pracovňa. V pracovni boli spisy registrované do protokolov, ktoré tu boli uchovávané. Datované 23.júla 1786 (DABB, f. K-BB, k. P120, nečíslované).

[18] Počet takýchto puzdier – schránok (v pôvodnom latinskom texte *forulus, i, m.*) bol 135, z ktorých bolo spismi naplnených 15. Ostatné boli prázdne. Rozmer jednej schránky bol 2 stopy a celá zostava schránok mala spolu 2 siahy.

[19] „*Etiam archivum hoc conventuale 1789 Budam transferri iussum est. (prot. Dioec. 1790 p. 24); verum mandatum hoc capitulo moram ex mora nectente, effectui non est datum: sequunta non multo post et retractatione et morte mandantis*" (Schematismus 1876, 48).

Záver

Počas vzniku Banskobystrickej diecézy v roku 1776 bola pri biskupstve ustanovená kapitula so šiestimi kanonikmi, ktorá v roku 1780 začala po prenesení archívu Turčianskeho konventu vykonávať činnosť hodnoverného miesta.

Uvedené zmeny vyplynuli z dlhodobej potreby rozdelenia Ostrihomskej arcidiecézy na menšie správne cirkevné jednotky, pričom tento proces urýchlilo rozpustenie Spoločnosti Ježišovej v roku 1773, čím sa uvoľnili ako personálne, tak aj finančné a hospodárske zdroje, viazané na cirkev. Vzniknutú situáciu Mária Terézia využila v prospech dismembrácie Ostrihomskej arcidiecézy, ktorú na jej návrh odobril aj pápež. Panovníčka uskutočnila tento akt z pozície svojej moci, odvolávajúc sa na patronátne právo uhorských panovníkov a uplatňujúc politiku cisárskeho dvora, ktorej typickou črtou bolo zasahovanie do cirkevných záležitostí v duchu jozefinizmu. V rámci pokračujúcej reorganizácie štátnych i cirkevných inštitúcií bol po vzniku Banskobystrickej diecézy do Banskej Bystrice presunutý i archív hodnoverného miesta Turčianskeho konventu. Týmto aktom prevzala Banskobystrická kapitula funkciu hodnoverného miesta, ktorú vykonávala v nami sledovanom časovom horizonte pod pečaťou Turčianskeho konventu. Z dokumentu, akým je protokol hodnoverného miesta z rokov 1780 – 1795, a z kanonických vizitácií z roku 1785, možno rekonštruovať fungovanie inštitúcie v prvom desaťročí svojho pôsobenia v Banskej Bystrici. Poznáme personálne obsadenie kapituly, činnosť a agendu hodnoverného miesta.

Reformy uskutočňované Jozefom II. neobišli ani hodnoverné miesta, ktoré boli v tomto čase už v záverečnom období svojho fungovania. Ak by nedošlo k smrti panovníka a k celkovej zmene politickej klímy v Európe v roku 1789, pravdepodobne by k zániku hodnoverných miest došlo skôr ako v roku 1874. O tejto skutočnosti svedčí smerovanie politiky Jozefa II. zjavné z nariadení, ktoré boli zamerané na registráciu dokumentov v archíve kapituly. Možno to hodnotiť ako prípravu na zistenie stavu a obsahu jednotlivých archívov hodnoverných miest, ktoré mali byť následne centralizované v Budíne. Ešte v roku 1789 hrozilo, že sa archív hodnoverného miesta bude sťahovať opäť, tentokrát do Budína. Mandát Jozefa II., ktorý to nariaďoval, však nenadobudol účinnosť. Dôvodom bolo jeho odvolanie a následne smrť panovníka. Banskobystrická kapitula tak naďalej vykonávala činnosť hodnoverného miesta až do zániku tejto inštitúcie zákonným článkom XXXV/1874 o kráľovských notároch, od roku 1802 už s vlastnou pečaťou.

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MARTIN HATTALA A JEHO VKLAD DO DISKUSIE O HISTORICKOM POMERE MEDZI HLAHOLIKOU A CYRILIKOU[1]

Martin Hattala and His Contribution to the Discussion on the Historical Relationship Between Glagolitic and Cyrillic

Ľubomír Kralčák

Abstract: KRALČÁK, Ľubomír. *Martin Hattala and His Contribution to the Discussion on the Historical Relationship Between Glagolitic and Cyrillic.* The reform of standard Slovak at the beginning of the second half of the 19th century is one of the cultural milestones in Slovak history, which is inextricably linked with the name Martin Hattala. However, this important linguist, in addition to the issue of literary language, also dealt with issues of Slavic studies and especially the historical origins of Glagolitic and Cyrillic. The aim of our paper is to point out Hattalaʼs scientific contribution to the discussion of the historical relationship between these ancient alphabetical systems. Moreover, our research is important in terms of following Hattalaʼs attitudes at the time of new discoveries of ancient texts, which led to the gradual formation of the view that the original Slavic script constructed by Constantine the Philosopher was Glagolitic. Hattala belonged to that part of the Slavic scientific community which recognized Cyrillic as the original Slavic script, and from this scientific position he also approached individual controversial issues and newly discovered textual monuments. He expressed his attitude on the current views of well-known Russian linguists in an article focused on the analysis of the text of the monk Chrabr about letters existing in five historical transcripts. These researchers found incorrect alphabetic and numerical data in two of these transcripts testifying to the Glagolitic basis of these textual monuments. M. Hattala expressed a negative attitude to that evidence, which he justified on the one hand by the incompetence and thus the unreliability of the scriptors transcribing these monuments, and on the other by the inconsistency of current researchers in examining the disputed parts of the text. Although M. Hattala in his polemics did not give up the traditional opinion on the origin of the Slavic script, with some of his research findings he contributed to a more thorough scientific discourse on one of the basic questions of Slavic studies.

Keywords: *Glagolitic, Cyrillic, alphabet, manuscript, alphabetical systems*

V tomto roku si pripomíname 200. výročie narodenia Martina Hattalu, ktorý sa do našich kultúrnych dejín zapísal ako jeden z najvýznamnejších slovenských jazykovedcov. Náš článok je teda súčasne príspevkom k tomuto jeho významnému jubileu.[2]

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[2] Martin Hattala sa narodil 4. novembra 1821 v Trstenej. Gymnaziálne štúdiá absolvoval na Dolnej zemi. Roku 1841 bol prijatý do prípravného učiteľského seminára v Bratislave, v rokoch 1842 – 1844 študoval filozofiu na arcibiskupskom lýceu v Trnave a následne sa dostal do Viedne na štúdium teológie do rímskokatolíckeho seminára známeho ako Pázmaneum. Po skončení teologických štúdií r. 1848 pôsobil ako

Za Hattalov najväčší prínos sa tradične považuje jeho priama účasť na reforme štúrovskej spisovnej slovenčiny a zároveň autorstvo gramatiky *Krátka mluvnica slovenská* (1852),[3] ktorá sa stala základným textom tejto reformy. Zásluhy M. Hattalu o slovenčinu sú však širšie, a to aj napriek tomu, že väčšiu časť života strávil v Čechách, kde pôsobil od r. 1854 na pražskej univerzite ako profesor slovanskej filológie. Okrem spomínanej reformnej gramatiky ovplyvnil predstavy a úvahy o spisovnej slovenčine a jej štruktúre aj ďalšími dielami. Po vystúpení M. M. Hodžu s novým návrhom na hláskoslovnú a ortografickú podobu spisovnej slovenčiny oproti štúrovčine v diele *Epigenes slovenicus* (1847) M. Hattala sa v recenzii na toto dielo v Orle tatránskom (1848) postavil v zásadných otázkach na Hodžovu stranu a napokon o dva roky neskôr vydal latinsky písanú gramatiku s vlastnou predstavou o reforme spisovného jazyka pod názvom *Grammatica linguae slovenicae collatae cum proxime cognata bohemica* (1850). Na základe svojich nových porovnávacích výskumov už ako mimoriadny profesor na pražskej univerzite vydal aj ďalšiu komparatívnu gramatiku *Srovnávací mluvnice jazyka českého a slovenského* (1857). O exaktný opis spisovnej slovenčiny sa zaslúžil aj v 60. rokoch gramatikami slovenského jazyka (*Mluvnica jazyka slovenského*, 1864, a *Mluvnica jazyka slovenského. Diel druhý. Skladba*, 1865). Tieto gramatiky mali rozhodujúci význam pre ustaľovanie spisovnej slovenčiny v druhej polovici 19. storočia.

Ďalšiu významnú časť jeho jazykovedného diela tvoria práce z oblasti slavistiky a historicko-porovnávacej jazykovedy. Osobitnou oblasťou Hattalovho vedeckého záujmu sa stali otázky paleoslavistiky či slavistickej komparatistiky, kam možno zaradiť aj jeho vedecké náhľady na pôvodnosť slovanského písma.

V tomto príspevku sa sústredíme na analýzu vedeckého vkladu M. Hattalu do riešenia otázky vzťahu medzi hlaholikou a cyrilikou z hľadiska ich historickej pôvodnosti. Do tejto diskusie sa zapojil dvoma časopiseckými príspevkami, ktoré vyšli r. 1858. Prvým bola stať polemizujúca o význame rozpravy mnícha Chrabra *O písmenách* z hľadiska nárastu počtu názorov preferujúcich historické prvenstvo hlaholiky oproti cyrilike. Druhým bol nemecky písaný text, v ktorom Hattala pomerne osobne vykladá svoj postoj k otázke pôvodu slovanského písma.

1. Diskusie o historickej pôvodnosti slovanskej alfabety v 2. tretine 19. storočia

Otázka historickej pôvodnosti dvoch grafických sústav viažucich sa na starosloviensky jazyk nejestvovala v počiatkoch formovania sa slavistiky ako vedecký problém, pretože za pôvodné Konštantínom zostavené slovanské písmo sa od začiatku všeobecne pokladala cyrilika. Toto sprvu nesporné poznanie, ktorého zástancom bol už sám zakladateľ slavistiky J. Dobrovský, sa začalo oslabovať koncom 18. storočia, no najmä po vystúpeniach niektorých bádateľov v druhej tretine 19. storočia, ktoré sa spájajú s pribúdajúcimi objavmi dovtedy neznámych hlaholských textov a najmä po ich exaktnejších výskumoch. Jedným z najvýznamnejších krokov, ktorý viedol k dôležitému

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kaplán v Hodruši a v Bzovíku. Zčas bol učiteľom gymnázia, pričom v snahe dosiahnuť výnimku od predpísaných skúšok učiteľskej spôsobilosti vypracoval odborný spis o hláskosloví českého a slovenského jazyka, ktorý muselo schváliť ministerstvo vo Viedni. Prácu predložil r. 1853 a posudzoval ju P. J. Šafárik, ktorý na jej základe odporúčal Hattalu na Katedru slovanskej filológie v Prahe. Tu následne absolvoval štúdium, aby sa mohol habilitovať v odbore slovanská filológia, čo sa mu úspešne podarilo r. 1854 a v tom istom roku bol v rovnakom odbore menovaný za mimoriadneho profesora. Roku 1861 bol M. Hattala vymenovaný za riadneho profesora na pražskej univerzite. Zomrel 11. decembra 1903 v Prahe (k tomu porov. Jóna, 1971, 13-28).

[3] Text je bez mena autora. Úvod podpísali M. M Hodža, J. M. Hurban, J. Palárik, Ondrej Radlinský, Ludevít Štúr a Štefan Závodník. Dnes sa všeobecne prijíma, že autorom textu gramatiky bol M. Hattala.

prelomu v tejto otázke, bolo vydanie hlaholskej pamiatky *Glagolita Clozianus* (tzv. *Clozov zborník*) B. Kopitarom (1836). Kopitar porovnával túto pamiatku s cyrilským *Ostromirovým evanjeliárom* a na tomto základe dospel k záveru, že *Glagolita Clozianus* je ak nie starším, tak aspoň rovnako starým textom ako *Ostromirov evanjeliár*, ktorý bol v tom čase dokázateľne najstarším cyrilským a vôbec staroslovienskym rukopisom s pôvodným označením roku svojho vzniku.[4] Treba však dodať, že hoci išlo vskutku o významný posun v chápaní pomeru oboch slovanských abecied, Kopitarove úsudky ešte neviedli k názoru, že hlaholika bola pôvodným slovanským písmom starším ako cyrilika. Obidve alfabety sa týmto vlastne iba stavali historicky na roveň, pričom sám Kopitar (1836, III) sa domnieval, že mali rozdielnu spoločenskú funkciu – cyrilika mohla byť sakrálnym a hlaholika civilným písmom.

Kopitarovo vydanie dovtedy neznámej hlaholskej pamiatky a na jej materiáli založené úvahy o podobe pôvodného slovanského písma sa stali novým, zásadným impulzom diskusií o starobylosti oboch alfabetických sústav. Ozvali sa súhlasné i odmietavé hlasy. Najvýraznejší súhlas s pôvodnosťou hlaholiky vyslovil vzápätí (1836) významný nemecký filológ J. Grimm, ktorý sa pri tom opieral o paleografické špecifiká hlaholiky dokazujúce, že táto abeceda bola zostavená v krátkom čase a je zjavné, že ju možno chápať ako dielo jednotlivca, a teda pripísať ju Konštantínovi (Vajs, 1932, 26). Oproti tomu názory odmietajúce Kopitarove a Grimmove tvrdenia sa zdvihli predovšetkým medzi ruskými slavistami, ako boli napr. P. I. Prejs (1843), I. I. Sreznevskij (1848), O. M. Boďanskij (1855). Medzi odporcov historického prvenstva hlaholiky vo vzťahu k cyrilike patril pôvodne aj P. J. Šafárik. Napríklad v stati *Rozkvět slovanské literatury v Bulharsku* (1848, 4) síce pripúšťal výraznejšiu starobylosť hlaholiky než kedysi Dobrovský, no za staršiu ako cyrilika ju bez presvedčivých písomných dokladov odmietal uznať. Ešte v spise *Památky hlaholského písemnictví* Šafárik (1853, XXXIX) vyjadruje presvedčenie, že cyrilské písomníctvo je pôvodné, a teda staršie ako hlaholské. Podľa neho Kopitarova domnienka o vzniku hlaholských písmen „ještě i teď na nejistotě zavěšena jest".

Zásadný posun v Šafárikových názoroch napokon spôsobil náhodný objav dvoch hlaholských pergamenových listov, dnes známych pod označením *Pražské zlomky*, ktorý sa podaril profesorovi histórie K. Höflerovi roku 1855. Túto pamiatku pod názvom *Glagolitische Fragmente* vydal spoločne s P. J. Šafárikom (Höfler – Šafárik, 1857), ktorý ju datoval do prvej polovice 10. storočia. Išlo o liturgickú pamiatku východného obradu z jazykového i paleografického hľadiska veľmi špecifickú a starobylú so zreteľnými západoslovanskými jazykovými prvkami. Bol to v porovnaní s ostatnými hlaholskými textami výnimočný doklad, ktorý zohral vo vývoji Šafárikovho ponímania veku hlaholiky a jej pomeru k cyrilike zásadný význam. Vo svojom komentári k publikovanej pamiatke naznačuje zmenu svojho postoja a vyzýva na vedeckú diskusiu o tejto otázke v záujme jej skorého riešenia. Podľa neho niet divu, že medzi slovanskými vedcami neexistuje jednota v názore na relatívny vek a vzájomný vzťah dvoch slovanských abecied. Dúfa však, že objav a zverejnenie týchto dôležitých fragmentov prinúti ostatných vedcov venovať svoju vynaliezavosť a usilovnosť tomuto zaujímavému problému, aby čo najskôr našli jeho konečné riešenie (Höfler – Šafařík 1857, 57).

Na objav *Pražských zlomkov* reagoval v krátkom čase a s výrazným zaujatím sa o starobylosť hlaholiky J. I. Hanuš (1857), ktorý priamo označil Šafárikov výklad starobylosti *Pražských zlomkov* za zásadný pre uznanie historickej pôvodnosti hlaholiky v pomere k cyrilike. Pritom argumentoval na jednej strane starobylosťou písma, ktoré Šafárik označil za špecifický typ hlaholiky, na druhej strane starobylosťou jazykových znakov, ktoré sú navyše západoslovanské, čo žiadna dovtedy

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[4]   *Ostromirov evanjeliár* je jednou z najvýznamnejších pamiatok ruskej redakcie staroslovienčiny. Bol napísaný cyrilikou v novgorodskom Sofijskom chráme v rokoch 1056 – 1057. V polovici 19. storočia bola táto pamiatka akýmsi meradlom starobylosti cyriliky v porovnaní s hlaholikou.

nájdená pamiatka v takom rozsahu a systémovom zastúpení neobsahovala. Hanuš k tomu pridáva ďalšie zväčša už predtým vyslovené argumenty, napr. že Konštantín zostavil originálnu abecedu, čomu nemôže zodpovedať cyrilika, ale iba hlaholika. Odkazuje tiež na staršie Šafárikove zistenia (*Památky hlaholského písemnictví*), že vo viacerých cyrilských rukopisoch sa nachádzajú hlaholikou zapísané jednotlivé slová či písmená, príp. zdobené iniciály, čo je dôkazom prepisovania cyrilských textov zo starších zaznamenaných hlaholikou, avšak naopak, na prepisovanie textov z cyriliky do hlaholiky sa nenašli žiadne dôkazy.

2. Hattalov vklad do diskusie o historickej pôvodnosti hlaholiky a cyriliky

Do takto rozvinutých diskusií a polemík o pôvodnosti slovanských abecedných sústav vstúpil aj M. Hattala, patriaci k tej časti slavistickej vedeckej obce, ktorá uznávala za prvotné slovanské písmo cyriliku a ku ktorej sa svojimi pôvodnými náhľadmi zaraďoval aj samotný Šafárik. V tejto súvislosti je pomerne zaujímavé, že hoci spomínané nové poznatky a s nimi spojené impulzy na prehodnotenie tradičného chápania hlaholiky prinieslo na začiatku druhej polovice 19. storočia predovšetkým Šafárikovo vydanie *Pražských zlomkov,* Hattala na toto vydanie, resp. na Šafárikove zistenia a analýzy nijako priamo nereagoval. Pravdupovediac, vedecky objektívna Šafárikova analýza podaná vo vydaní *Pražských zlomkov* ani nedávala reálnu možnosť, aby sa stala predmetom kritických posúdení. Treba však zdôrazniť, že Šafárik tu ešte neprišiel so zavrhnutím pôvodnej hypotézy o historickom prvenstve cyriliky vo vzťahu k hlaholike, ale iba vyzýval na ďalšiu vedeckú diskusiu.

2.1. Chrabrova rozprava *O písmenách*

Hattalovým strategickým vedeckým cieľom bolo hájiť tradičný názor o historickom prvenstve cyriliky v porovnaní s hlaholikou. K tomu si ako prostriedok zvolil polemiku s tými názormi preferujúcimi pôvodnosť hlaholiky, ktorých autori sa opierali o nejasné či sporné časti v niektorých historických variantoch Chrabrovej rozpravy *O písmenách*.[5] Vystúpenie M. Hattalu malo formu časopiseckého príspevku s názvom *Mnich Chrabr* (1858), v ktorom išlo o konkrétnu reakciu na práce ruských slavistov, najmä I. I. Sreznevského, O. M. Boďanského či českého mytológa J. I. Hanuša.

Hattala vo svojej stati rieši najprv otázku sumarizácie známych vydaní Chrabrovej rozpravy, ale aj mieru ich historickej vzácnosti. K štyrom vtedy známym publikovaným variantom textov (*Synodálny, Vratislavský, Moskovský a Savinský*)[6] doplňuje novšie objavený historický prepis, vydaný V. S. Karadžićom (1857), ktorý označil ako *Srbský*.

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[5] Paleoslavistická pamiatka, známa ako rozprava či rozprávanie mnícha (černorizca) Chrabra pod názvom *O písmenách*; patrí k historicky najčastejšie prepisovaným staroslovienskym pamiatkam, pričom dodnes sa zachovala vo viac ako 70 variantoch historických odpisov (porov. k tomu Kuev, 1967). Ide síce o kratšiu, no neobyčajne fundovanú rozpravu o zostavení prvého slovanského písma Konštantínom. Toto vzácne historické svedectvo sa však stalo aj prostriedkom na dohady, diskusie a polemiky o historickej prvotnosti hlaholiky či cyriliky, pretože z pamiatky priamo nevyplýva, ktorú abecedu Konštantín zostavil.

[6] Za najstarší z nich sa pokladal rukopis označovaný ako *Synodálny* podľa príslušnosti k Synodálnej bibliotéke v Moskve (prepísaný bol r. 1348), *Vratislavský* má označenie podľa miesta vtedajšieho uchovávania v Bibliotéke vratislavského Gymnázia sv. Magdalény), *Moskovský* (Hattalom označený ako *Akademický*), ktorý sa považuje aj dnes za obsahovo i jazykovo najvzácnejší, je súčasťou zbierok Moskovskej duchovnej akadémie (15. storočie), *Savinský* dostal názov podľa toho, že bol uchovávaný v Savinskom kláštore (jeho prepis vznikol tiež v 15. storočí).

Zároveň z jazykovo-historického hľadiska spomedzi týchto rukopisov M. Hattala (1858, 118 n.) poukázal na dva, *Moskovský* a *Srbský*, na ktoré sa najviac sústredili bádatelia považujúci ich za prepisy z hlaholskej predlohy. Toto ich označenie odkazovalo na výraznú starobylosť hlaholiky ako abecedy, a to buď nepriamo (Boďanský a Sreznevský pri posudzovaní *Moskovského prepisu*), alebo priamo aj s explicitným vyslovením sa o jej historickej pôvodnosti (Hanuš s odkazom na *Srbský prepis*). Podľa M. Hattalu však o historickej vzácnosti týchto rukopisov nemožno hovoriť: „Mně naproti tomu nepovedlo posud přesvědčiti se, žeby rukopisy právě spomenuté v skutku z originálu glag. pocházely, ačkoli sem všemožně o to stál." V porovnaní so zvyšnými tromi prepismi argumentuje najmä ich niektorými odlišnými slovnými tvarmi, znejasňujúcimi niekedy význam vety.

Ťažiskom argumentácie v rámci tejto polemiky sa však pre Hattalu (1858, 119 n.) stala otázka zachovanosti abecedárov, ktoré sú v jednotlivých prepisoch Chrabrových textov obsiahnuté v rozličnom rozsahu. Chrabr tu vypočítava slovanské písmená, ktoré zostavil Konštantín, pričom uvádza, že 24 z nich je podobných gréckym (пдобна гречискъмъ письмєнємъ) a 14 je podľa slovanskej reči (по словѣнъскꙋ ѧзъікоу). Hattala poukazuje na to, že najmenej písmen abecedy uvádza *Synodálny prepis*, širší súbor obsahujú *Savinský* a *Vratislavský, ktoré* sa v ich výpočte zhodujú. Od všetkých sa však líši *Moskovský*, ktorý obsahuje v tejto pasáži špecifické údaje. Týkajú sa jednak počtu písmen, jednak spôsobu zápisu pri vyratúvaní písmen zostavených podľa slovanskej reči.

Kritickým miestom, ktoré si tu osobitne všíma O. M. Boďanskij (1855, XXXII – XXXIII) a predovšetkým preň označuje tento prepis za „hlaholský", je uvedenie súhrnného počtu písmen podľa slovanskej reči, ktoré nasleduje hneď po súbore písmen podobných gréckym písmenám. Ide o uvedenie výpočtu litier touto formulkou: а̃. г̃. и̃. по словѣнъскꙋ ѧзъікоу. Prvé tri grafémy sú akoby pokračujúcimi písmenami predchádzajúceho výpočtu písmen podobných gréckym, no podľa Boďanského písmeno а̃ na začiatku nemá mať nad sebou titlu, pretože ide o spojku *a*. Zvyšné dve písmená sú číselným záznamom a ich označenie titlami je náležité. Tak, ako sú zapísané (г̃.и̃.), majú sa podľa použitých grafém čítať ako číslo 13. Čítanie tohto zápisu má teda znieť: „a trinásť podľa slovanskej reči".

Zásadný problém je však v tom, že v ostatných skúmaných prepisoch je jednoznačne uvedené, a to aj slovne, že podľa slovanskej reči ich je zostavených 14 (четъірєнадєсѧть). Na tomto mieste je teda v prepise chyba, ku ktorej podľa Boďanského došlo práve preto, že text bol prepisovaný z hlaholskej predlohy. Rozdielnosť historických slovanských abecied je nielen vo výrazne odlišnej forme, ale aj v rozdielnej číselnej platnosti ich litier. Je to spôsobené tým, že kým hlaholika mala stanovenú vlastnú číselnú hodnotu grafém, cyrilika ju v plnom rozsahu prebrala z gréckej abecedy. Tým vznikol rozdiel už na prvých štyroch pozíciách označujúcich čísla od 1 po 4, pretože grécka alfabeta, súc vzorom pre cyriliku, nemá grafému označujúcu hlásku [b]. V hlaholskej sústave Ⰰ = 1, Ⰱ = 2, Ⰲ = 3, Ⰳ = 4, v cyrilskej а = 1, б – nemá žiadnu číselnú hodnotu, в = 2, г = 3. A tak pri prepise prostou transliteráciou z hlaholského číselného označenia Ⰳ̃ Ⰲ̃ (14) na cyrilskú grafiku г̃ и̃ mení sa takéto číselné označenie na hodnotu 13. Správne označenie hodnoty 14 v cyrilike má mať grafemickú podobu д̃и̃, príp. д̃і̃. Uvedená predpokladaná číselná zámena teda môže byť vážnym svedectvom o prepisovaní tohto manuskriptu zo starobylej predlohy, ktorá bola písaná hlaholikou.

M. Hattala však takýto predpoklad neprijíma. Pozoruhodné je, akými argumentmi pritom vo svojej polemike pracuje. Upozornil na to (1858, 120), že bádatelia, ktorí spomínané kritické miesto analyzovali, neboli dôslední, pretože na jednej strane sa síce podrobne zaoberali spornou sumárnou číselnou hodnotou, no na druhej strane vlastne ani nespočítali súbor tam uvedených grafém podľa slovanskej reči. A tak vyzýva tých, ktorí sa takouto analýzou zaoberali, aby „znova počítati ráčili, neučinili-li to již dříve. Co když se stane, nenajdou jich tam ani 14 ani 13 než 15!"

Tento jeho postreh je správny, totiž písmen je v spomínanom rade uvedených vskutku 15, pričom aj ich skladba je v porovnaní s ostatnými prepismi špecifická: б̃, ж̃, ѕ̃, л̃, ц̃, ч̃, ш̃, ъ̃, шꙗ̃, мꙗ̃, ъ̃, ѣ̃, ꙗ̃, ю̃, а̃.

Hattala má nepochybne pravdu, keď ďalej dôvodí tým, že v tejto časti je prepis z hľadiska skladby málo dôveryhodný, pretože je tu л, ktoré nepatrí sem, ale do radu písmen podobných gréckym, medzi ktorými je v tomto texte aj uvedené. Ďalej je tu dvakrát zaznamenaná graféma ъ, ba sú tu aj ťažko vysvetliteľné zložky шꙗ̃, мꙗ̃. Hattala to vysvetľuje neobyčajnou nedôslednosťou skriptora, resp. jeho zjavnou neznalosťou hlaholských písmen. Z toho vyvodzuje, že takýto prepisovateľ ako svedok existencie pôvodnej hlaholskej predlohy je preňho nevierohodný.

Tieto nejasnosti navrhuje riešiť správnou interpretáciou grafém vo vzťahu k ich hláskovým korelátom. Podľa neho nie je ničím pevne dané, že Konštantín stvoril z 38 písmen 24 podobných gréckym a 14 podľa slovanskej reči, lež správnejšie je predpokladať číselný pomer 25 a 13. Vo svojej rekonštrukcii súboru staroslovienskych písmen (a zároveň hlások) podľa slovanskej reči vychádza z náslovných grafém (hlások), teda začiatočných písmen slov, ktoré Chrabr vymenúva ako nezaznamenateľné pomocou gréckej alfabety. Gréčtina totiž pre ich začiatočné hlásky nemá grafemické znaky, napr. богъ, животъ, ѕѣло... atď., teda ide o hlásky (a písmená) б, ж, ѕ... Z týchto náslovných písmen zostavil desiatku znakov podľa slovanskej reči, a to б, ж, ѕ, ц, ч, ш, ѣ, ж̃, ю, а̃. Podľa *Savinského* a *Vratislavsk*ého rukopisu vytypoval ešte grafémy ы, ъ, ь a щ, ktoré k nim doplnil. Vzápätí však uviedol korektné paleografické dôvody, prečo je graféma щ historicky mladšia a do pôvodnej slovanskej abecedy nepatrí. A tak na základe tejto rekonštrukcie mu naostatok vyšlo v konečnom súčte 13 písmen podľa slovanskej reči. Problém ním navrhovaného počtu 25 písmen podobných gréckym rieši už pomerne jednoducho, a to podľa neho potrebným doplnením o cyrilské písmeno ѵ (hlah. Ꙩ, t. j. ižica) podľa gréckeho υ.

Vo zvyšnej časti svojej state Hattala vyslovuje odmietavý postoj aj voči názorom J. I. Hanuša, podľa ktorého iba nedávno vydaný tzv. *Srbský rukopis* nesie v sebe nepochybné svedectvo, že má bezprostredný súvis s východiskovým hlaholským textom. Hanuš (1857, 11) si je pritom vedomý značnej odvodenosti, nepôvodnosti, resp. nízkej miery prekrývania sa jeho obsahu s obsahmi ostatných prepisov. Opiera sa však o náslovné, na slovných príkladoch založené vypočítanie písmen celej Konštantínovej abecedy, ktoré je obsiahnuté v *Srbskom rukopise*. Pri svojom presvedčení o hlaholskej predlohe pôvodnej Chrabrovej rozpravy dôvodí Hanuš hlaholským poradím vymenovaných grafém od Ⰳ po Ⱈ. V tomto poradí je graféma г uvedená dvakrát, a to prvýkrát na svojom mieste po в ako štvrtá v poradí a druhýkrát na dvanástom mieste, a to tam, kde sa v hlaholskej alfabete nachádza Ⰴ (děrv), ktoré cyrilská abeceda nepoznala. Je to teda vážny dôkaz toho, že predlohou tu bol hlaholský text. Skriptor vlastne hlaholské Ⰴ nahradil cyrilskou literou г spolu s príkladom гемоноу, kde náslovné г predstavuje palatálnu veláru [g´], pretože po ňom nasleduje predný vokál [e]. Hattala takýto argument rázne odmieta ako dôvod pre to, že by *Srbský prepis* pochádzal z hlaholského originálu. Odkazuje pritom na skutočnosť, že Srbi oddávna používali túto grafému na mieste *dj*.

M. Hattala naostatok zhrnujúco poznamenáva, že pokiaľ ide o prepisy *Srbský* a *Moskovský*, pokladá ich za texty v mnohom chybné, o ktoré nebude mať dôvod stáť ani v budúcnosti. Oproti tomu *Savinský* a *Vratislavský* prepis predovšetkým vďaka podrobnému výpočtu abecednej sústavy podľa neho neomylne preukazujú svoj vzťah k cyrilike. Napokon sa k otázke pôvodnosti slovanského písma vyslovuje jednoznačne v prospech cyriliky: „Po straně všeho, čím posud svědectví Chrabrovo ke glagolici bylo obracováno, stojí pouze *voluntas pro ratione* (Hattala 1858, 28).

2.2. Hattalov postoj k otázke pôvodu slovanského písma

Druhým príspevkom M. Hattalu do diskusie o pôvodnosti slovanského písma bol článok v periodiku *Kritische Blätter für Literatur und Kunst*, ktorý vyšiel v rovnakom roku ako jeho stať venovaná Chrabrovmu textu, a to pod názvom *Mein Standpunkt in der Frage über den Ursprung der slavischen Schrift (Môj postoj k otázke pôvodu slovanského písma)* (1858).

Tento Hattalov príspevok bol predovšetkým reakciou na Hanušov prehľadový článok v rovnakom periodiku o najnovšej literatúre v Rakúsku (1858). V tomto príspevku Hanuš okrem iného víta rozprúdenie diskusie o historickosti hlaholiky, no s Hattalovou odmietavou kritikou jej historických preferencií nemôže súhlasiť. S veľkou nádejou však očakáva prelom v chápaní tejto otázky po skvelom vystúpení P. J. Šafárika v práci *O pôvode a domovine hlaholiky* (1858).

Hattalova reakcia tu sčasti vyznieva osobne, v istom zmysle ako vyrovnávanie sa s cieľmi vlastného vedeckého bádania a s prístupom k nemu, ako aj s chápaním sporných otázok slavistiky, najmä s otázkou pôvodu hlaholiky a cyriliky. V tomto do istej miery netypickom vedeckom pojednaní akoby sa Hattala vyrovnával aj so svojím vzťahom k Šafárikovi. Ten bol vždy preňho váženou vedeckou autoritou, s ktorej názormi a zisteniami nikdy nepolemizoval. Tu musel zaujať aj postoj k Hanušovej výčitke, prečo sa už dávnejšie nevenoval diskusiám o pôvodnosti slovanskej abecedy a nevyslovoval svoj vlastný názor, ktorý mohol byť odlišný od Šafárikovho. Hattala (1858, 115) na to odpovedá, že vnímal ako mocne a vytrvalo bol Šafárik zaujatý otázkou o pôvode a vzájomnom vzťahu dvoch slovanských abecied, čoho výsledkom je aj jeho posledná práca o pôvode hlaholiky. Zdôraznil, že aj za priaznivejších okolností by sa zdržal zasahovania do Šafárikovho dlhoročného výskumu v tejto otázke tak bezprostredne, ako sa Hanuš domnieval, že by mal urobiť. M. Hattala však naostatok priznáva, že napriek novým Šafárikovým poznatkom je stále veľmi ďaleko od predpokladu, že hlaholika je pôvodné slovanské písmo.

Na záver

Ťažiskom tohto príspevku bola analýza vedeckých názorov M. Hattalu, ktorými prispel do diskusie o riešení otázky vzťahu medzi hlaholikou a cyrilikou z hľadiska ich historickej pôvodnosti. Pri tejto analýze bolo dôležité načrtnúť historický vedecký kontext, do ktorého Hattala v polovici 19. storočia svojou polemikou vstúpil. Náš bližší pohľad ukázal, že sa zapojil do týchto diskusií v čase, keď sa tradičný názor na cyriliku ako pôvodné slovanské písmo začal oslabovať v jej neprospech a v prospech hlaholiky. Išlo o dôsledok nových objavov dovtedy neznámych hlaholských textov a ich exaktnejších výskumov, ktoré poukazovali na ich starobylosť, a teda aj starobylosť hlaholského písma. Hattala patril k tej časti slavistickej obce, ktorá uznávala za prvotné slovanské písmo cyriliku a z tejto vedeckej pozície pristupoval aj k jednotlivým sporným otázkam a novoobjaveným textovým pamiatkam. Svoje postoje a názory na aktuálne vystúpenia najmä významných ruských slavistov vyslovil v článku zameranom na analýzu rozpravy mnícha Chrabra *O písmenách* existujúcej v piatich známych historických odpisoch. Ruskí slavisti I. I. Sreznevskij, O. M. Boďanskij a domáci bádateľ I. J. Hanuš nachádzali v dvoch z týchto odpisov chybné alfabetické a numerické údaje svedčiace podľa nich o hlaholských predlohách týchto pamiatok. M. Hattala vyslovil k uvedeným dôkazom odmietavé stanovisko, ktoré odôvodňoval na jednej strane nekompetentnosťou, a teda nevierohodnosťou skriptorov prepisujúcich tieto pamiatky, na druhej strane nedôslednosťou súčasných bádateľov pri skúmaní sporných častí textu. V druhom svojom článku viac-menej zopakoval svoj záporný postoj k preferenciám hlaholiky ako pôvodného slovanského písma. Zároveň sa vyznal zo svojho vedeckého rešpektu pred prácou a dielom P. J. Šafárika, čím odôvodňoval absenciu vlastnej polemiky s jeho novšími či staršími názormi.

Naostatok možno konštatovať, že M. Hattala svojím polemickým vystúpením k otázkam pôvodnosti slovanského písma sa síce pridŕžal tradičného, ťažko udržateľného názoru o historickej pôvodnosti cyriliky, no niektorými svojimi bádateľskými zisteniami prispel k dôkladnejšiemu priebehu vedeckého diskurzu o jednej zo základných otázok paleoslavistiky.

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THINKING AND BEING: SCHOLASTIC LINGUISTICS AND JACQUES DERRIDA'S "OF GRAMMATOLOGY"

Dalia Marija Stanciene – Irena Darginaviciene

Abstract: *The Relationship Between Thinking and Being: Scholastic Linguistics and Jacques Derrida's "Of Grammatology".* Grammatology theory (science of writing) is directed at phonetics and Jacques Derrida hopes to overcome metaphysics. By returning to the semantic issues of the Middle Ages and the concept that traditional metaphysical content can be brought together into signs and sign theory can help to understand and interpret real ways of being, Derrida tries to reinterpret these ideas and reveal the movement of thought in metaphysics, although he is in doubt whether it will ever be possible to go beyond the methaphysics. Derrida refers to scholastic semantics, analyzes how possible the absolute objectivity of language is, looks into the relationship between voice and writing and emphasizes that in writing the voice is replaced by a sign. He notes the attempts of medieval theologians and philosophers to reveal the content of metaphysics on the basis of the concept of equivocation. To this end, a distinction is made between *quod est* and *quo est* modes, and a logical instrumentation is developed to transfer knowledge from one level to another. With the view to transcend Western ontology, Derrida refers to medieval logical linguistics by developing a theory of deconstruction with the destruction of "metaphysics of presence" and a philosophy of "différance". Derrida's decision illustrates the dependence of his thinking on the "metaphysics of presence" by raising the links between the sign and time (Here and Now). Emphasizing the differences between temporal and spatial attitudes, Derrida notes that this is important for the non-metaphysical conception of writing. The article employs the comparative-historiographical method and philosophical reflection and considers the relationship between scholastic linguistics and Derrida's grammatology. To this end, the reflection on the general characteristics and properties of words and the equivocal and univocal features of words in scholastic linguistics and the question of sign in grammatology has been considered.

Keywords: *scholastic linguistics, phenomenological semantics, being, nominal words, universals, equivocation, univocation, grammatology*

„We are disturbed by that which, in the concept of the sign – which has never existed or functioned outside the history of (the) philosophy (of presence) – remains systematically and genealogically determined by that history" (Derrida 1973, 14).

Introduction

The reflection of being, through the mediation of thought and language, not only determines the way of philosophical thinking, but also establishes human reality itself. In antiquity it was argued that speech is directly related to natural and universal labeling, i. e. the feelings of the soul, through the voice, naturally express things and are produced as spoken language. According to Jacques

Derrida, "the voice is closest to the signified, whether it is determined strictly as sense (thought or lived) or more loosely as a thing" (Derrida 1997, 11). Written language is a derivative and performs technical and representative functions. As noted by Derrida, "The epoch of the logos thus debases writing considered as mediation of mediation and as a fall into the exteriority of meaning" (Derrida 1997, 12-13).

"Différance" is important in writing. It means the difference that describes the relationship between presence and representation, without presupposing the foundation commonality, and naming the difference the elements of which do not exist at the same time. Derrida emphasizes that the whole history of ontology was thinking of "différance" as its forgotten essence.

In the Middle Ages the focus was laid on the theories of the linguistic sign and its meaning, paying particular attention to the rules of logic, the variety of grammatical forms and their combinations, Aristotle's lexicon, where a word form that encoded *a being* combined content and expression (Kowalczyk, 2001). Aristotle linked logic categories not only to language but to *being* as well. He claimed that *beings* are related to words and that language reflects not only the properties of *beings* but also the relationship between *beings* and *phenomena*. "Such things are termed "relatives", which are said to be what they are, from belonging to other things, or in whatever other way they may be referred to something else; thus "the greater" is said to be what it is in reference to another thing" (Aristotle, Ch. 7, 6a).

Scholastic logical-philosophical analysis of language extended Aristotle's theory of formal logic. Around 510 AD Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius wrote commentaries on the Porphyrian Phoenician treatise *Isagoge* (Introduction), which he translated into Latin. The Porphyrian Phoenician treatise *Isagoge* is an introduction to and interpretation of the terms of the Aristotelian Categories. In his commentary Boethius analyzed the specifics of thinking, the emergence of thought statements, their transformation into reality concepts expressed in language. The famous medieval discourse on universals, i. e. general concepts, lasted for several centuries. The commentaries of Boethius played a key role in the process of analysis on the meaning of terms which in the discourse on the existence of universals became name and statement predicates.

Scholastic semantics played an important role in the phenomenological analysis of the relationship between language and being. In the framework of scholastic semantics, Jacques Derrida raised the dilemma of empiricism and transcendence in the phenomenological interpretation of language. He explored how a possible absolute objectivity of language, solves the relationship between voice and writing. He maintained that in writing the voice is replaced by a sign.

The object of the article is the relationship of scholastic linguistics and Derrida's grammatology.

The article aims to look into the expression of scholastic linguistics and the relationship between scholastic linguistics and the question of sign in Derrida's grammatology.

The aim dictates the focus on the following tasks:
- description of general characteristics and properties of words,
- consideration of the equivocal and univocal features of words,
- reflection on the concept of sign in grammatology.

The analysis is performed with relation to the nature of things and with respect to grammatology of Jacques Derrida.

Words denoting things and universals

In medieval logical semantics, there were two types of words. The words of the first type were characterized by a narrow meaning, e. g. the words *man* or *white*. The words that belonged to the

second type were described as syncategorematic terms. They were characterized by the absence of a concrete meaning, e. g. *is, if, or, some*. When analyzing the words-terms, the representatives of dialecticism tried to determine their regular meaning, or in other words, *a constant* and the way in which it was used. The analysis was based on Aristotle's assertion that words and names have definite meanings, and that the man's ability to think helps to create new meanings. Aristotle described language as "the expression of the meaning in words" (Aristotle, 1922: 29). He focused on metaphors and their function and stated that "metaphor is the application of an alien name by transference either" (Aristotle 1922, 77). Aristotle emphasizes how important it is to be able to use metaphors, and that this skill cannot be learned. In his opinion, "it is the mark of genius, for to make good metaphors implies an eye for resemblances" (Aristotle 1922, 87).

According to Alain de Libera the discourse on universals dates back to Anselm of Canterbury Treatise "De Grammatico" (Anselmi, 1853). The work unveils the original treatment of Aristotle's semantics, revealing the establishment of systemic relationship between linguistic phenomena and their change. Analyzing two different meanings of the same word and attempting to reconcile them, Anselm introduced the as yet unknown principle of semantic reference theory, by means of which grammar, use of forms of linguistic expressions interconnected by logic, revealed the relationship between a term and its object. Libera assumed that the most important merit of Anselm was this insight, "from which centuries of medieval speculation began" (Libera 1993, 294). Referring to Aurelius Augustine's theory of Exemplarism, Anselm argued that universals are real because God created the diversity of things according to prototypes of genus and specific differences. Having studied the works of Aristotle and Boethius, as well as Roman grammar-books, Anselm tried to apply Aristotle's theory of categories for the analysis of "nominal words". By introducing the dialectic method, he established the appellative function of the thing – name through double differentiation, i. e. he separated meaning and word by distinguishing *per se* and *aliud*. Anselm wrote: "the name of a thing is appellative of that thing when it is the name by which that very thing is itself called in the customary course of utterance" (Anselm 1998, 123-150), (Anselmi 1853, 570-571).

The words in Aristotle's logic refer to the general attributes and characteristics of primary and secondary substances. This is born out by Aristotle's claim that *white* indicates quality and nothing further (Aristotle, 1853, Ch.5, 3b). According to Libera, the meaning of the word *white* is not universally general, since Aristotle did not say that all common words denote a characteristic or express a subject's distinctiveness. Aristotle emphasizes that primary substances have a definite meaning because they denote a definite being. Speaking about secondary substances Aristotle maintains that "the definition and the name are both predicated of the subject, for you will predicate the definition of "a man" concerning "a certain man", and likewise the definition of "animal" (Aristotle 1853, Ch.5, 3a). Consequently, secondary substances have a single and common name that is common to several individuals, e. g. *a tree* or *a plant*. Species and genera, as a characteristic of secondary substance, semantically do not function as specific words, e. g. as *white*, because "*white* signifies nothing else but a thing of a certain quality". They function as the substance of some property (Aristotle 1853, Ch.5, 3b).

In developing Aristotle's semantic ideas, Anselm used them not only for linguistics but also for scholastic theory of cognition in order to solve the problem of the existence of universals and their relation to the substance and reality of the thing. The problem solving contributed to the role of logical semantics in theology and the anchoring of theological elements in gnoseology.

In the 12th century, a French theologian and logician Peter Abélard, joined the discussion on the expression of universals (Clanchy 2000, 105). Abélard opposed the realistic view and stated that common concepts are acquired because they are the result of certain intellectual operations. Abélard set out the arguments for criticism of the realist approach in his "Treatise in Logic"

(De Intellectibus) stating that "if humanness is a real thing, as the theory of realism argues, if it is the essence of every individual, how can it coexist in two different places with two different individuals? And if animalness is the real thing and the essence of the individual, then a clever animal and the one without any cleverness would be one and the same. Thus, Socrates then would be a donkey" (Abélard 1994, 134).

In "The Glosses on Porphyry", Abélard specified that if individual differences were recognized to be different forms, then the universal substance would coincide with the divine substance. In that case, the reality would be identical to divinity and then this would be pantheism (Abélard 1994, 125-139). Abélard's arguments forced the representatives of realist position to introduce corrections into their doctrine. However their new statements did not convince Abélard because he did not see any substantiation, for him they were not reasonable enough. Abélard held the view that each individual can be treated according to differences and non-differences from others: for differences, an individual is the object of thought, and for non-differences - a universal.

Abélard also did not agree with the realist concept of universals because universals cannot be found in the things themselves and are expressed by name or word. The word in Abélard's logical linguistics is not a simple physical reality. The meaning of the word lies in the word itself and it is actualized in the process of speech when the things are named, or, in other words, in the act of predication. Abélard believed that the mind that is involved in the construction of the predicate catches the alien reality by naming it and at the same time answering the question of *what it is*. Later, upon hearing the same name, the mind could recognize the meaning of the word. Thus, the function of the mind is to uncover the possibilities for discovering the universals, defined by Abélard as a meaningful sound or voice (vox significativa) that creates the communication both between parts of speech and between things themselves. Abélard stated that things described themselves by using sounds.

In the concept of predication the connector *to be* (*esse*) plays a critical role. Abélard distinguished between two types of connectors: the grammatical, which plays a constructive role, and the dialectic, which performs a predicative function. Grammatical connector does not determine the real or supposed existence of objects, it is concerned with the grammatical alignment of thoughts. The predicative function is related to the nature of objects and their true being. Thus, a universal, as well as predication, depends on the thing, though it is not a thing itself.

When dealing with the predication of the verb *to be* in an existential plane, Abélard faces some contradictions and ambiguities, i. e. equivocation**.** This issue was analyzed by Aristotle and later described by Boethius, giving the term *equivocation* a broader meaning. Abélard argues that equivocation is not just about names, but also about verbs, and that equivocation is also quite common in prepositions and conjunctions. Therefore, according to Abélard, when Aristotle speaks, "that they only have a common name", that name is to be understood as any sound marking of things (Boethius 1874, 164). Abélard explained the cause of equivocation by the dual way of the existence of the thing: one for God, the other for Man. Abélard did not fully elaborate on the theories of predication, but according to Jean Joliviet, "this eminent thinker produced a wonderful and profound doctrine that has pushed the process of thinking forward" (Joliviet 1994, 108).

Equivocation and univocation of the word

In the discourse of medieval theologians and philosophers, the questions of equivocation and univocation were developed with reference to the semantic plane presented by Boethius. Equivocation (aequivoca), for Boethius, is something with a common name. However, the ratio

of the substance corresponding to the name is different. The things with the same name and definition were called by him univocal (univoca) (Boethius 1874, 163).

Abélard and Anselm of Laon welcomed the idea of equivocation and univocation described by Boethius. Other philosophers, e. g. Gilbert of Poitiers who promoted Platonic realism in order to bring it closer to Aristotle's philosophy, treated equivocation and univocation differently from Boethius and Abélard (Gilson 1989, 140-141). According to Neretina, Gilbert of Poitiers "derived equivocation from the various types of arguments that were indicated in Boethius' *Theological Treatises*. It was necessary to elucidate the view of the ratio not only as a reasoning process, but also as an argument that could be used in one or more disciplines, since each of them contained a certain common statement" (Neretina 2001, 374).

In addition, Gilbert observed that the equivocation of *quo est* and *quod est* leads to paradox statements that become dangerous to theological science. Thus, he tried to create a logical instrumentation to help him assess the correctness of the statements as well as identify which area (theology or physics) the knowledge belonged to. Thus, according to Gilbert, theological questions could be considered on the basis of logical requirements of signifying discourse. Gilbert linked the functions of logical instrumentation to: 1) the definition of subsistence, i. e., he showed how *essence* finds its being; 2) the transumption that transfers terms from one to another knowledge area by changing their meaning; 3) the determination of essentiality, singularity, dividuality.

Gilbert formulated the idea of singularity with reference to Abélard's theory of *conceptualism* and stated that an object appears in the consciousness of the perceiver as a specific whole, i. e. as the universal of a thing expressed verbally. According to Gilbert, the thing that appears in consciousness may be real or nonexistent, however "any concept of non-existence is an assumption (opinio), for example, Centaur that has two bodies or three-headed Chimera" (Gilberti 1874, 1360). The *quo est* singularity of the thing helps to reveal the reality of the thing *quod est* because for Gilbert any being is one by number and a certain being is singular, expressing one natural thing by number. According to Neretina, in Gilbert's theory, the mechanism of fusion of *quo est* and *quod est*, gives birth to a subject through the operation of the principle of intent (Neretina 2001, 377).

The absolute fusion of *quod est* and *quo est* is in God, so the Prime Being or God, according to Gilbert, is portrayed both as Creator and as Simplicity. Such a description makes it possible to say of God that "He is what He is" and does not presuppose that God came into being through a kind or a species-creating subsistence. Therefore, "even if we say that the origin of God is different from the origin of man, then in no way should we understand this origin as the form of the genus" (Gilberti 1874, 1368). Thus, the otherness of God's origin and the ambiguity of the term origin led Gilbert to determine "correlation of a thing with names and definitions – their univocation (unambiguity) or equivocation" (Neretina 2001, 378).

Gilbert used Boethius' concept of equivocation which, according to Boetius, was part of the discourse with four varieties. The first variety that was singled out by Boethius referred to the things with the same name and definition. This is univocation. Boethius provided the example where an animal and a human being had the same descriptions – they both could be described as living substances and sensing substances. Things that are not linked by names or definitions, for example, *fire, stone, color*, etc. exhibit the second variety. They were named diversivocals (*diversivoca*). Things that are called by different names and defined by the same definition, for example a *sword* and *wedge* - fit the third variety, called multivocation (*multivoca*). Things that have the same name but are defined differently, for example, a human alive and a human on a picture, are linked to the fourth variety, called the equivocation (*aequivoca*) (Stančiene 2009, 100).

According to Gilbert, the concept of equivocation and univocation helps us understand the nature of the Creator and reveal the truth of the faith through grammar and logic. In his Treatise on the Trinity (De Trinitate), he revealed the metaphysical and gnoseological nature of

universals, associating it with God's three-person theologema. He divided universals into two types: God's thoughts were attributed to the first type, while the second type assigned the ideas that are the natural forms (forma native) of things.

Discussing the nature of God, Gilbert stated that each person of the Divine Trinity constitutes a generic form of divinity. Theologians responded to this claim and in 1146 a French abbot Bernard of Clairvaux issued a negative review. Gilbert was also criticized by Peter Lombard, Bishop of Paris, and a theologian Robert of Melun. Later, Gilbert had to stand challenge at Reims Council in 1148. He was attacked there by theologians and especially Bernard of Clairvaux. However, his condemnation was not announced.

According to Etienne Gilson, "the philosophical attitude with regard to created reality is so fundamental in Gilbert that he cannot completely detach himself from it when he tackles the theological problem of divine being. We have seen him affirm first that God is absolute entity (essentia) and that he is nothing but that (simplex atque sola essentia)" (Gilson 1989, 144). The distinction between God and divinity is that it announces the invasion of theology by a conceptual realism. Gilbert, who acknowledged the reality that is understood and accepted by mind, portrayed finite beings as composed of a subject and of abstract determinations which, by qualifying it, cause it to be what it is.

At the end of the Middle Ages, metaphysics was replaced by semiology. The statements of logical semantics in the works of Aristotle, Boethius, Abélard, Gilbert and other philosophers were reinterpreted and there were attempts to comment on the content of metaphysics in the theory of signs. It was also argued that signs of scholastic logic could not fully reveal the differences. In theological and philosophical discourses of the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century, special attention was paid to the issue of the intelligible *species* and theories of the linguistic sign and its meaning.

One of the most prominent researchers in this area is William Ockham, who claimed that the concept of a linguistic sign is equal to the concept of a term. He described discourse, as a system of specific signs which is divided in the same way as are terms: "discourse is of three types – the written, the spoken, and the conceptual (this last existing only in the mind). In the same way there are three sorts of terms – written, spoken, and conceptual". Ockham admitted that terms are the elements that form a proposition. A proposition, then, confirms or denies that something is or is not (William of Ockham 1974, 49).

Terms are signs (signa) and their central function is to define objects. Ockham recognized that terms are of different origin and types, and, thus, a written term is a part of a proposition, which has been inscribed on something material and physically visible to the bodily eye. "The spoken term is a part of a proposition, which has been uttered aloud and is physically heard by the bodily ear. The conceptual term is an intention or impression of the soul, which signifies or consignifies something naturally and is capable of being a part of mental proposition and of supposition in such a proposition for the thing it signifies" (William of Ockham 1974, 49).

The first two types of terms are defined as conventional signs with different verbal and graphic expressions in different nations. Meanwhile, the third type of terms functions as natural signs of things (signa naturalia), which are the result of the interaction between the mind and a recognizable object. In the comments on conceptual terms (concepts), Ockham refers to Augustine of Hippo and affirms that these terms and the propositions made from them are mental words, the essence of which resides in the intellect, so they do not belong to any language, they are the same for all people and all nations. A spoken word expressed in a verbal form or in a graphical form and unrelated to the concept of the mind, would lose its meaning because, according to Ockham, "a concept primarily and naturally signifies something and a spoken word signifies the

same thing secondarily" (William of Ockham 1974, 50). Spoken words are signs of concepts to describe the same object. The concept reflects reality and makes it perceptible.

Ockham divided the terms into categorematic and syncategorematic, which divide the utterance into material and formal elements. Categorematic terms have a precise and clear meaning, as "he term *man* signifies all men; the term *animal* implies all animals; and the term *whiteness* stands for all whitenesses" (William of Ockham 1974, 55). Syncategorematic terms do not have a precise and definite meaning and they do not signify any thing, but acquire meaning only when used with categorematic terms, e. g., *any, all, only, some, because*, etc.

In addition, Ockham notes that philosophers often use another division of names. They divide names into purely absolute and connotative. Purely absolute names are those which signify one thing primarily, for example *man*, *stone*, *fire*, etc. Connotative names express one thing referring to another thing, such as the term *white* expresses the whiteness of another thing.

When speaking of terms, Ockham noted that the verbal and graphic expression of a term as a conventional sign can be equivocal or univocal: "only words – conventional signs – can be univocal or equivocal" (William of Ockham 1974, 55). Meanwhile, intentions of the soul or concepts are not equivocal or univocal *per se*. According to Ockham, "a word is equivocal if, in signifying different things, it is a sign subordinated to several rather than one concept or intention of the soul" (William of Ockham 1974, 75). For Ockham "every expression that is subordinated to just one concept is called univocal, whether the term signifies several different things or not" (William of Ockham 1974, 76). Thus, according to Ockham, the term becomes univocal *per se* because all of the several things it signifies are also signified by one concept, by only one intention of the soul.

Sign and Grammatology

The end of the 19th century witnessed the interest in linguistics as a system of signs, where signs represented real or abstract objects. The formalization of systems turns back again to scholastic semiotics. Signs are found not only in the world that we can access, but also in the world that we are not able to access. Accordingly, signs become not only vectors of existing, real things, but also vectors of transcendence, mysticism, mystery. Thus, there is a clear reversion to the questions discussed by Ockham, since he argued that the traditional content of metaphysics can be brought together into signs and, with the help of sign theory, to understand and interpret the ways in which a common object exists.

In 1916, Ferdinand de Saussure introduced the term semiology, which in his opinion was the science of signs: "*A science that studies the life of signs within society is conceivable*; it would be a part of social psychology and consequently of general psychology; I shall call it semiology (from Greek semeion 'sign'). Semiology would show what constitutes signs, what laws govern them. Since the science does not yet exist, no one can say what it would be; but it has a right to existence, a place staked out in advance. Linguistics is only a part of the general science of semiology" (Saussure 1959, 16). Any sign system, in his view, is an object of semiology. Saussure defined the sign as the opposite of two components: the signifier (sound, gesture, inscription, any material expression) and the signified (distinctive value in the lexical system). Such a binary structure of the sign opens up a phonological or semantic way of analysis. However, these two components together form a sign, which is a criterion of being.

As for the modern theory of the language sign, it is closely related to the medieval reduction of universals to *flatus vocis* by Roscelin of Compiègne (1050 – 1125). The concept of Roscelin of Compiègne, which states that there are no universals and there exists only the name, was called

nominalism. At the end of the 19th century this theory revived in discussions about what lies behind the language sign. The discussion pushed the creation of the phonological model. In 1967, Jacques Derrida was writing in his study "Speech and Phenomenon: And Other Essays on Husserl's Theory of Signs" (La voix et le phénomène) that "the essence of language is in its telos; and its telos is voluntary consciousness as meaning [comme vouloir-dire]" (Derrida 1973, 36).

In the same year, there appears another work written by Derrida – "Of Grammatology". In this work Derrida tries to abandon any relationship with metaphysics and looks into the essence of logocentrism and phonocentrism. Metaphysics, in his view, is a topa, a disciplined space that will liberate the sign upon deconstruction. Deconstruction is not perceived as the analysis or critique of a subject, but as an event that liberates the difference in signs, showing the limits of each phenomenon, but not leading to any new derivative of existence.

Derrida primarily deconstructs the "metaphysics of voice", since voice and speech are closer to the nature of thought, i. e. the voice completely coincides with the uttered thought and represents consciousness. Derrida takes advantage of the difference between Saussure's signifier and signified, and identifies the difference between language and speech. He emphasizes the importance of the play of these differences for the non-metaphysical conception of writing. Derrida develops a general theory of writing. He claims that there is a certain "writing in speech". The questions on the issue of writing that are analyzed in *Of Grammatology* relate to historical stand. Thus, he discusses the genealogy of writing, the phoneticization of writing. He uses the method of deconstruction and introduces writing into all spheres of life. In writing, according to Derrida, it is important to understand the difference because the voice is replaced by the sign. The idea of the sign that is defined in semiology, according to Derrida, cannot be preserved "without the difference between sensible and intelligible, certainly, but also not without retaining, more profoundly and more implicitly, and by the same token the reference to a signified able to "take place" in its intelligibility, before its "fall", before any expulsion into the exteriority of the sensible here below" (Derrida 1973, 13).

In this way, the mind-perceived aspect of the sign, according to Derrida, is directly related to ideality, and the formal essence of the sign can be defined on the basis of being. He emphasizes that "the sign and divinity have the same place and time of birth. The age of the sign is essentially theological. Perhaps it will never end. Its historical closure is, however, outlined" (Derrida 1973, 14). Thus, the world around us is signed by logos that is perceived as the reality established by a transcendental signified called God. To know this reality and to recognize the "right" and "inappropriate" elements is to break free from sensuality through rational thinking. However, reality never appears directly, but only through the sign, and Derrida wants to maintain the diversity of meanings of the sign, linking it to the context of difference.

Conclusions

In scholastic semantics, the concept of sign in the act of signification legitimized the relationship with a specific being. The sign is used to show and express something that exists and thus the sign performs an epistemological reference function.

In grammar the dialectical approach established the appellate function of the noun through the double differentiation. It helped to differentiate the meaning and the name in the nouns, distinguishing the meanings of the noun *per se* and *per aliud*. In this way, the previously unused principle of semantic reference theory was introduced. It helped grammar that used logically interconnected forms of linguistic expressions to reveal the relationship between a unitary term and the object it refers to.

In scholastic logical linguistics, the word was given a distinctive meaning, which was actualized during speech, when objects are named, or in other words, an act of predication is performed. Predication highlighted certain contradictions and ambiguities, i. e. equivocation, which in scholastic linguistics expanded its boundaries and was applied not only to nouns but also to verbs. Peter Abélard explained equivocation in a twofold way of the presence of an object – one for God and one for Man.

Objects that are described by the same name and definition were called univocals, and determination of their essence (*quod est*) helped to reveal the real mode of existence of objects (*quo est*), the reason why objects exist and why they belong to a certain family or species that does not require any accidentions. In Gilbert of Poitiers' theory, due to the operation of the intention principle, the mechanism of merging *quo est* and *quod est,* which gives birth to the subject, was legitimized.

Jacques Derrida's grammatology expressed a new way of philosophical analysis - deconstruction. It is an attempt to escape the field that developed between the history of metaphysics and the history of its destruction. Deconstruction is an attempt to reveal a structure in thinking that can be studied as a basis and source of material thinking. It is an attempt to explain the basics of logocentrism and phonocentrism as well as the modern theory of the language sign.

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SERGIUS HESSEN'S VIRTUE THEORY
AND ETHICS OF RESPONSIBILITY

Wojciech Hanuszkiewicz

Abstract: HANUSZKIEWICZ, Wojciech. *Sergius Hessen's Virtue Theory and Ethics of Responsibility*. Ever since Alasdair MacIntyre published his book *After Virtue* in 1981, the theory of virtue, stemming primarily from Aristotle, has become an important factor in contemporary ethical discussions. These discussions, however, ignore the platonic theory of virtue. It is in the platonic tradition that Sergius Hessen undertakes his investigations. In Hessen's view, Plato's virtue ethics can be united with the theological theory of cardinal virtues, thus creating one coherent approach. This connection – as long as it maintains its internal, dialectical tension – transforms a traditional concept of virtues focused on the moral perfection of the subject as well as the deontological ethics of Kant, which is based on the universal validity of duty, into the ethics of responsibility, the model of which is presented in Fyodor Dostoyevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov*. This concept of ethics, rooted deeply in Orthodox Christianity, is noteworthy because it presents, in an innovative way, the issue of the relationship between moral practice and law. In this context, moral practice is understood by Hessen as one of the most important manifestations of human creativity. Hessen's virtue ethics may thus be regarded as the valid opinion that needs to be included in contemporary considerations over the right form of social ethics.

Keywords: *Sergius Hessen, Fyodor Dostoyevsky, Immanuel Kant, Rafael Santi, Plato, cardinal virtues, theological virtues, Orthodox Christianity, responsibility, creativity, social ethics, moral and law*

Sergius Hessen (1887 – 1950), a Russian philosopher and pedagogue who lived and taught in Poland beginning in 1935, presented his theory of virtue, based on solutions presented in Plato's *Republic*, in a lengthy article entitled *Ancient Virtues and Evangelical Virtues (Notes on the Foundations of Ancient and Modern Ethics)*.[1] However, this article was not merely a reconstruction of Plato's theory. Although Hessen admits that he considers Plato to be the philosopher who most fully expressed the ethical thought of ancient Greece, only the first part of the study is devoted to the exposition of platonic ethical doctrine. Hessen explains in the second part of the article how the new concept of evangelical values developed by Christianity complements Plato's theory. In this context Hessen conducts an analysis of Raphael's fresco entitled *Cardinal and Theological Virtues*, which is located on the south wall of the *Stanza della Segnatura* of the Apostolic Palace in Vatican City. In the third part of this article, the Russian philosopher attempts to show that the manner in which Raphael in his fresco presented the relationships between virtues was by no means random. These relationships trigger a type of dialectical tension similar to that which was already known

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[1] This work was written in Polish and Russian during World War II. The Russian version was burned during the Warsaw Uprising, along with many of Hessen's other manuscripts. The Polish version was only published after the death of the Russian philosopher, in a selection of his writings (Hessen 1968b). There is an Italian translation of this text (Hessen 1952). Outside of these two linguistic circles, however, the work is virtually unknown.

from the platonic theory of virtue. It can also be proven that these dialectical tensions influenced the development of modern ethics, which Hessen presented in his work using the example of the ethical reflections of Kant, Fichte, Schopenhauer, and Nietzsche. In addition to Kant's moral philosophy, a key role in the Russian philosopher's analysis is played by Dostoyevsky's work. Dostoyevsky's last novel, *The Brothers Karamazov*, can be interpreted, in the context of the platonic and evangelical tradition of virtues, as the most creative and at the same time the pinnacle of both concepts. Based on the literary vision of this novel, Hessen created, as shown below, an original model of the ethics of responsibility. This model captures a new perspective on the interactions between moral practice and the system of legal norms that underpin social life.[2] The correct apprehension of this relationship is one of the key tasks of moral and social reflection, both then and now. The ancient and Christian concepts of virtue should become, at least in light of Hessen's analysis, not only indispensable starting points for this reflection, but also its destination.

It is only in the Polish literature on Hessen, that the concept of virtues has been more widely analysed and discussed[3]. Researchers pointed out that this issue is, on the one hand, the basis of the philosophical anthropology of the Russian philosopher, and, on the other hand, a model example of dialectical thinking for him. They also remarked that the dialectical dependence which takes place between ancient and Christian virtues leads Hessen to recognize the concept of responsibility as the central category of ethical reflection. On this point, Hessen remains dependent on Dostoyevsky[4]. Nevertheless, scholars have not paid due attention to the role Kant's legacy plays in Hessen's thought in this context. After Hessen they emphasise that the Königsberg philosopher linked, in his moral thought, the ancient virtue of temperance with the Christian virtue of hope. Hessen adds on this point, however, that Kant also develops a critical model of analysis that can be regarded, partly against Kant's intentions, as an adequate approach to the foundations of reflection on legal norms. And it is the dialectical tension between the conceptual representation of legal system and only intuitively experienced moral creativity that constitutes the basic feature of Hessen's model of ethics of responsibility.

In order for all the issues raised here to be addressed accurately, the article was divided into two parts. The first part (I) presents the platonic theory of civic (cardinal) virtues and its subsequent modification resulting from the development of the concept of theological (evangelical) virtues

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[2] In this context, two of Hessen's works dedicated to Dostoyevsky remain particularly relevant. The first, *The Idea of Moral Good in the Novel 'The Brothers Karamazov': comments on Dostoyevsky's ethics* was originally published in Russian language (Hessen 1928), then in German (Hessen 1929a), and later in a Polish translation (Hessen 1929b). (I use the Russian and Polish versions).The second work is an extensive paper entitled *The Battle of Utopia and Autonomy of Good in the View of Dostoyevsky and Solovyov* published originally in German (Hessen 1929b), then in French (Hessen 1930) and Russian (Hessen 1931). The existing Polish translation (Hessen 1968a) is a translation of the Russian version. (I use these two last editions). The Russian texts (Hessen 1928; Hessen 1931) are available on-line: http://emigrantika.imli.ru/news/7-sovremen [accessed: 04.03.2021]. Another important work for the issue presented here is an article entitled *Law and Morality* (Hessen 1968c), which was completed during the last days of World War II and written in Polish. There is an Italian translation (Hessen 1958).

[3] Regarding studies in Polish, the fullest discussion of this work can be found in the Zbigniew Wieczorek's dissertation (Wieczorek 2005, 40-42, 80-102). Compare also: Kukuła 1997.

[4] In a very interesting way, the problem of responsibility and the concept of dialectics in Hessen's philosophical and pedagogical thought were discussed by Andrea Folkierska in her book (Folkierska 2005). The author points to the convergence of Hessen's project with the thought of Hannah Arendt. The weak point of this interpretation, however, is the complete omission of Hessen's relationship with Dostoyevsky and the entire Russian philosophical tradition.

in Christian thought. The second part (II) focuses on the question of the reception of both of these concepts in modern philosophy.

I

While presenting the platonic theory of virtue, Hessen focuses on the well-known fragments of Plato's *Republic* devoted to the order of social life that reflects in its structure the constitution of the human soul.[5] The three social classes include: workers (*poietai*),[6] guardians/soldiers (*fylakes*), and rulers (*kyrioi*). These three have their counterparts in the three parts of the soul: appetitive (*epithymetikon*), volitional/'spirited' (*thymoeides*), and rational (*to logistikon*).[7] Both the social classes and the parts of the soul are ranked from the lowest to the highest. The workers produce economic goods; the guardians are in charge of the state's defence and are the executive power; and the rulers run the affairs of the entire state. The lowest part of the soul, just like the economic state in the state, "is the embodiment in the soul of the element of plurality" (Hessen 1868b, 200); for sensual desire and passions are directed toward the multiplicity of external objects. Desire pulls the appetitive soul in all directions; for this reason it is close to disintegration. The virtue that secures its integrity is temperance (*sophrosyne*). The second part of the soul 'is the will understood as the ability to decide' (Hessen 1868b, 201). The role of this part is to keep feelings in order and to prevent them from flaring up into passions. This part of the soul therefore performs the same managing and executive function as the guardians do with respect to the state. The virtue of this part of the soul is courage (*andreia*). The ability of reasoning is the highest part of the soul. It gives a constant direction to all human activity and protects the unity of human personality. The virtue of this part of humans is wisdom (*sophia* or *phronesis*), which is, as the Russian philosopher states, "the intuition of the ultimate goals of man's life and man's destiny" (Hessen 1968b, 201). The rational soul therefore has the same overriding role in relation to the other parts of the soul as the rulers, identified by Plato with the philosophers, have in relation to the other social classes in the state. If each part of the soul manages to maintain a virtue that is assigned to it, then the soul of human is characterized by justice (*dikaiosyne*). Similarly, in a state, if each social class cultivates a virtue that is assigned to it, then the whole state will be righteous. These issues are well known. Hessen presents them in the form of a figure:

State		Justice		Individual
Rulers	⟵	Wisdom	⟶	Reason
Guardians	⟵	Courage	⟶	Will
Workers	⟵	Temperance	⟶	Appetite

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[5]   This issue is discussed in Book IV of the dialogue. There are many translations of it into English. I use Allan Bloom's translation (Plato 1991) and the Greek text (Plato 1903) available on the *Perseus* website: https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3atext%3a1999.01.0167 [accessed: 04.03.2021].

[6]   In this way, i. e., as the 'poieitai', the lowest social group is described by Hessen (1968b, 207), but Plato most often uses the term 'demiurgoi' (for example: *Politeia* 369d, 371a).

[7]   The lowest layer of the soul is, in other words, sensuality, the middle layer is the will, and the highest layer is the reason. In defining the middle layer as the will, Hessen follows the platonic theory of virtue as the basis of the analyses presented in Paul Natorp's *Sozialpädagogik* (Natorp 1904, 107–135, especially: 118–119). The word 'thymos', used in this context by Plato, is usually translated into English as 'spirit' or 'spiritedness'. So does Bloom, though he points out that the best term to use would be 'heart' (Plato, 1991: 448; footnote 33 to passus: *Politeia,* 375b).

Plato's theory of virtue is of interest to the Russian philosopher primarily because of the dialectical tension that arises between individual virtues. This tension can be twofold in nature. It may be characterized, according to Hegel's much later distinction, by good or bad dialectics. The analyses presented in *The Republic* show that each of Plato's cardinal virtues can properly fulfil its function only and so far as it is infiltrated by the virtue, which, in the hierarchical system of virtues, is situated above it. Thus, temperance as a virtue of the lowest, appetite part of the soul does not involve those desires and passions being mechanically suppressed – this kind of suppression is characteristic of various forms of asceticism – but it means that desires and passions are creatively reorganized, and because of that, they are transformed and raised "to the higher plane of being". (Hessen 1968b, 204). But for this transformation to be possible, desires and passions must be subject to a higher principle giving unity (a certain direction) to their movement. The task of moderating passions and sensual desires in such a way cannot succeed if the will, which is already the higher part of the soul, lacks perseverance in the pursuit of one goal. Therefore, the virtue of temperance, if it is not to become a caricature of itself, i. e., an asceticism, must be infiltrated by the higher virtue of courage.

Courage also can take two forms. Perseverance in the pursuit of a goal, i. e., characteristic for courage, can turn into purely mechanical audacity and bravado, involving the pursuit of a predetermined goal at all costs, regardless of the circumstances and the scale of the risk. However, properly understood courage never allows for the mechanical hegemony of one finite goal over all other goals because it seeks to harmonize many different goals of human activity "into one organic whole" (Hessen 1968b, 207–208). This harmony is, by its very nature, possible if the virtue of courage is infiltrated by a higher virtue of wisdom that is based on the intuition of man's ultimate goals. Therefore, the virtue of courage presents for a human a new task, "the task of understanding the hierarchy of values" (Hessen 1968b, 208). And this is already the task of the virtue of wisdom, which belongs to the highest part of the soul, that is, to reason. This virtue is based on the intuition of good, which transcends all being (*epekeina tes ousias*). If wisdom lacks this intuition, it breaks away from courage and temperance, turning into its caricature, i. e., into 'omniscient' sophistry. The latter is characterized by an internal contradiction of thought and a lack of individual beliefs. Each of Plato's virtues remains itself, that is, it does not transform into its own imitation (imperfection), only if it occupies its proper place in the hierarchy of virtues, through which it forms a structural unity with the other virtues. Hessen writes on the subject:

> In this way, each virtue points to the next virtue, as if each virtue was falling into the next one as its tributary, as its organic moment. Thus, in essence there is only one virtue: individual virtues are only moments ("parts") of the same one virtue, which unites them all in a harmonious synthesis. This fullness of virtue – the synthesis of all its individual moments – Plato sees in justice. In application to the individual, justice means the harmonious fusion of three parts of the soul, each of which, without going beyond its limits, performs its proper function, so that the entire personality of man fulfils its destiny. In application to the state, justice means internal peace and consent between the particular classes, each of which, in submission to the higher one, fulfils its proper function and receives in return fully what it is entitled to receive (Hessen 1968b, 208).

Justice understood in this way also has its imitation. When justice breaks away from wisdom closely associated with courage and temperance, it becomes a seeking sophistry meddlesomeness

(*polypragmosyne*).[8] It involves intrusive interfering with someone else's affairs. It does not seek good, but instead seeks to gain power over people, ultimately leading to the loss of man's vocation and the loss of man's own personality. This type of situation can only be prevented when the relationships between the individual virtues regarded as moments of one coherent entity are properly captured. A summary of the entire discussion devoted to the platonic concept of virtues is presented by the Russian philosopher in the form of a diagram (Hessen 1968b, 209):
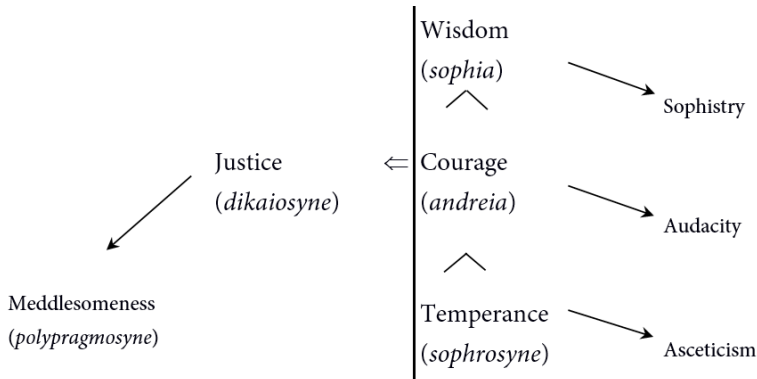
This coherent unity remains harmonious only to the extent that its individual moments remain in a dialectical relation, which is the case when the higher virtue "shines" (Hessen 1968b, 210) through the lower one, thus preventing the lower virtue from becoming its caricature:

> The higher virtue is therefore not so much the unity of the subordinate virtues, but rather their "fullness", being their refinement and, at the same time, a condition of their fulfilment (Hessen 1968b, 210).

Thus, the relationship between virtues remains mutual. While the higher virtue remains a principle for the lower virtue, without which the latter could not be fully formed, the lower virtue is an indelible 'moment' of the higher virtue. Temperance is that kind of moment for courage. Courage (in the company with temperance) is an indispensable "skeleton" (Hessen 1968b, 210) for wisdom. Hessen summarizes the platonic dialectic model defining the relations between the individual virtues as follows:

> Every virtue, in order to remain itself, must be simultaneously something else (temperance must be courage, and courage must be wisdom), i. e. it must be "unity of one and the other". From this platonic concept [...] comes not only Aristotle's doctrine of virtues as "means" (*mesotes*) between the two extremes of degeneration, but also the later doctrine of Nicolaus Cusanus of the unity as "coincidence" of opposites. The study of the higher principle understood as fullness of lower, subordinated ideas is the germ of the theory of the fullness (*pleroma*) of Plotinus, which, in turn become inspiration for Hegel's dialectical method. Plato's ambiguous term, "meros" (part), is, in this case, replaced by the new term: "moment" (*das Moment*). This term defines the lower idea in relation to the higher one, which is understood as the fullness of its subordinate moments; it is their "synthesis".

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8   The term 'polypragmosyne' appears in a following fragment: *Polytheia,* 434b; elsewhere in this dialogue (444b) Plato also uses the word 'allotriopragmosyne'.

Such features of Hegelian dialectics as the concept that the lower idea is "abolished", but also preserved in the higher one (both meanings of the word "aufheben"), that lower idea is saved from being distorted into its "caricature", or its "imitation" only by being elevated to a higher level – had already been present in description of the mutual relationship between ideas in Plato's doctrine of virtue (Hessen 1968b, 212).

While outlining the reception of Plato's dialectics this way, Hessen also emphasizes that in "ancient post-platonic ethics, the theory of virtue loses its meaning" (Hessen 1968b, 216). Although Aristotle still paid a lot of attention to it, even he did not develop a cohesive system of virtues. The concept of virtue is no longer an idea in his understanding, but it becomes a disposition of the soul (*hexis, habitus*). The virtues, as a subject of consideration, became less important while the issue of *eudaimonia*, that is, happiness resulting from a fulfilled life, became a main topic. This remark may seem controversial for two reasons: first, the problem of eudaimonia remains a key issue of Plato's virtue ethics and Aristotle, in his considerations on this issue, clearly follows Plato's footsteps; secondly, the problem of virtues is a central issue in Aristotelian ethics. However, Hessen's observation may be justified by the important difference that appears in the above context between the two Greek philosophers. For Plato, eudaimonia and the theoretical contemplation associated with it means the full realization of virtues, while for Aristotle, the civic virtues realized in the political life of human being are fundamentally different from the theoretical contemplation through which the fullness of eudaimonia can be achieved. A political life based on civic virtues is primarily intended to create social conditions in which individuals capable of contemplation (philosophers) can indulge purely theoretical life. In this view, a political life, which is based on civic virtue, remains indispensable, but it is fundamentally different from theoretical life and has, in Aristotle's view, a lower rank compare to theoretical life.[9] Similarly, the ethical issues of *eudaimonia* and civic virtues were addressed in the Hellenistic schools (Cynicism, Epicureanism, Stoicism). One exception here is Plotinus, who places the theory of virtues at the heart of his ethical reflection. He devotes one of his most important treatises to virtue (*Enneads*, I, 2).[10] However, Plotinus' analysis indicated that all of classical Greek virtues had already largely become obsolete. Plotinus' work indicated an understanding that there is a clear distinction between traditional ancient Greek 'civic virtues' (*politikai arietai*) and the 'higher' virtues (*meizones*), referred to as 'purification' (*katharsis*). These virtues, as Hessen writes:

> belong no longer to the soul of a human, but to the intellect (*nous*), and even to the highest principle. These higher virtues transcend human realm – for the soul pursues them in the process of becoming godlike (*theosis*) – and they transform the purely human virtues of temperance, courage and justice (Hessen 1968b, 217).

Plotinus' distinction between lower and higher virtues prepared the ground for the division (shaped in Christian tradition) of platonic (at its source) cardinal virtues such as temperance, courage, wisdom, justice and the theological virtues of faith, hope and love originating with the New Testament. Although this distinction is evident already in the work of St. Augustine, the Fathers of the Church did not pay special attention to the problem of the interrelationship between these two types of virtues. Nevertheless, Christianity brings to ethical thought an innovation by emphasizing the importance of the individual fate of each individual human being. Ancient ethics

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9   Compare: Grant 1885, 215; Guthrie 1981, 390-396.
10   This *Enneada* is entitled *Peri areton* (*About virtues*). The Greek text (Plotinus 1856) is available online: https://web.archive.org/web/20071006090521/http://plotin.lotophages.org/ [accessed: 04.03.2021].

always recognized the individual as a citizen of the state – the cardinal virtues depicted by Plato are civic virtues. Thus, in such ethics the goal was the achievement of political order. St. Paul, on the other hand, emphasizes in his Epistles, which are the oldest texts in the books of the New Testament, that the Christian God is the God of all people regardless of nationality, citizenship or language. When the primary concern of ethics becomes the care for individual fate of a human, the political issues become of a secondary importance. The belief in God, in Paul's thought, is not to be identified with the purely theoretical attitude of the sage, which Plotinus presented in the *Enneads*. The Christian belief in God is not some theoretical contemplation, but a personal and intimate relationship that is based on full engagement. This engagement is most fully expressed in a particular life's practise such as love of one's neighbour (*agape*, *caritas*). It also allows one to hope that it is through faith and love that one will attain salvation.

In this context, the question arises as to how much the civic virtues known to the ancient world are needed by Christians who practice evangelical virtues. Hessen points out that as early as in the work of St. Augustine, who was not at all sympathetic to the ancient theory of virtues, one can find statements not so much disqualifying the meaning of civic virtues, but emphasizing the need to transform them through the evangelical virtues (Hessen 1968b, 218).[11] However, this problem gained attention, as the Russian philosopher points out, only during the Renaissance, when studies of Plato's works were renewed. The greatest expression of it has been found not in the philosophical treatises of the period, but in a fresco by Raphael commissioned by Pope Julius II. For many years, this fresco was interpreted and titled as *The Three Virtues*.[12] It was believed that it depicted three allegorical figures of temperance, courage, and wisdom. The work itself is described by Hessen as follows:

> Only three virtues are depicted in the fresco: the figure to the right of the viewer, holding the reins – the abstinence emblem, symbolizes temperance; the figure to the left, having as its emblem a lion's head, is a symbol of courage; the figure in the middle, placed slightly higher than the previous two, is wisdom (the head of Medusa on her chest is a traditional emblem of wisdom, that decorate almost all ancient images of Athena). Justice does not have a separate appearance in the fresco: it is, according to Plato's doctrine, a synthesis, or the fullness of the other virtues. Its representation as a symbol of the unity [...] is in the ceiling medallion above the fresco (Hessen 1968b, 220-221).

A breakthrough in the interpretation of this fresco was made by Edgar Wind (1937–1938) when he noticed the three putti, which until then had only been attributed with a decorative role. Using an appropriate comparative material, this researcher showed that putti symbolize the three theological virtues (faith, hope, and love).[13] Each figure personifying one of the cardinal virtues is also accompanied by one putto. Hessen writes on the subject as follows:

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[11] In making the above remark, the Russian philosopher refers (Hessen 1968b, 281, footnote) to one of Augustine's dialogues (*De vita beata,* IV, 35). This reference is incorrect. However, this does not change the fact that in the works of the author of *De Civitate Dei* one can indeed come across statements emphasizing the role of Christian love in transforming pagan virtues (*De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae*, XV, 25), as well as remarks referring to the Epistles of St. Paul indicating the close connection between justice and faith (*De Civitate Dei*, IV, 20). St. Augustine's works are quoted according to the edition of *S. Aurelia Augustini Opera Omnia. Patrologiae Latinae Elenchus* (Migne 1841 – 1865), available online: http://www.augustinus.it/latino/index.htm [accessed: 04.03.2021].

[12] This is the title Hessen used in his article. Nowadays, the fresco is usually given the title: *Cardinal and Theological Virtues.*

[13] In the first half of the 1940s, the period in which Hessen wrote his article, this interpretation was an

> In this fresco, the ancient or civic virtues are complemented and refined by the evangelical virtues: temperance by hope, courage by the love of one's neighbour, and wisdom by faith. The basis of the artist's vision is Plato's theory. The evangelical virtues do not remove civic virtues, but merely transform them, bringing them to life with a new Christian spirit (Hessen 1968b, 222).

Hessen considers this interrelation of cardinal and theological virtues as the most important contribution of renaissance Platonism to the modern moral reflection. In the last, philosophically most interesting part of his paper, Hessen attempts to interpret the development of modern ethics from this new perspective depicted in Raphael's fresco.

II

To study this issue more thoroughly, Russian philosopher proposes tracing the history of modern ethics, starting with Kant's practical philosophy. Kant's thought is important for two reasons. First, he created an autonomous ethics, that is, a theory of ethics independent of religious assumptions. Secondly, according to Hessen, the concept of moral autonomy developed by Kant does not contradict the most critical ideas of Christian theology; in contrast, it directly stems from them.

Seeking fully autonomous foundations for morality, i. e., a foundation independent of religious and metaphysical assumptions, Kant considered the principle of duty (*Gesetz der Pflicht*) to be the basis of his practical philosophy. The principle of duty finds its proper expression in the categorical imperative (Hessen 1968b, 238-240). In its basic formula, which appears in the *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals*, this imperative is as follows: "act only in accordance with that maxim through which you can at the same time will that it become a universal law" (Kant 1999, 73 [IV 421][14]). The categorical imperative does not say which maxims of moral action we should use. It is up to us to choose our maxims based on the situation and the problems we face. The categorical imperative only helps us to resolve whether the maxims we choose are suitable for the rules of moral conduct. They are suitable when they can be given the validity of general laws applicable in the same way to all rational beings. A maxim can therefore become duty when it is completely selfless; that is, when it does not take into account our individual inclinations and desires, but instead takes into account a community order that imposes the same obligations on all. Duties must not only be selfless but must also be completely autonomous. Kant argues that the categorical imperative regarded as the principal condition of autonomy can therefore be expressed "as [...] the idea of the will of every rational being as a will giving universal law" (Kant 1999, 81 [IV 431]). In this view, universal law plays a key role.

The philosopher from Königsberg understood that universal law, being a full expression of the autonomy of all moral entities, remained as an idea which in actual moral practice can never be fully realized. This idea, however, is not some idle invention out of touch with the actual moral

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important *novum*. It is now widely accepted. Compare, for example, the Wikipedia article *Cardinal and Theological Virtues (Raphael),* which also features good quality photos of both the fresco itself and the medallion placed above it representing justice. Online address: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cardinal_and_Theological_Virtues_(Raphael).

Raphael's fresco is also possible to find in the virtual gallery of the Musei Vaticani: https://www.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani/en/collezioni/musei/stanze-di-raffaello/stanza-della-segnatura/virtu-cardinali-e-teologali-e-la-legge.html [accessed: 04.03.2021].

[14] The numbers in square brackets refer to the collective edition of Kant's works, published by the Prussian Academy of Sciences (Kant 1903ff). The Roman number means volume, the Arabic number means page.

practice. Actual moral practice assumes this idea as its own condition of possibility.[15] At the same time, it is an idea that in relation to all moral actions can be thought only negatively, i. e., as such a goal which gives us an opportunity to see how we should not act rather than allowing us to formulate a specific maxim of action. In the above 'negative' perspective, Kant sees morality as a constant struggle against all factors that threaten the autonomy of the subject.[16] These factors cause a subject's heteronomy to be understood as dependence on external instances, above all dependence on sensory stimuli (desires, emotions, feelings, habits).

Morality understood in such a way finds its fullest expression in self-discipline (controlling one's sensory tendencies), hence it represents, as Hessen emphasises, the fullest realization of virtue of temperance (*sophrosyne*). The only thing a moral subject really needs, according to Kant, is a purely practical belief in the ultimate success of one's own efforts. Only then can the moral actions of a subject be considered as reasonable actions, i. e., actions which are ultimately worth taking. The idea of autonomy itself, the idea of full freedom of the subject, being, as mentioned above, a negative idea, does not solve this problem. It only allows us to understand that autonomy has not yet been fully achieved by human beings. Moreover, the negativity of this idea also means that we do not have any 'positive' knowledge of how we could fully implement this autonomy. However, its implementation must be seen as feasible by the subject. In order for this to happen, we must therefore assume, at least as a postulate, the possibility of infinite moral improvement of each individual. This is not a theoretical assumption but a practical one. We don't know if it is true; we can only believe it.

In order for our moral action to be reasonable, something else needs to be assumed. Ultimately, our moral actions need to lead to the highest good. The totality of the highest good means not only the moral perfection (autonomy) of the subjects but also means their full happiness. This assumes, again in the form of a postulate, the existence of an instance that can ensure this happiness. As before, this postulate is not theoretical. First, we do not know whether such an instance (the highest being, God) exists at all. Secondly, we do not have knowledge of what happiness itself would look like. All we know is that every human being desires this happiness. Both possibilities – the former entails a belief in the immortality of the soul, the latter a belief in God as the guarantor of happiness which cannot be achieved by humans on their own – Kant calls the postulates of practical reason.

It is at this point that Kant's moral reflection presents, as Hessen points it out, a clear link between the cardinal virtue of temperance and the Christian virtue of hope. The practical belief in the immortality of the soul and in God allows a human to hope that the moral struggle for self-discipline, or temperance, will ultimately make sense. However, this hope is limited to the practice itself and is expressed only in this practice. Only a person who acts, and while acting with self-discipline courageously fulfils one's own duty, can place one's hope in God. Hessen (1968b, 243) cites in this context Kant's statement from *Religion within the Boundaries of Mere Reason*:

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[15] The idea of autonomy is considered interchangeable with the idea of freedom, which we become aware of and realize through moral law. In this context, Kant understands freedom as the *ratio essendi* (condition of existence) of moral law, and moral law as the *ratio cognoscendi* (condition of cognition) of freedom. The idea of autonomy, homogeneous with the positive notion of freedom – the freedom to autonomously establish rules of moral conduct – must be distinguished from purely formal freedom in negative meaning, which Kant understands as mere independence from sensory stimuli. (Kant 1999, 140, 166 [V 5, V 33]). Positive freedom assumes negative freedom as its condition but is not identical with it.

[16] Kant pointed this out *expressis verbis* in his *Metaphysics of Morals* (Kant 1999, 533 [VI 405]), which also has been noticed by Hessen (1968b, 240, footnote).

Each must [...] so conduct himself as if everything depended on him. Only on this condition may he hope that a higher wisdom will provide the fulfilment of his well-intentioned effort (Kant 2001, 133 [VI 100-101]).

In other words, a person only has the right to hope that his or her moral action – along with the action the person's life as a whole – will prove to be meaningful when he or she acts at all. The person needs act in such a way, as if in every particular situation he or she has to deal with, everything depends solely on him or her. Up to this point, while analysing Kant's thought, Hessen did not have any objections. However, if we assume that everything in our action depends on us and only us, then – as Hessen proves in his *The Law and Morality* – the famous formula of the categorical imperative that dictates acting in accordance only with such a maxim, in respect of which the acting subject wish to become a universal law, should take the form of: "act in such a way that everyone in your place at this unique moment will do the same" (Hessen 1968c, 303). Only such a formulation is able to convey the strictly individual character of the act, as well as the fully individual, (though at the same time, having universal characteristics) hope associated with this act and expressed in it. But that means, concludes the Russian philosopher, the same thing as:

"act as only you (and no one else) can in this individual situation", because neither the place, nor the moment, nor the whole particular situation will ever happen again. Hence Fichte correctly inferred that the formulas of categorical imperatives may take another forms: "be irreplaceable in your place" or "you can (i. e. only you in this individual situation and unique moment can), so you should" (Hessen 1968c, 303-304).

In this interpretation, Fichte appears as the creator of concrete ethics.[17] These ethics realize the assumptions immanent in Kant's project, though not fully expressed by Kant himself. These ethics satisfy the universalization requirement imposed on specific maxims (rules of action) by the categorical imperative. However, the requirement of universalization here refers not to the rules of operation itself, but to the fully individual way of acting in a particular unique situation. This way of action cannot be captured in the form of universally applicable rules that can be expressed discursively, i. e., by means of concepts. With regard to fully individualized moral actions, we can only have a purely practical intuition, that is, intuition of the will (Hessen 1968c, 299), to use the term Hessen derived from the works of Georges Gurvitsch.[18] However, this does not change the fact that the value of universality invariably inheres in moral action. However, it inheres in it in such a way as we talk about the value of universality in relation to a work of art. As Hessen expresses it:

It was Kant's mistake that he could not have imagined this universal value (*Allgeneingültigkeit*), other than in the form of repetitive and average generality (*Allgemeinheit*). Meanwhile, completely individual (that is unique and irreplaceable) artwork can have universal value. This is true, for example, in case of any work of art, or even a creative reproduction of that work by a virtuoso or an actor. This is also the truth in the case of a moral act, as well as a corresponding moral duty which this moral act fulfils. The moral duty has a uniquely individual character. This is why it cannot be contained in the ready-made standard

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[17] In his argument, Hessen follows Fichte's interpretation of the practical philosophy as presented by Georges Gurvitsch in *Fichtes System der konkreten Ethik* (Gurvitsch 1924).

[18] In addition to the aforementioned work on Fichte, two other publications by this author remain relevant in this context: *Idée du droit social* (Gurvitsch 1932) and *Eléments de sociologie juridique* (Gurvitsch 1940).

formulas that use concepts of general (that is repetitive) meaning, but rather it can be expressed in regulation that have a character of guidance, model, or example. Capturing the moral duty is a matter of "vision of the heart", "intuition of the will", which sometimes requires instant action (when there is a sudden need). It is not a matter of "common sense" (Hessen 1968c, 304-305).

Kant's mistake, therefore, is to try to establish a purely discursive basis for morality, which precludes *de facto* the possibility of capturing both the individuality of the subject performing moral actions as well as the uniqueness of the situational context in which these actions themselves take place. Moral entities are granted the value of being a person which, as Kant stresses that it is an absolute value, i. e., the value that is not exchangeable to any other value. Yet the concept of a person remains a legal concept in Kant's theory. A moral subject is a legal person, and therefore it should be (like the law itself, which the subject autonomously confers on itself and, at the same time, is a governed by) the object of respect. The living personality and individuality of a person, which as such can manifest itself as the object of love of one's neighbour, are here largely ignored. Priority is given to the legal order. A person is entitled to be respected precisely because he or she is part of that order. For this reason, Kant's morality of temperance and hope is transformed into an abstract rigorism of legal duty, detached from the particular, individual human life.

This self-contained moral rigorism became, as Hessen points it out, the starting point for Nietzsche's philosophy. The author of *Thus spoke Zarathustra* contrasted such a vision of morality with that, the foundation of which is in creativity. The dignified master morality – contrasted with poor morality of slave – consists in creating and realizing the values, rather than submitting to some legal order. However, Nietzsche failed to completely liberate his philosophy from the mistake of rigorism. More harshly than Kant, Nietzsche refused any positive meaning in the love of one's neighbour, which he contrasted with the love of the distant. It is a love for the superman ideal to which man is to strive by constantly overcoming himself. In turn, the Christian concept of love is completely negated and considered the basis of the morality of slave. The slave mentality is not able to bear, as Hessen writes:

> the clear and cold air of the mountain peaks, the habitat of a brave and pure hero who willingly took the hard road of constantly overcoming himself to achieve, shining in the distance future, the ideal of superman. The Christian concept of the love of one's neighbour (*Caritas*) Nietzsche clearly contrasted with the heroic "love of the distant" (*Eros*) as the only worthy model of love for a being who is "constantly overcoming itself" (Hessen 1968b, 248).

Nietzsche's major attack on the concept of neighbourly love and the resulting morality is not entirely unfounded. The author of *Thus spoke Zarathustra* identifies the love of one's neighbour with the feeling of pity. For Nietzsche, the polemic with Christian morality is also largely a polemic with Schopenhauer. What is most important in this context, however, is that Schopenhauer's depiction of love to one's neighbour as pity was by no means an arbitrary conception. It remains characteristic of modern middle class morality, in which the idea of humanitarianism became quite prominent. This idea, as Hessen points it out, is, however, a distortion of the evangelical love of one's neighbour.[19] In humanitarianism there is a complete separation of the theological virtue of love from the virtue of faith:

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[19] See also: Scheler 1972. Hessen does not refer to Scheler's work in this context (its first edition appeared in 1912), but the arguments of the two authors are quite similar on this point.

Love, detached from actual faith in god and not infiltrated by it, cannot stand as true love, but distorts itself into self-permissive compassion or even pity that finds human repugnant (Hessen 1968b, 252).

The virtue of faith is placed over the virtue of love and it conditions the proper realization of the latter. To properly present and analyse this issue, Hessen reaches to Dostoyevsky's literary work, in which he finds a unique complement to the Kantian ethics of temperance and hope. This complement can be derived primarily from *The Brothers Karamazov*. According to the interpretation proposed by Hessen, the three sons of Fyodor Pavlovich Karamazov embody three forms – or three degrees – of good: Dmitri is the personification of natural goodness, which is expressed in reactions and actions performed without reflection; Ivan represents autonomous good, which is already the subject of intellectual thought; Alyosha is the embodiment of the supreme form of goodness, i. e., love (Hessen 1929a). Love is not a contradiction of either natural or autonomous good. Love does not question the fact that the natural basis of ethics are human natural reflexes, or the fact that ethical action requires a subject's autonomous reflection on what are, in a given situation, his moral duties. Both forms of good are preserved in love, but in love they are devoid of their limitations. Only through this can they be fully realized without turning into their own distortions. Love, however, cannot be regarded as just a feeling. With regards to moral practice, it means above all else a certain way of acting. In Dostoevsky's novel, this issue is emphasized by the starets Zosima, who distinguished between dreamy (sentimental) love and active love. In conversation with the 'woman of little faith' (*The Brothers Karamazov*, book II, chapter IV), he stated:

love in action is a harsh and dreadful thing compared with love in dreams. Love in dreams is greedy for immediate action, rapidly performed and in the sight of all. Men will even give their lives if only the ordeal does not last long but is soon over, with all looking on and applauding as though on the stage. But active love is labor and fortitude, and for some people too, perhaps, a complete science (Dostoyevsky 2009, 58).

Hessen concludes stating that active love is courageous and persistent in its essence. It does not abrogate the meaning of moral duty, but merely enhances it and gives it fullness (Hessen 1968b, 251). Active love also includes hope as its moment. The starets Zosima highlights this point:

And let not the sin of men confound you in your doings. Fear not that it will wear away your work and hinder its being accomplished. Do not say, "Sin is mighty, wickedness is mighty, evil environment is mighty, and we are lonely and helpless, and evil environment is wearing us away and hindering our good work from being done". Fly from that dejection, children! There is only one means of salvation, then take yourself and make yourself responsible for all men's sins, that is the truth, you know, friends, for as soon as you sincerely make yourself responsible for everything and for all men, you will see at once that it is really so, and that you are to blame for every one and for all things. But throwing your own indolence and impotence on others you will end by sharing the pride of Satan and murmuring against God (Dostoyevsky 2009, 356).

A human is able to endure being in active love only if he or she can hope that the next actions taken – against all possible odds – will not ultimately prove fruitless. In this context, Zosima is advised to take responsibility and take the blame for all the sins and weaknesses of every human being without

exception, which may seem somewhat surprising. For Zosima, it is the only salvation for us and for the world we live in. The reverse approach – in which one blames others for one's indolence and inability to act (thus one's own sinfulness) – is a manifestation of Satan's pride and a murmur against God. Hessen points out that in this passage Dostoevsky, when talking about indolence and inability to act, uses the Russian word 'uninie', which is equivalent to the Greek (and later Latin) term meaning acedia. The word 'uninie' should, according to Hessen, be understood as lifelessness (laziness) of the heart. The Russian philosopher emphasizes that in the tradition of Eastern Christianity, it is one of the primary deadly sins of weakening of faith understood as an active and personal contact with God. Therefore, if love is to remain a living, active and creative love, if, in other words, a person is to avoid the lifelessness of the heart (acedia), then he or she must find the ultimate basis of a relationship to one's self and to the world in active faith in God.

In this way, Hessen manages to demonstrate the validity of all the relationships between individual virtues that appear in Raphael's fresco. The theological virtue of faith, together with the civic virtue of wisdom, occupies a central place in this fresco, and it is the virtue of faith that is the culmination and at the same time the final condition for the proper realization of all the other virtues (hope and temperance as well as love and courage). If Hessen's interpretation is to be regarded as valid, then the question of how faith is able to infiltrate or shine through – to use the metaphor utilized by the Russian philosopher – the virtue of wisdom and elevate it to a higher level, needs to be answered. In examining the relationship between faith and wisdom, Hessen continues to follow Dostoevsky's literary vision. He points out that active, courageous love is the only way that can lead a human to an active faith in god. This faith has nothing to do with knowledge, dogmas, or any theoretical act of cognition. It is expressed only through action. In this sense, it excludes all theoretical wisdom and all theoretical (conceptual) knowledge. In the aforementioned conversation with a woman of little faith who, as she herself confesses, cannot believe in God, the starets Zosima advises:

> Strive to love your neighbor actively and indefatigably. In as far as you advance in love you will grow surer of the reality of God and of the immortality of your soul (Dostoyevsky 2009, 56).[20]

Faith is here understood as the culmination of the active love of one's neighbour. Interestingly, Hessen presents a similar thesis with regards to the purely rational and purely practical faith that appears in the Kantian model of morality. In this model:

> The man approaches God, or rather God reveals himself to a man only by way of moral action, not by way of ethical knowledge (Hessen 1968b, 244).

Of course, the allegations made by Hessen against Kant's project of practical philosophy remain valid. A purely practical faith in Kant's understanding is based, however, solely on moral practice, and it is this characteristic that brings it closer to the concept outlined by Dostoyevsky. This characteristic makes possible to capture in an entirely new way Kant's key problem of autonomy. From Hessen's perspective, this problem cannot be limited to the autonomy of the moral law itself because we are dealing with a much broader autonomy of good. In this context, comments made by Hessen in his dissertation *The Battle of Utopia and Autonomy of Good in the View of Fyodor Dostoyevsky and Vladimir Solovyov* remains relevant. The Russian philosopher argues in it that the problem of the autonomy of the good according to the vision outlined in

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[20] All three passages cited above from Dostoevsky's novel are quoted *in extenso* by Hessen (1968b).

The Brothers Karamazov can be expressed in the thesis, 'The good comes from God' (Hessen 1931, 286; Hessen 1968a, 128). The phrase, however, must be properly understood. Hessen writes:

> Good as a necessary consequence arising from the existence of god and the immortality of the soul would be an enforced good, whereas it should, by the free choice of human, reside in one's heart. [...] The belief in the existence of God and the immortality of the soul is a consequence of active love, not its basis. This thought is constantly repeated by the starets Zosima. He claims that even an atheist who with his reason denies God and immortality of soul can return to God and see him through acts of mercy.[21] Good as an active love of one's neighbour is independent of knowledge and as such is an autonomous way to God. Farther, God is known not by the intellectual intuition, but by the intuition of the will, that is through the effort of love, which is free from coercion, including coercion of evidence, so in this sense, it is autonomous (Hessen 1931, 287-288; Hessen 1968a, 129).

The key concept of Kant's philosophy – the concept of autonomy (freedom) – is treated here as a fundamental category depicting the total transcendence of God (and thus also goodness) to human cognition. In this way, the concept of autonomy becomes the basic determinant of *via negativa* used by negative theology, which seeks to capture the infinite (absolute) transcendence of God over a man and over the world through the negation of human finiteness[22]. It needs to be mentioned in this context that the issue of human freedom plays a key role in Byzantine theology, mostly with regards to the doctrine of salvations. Salvation – understood throughout Eastern Christianity as *theosis* – remains a work of divine love occurring within the world. This work can only take place because man remains completely free towards God. Man must fully voluntarily accept and consent to God's work. On the one hand, Byzantine theology acknowledges the universality of salvation; on the other hand, it makes clear that this redemption, although intended and accessible to all through the salvific work of Christ, requires a fully voluntary, individual commitment on the part of man (not enforced by any external authority). No one can be saved by God if one does not voluntarily wish for this to happen (Meyendorff 1999, 163). It is this freedom that Hessen refers to as the autonomy of good, and he sees it as the basis of the ethics of responsibility derived from Dostoyevsky's work.

This ethics – as well as the good that is the ethic's condition and pinnacle – remains an ethics that is autonomous (independent) from any philosophical, religious or ideological assumptions. Even if, in a particular sense, this ethics can be considered religious ethics, it is an ethics that transcends the opposition between theism and atheism. Freedom in the relationship between man and God also means freedom from knowledge (beliefs) about God's existence or non-existence. The intuition of the heart transcends these beliefs because it goes beyond all possibilities and factual states that we are able to think of and consider as data. The intuition of the heart is always expressed in creativity, i. e., in the creation of something completely new, which was not previously given even as a possibility. Only through such creative action the man can be truly free. Citing Bergson's viewpoint expressed in *Essais sur les donées immédiates,*[23] Hessen states:

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[21] Hessen refers here to Dostoyevsky's notes made by him when working on his last published novel *Die Urgestalt der Brüder Karamasoff* (Dostoyevsky – Komarowitsch 1928).

[22] The relationships linking Hessen's thought with the tradition of negative theology have been discussed in: Wieczorek 2005, 103-110.

[23] Authorized English translation: Bergson 1913.

> Bergson was right claiming that the freedom of will at its highest tension is not a choice between existing, and ready to use paths of doing things, but rather it is the creation of a new path that has not existed before. The moral act of this creative freedom often consists of finding a way out of a situation from which – it would seem – there is no way out. It doesn't mean choosing from the many easily accessible and banal resolutions, but rather it is a decision that creates the new resolution (Hessen 1968c, 306).

Of course, it is not the case that human daily moral practice is always based on moral creativity. On the contrary: this practice needs established, comprehensible, schematic patterns of conduct, without which it would be very difficult for a person to function. Hessen has no intention of denying this. He stresses, however, that all such patterns, (which are adopted by an individual during the process of socialization), do not constitute morality in the strict sense of the word, but are rather patterns of our legal actions. Legal norms differ from moral norms as they are mediated by concepts (discursive knowledge). Thus, their fulfilment requires far less willpower than the fulfilment of moral norms. Hessen writes:

> In morality, duty is pure and direct, while in law it is obscured and diminished, as a result of a network of concepts (reasoning) with a logical structure that is imposed upon it. It is an intellectualized duty, that has been filtered through the prism of theoretical knowledge (logical regularity) (Hessen 1968c, 300-301).

The law tells us how we should behave so as not to violate legal norms. In the case of moral duty, we have no such knowledge. We have to act on our own responsibility. The very fact that we are able to capture the legal obligation by means of concepts leads to this duty only being applicable to standardized actions and situations, i. e., those that can be repeated. As Hessen expresses it:

> A legal duty is not a bespoke garment specifically for an individual person, but a ready-made, standard garment made for the average person (Hessen 1968c, 312).

The law, while remaining a kind of 'minimum of morality' (Hessen 1968c, 312),[24] diminishes moral duty, adapting it to the requirements of an average man. However not only that, it also creates social conditions by which human creativity, which is the only one able to meet moral duty, becomes possible at all. The discursive knowledge (theoretical wisdom) that underlies the legal system is able to capture and constrain the various forms of violence that occur in social interactions. Legal norms entail the possibility of coercion against those who do not comply with these norms. Legal coercion is not just pure mistreatment, since every application of the law requires rational justification. Indeed, even the most correct functioning of legal norms cannot in the slightest degree substitute for moral creativity, but it can remove obstacles that stand in its way (Hessen 1968c, 313). In other words, the social space in which free human creativity – including moral creativity – exists is

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[24] This description Hessen took from Vladimir Soloviev. Hessen's philosophy of law in the context of Russian tradition of legal liberalism has been analysed in detail in the book by Andrzej Walicki (Walicki 1992, 404-470). This author writes (Walicki 1992, 453): "From Soloviev, Hessen took the conception of law as the minimum of morality but interpreted it differently. By the minimum of morality he did not mean that the scope of law is less; on the contrary it is broader because many laws, such as traffic rules or different administrative regulations, are morally indifferent. Soloviev's definition is true if minimum is understood not as lesser scope, but as lesser intensity."

possible thanks to the law. The moral autonomy of good thus presupposes the discursive (based on conceptual knowledge) autonomy of the law and cannot be achieved without it[25].

In arguing for this kind of discursive autonomy of morality, Kant, according to Hessen, demonstrated the possibility of application of a system of legal norms rather than possibility of application of moral duties (Hessen 1968c, 301-302). Nevertheless, Kant's approach to the issue of autonomy remains valid precisely in the realm of law. The moral autonomy of good, that allows for creative moral practice, needs legal autonomy as its dialectical counterbalance. Only in this dialectical tension can the ethics of responsibility be realized in its concrete form.

Consequently, the outlined relationship between law and morality allows the whole issue of virtue ethics to be seen in a new light. This is an interesting issue, primarily because since the 1980s, there have been attempts to demonstrate the relevance of this ethics to contemporary moral reflection. These attempts have sparked widespread debate. The issue of the creative dimension of human morality and the indispensable relationship of the creative moral practice to the legal system, although in Hessen's analyses comprise the key problem of the moral reflections, have not yet been properly considered in the contemporary discussions on virtues theories. This issue, however, goes far beyond the framework of this article and needs to be addressed in the future.

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[25] Compare also: Walicki 1992, 465.

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HOMÍLIA MONS. VILIAMA JUDÁKA PREDNESENÁ NA PÚTI PRI PRÍLEŽITOSTI SLÁVNOSTI SV. CYRILA A METODA DŇA 5. JÚLA 2020 V NITRE A JEJ PRÍNOS K ROZVOJU CYRILO-METODSKEJ TRADÍCIE

Homily of Monsignor Viliam Judák for Sts. Cyril and Methodius Pilgrimage Spoken on 5 July 2020 in Nitra and Its Contribution to the Development of Cyrillo-Methodian Tradition

Ľubomír Hlad

Abstrakt: HLAD, Ľubomír. *Homily of Monsignor Viliam Judák for Sts. Cyril and Methodius Pilgrimage Spoken on 5 July 2020 in Nitra and Its Contribution to the Development of Cyrillo-Methodian Tradition.* The aim of the study is to analyse the text of the homily spoken by the bishop of Nitra, Monsignor Viliam Judák, at Sts. Cyril and Methodius pilgrimage on 5 July 2020 in Nitra, and to identify the elements which directly follow the line of Cyrillo-Methodian preaching tradition in its form and content. The preaching tradition of the saints is based on two aspects: the act of preaching *per se* (*traditio activa*) and the content of preaching (*traditio passiva*). The detailed exploration of the bishop's homily is grounded in the clearly defined "Cyrillo-Methodian" criteria which preaching should have according to the contemporary documents of the Magisterium. The first part of the study presents the analysis of the relevant part of Pope Francis' exhortation *Evangelii gaudium* (2013) which relates to the homily, as well as the analysis of the written work by Sts. Cyril and Methodius which can be considered both in the narrow and wider sense as the Cyrillo-Methodian legacy of preaching. The analysis shows that most criteria used in contemporary preaching of new evangelization are present in the work of the Slavic missionaries especially as structural features: relatedness to liturgy, comprehensibility and clarity, expressiveness, rootedness in the culture of recipients and in Biblical culture, kerygmatic trinitarianism and focus on salvation in Christ. In the second part of the study, the application of the specified criteria on the homily of Monsignor Judák from 5 July 2020 confirms that the homily is in terms of its formal features characterized by Cyrillo-Methodian comprehensibility, and in the features of the content it is characterized by Cyrillo-Methodian advocacy of moral principles, and above all by existential rootedness of Christians in the New Testament, especially in its moral doctrine which promotes an active and responsible attitude of believers and supports the common good of the nation, in its temporal as well as in the eternal dimension.

Keywords: *tradition, Cyrillo-Methodian, homily, form, content, Magisterium, word, images, native culture, listening, moral principles*

Úvod

Výskum cyrilo-metodskej tradície sa v závislosti od prístupov, ktoré sú vlastné jednotlivým vedným disciplínam, vo všeobecnosti zameriava na jej dejinne uchopiteľné a zmapovateľné prejavy, ako sú jazyk, cirkevno-liturgické pamiatky, architektúra, umenie či ľudová zbožnosť. Ide o rôznorodé vyjadrenia národného dedičstva prítomného v kolektívnom povedomí, ktorých manifestácie sú podmienené súčinnosťou rozličných vonkajších faktorov spoločenského aj duchovného charakteru (porov. Botek 2020, 213). Pohľadu teologickému je umožnené – čítajúc a interpretujúc vyjadrenia tradície v jej horizontálnej (časovej) dimenzii – dotýkať sa aj dimenzie vertikálnej (nadčasovej, naddejinnej), ktorá je natrvalo ukrytá v tajomstve trojičného bytia, spoločenstva svätých a operatívne sa zjavuje v dejinnom „teraz" prostredníctvom kultu svätých (porov. KKC 957). Ide tu o poklad zásluh jednotlivých svätých, ktoré – získané „na zemi skrze jediného prostredníka medzi Bohom a ľuďmi, Krista Ježiša" (KKC 956) – predkladajú v postoji orodovania Otcovi, aby tak „upevňovali Cirkev vo svätosti" a „pomáhali našej slabosti" (KKC 956). Liturgicko-teologické označenie „slovanskí vierozvestovia" (Rímsky misál 2001, 712) alebo titul „apoštoli Slovanov" (*Slavorum Apostoli*) (Ján Pavol II. 1985), priznaný svätým spolupatrónom Európy Cyrilovi a Metodovi,[1] dáva termínu „zásluha" (účinne vyžarujúceho aj do prítomnosti Cirkvi[2]) konkrétny obsah. Je ním evanjelizačné ohlasovanie – kázanie patriace do samého srdca cyrilo-metodskej tradície (Kocev et al 2017, 92).

Keďže termín *tradícia* v teologickom význame označuje dve skutočnosti – akt odovzdávania a zároveň odovzdávaný obsah[3] – (porov. Dei Verbum 1965, č. 8), tak aj cirkevné kázanie rozvíja cyrilo-metodskú tradíciu dvojakým spôsobom: 1. samotnou praxou kázania, t. j. riadnou formou aktívneho odovzdávania Božieho zjavenia, v intenciách kazateľskej formy svätých slovanských vierozvestov; 2. kázaním špecificky cyrilo-metodských doktrinálnych obsahov, tvoriacich poklad cirkevne „kanonizovaných" interpretačných tradícií Božieho zjavenia a zrkadliacich jedinú Tradíciu; sú zachované v ich kazateľskej spisbe, formálne aj obsahovo nie nepodobnej tvorbe cirkevných otcov[4] (porov. CEC 1989, č. 45 d) ako jedinečných svedkov Tradície (porov. CEC 1989, č. 18).

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[1] Za spolupatrónov Európy boli sv. Cyril a Metod vyhlásení 31. decembra 1980 apoštolským listom Jána Pavla II. *Egregiaevirtutis* (Ján Pavol II. 1980).

[2] O mnohorakých zásluhách sv. Cyrila, medzi ktorými vyniká jeho učenie (kázanie) o dokonalej pravde, sa vyjadril pápež Pavol VI.: „Životné dielo svätého Cyrila je bohaté na zásluhy a vyplývajú z neho príklady a poučenia platné i dnes" (Pavol VI., Homília 1963; Judák – Liba 2012, 84).

[3] Fundamentálny teológ Pavol Linet pri objasňovaní pojmu *tradícia* v jeho dvoch aspektoch uvádza: „Ako vyplýva z etymológie (*traditio, parádosis, massoreth*), je dôležité chápať tradíciu [...] v jej dynamickej povahe ako proces komunikácie. Výraz tradícia naznačuje odovzdanie niečoho niekomu. Tradícia je [...] proces prenosu celého Zjavenia, celého Kristovho ohlasovania. [...] Nemožno [však] hovoriť o tradícii ako procese bez jej obsahu, teda bez toho, čo je tradíciou odovzdávané. Všeobecne je tradícia z hľadiska obsahu nazývaná pasívna tradícia (*traditio passiva*). Vďaka tomuto určeniu je možné jednoznačne odlíšiť obsah tradície od formálneho úkonu odovzdávania, aktívnej tradície (*traditio activa*)" (Linet 2005, 20-21).

[4] Podobnosť medzi spisbou cirkevných otcov a slovanských vierozvestov je daná časovou blízkosťou ich života s patristickým obdobím..., datovaným na východe do roku 750. Prvky, ktoré robia z písomného dedičstva cirkevných otcov jedinečných svedkov Tradície, sú prítomné aj v diele sv. Cyrila a Metoda: „Diela cirkevných otcov sú striktne pastorálne. Ich spisy sú buď katechézy, homílie, vyvracania (konfutácie) heréz, alebo odpovede, konzultácie, duchovné povzbudenia či manuály na poučenie veriacich. Na základe toho možno vidieť, ako boli cirkevní otcovia vtiahnutí do pastoračných problémov svojich čias [...], usilujúc sa v prvom rade o uchovanie jednoty Božieho ľudu vo viere, božskom kulte, morálke a disciplíne" (Congregazione per l'educazionecattolica 1989, č. 45d).

Na uvedené dve dimenzie cyrilo-metodskej kazateľskej tradície – kázanie ako akt ohlasovania v intenciách cyrilo-metodskej formy kázania a kázanie ako komunikácia obsahov cyrilo-metodskej doktrinálnej tradície – teraz nazrieme oddelene.

I. Analýza formálnej a obsahovej stránky cyrilo-metodského kázania

Každý pokus o metodologicko-štrukturálnu analýzu kazateľského diela sv. Cyrila a Metoda naráža na istú fragmentárnosť. O homílii vo vlastnom zmysle slova je pravdepodobne možné hovoriť iba v súvislosti s dielami *Napomenutie k vladárom* (porov. Habovštiaková – Krošláková 1993, 100) a *Napomenutie k pokániu*[5] (porov. Habovštiaková – Krošláková 1993, 104), ktoré historici pripisujú sv. Metodovi. Napriek skutočnosti, že podstatná časť kazateľskej tvorby veľkomoravskej misie sa nezachovala, jej formálne aj obsahové prvky sa dajú odvodiť zo širšieho celku zachovaného evanjelizačného svedectva(katechéz, napomenutí, apológií, biografií) – homília je totiž jeho špecifickou (liturgickou)realizačnou formou (porov. pápež František 2013, č. 137). Anticipujúc výsledky výskumu, možno skonštatovať, že ťažiskovým termínom definujúcim cyrilo-metodské evanjelizačné ohlasovanie po formálnej stránke je *zrozumiteľnosť* – základný predpoklad tzv. inkulturácie evanjelia[6].

Zrozumiteľnosť cyrilo-metodskej evanjelizačnej misie je primárne spätá s hlavným médiom každej spásnej komunikácie, ktorým je jazyk (jeho alfabetizácia – porov. Ján Pavol II. 1985, č. 21), a potom s rozsiahlou prekladateľskou prácou do staroslovienčiny[7]v zmysle slov sv. Konštantína Cyrila z básnickej skladby *Proglas*: „Chcem radšej iba pätoro slov povedať, [...] aby aj bratia všetko porozumeli, než nezrozumiteľných slov riecť tisíce"(Konštantín Filozof 2004, 29). V širšom zmysle je zrozumiteľnosť ohlasovania spätá s „umením prekladu" do kultúrneho kontextu poslucháča[8], čiže do „materinskej kultúry", resp. „materinského nárečia", ktoré dokáže srdce poslucháča „lepšie pripravené počúvať" (pápež František 2013, č. 139). Tento typ vnútornej zrozumiteľnosti ohlasovaného Slova, o ktorom hovorí *Proglas* („hladné ľudské duše nakŕmi [...], um aj srdce posilní [...], Boha poznávať pripraví" – Konštantín Filozof 2004, 17-19), predpokladá – v zmysle slov pápeža Františka o inkulturovanej kázni (porov. pápež František 2013, č. 143) – na formálnej úrovni dialogickosť, obraznosť, naratívnosť i krásu vyžarujúcu z pravdy a na úrovni

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[5] Na označenie spisu pripisovaného sv. Metodovi (hoci jestvujú viaceré argumenty pre jeho pripísanie sv. Konštantínovi Cyrilovi) sa používa aj označenie „káznová úvaha".

[6] Podľa pápeža Benedikta XVI. predstavujú sv. Cyril a Metod klasický príklad toho, čo sa v súčasnosti označuje slovom „inkulturácia". Jej predpokladom je zrozumiteľnosť: „Každý národ musí zakotviť do svojej kultúry zjavené posolstvo a vyjadrovať jeho spásnu pravdu vlastným jazykom. To predpokladá veľmi náročnú úlohu prekladu, pretože si to vyžaduje voľbu adekvátnych termínov bez toho, aby došlo k znehodnoteniu bohatstva zjaveného Slova" (Benedikt XVI. 2009).

[7] Prekladové dielo tvorí podstatnú časť činnosti sv. Cyrila a Metoda. Ide o preklady krstného sľubu, vyznania viery nicejsko-carihradskej redakcie, spovednej formuly, modlitby Otčenáš, spovedných modlitieb, evanjelií, Apoštola (novozákonné texty okrem štyroch evanjelií), vybraných častí Starého zákona pre bohoslužobné potreby, žaltára, liturgických kníh, Epifaniovej homílie, právnej literatúry (civilný zákonník, cirkevné ustanovenia), ustanovení svätých otcov (porov. Habovštiaková – Krošláková 1993, 49-76).

[8] Túto prácu vystihujú slová Jána Pavla II.: „Aby dobre preložili evanjeliové pravdy do novej reči, museli sa najprv postarať o to, aby dobre poznali vnútorný svet tých, ktorým chceli hlásať Božie slovo dôverne známymi obrazmi a pojmami. [...] Išlo o novú metódu katechézy. [...] Veľkodušná voľba stotožniť sa s ich životom a tradíciou [...] vytvára z Cyrila a Metoda opravdivé vzory pre všetkých misionárov [...], aby zaznievalo jediné Božie slovo a bolo všetkým zrozumiteľné podľa výrazových prostriedkov rozličných kultúr a civilizácií" (Ján Pavol II. 1985, č. 10-11). Porovnaj tiež Tkáčová et al. 2021, 200-203.

osobnostnej dispozície kazateľa materinskosť[9] (porov. pápež František 2013, č. 139-143), ako aj ďalšie nevyhnutné duchovné kvality, ukotvené v príklade sv. Cyrila a Metoda, poskytujúce kazateľovi nástroje na pochopenie Božieho slova a jeho evanjelizačne účinnú interpretáciu a komunikáciu: odvahu, modlitbu a pokoru. Ide o trojicu explicitne vyjadrených cyrilo-metodských kazateľských vlastností, umožňujúcich účinne ohlasovať obsahy kerigmaticko-mystagogického charakteru, ktoré neunikli pozornosti pápeža Františka v homílii zo 14. februára 2017:

„Poslaný, ktorý ohlasuje Božie slovo, má tri vlastnosti: je mužom odvahy, modlitby a je pokorný. Príkladmi sú sv. Cyril a Metod. [...] Títo výborní ohlasovatelia sa naštepili na tradíciu, ktorá čerpá od prvých kresťanov. [...] Misionár Božieho slova musí predovšetkým vlastniť úprimnosť, silu a odvahu, aby dokázal preniknúť do hĺbky. [...] Ak mu chýba odvaha, môže ohlasovať niečo zaujímavé, morálne či isté filantropické dobro, ale nie je to Božie slovo. Jedine Božie slovo ohlasované s touto úprimnosťou a odvahou je schopné formovať Boží ľud. Odvaha musí byť sprevádzaná modlitbou. [...] Bez modlitby môžeš urobiť peknú konferenciu alebo dať dobré poučenie. No nie je to Božie slovo. Len zo srdca, ktoré sa modlí, môže vychádzať Božie slovo. Je to modlitba, aby Pán sprevádzal rozsievanie Slova, aby Pán pokropil semeno, aby vyklíčilo Slovo. [...] Keď sa kazateľ považuje za príliš inteligentného, keď sa zodpovedný za Božie slovo chce robiť múdrym [...], skončí zle. Je zaiste pravda, že skončíme zle, ak nesieme Božie slovo sebavedome, a nie ako baránok, ktorého chráni sám Pán. Tieto tri črty teda majú charakterizovať toho, kto ohlasuje Božie Slovo. Sú to črty vlastné sv. Cyrilovi a Metodovi [...]: boli to muži odvážni, muži modlitby a pokorní.“

a) Formálna zložka cyrilo-metodského kázania na pozadí súčasného Magistéria

Ježišova evanjelizačná výzva „choďte do celého sveta a hlásajte evanjelium všetkému stvoreniu“ (Mk 16,15), ktorej z hľadiska ontologického i chronologického patrí primát pred každou inou dejinne formulovanou výzvou k misii, nachádza podľa svedectiev Magistéria v evanjelizačnom a kazateľskom diele sv. Cyrila a Metoda univerzálnu konkretizáciu, inšpiráciu a usmernenie (porov. Benedikt XVI. 2009). Preto nie je metodologicky nesprávne v oživenom záujme teológie i Magistéria o kázanie (*ars praedicandi*) vidieť zreteľnú cyrilo-metodskú stopu a inšpiráciu. Teologicko-pastorálne uchopenie homílie aktuálnym Magistériom – implikujúcim jej formálny aj obsahový aspekt, vnútorne prepojený s osobou kazateľa a jeho intelektuálno-duchovno udisponovanosťou – sa preto dá kontemplovať v jedinečnej cyrilo-metodskej realizácii misijného príkazu Krista, obsiahnutej v hlásaní a katechéze, ktoré vykonávali slovanskí apoštoli. Boli v „súlade s večnými pravdami a zároveň prispôsobené konkrétnej historickej situácii“ tak, aby si slovanské národy mohli uvedomiť „svoje povolanie mať účasť na večnom zámere Najsvätejšej Trojice vo večnom pláne spásy sveta“ (Ján Pavol II. 1985, č. 20).Kazateľská aktivita vierozvestov nepredstavovala iba partikulárnu dejinnú epizódu, ale stala sa charizmaticky vykonávaným misijným dielom, spočívajúcim vo vytvorení „foriem a štýlov inkarnovania evanjelia do kultúrnej a sociálnej tkaniny, ako aj do mysle európskych národov“. Magistériom Jána Pavla II. je označená za „míľový krok a existenciálny referenčný bod dejinného procesu evanjelizácie Európy, [...] inšpiratívny vzor pre nás, pretože dielo evanjelizácie v špecifickej situácii, v ktorej sa Európa

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[9] Odkaz na magisteriálny dokument pápeža Františka *Evangelii gaudium* (2013) má v cyrilo-metodskom kontexte svoju vnútornú logiku. Pápežovo chápanie inkulturovanej kázne, ktorá je podobne ako „rozhovor matky“ nástrojom Slova, a teda prameňom živej vody, výchovy, odvahy, povzbudenia, sily a entuziazmu (č. 139), je možné právom považovať za echo cyrilo-metodského dedičstva vyjadreného v Konštantínovom *Proglase*. Práve v ňom bolo ohlasovanie prirovnané k materinskému sýteniu duší detí Slovom (Logosom) s cieľom posilniť um aj srdce a dosiahnuť poznanie Boha (porov. Konštantín Filozof 2004, 17-19).

nachádza, je povolané navrhnúť novú kreatívnu syntézu medzi evanjeliom a životom" (Ján Pavol II. 11. 10. 1985; Pontificio consiglio per la promozione della nuova evangelizzazione 2012, č. 214).

Cyrilo-metodská misia v tomto ohľade predstavuje takú realizačnú formu postpaschálnej misijnej výzvy hlásať evanjelium, akej v duchu dokumentov Cirkvi prináleží prívlastok exemplárna či paradigmatická (Maturkanič et al, 2021, 52-54). Synoptická lektúra II. časti exhortácie *Evangelii gaudium* (2013) a cyrilo-metodského písomného dedičstva potvrdzuje tézu o trvalej inšpiratívnosti, resp. paradigmatickej exemplárnosti cyrilo-metodského odkazu pre súčasné ohlasovanie evanjelia v kontexte novej evanjelizácie a pastorálnej konverzie (porov. Kongregácia pre klérus 2020), keďže medzi cirkevnými dokumentmi evanjelizačného zamerania as vedectvami o cyrilo-metodskej evanjelizačno-kazateľskej činnosti možno objaviť pozoruhodnú materiálnu zhodu. Z toho vyplýva, že to, čo platí o kázaní podľa súčasného Magistéria, platí v istom zmysle tiež o kázaní cyrilo-metodskom. A to, čo platí (na základe štúdia prameňov) o cyrilo-metodskom kázaní, možno objaviť ako prítomné a rozvinuté v dokumentoch Magistéria. Medzi Magistériom a cyrilo-metodskou tradíciou teda jestvuje istý hermeneutický kruh.

Ak je naším cieľom pomenovať hlavné parametre cyrilo-metodského kázania – aby ich bolo možné použiť ako kritérium analýzy zvolenej biskupskej homílie a stanoviť, do akej miery prispieva k rozvoju cyrilo-metodskej kazateľskej tradície –, nie je metodologicky nesprávne považovať za zásadné práve parametre, ktoré uvádza Magistérium, a to predovšetkým v exhortácii *Evangelii gaudium*. (Ako už bolo povedané, cyrilo-metodské kázanie je Magistériom kontemplované ako univerzálny vzor ohlasovania; prítomnosť kľúčových fragmentov tejto tradície je v dokumente dokázateľne prítomné – ukáže to nasledujúca komparácia textov.) Najskôr sa pristavíme pri zhode, ktorá sa týka formálnej zložky homílie – tej, čo má priamy súvis s jej teologickým ukotvením.

Liturgický kontext homílie

Prvým zásadným vyjadrením dokumentu *Evangelii gaudium* o homílii je jej umiestnenie do kontextu liturgie (pápež František 2013, č. 137). Je legitímne usudzovať, že to bolo práve silné povedomie o skutočnosti, že celá „liturgia je privilegovaným prostredím, v ktorom Boh k nám hovorí v prítomnosti nášho života, hovorí dnes k svojmu ľudu, ktorý ho počúva a odpovedá mu" (Benedikt XVI. 2010, č. 52), ktoré sv. Cyrila a Metoda viedli k radikálnemu postoju voči diabolskou závisťou inšpirovanej vzbure proti rastu Božieho učenia na Morave (v podobe „trojjazyčníkov" a „pilátnikov" – Život Konštantína Cyrila XV.; Vragaš 2013, 66), ako aj radikálnemu postoju vo veci liturgie v reči ľudu. Zápal obsiahnutý v ich otázke „To sa nehanbíte uznávať iba tri jazyky a prikazovať, aby všetky ostatné národy a kmene boli slepé a hluché?" (Život Konštantína Cyrila XVI.; Vragaš 2013, 69) vyjadruje presvedčenie, že liturgia ako celok má byť aktom zvestovania smrti a zmŕtvychvstania Krista ako spásy (porov. Sacrosanctum concilium 1963, č. 6), a zároveň presvedčenie, že celok liturgie je autenticky postturíčne a misijné „hovorenie novými jazykmi" (porov. Mk 16,15). V liturgii sa skutočnosť zjaveného tajomstva ponúka v tele Syna – znamená to, že Božie Slovo sa stáva vnímateľné prostredníctvom „znaku" ľudských slov a gest[10] (porov. Benedikt XVI. 2010, č. 56).

Stručne povedané, liturgické slávenie je v svojej znakovosti aktom spásneho ohlasovania, a preto si liturgia vyžaduje vonkajšie i vnútorné porozumenie, t. j. plnú vonkajšiu i vnútornú participáciu – *participatio actuosa* (porov. Ratzinger 1999, 353-354). Toto sú nespochybniteľne pravé teologické motívy zápasu svätých bratov o akceptáciu liturgických kníh v jazyku Slovanov.

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[10] V istom zmysle sa dá o liturgii uvažovať ako o vyššej forme komunikácie spásneho obsahu, v ktorej tajomstvo božského Logosu – ukrytého v obmedzených ľudských slovách – je nahliadnuteľné a uchopiteľné cez jazyk liturgického symbolu a gesta, t. zn. vo väčšej obrazovo-vzťahovej bohatosti a rôznosti v zmysle slov: „Kde už teológia nedokáže pomenovať a opísať, tam liturgia začína sláviť. Kde už teológia nenachádza presne vymedzujúce slová, tam liturgia objavuje otvorené gestá" (Juháš 2012, 106).

Avšak naznačená skutočnosť, že medzi liturgicko-sviatostným gestom a slovom je jednota, hoci nie vždy dostatočne uvedomená (porov. Benedikt XVI. 2010, č. 53),zahŕňa i ďalší aspekt – je ním nové a jedinečné hodnotenie ohlasovaného slova zaznievajúceho v kontexte liturgie. Tu dosahuje ohlasované slovo najvyššiu účinnosť, pretože „v liturgickom úkone Božie slovo sprevádza vnútorné pôsobenie Ducha Svätého, ktorý ho robí účinným v srdciach veriacich" (Benedikt XVI. 2010, č. 52). Táto spásna účinnosť je daná „sakramentálnosťou slova"[11], čiže prítomnosťou Krista v ohlasovanom slove, analogickou prítomnosti Krista v spôsoboch chleba a vína: „Kristus, skutočne prítomný v spôsoboch chleba a vína, je analogicky prítomný aj v Slove prednášanom v liturgii" (Benedikt XVI. 2010, č. 56).

Uvedené tvrdenia sa týkajú nielen prednášaného slova Písma, ale aj homílie, o ktorej platí, že „je najvyšším momentom dialógu medzi Bohom a jeho ľudom, ktorý predchádza sviatostnému prijímaniu [...], ktoré mení život" (pápež František 2013, č. 137;138). Veľmi podobným teologickým presvedčením je preniknutý text *Proglasu* – aj podľa neho cez ohlasované slovo „prichádza Kristus zhromažďovať národy" a nastoliť zrozumiteľný dialóg lásky, „lebo kto totiž prijme tieto písmená, tomu sám Kristus svoju múdrosť vyjaví" (Konštantín Filozof 2004, 9; 39-40).

Metodologickým dôsledkom, ktorý vyplýva z toho, že homília je s ohľadom na svoj liturgický rámec osobitým žánrom, je skutočnosť, že „musí byť stručná" (pápež František 2013, č. 138), resp. má byť „zaistená vhodná miera rozsahu" (pápež František 2013, č. 156). Pripisovať stručnosť kazateľských výstupov vierozvestov len časovému faktoru, ktorý nepochybne vplýval na fragmetarizáciu ich písomného odkazu, by zrejme nebolo historicky opodstatnené. Ucelené slovné útvary podobajúce sa homílii, príhovoru či apológii (najmä v *Živote Konštantína Cyrila* a *Živote Metoda*) dosvedčujú sklon solúnskych kazateľov k verbálnej úspornosti v prospech argumentačnej jasnosti a účinnosti, ako aj ich úsilie o to, aby „slovo kazateľa nezabralo príliš veľa miesta a Pán mohol zažiariť viac než jeho služobník" (pápež František 2013, č. 138). Právom je možné o sv. Cyrilovi a Metodovi – o „chudobných tohto sveta a bohatých na vieru" (porov. Jak 2,5)a „mužoch bohatých na čnosti, usilujúcich sa o dokonalosť" (porov. Sir 44,5) (porov. Ján XXIII., Magnifici eventus; Judák – Liba 2012, 59) – predpokladať, že ich snaha o „správny spôsob hlásania" bola znakom ich „hlbokého duchovného postoja", v ktorom všetky svoje schopnosti i kreativitu venovali poslaniu takého ohlasovania, aby druhým „neponúkli veci pochybnej kvality", čo by sa priečilo „láske k blížnemu" (porov. pápež František 2013, č. 156).

Materinskosť homílie

Evanjelizačná dialogickosť homílie – plod neprestajnej činnosti Ducha Svätého v Božom ľude –, ktorá zaväzuje kazateľa byť reprezentantom matky Cirkvi, milujúcej svojich synov, definuje ďalšie metodologické požiadavky na homíliu: pozornosť na *signa temporum* (znamenia čias a aktuálne potreby ľudí danej doby) a *sensus fidelium*(vieru ľudu).

„Cirkev je matkou a [...] dobrá matka vie rozpoznať všetko, čo Boh vložil do svojho syna, načúva jeho starostiam a učí sa od neho. [...] Kresťanská kázeň v srdci ľudovej kultúry nachádza prameň živej vody – jednak pre to, čo treba povedať, ako aj pre objavenie správneho spôsobu, ako to povedať. Ako sa nám všetkým páči, keď sa rozpráva v našom materinskom jazyku, tak sa

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[11] Presvedčenie svätých bratov o tom, čo súčasné Magistérium označuje termínom *sakramentálnosť*, čiže *sviatostnosť* slova, ktorá sa v plnosti uskutočňuje pneumatickým spôsobom počas slávenia liturgie, možno vnímať aj v systéme hlaholských grafém. Primárnym cieľom ich vytvorenia bol preklad Svätého písma a liturgických textov. Ako uvádzajú niektoré hypotézy, tieto grafémy obsahujú prvky kresťanskej symboliky, najmä symbolu kríža, čím zjavujú vlastný symbolicko-sakramentálny charakter. Znamená to, že už vo svojej grafickej podobe mali byť grafémy nosičmi duchovného zmyslu, resp. médiom ohlasovania (porov. Kralčák 2013, 332-335).

nám aj vo viere páči, keď sa nám kazateľ prihovára v duchu našej ‚materinskej kultúry' a v duchu materinského nárečia (porov. 2Mach 7,21.27), lebo naše srdce je vtedy lepšie pripravené počúvať. Tento jazyk je naladený tak, že sprostredkúva odvahu, povzbudenie, silu a entuziazmus" (pápež František 2013, č. 139).

Je zrejmé, že materinské načúvanie (*auditus*) kultúre i jej jednotlivým predstaviteľom dáva homílii existenciálne zacielenie, aktuálnosť a v spojení s „lahodnosťou tónu hlasu, jemnosťou štýlu viet a radosťou gest" prináša „ovocie v srdciach jej detí" (pápež František 2013, č. 140) – je ním otvorenie uší hluchých, počutie slov Písma, zaplesanie nemého jazyka (porov. Iz 35,5;32,4), Božia radosť a diablovo zahanbenie (porov. Život Konštantína Cyrila XVI.; Vragaš 2013, 66). Je všeobecne akceptovanou skutočnosťou, že evanjelizačný úspech moravskej misie sa kauzálne spájal s pneumatickým načúvaním starostiam i viere zvereného ľudu, ktorého imanentnou súčasťou bola božská inšpirácia formy aj obsahu evanjelizačného kázania, t. j. objavenie správneho spôsobu, ako a čo povedať: „Nato Filozof odišiel a podľa starej obyčaje oddal sa modlitbe. [...] Čoskoro potom sa mu zjavil Boh, ktorý vypočúva modlitby svojich služobníkov a hneď zložil písmená a začal písať slová evanjelia" (Život Konštantína Cyrila XIV.; Vragaš 2013, 64).

Materinskú lásku k zverenému ľudu u obidvoch bratov dokazuje tiež zápal, ktorým Konštantín obhajuje právo na vlastný cirkevný jazyk: „Filozof im odpovedal: ‚Či neprichádza dážď od Boha na všetkých rovnako? A či slnko nesvieti takisto na všetkých? [...] To sa vy nehanbíte uznávať iba tri jazyky a prikazovať, aby všetky ostatné národy a kmene boli slepé a hluché? [...] My však poznáme mnohé národy, ktoré majú písmo a oslavujú Boha každý vo svojom jazyku'" (Život Konštantína Cyrila XVI.; Vragaš 2013, 69). A rovnako posledné chvíle bratov sú výrazom ich „duchovného materstva", ktoré je celkom zamerané na komunikáciu evanjelia v zmysle slov Leva XIII.: „Bez meškania vštepovali ľudu kresťanské učenie a obracali zrak na nebeské hodnoty. A to robili s takou presvedčivou silou a usilovnosťou, že sa Moravania rýchlo a s radosťou stali kresťanmi. K tomu nemalým dielom prispela znalosť slovanskej reči, ktorej sa Cyril predtým priučil, ako aj preklady Svätého písma, oboch zákonov, ktoré preložil do reči ľudu. Preto zásluha tohto muža o Slovanstvo je väčšia, lebo mu ľud tejto krajiny vďačí nielen za vieru, ale aj za civilizáciu. Cyril a Metod vynašli písmená, ktorými je reč Slovanov označená a vyjadrená, a preto sa právom pokladajú za tvorcov tohto jazyka" (Lev XIII., Grande munus; Judák – Liba 2012, 36). Slová sv. Konštantína evokujúce doxologický záver starovekých homílií, ktorými sa zavŕšuje „kázeň" jeho života, sú dojemným vyjadrením lásky matky k deťom: „Pane, Bože môj, [...] vypočuj moje modlitby a zachovaj verné ti stádo, nad ktorým si ustanovil mňa, nesúceho a nehodného služobníka. Zachráň ho pred bezbožnou pohanskou zlobou [...], všetkých spoj v jednote ducha a urob znamenitým ľudom, rovnako zmýšľajúcim o pravej viere a o správnom vyznaní, a vry do ich sŕdc slovo tvojho prijatia za synov. [...] Tých, čo si mi dal, odovzdávam ti ako tvojich. Spravuj ich svojou mocnou pravicou a skry ich pod ochranu svojich krídel (porov. Ž 61,5), aby všetci chválili a slávili tvoje meno Otca i Syna i Svätého Ducha. Amen" (Život Konštantína Cyrila XVIII.; Vragaš 2013, 77-78). Chvíle skonu sv. Metoda tiež potvrdzujú jedinečnosť vzťahu k Moravanom a možno mu opäť dať prívlastok materinský (resp. otcovský – porov. Život Metoda XVII.; Vragaš 2013, 110-111).

Ak je homília nástrojoma hlasom matky, nemá ísť o „kázanie v čisto moralistickom alebo doktrinálnom duchu ani o také kázanie, ktoré sa premieňa skôr na lekciu či exegézu, [ktorá] umenšuje komunikáciu medzi srdcami". V homílii má byť pravda sprevádzaná krásou a dobrom – nemá ísť o abstraktné pravdy a studené sylogizmy, pretože „v homílii sa komunikuje aj prostredníctvom krásy obrazov, ktoré Pán používa na podporu konania dobra" (pápež František 2013, č. 142). Pápež František teda odporúča „hovorenie s využitím obrazov", ktoré „pomáhajú oceniť a prijať posolstvo"; cez obrazy „ľudia posolstvo počúvajú ako niečo, čo im je známe, blízke, možné,

spojené s ich vlastným životom" (pápež František 2013, č. 157). Evanjelizačno-kerygmatické kázanie sv. Cyrila a Metoda malo práve takúto exemplárnu realizačnú formu.

Zakorenenosť cyrilo-metodskej kázne v existenciálnych a kultúrnych reáliách ľudu a súbežne v Svätom písme – čo jej okrem doktrinálneho obsahu dáva aj biblicko-sapienciálnu názornosť, ktorá zosilňuje expozitívno-apologetickú účinnosť kázne bez toho, aby vytvárala v poslucháčovi dojem moralizovania, lekcie exegézy či komunikovania abstraktných právd (porov. pápež František 2013, č. 142) – sa dá potvrdiť viacerými textami cyrilo-metodského dedičstva. Osobitne je názorná dišputa o tajomstve Božieho bytia sv. Konštantína s múdrymi a vzdelanými Agarénmi, učenými v geometrii, astronómii a ostatných vedách:[12] „Náš Boh je ako morská hlbina. [...] Preto sa mnohí púšťajú na tú hlbinu, aby ho hľadali. Silní duchom s jeho pomocou ju preplávajú a navracajú sa s bohatstvom múdrosti. No zo slabých a tých, čo sa pokúšajú prejsť v bútľavých koráboch, jedni sa potápajú a druhí len ťažko dýchajú, zmietajúc sa v bezmocnej lenivosti" (Život Konštantína Cyrila VI.; Vragaš 2013, 30-31).

Rozvíjajúc idey aktuálneho Magistéria o inkulturovanej materinskej kázni mariánskeho typu, možno bez akéhokoľvek interpretačného násilia konštatovať, že pamäť solúnskych kazateľov je „naplnená Božími zázrakmi", obsiahnutými v Písme, ich srdcia sú mariánsky „otvorené pre nádej uskutočnenia radostnej skúsenosti lásky, ktorá [im] bola ohlásená", a preto si jasne uvedomujú, že „každé slovo Svätého písma je predovšetkým darom, nie požiadavkou" (pápež František 2013, č. 142). Zreteľne o tom svedčia slová *Proglasu*, viacnásobne označujúce Božie slovo za dar Boží: „A preto čujte, čujte toto, Slovieni: dar tento drahý vám Boh z lásky daroval, dar Boží darom spravodlivej čiastky je, dar dušiam vašim, čo sa nikdy neskazí, dušiam tých ľudí, ktorí vďačne prijmú ho" (Konštantín Filozof 2004, 11-13). Vnímanie Božieho slova ako daru vyžaduje od kazateľa najprv dôslednú prípravu – „kázeň je natoľko dôležitá, že je potrebné venovať jej dlhší čas štúdia, modlitby, zamyslenia a pastoračnej kreativity" (pápež František 2013, č. 145); sv. Cyril a Metod naplnili túto požiadavku exemplárne. Erudovanosť i duchovnosť sv. Konštantína potvrdzujú napríklad slová logoteta z čias jeho pobytu v Carihrade: „Tvoja krása a múdrosť ma veľmi pobádajú, aby som ťa miloval. [...] Tento mladý filozof nemiluje tento život [...], vystrihnime mu tonzúru kňaza a dajme mu službu" (Život Konštantína Cyrila IV.; Vragaš 2013, 24). Významnú výpovednú hodnotu rovnako majú slová o vnútornej príprave sv. Konštantína na misiu medzi Slovanmi: „Nato Filozof odišiel a podľa starej obyčaje oddal sa modlitbe aj s inými pomocníkmi [...] a hneď zložil písmená a začal písať slová evanjelia" (Život Konštantína Cyrila XIV.; Vragaš 2013, 64). Metodovu duchovno-intelektuálnu prípravu misijného ohlasovania zas vyjadrujú slová: „A len čo sa naskytol vhodný čas, zriekol sa kniežatstva a odišiel na Olymp, kde žijú svätí otcovia. Dal sa ostrihať a obliekol sa v čierne rúcho. A v pokore sa podroboval, úplne zachovával celú mníšsku regulu a venoval sa knihám" (Život Metoda III.; Vragaš 2013, 91).

O solúnskych bratoch možno s väčšou istotou než o komkoľvek inom tvrdiť, že v duchovnej príprave misijnej kázne „venovali pozornosť biblickému textu, ktorý sa musí stať základom ohlasovania", že ho „študovali s maximálnou pozornosťou a posvätnou bázňou" i láskou – to všetko v postoji učeníka vyjadreného slovami „hovor, Pane, tvoj sluha počúva" (1Sam 3,9). Správne pochopili biblický text nielen v pôvodnom význame, ale aj v celkových biblických náukových súvislostiach, „počúvali [ho] s úprimnou otvorenosťou" vo vedomí, že Pán ich chce „použiť ako živých, slobodných, kreatívnych ľudí, ktorí sa nechajú preniknúť jeho Slovom, skôr než ho odovzdajú

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[12]   Iné svedectvo potvrdzujúce biblickú názornosť evanjelizačného ohlasovania sv. Konštantína predstavuje dišputa s Kozármi na tému trinitárneho bytia a vtelenia, v ktorej sa zrkadlí Filozofovo interpretačné majstrovstvo, citlivo zohľadňujúce príklon partnera v diskusii (Kagana) k starozákonnej tradícii; jeho prejavom je argumentácia výlučne starozákonnými biblickými obrazmi v logike predobraz (Starý zákon) – naplnenie (Nový zákon) (porov. Život Konštantína Cyrila IX.; Vragaš 2013, 40-43).

ďalej". Jeho posolstvom boli vierozvestovia preniknutí na úrovni rozumu i celého bytia, čo bolo darom Ducha Svätého, ktorý inšpiroval Slovo. Tento „aj dnes účinkuje v každom hlásateľovi evanjelia, ak dovolí, aby ho viedol a vnukal mu slová, ktoré by mu nenapadli" (porov. pápež František 2013, č. 145-151).

Materinsko-mariánska forma rozpamätávania sa vo svetle Písma na Božie zázraky a zároveň v nádeji na ich nové uskutočnenie vytvára v kazateľovi predpoklad pre vytvorenie „syntézy evanjeliového posolstva" (porov. pápež František 2013, č. 142-143). Syntéza – základ inkulturovanej kázne – je protiváhou komunikovania nesúvislých myšlienok či hodnôt; vytrháva srdce poslucháča z nudy a udržiava ho zapálené a horlivé. Biblicky inšpirovaná syntéza predostiera poslucháčovi celistvosť kresťanského putovania od krstu až po návrat do otcovského milosrdného objatia v sláve (porov. pápež František 2013, č. 143-144). Podobne cyrilo-metodská kazateľsko-evanjelizačná tradícia dosvedčuje prítomnosť biblicky inšpirovanej syntézy, ktorá odráža celistvosť Zjavenia (porov. pápež František 2013, č. 144), na spôsob východných otcov predstavuje ucelenú soteriologickú doktrínu, vytvárajúcu premostenie medzi protológiou a eschatológiou (porov. Hlad 2013, 536-537). Pri nej sa počúvajúci ľud môže neustále cítiť „akoby uprostred dvoch objatí" – krstného objatia a konečného objatia milosrdným Otcom v sláve (porov. pápež František 2013, č. 144). Biblicky ukotvená a teologicky rozvinutá syntéza ako os ohlasovania dáva aj cyrilo-metodskému kázaniu vnútornú logiku a zameranosť na jednotnú tému, „jasný poriadok", „prepojenie medzi jednotlivými vetami", jazykovú jednoduchosť a zrozumiteľnosť – vďaka nim ľud dokázal „ľahko sledovať kazateľa a pochopiť logiku toho, čo hovorí" (porov. pápež František 2013, č. 158) a mohol dospieť k presvedčeniu, „že to je pravá viera" (Život Konštantína Cyrila XI.; Vragaš 2013, 58).

Ak platia slová, že „niektorí si myslia, že sú dobrými kazateľmi, pretože vedia ‚čo' majú povedať, avšak zanedbávajú ‚ako', teda konkrétny spôsob podania kázne" (pápež František 2013, č. 156), potom v prípade evanjelizačného kázania solúnskych bratov možno nepochybne v plnej miere tvrdiť, že vedeli ‚ako' hovoriť aj ‚čo' hovoriť. A práve na obsahovú zložku cyrilo-metodskej kázne sa pozrieme v nasledujúcom výklade.

b) Obsahová zložka cyrilo-metodského kázania na pozadí súčasného Magistéria

Fragmentárnosť cyrilo-metodského písomného odkazu nespôsobuje ťažkosti len úsiliu o sumarizáciu formálnych prvkov ich misijného kázania, ale aj úsiliu o komplexné podchytenie ohlasovaných doktrinálnych obsahov. Neznamená to však úplnú bezmocnosť. Jestvujúce písomné pramene umožňujú lokalizáciu cyrilo-metodského učenia do kerygmaticko-mystagogického kontextu, čo – pri videní ich doktríny ako fragmentu zrkadliaceho celok – znamená dosahovať vysokú mieru poznania teologických tém, ktoré boli pre slovanských vierozvestov ťažiskové. Cieľom kerygmatického kázania je šírenie viery vo vernosti Pánovmu príkazu: „Naučte ich zachovávať všetko, čo som vám prikázal" (Mt 28,20); predovšetkým treba ľudí naučiť nové prikázanie: „Aby ste sa milovali navzájom, ako som ja miloval vás" (Jn 15,12) (porov. pápež František 2013, č. 161). Druhému aspektu Pánovho misijného príkazu: „Krstite ich v mene Otca i Syna, i Ducha Svätého" (Mt 28,19) zodpovedá kázanie mystagogické, ktorého cieľ je rovnako mimo striktne doktrinálnej formácie (porov. pápež František 2013, č. 161): „Ide o to, aby sa človek dal premeniť v Kristovi a postupne začal žiť ‚podľa Ducha' (Rim 8,5)" (pápež František 2013, č. 162). Kerygmatické i mystagogické kázania majú svoje privilegované témy. Keďže „kerygma je trojičná" (pápež František 2013, č. 164), tak aj kerygmatická kázeň musí ohlasovať „Oheň Ducha Svätého [ktorý] sa daruje v podobe jazykov a vďaka nemu veríme v Krista, ktorý nám svojou smrťou i zmŕtvychvstaním odhaľuje a sprostredkúva nekonečné Otcovo milosrdenstvo" (pápež František 2013, č. 164). Do trinitárneho kontextu načrtnutého kerygmatickým kázaním je následne zasadené centrálne

posolstvo o spáse v Kristovi: „Ježiš Kristus ťa miluje, obetoval svoj život, aby ťa zachránil, a teraz žije po tvojom boku každý deň, aby ťa osvietil, posilnil a oslobodil" (pápež František 2013, č. 164). Trinitárno-kristologický obsah kerygmy podmieňuje tiež ďalšie kazateľské obsahy, medzi ktorými vyniká evanjeliová a harmonicky celistvá téma „zachraňujúcej Božej lásky, ktorá predchádza morálne i náboženské povinnosti" (pápež František 2013, č. 165); jej slobodné prijatie prináša opravdivú radosť, povzbudenie a naplnenie túžby ľudského srdca po nekonečne (porov. pápež František 2013, č. 165). Mystagogická forma kázania – nasleduje po stretnutí sa poslucháča so Slovom – má za cieľ voviesť veriaceho do konkrétneho ekleziálneho prostredia, ktoré mu umožní intenzívnejší proces duchovného rastu. Táto forma kázania je postavená na liturgických znakoch kresťanskej iniciácie (porov. pápež František 2013, č. 166), pričom jej je blízka „cesta krásy" (*via pulchritudinis*), podporujúca „zapojenie umenia do evanjelizačnej činnosti v nadväznosti na bohatstvo minulosti, ale aj v šírke jeho rozličných aktuálnych vyjadrení, aby sa viera odovzdávala novým ,jazykom podobenstiev'" (pápež František 2013, č. 167). Dôležitou obsahovou náplňou mystagogickej kázne je morálne posolstvo, „ktoré pozýva rásť vo vernosti životnému štýlu podľa evanjelia" a zdôrazňuje „ideál života zrelosti, sebarealizácie a plodnosti, vo svetle ktorého možno pochopiť odsúdenie každého zla, ktoré by tento ideál mohlo zatieňovať" (pápež František 2013, č. 168).

Misijné kázanie sv. Cyrila a Metoda možno s ohľadom na ich cirkevný status učiteľov od Boha poslaných v „našom jazyku vysvetliť pravú kresťanskú vieru" (Život Konštantína Cyrila XIV.; Vragaš 2013, 63; porov. Život Metoda VIII.; Vragaš, 98) jasne zaradiť do kategórie kerygmaticko--mystagogického ohlasovania (kázania). Na prvom mieste ich vysvetľovania pravej viery stojí tajomstvo Najsvätejšej Trojice a spásy v Kristovi. Vierozvestovia celé spásne dielo vnímajú ako dielo Najsvätejšej Trojice: Boh Stvoriteľ cez učiteľa Krista, resp. Slovo, a Ducha, prítomného v ľudských učiteľoch, privádza človeka k poznaniu Božieho života, ktorý je ako morská hlbina, k životu, pokoju, podobnosti, obnoveniu, múdrosti (Život Konštantína Cyrila I.-IV.; Vragaš 2013, 17-25).[13] Spása uskutočnená Kristom, ktorý „dvíha ťažké zdola nahor; vierou a Božou milosťou učí človeka" (Život Konštantína Cyrila VI.; Vragaš 2013, 31), a následne sprostredkovaná ľudskými učiteľmi je v náuke solúnskych kerygmatikov prejavom Božieho milosrdenstva: „A keby sa [človek] aj veľmi oddával zlu, [Boh] nedopúšťa, aby ľudský rod upadol [...] a zahynul. Preto po všetky roky a časy neprestáva nám preukazovať mnoho milostí, ako na počiatku, tak aj teraz, najprv cez patriarchov a otcov a po nich cez apoštolov a mučeníkov, spravodlivých mužov a učiteľov, vyvoliac si ich z tohto nepokojného života. [...] To urobil i nášmu rodu, vzbudiac nám tohto učiteľa, ktorý osvietil náš národ, ktorého myseľ bola omráčená slabosťou a ešte viac diablovou lesťou, takže nechcel chodiť vo svetle Božích prikázaní" (Život Konštantína Cyrila I.; Vragaš 2013, 17). Na túto trinitárno-soteriologickú

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[13]   S veľkou mierou istoty možno tvrdiť, že cyrilo-metodská soteriológia je postavená na koncepte gréckej výchovy (*paideia*), ktorou Boh vychováva človeka (najskôr cez patriarchov a prorokov, potom cez Krista a Ducha Svätého v čase Cirkvi), aby vyviedol na svetlo obraz a podobu, na ktorú bol človek stvorený a ktorá bola zatienená hriechom. Táto výchova, ktorá sa vinie celými ľudskými makrodejinami i mikrodejinami, kulminuje v Kristovi – ako prototyp vstupuje do každého obdobia ľudského života, a tým obnovuje Boží obraz v človekovi. Človeku tak dáva príklad nasledovania a ten, fascinovaný vnútornou príťažlivosťou prototypu, ho napodobňuje, a tým sa zbožšťuje. Boží obraz a podoba, nemoc, záhuba, výchova, učiteľ, múdrosť, obnovenie, dejiny, vtelenie, prototyp, kríž, poznanie, osvietenie, milosť, to sú prvky, ktoré umožňujú soteriológiu veľkomoravskej misie lokalizovať v súradniciach východného patristického myslenia Irenejovho typu (porov. Hlad 2013, 536-537).

kerygmatickú os veľkomoravskí mystagógovia pripojili aj rigoróznejšie vyznievajúcu morálnu náuku, ako ju reprezentujú *Napomenutie k vladárom*[14] a *Napomenutie k pokániu*[15].

Sumarizujúco sa dá povedať, že v celku diela sv. Cyrila a Metodasa objavujú pestré variácie celistvej kerygmatickej zvesti o zachraňujúcej láske Otca, ktorá cez Slovo apeluje na slobodu človeka, aby sa nechal mystagogicky odprevadiť do lona Cirkvi. Jej krása sa zjavuje predovšetkým v liturgii – pričom slovanský jazyk je „novým jazykom" (pápež František 2013, č. 168) – a pozýva k životnému štýlu podľa evanjelia, odsudzujúc každé zlo a voliac si vznešené ideály dobra a krásy (Binetti et al. 2021, 28).

Cyrilo-metodská kazateľská tradícia v obsahovom aj formálnom aspekte predstavuje i v súčasnosti „dôraznú výzvu" nasledovať „žiarivé príklady" v ohlasovaní Božieho slova, „príhodne i nepríhodne [...] so všetkou zhovievavosťou a učenosťou" (2Tim 4,2), „verejne i súkromne, v dôverných rozhovoroch od srdca k srdcu" (Pavol VI., Antiqua enobilitatis; Judák – Liba 2012, 74). Táto tradícia – v duchu slov pápeža Pavla VI. – predstavuje odvážne, každodenné a vynaliezavé ohlasovanie evanjelia zmŕtvychvstania, zvesti radosti a pokoja, prostredníctvom sily slova a príkladu, milosti duchovných darov a s pevným presvedčením, že „naša viera je to víťazstvo, ktorým sme zvíťazili, víťazíme i zvíťazíme nad svetom" (Pavol VI., Antiquae nobilitatis; Judák – Liba 2012, 74). Príkladom takéhoto kázania môže byť aj homília z cyrilo-metodskej púte konanej dňa 5. júla 2020 v Nitre od Mons. Viliama Judáka. Jej analýze sa bude venovať ďalšia časť štúdie.

II. Analýza formálnej a obsahovej stránky homílie Mons. Viliama Judáka z dňa 5. júla 2020 v Nitre

Homília je jednou z modalít kázania[16], ktorou biskup ako „autentický učiteľ" zaodiaty Kristovou autoritou vykonáva svoj úrad a plní záväzok evanjelizovať častým osobným kázaním toho, čo veriaci „majú veriť na Božiu slávu a večnú spásu", teda „tajomstva spásy v Kristovi – jedinom Spasiteľovi a centre života veriacich a celých ľudských dejín" (Kongregácia pre biskupov 2004, č. 120). V homílii, ktorá vyniká medzi ostatnými formami kázania vďaka svojej väzbe na liturgiu („prameň a vrchol života Cirkvi") a preto, lebo v sebe zahrnuje aj iné formy kázania, sa má biskup usilovať „vyložiť katolícku pravdu v jej celistvosti (integrálne), zrozumiteľným, familiárnym a ľuďom primeraným jazykom, opierajúc sa o texty liturgie dňa" (Kongregácia pre biskupov 2004, č. 122). O homílii biskupa má zároveň platiť, že ako „najvyššia forma ohlasovania Božieho slova" má byť prednášaná „s autoritou, pretože nepochádza od ľudí, ale od samého Boha a so silou, bez toho, aby podľahol z oportunistických dôvodov ľudským konvenciám" (Kongregácia pre biskupov 2004, č. 121). Jej obsahom majú byť i „morálne princípy sociálneho poriadku, ohlasujúc tak autentické oslobodenie človeka, ktoré na svet prinieslo vtelenie Slova" (Kongregácia pre biskupov 2004, č. 120). V prípade, že to vyžadujú práva ľudskej osoby alebo spása duší, treba osobitým spôsobom zdôrazňovať hodnotu života, slobody, jednoty a pevnosti rodiny, prokreácie, výchovy detí, spoločného dobra, práce, techniky, materiálnych dobier a ich správneho užívania či bratského

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[14] Sv. Metod v homílii „žiada kniežatá a veľmožov, aby zachovávali cirkevné predpisy o uzatváraní manželstva medzi kresťanmi. Zdôrazňuje najmä manželskú vernosť" (Habovštiaková – Krošláková 1993, 100).

[15] Ide o kázňovú úvahu, ktorá napomína k pokornému vyznaniu hriechov, popisujúc hriechy modloslužby, klebetenia, krádeže, vraždy, uspokojovanie telesných potrieb, prísahy, nenávisti ako dôsledky Adamovho hriechu, podmieneného diablom. Rovnako opisuje aj dôsledky hriechu, ako sú starosti, smútok, bolesť tela, smrteľnosť, strata Božej slávy (porov. Habovštiaková – Krošláková 1993, 104).

[16] Direktórium pre pastoračnú službu biskupa okrem homílie spomína pastierske listy a iné formy kázania, ku ktorým patria novinové články, televízne prenosy, stretnutia a konferencie (Kongregácia pre biskupov 2004, č. 122).

spolužitia všetkých národov (porov. Kongregácia pre biskupov 2004, č. 120). Indikácie Direktória pre pastoračnú službu biskupov (2004) s ohľadom na homílie – majúc na pamäti inštrukcie najnovšieho Magistéria ohľadom formy a obsahu homílie – podčiarkujú familiárnu zrozumiteľnosť (forma) a zameranie sa na obhajobu morálnych princípov sociálneho poriadku, ktoré stoja na Svätom písme a sú zakorenené v náuke Cirkvi (obsah) (porov. Kongregácia pre biskupov 2004, č. 120).

Cyrilo-metodská forma kázne

Po formálnej stránke možno homíliu Mons. Viliama Judáka z dňa 5. júla 2020 hodnotiť ako homíliu reagujúcu na aktuálnu spoločensko-kultúrnu a politickú klímu, definovanú nielen stratou „lásky k jazyku, ku kultúre, k minulosti", ale najmä absenciou chápania života, jeho kvality, prirodzeného i nadprirodzeného cieľa. Jej ambíciou je prostredníctvom istej formy anamnetického rozprávania (národného a duchovného „storytellingu") podnietiť zmenu zmýšľania (*metanoia*) poslucháčov, ktorá sa (ideálne) prejaví v obnovenom záujme veriacich o časné a večné hodnoty, ako aj v ich aplikovaní v súkromnom a verejnom živote (osobitým spôsobom v priestore politiky), resp. v ich prijímaní a aktívnom odovzdávaní (tradovaní) pre spoločné dobro celého národa/vlasti.

Homília inšpirovaná liturgickými textami a Božím slovom slávnosti svätých vierozvestov má morálno-parenetický ráz, apeluje na veriaci ľud aj svetské autority; charakterizuje ju naratívny jazyk, usilujúci sa o zrozumiteľnosť a názornosť, čoho prejavom sú parafrázy a citácie viacerých autorít Cirkvi (sv. Augustín, Benedikt XVI., pápež František, Anton Hlinka) či autorít spoločenského života z minulosti alebo súčasnosti (Platón, Aristoteles, Cicero, A. Lauček, J. Baránek). Homília je zreteľne plodom dvojitého načúvania a kontemplácie – „kontemplácie Slova a tiež kontemplácie ľudu" (pápež František 2013, č. 154). Ide o homíliu predstavujúcu autentický výkon misijnej a evanjelizačnej aktivity biskupa, ktorou sa obracia nielen na veriacich v Krista, ale i na neveriacich a súčasne na všetkých, ktorí intelektuálne alebo prakticky opustili kresťanskú vieru (porov. Kongregácia pre biskupov 2004, č. 119). Po formálnej stránke ju teda možno označiť za homíliu rozvíjajúcu „cyrilo-metodskú ideu" kázania (Benedikt XVI., Prejav na generálnej audiencii 17. júna 2009; Judák – Liba 2012, 174).

Cyrilo-metodský obsah kázne

Po obsahovej stránke platí, že cyrilo-metodské náukové dedičstvo v homílii vychádza z dvoch prameňov: biografie svätých bratov a ich písomného diela. Ak platí, že „teológia je podstatne zhrnutá v životopise"[17], tak potom „oblúk života solúnskych bratov od zasvätenia sa Božej múdrosti cez misijnú činnosť až po istú formu duchovného mučeníctva predstavuje bohatý materiál" (Hlad 2013, 533) a prameň cyrilo-metodskej náuky, z ktorého homília čerpá inšpiráciu historického a hlavne teologicko-doktrinálneho rázu (Čergeťová-Tomanová et al 2021, 544). V tejto súvislosti nie je bezvýznamnou skutočnosť, že v prípade Cyrila a Metoda „ide o svätých, čo znamená, že ich biografia odráža ‚biografiu' Boha v tomto svete, a preto nám hľadajúcim otvárajú ‚morskú hlbi-

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[17] Na biografiu svätých bratov ako špecifické „teologické miesto" a „životnú syntézu kresťanského posolstva" poukazuje aj Patrik Maturkanič: „Pred nami stoja osobnosti svätých bratov, ktorí autentickosťou dokázali už za svojho života (ale aj po ňom) nadchnúť nekonečné davy niekoľkých národov. [...] Príchod a pôsobenie Cyrila a Metoda boli pokojné a predovšetkým založené na pravde učiaceho slova, podloženého žitou láskou Ježiša Krista. [...] Títo solúnski velikáni, ktorí položili pevné základy našej kultúry, jasne poukazujú na prototyp najvyššej persony – osoby Božieho Syna, ktorá sa na základe nemenného trojičného princípu lásky stala človekom" (Maturkanič 2013, 622-623).

nuť kresťanskej múdrosti" (Hlad 2013, 534) – toto tvorí obsahovú náplň evanjelizačného kázania na spôsob istého *teologického miesta*.

Za kairologicky významnú považuje biskup Judák tú historicko-biografickú skutočnosť, ktorou je vplyv sv. Cyrila a Metoda na proces formovania „veľkého národa, ktorý by oslavoval Boha svojím jazykom" (porov. Život Konštantína Cyrila XIV.; Vragaš 2012, 64). Ako uvádza, „apoštoli Slovanov", „otcovia vlasti" či „zakladatelia slovanskej i slovenskej kultúry a štátnosti" priniesli to podstatné zo symbolických vrchov – z Akropoly záväzok hľadať zmysel života a z rímskeho Kapitolu *léges* čiže zákony a právny poriadok. No predovšetkým „sa stali pre nás evanjeliu svätému Predslovom" (Konštantín Filozof 2004, 9)a „Slovanov mystagogicky zasvätili do spásnej sily udalosti na Kalvárii, sprítomňovanej v kráse posvätnej liturgie (v rodnom jazyku), čím boli položené základy [...] novej formy verejného života, ktorý stál na ,civilizácii lásky". A keďže sv. Cyril a Metod významne prispeli k „vyformovaniu veľkého a vyspelého národa, súčasti civilizovaného sveta", ktorého znakom je základná rovnosť všetkých a ľudské práva majúce pôvod v Božom zjavení a Písme (čo „um aj srdce posilní", „odkiaľ sa dozvedáme, že všetci sme Božie deti stvorené, milované a na večný život predurčené Bohom-Stvoriteľom, [...] pôvodcom a garantom našej dôstojnosti, a teda aj legitímneho nároku na život, slobodu a hľadanie šťastia", je podľa Judáka cyrilo-metodským dedičstvom aj záväzok „uprostred dejinného napätia medzi pozemským a nebeským mestom nerezignovať na dianie okolo seba, ale sa vzdelávať a budovať nový svet, [...] byť ako kresťan smerujúci do večnosti platným a užitočným občanom aj tohto sveta".

Centrálnosť cyrilo-metodskej idey patristického pôvodu o povolaní kresťanov k zodpovednosti za stvorený svet a spoločnosť, implicitne obsiahnutej v ich vonkajšej misijno-formačnej aktivite, potvrdzuje i priamy odkaz na písomné dielo sv. Metoda *Napomenutie vladárom*: „Preto je každé knieža povinné bez okolkov všetkých, ktorí sú podriadení jeho moci, vyučovať Božiemu zákonu [...] a všetkým každý deň prikazovať, aby nikomu zo slabších nekrivdili ani aby sa nepridŕžali nijakých pohanských obyčají" (Habovštiaková – Krošláková 1993, 102).

Homília z nitrianskej cyrilo-metodskej púte teda z komplexu cyrilo-metodskej tradície (biografickej aj písomnej) vyberá, akcentuje a rozvíja ideu aktívneho vnášania kresťanských hodnôt do verejného života s cieľom prispieť k posilneniu kresťanskej a národnej identity Slovákov. Je prínosom pre teológiu národa, ktorá tvorí súčasť sociálnej náuky Cirkvi a o jej prehĺbenie sa zaslúžil aj sv. Ján Pavol II. (porov. Šuráb 2018, 94-95). Táto idea je následne obohatená o výzvu k zodpovednému odovzdávaniu zdedených fundamentov nastupujúcim pokoleniam, keďže „nenahraditeľnou súčasťou tradovania týchto hodnôt sme aj my a naša generácia". Majú byť „rozumom osvieteným vierou v podmienkach dneška nanovo uchopené, interpretované a zživotnené" – cez akt tradovania zdedených kresťanských morálnych fundamentov totiž „prichádza Kristus zhromažďovať národy, svietiť svetlom svetu celému" (Konštantín Filozof 2004, 9). Ide tu o ďalší explicitný odkaz na písomnú cyrilo-metodskú náukovú tradíciu v kontexte jej aktualizačného rozvinutia, resp. interpretácie racionálnou reflexiou[18]. Analyzovaná homília aj takto zreteľne dosvedčuje, že dielo sv. Cyrila a Metoda „je stále živé, ba dnes ešte významnejšie a podnetnejšie" (Judák 2012, 25).

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[18] V súvislosti s homiletickým rozvinutím cyrilo-metodskej tradície treba mať na zreteli, že „tradícia musí byť živá, aby Cirkev mohla rásť. A prejavom živej tradície je aj jej racionálna reflexia" (Kondrla 2013, 607). Pre širšie uchopenie homílie v naznačených teologicko-teoretických súvislostiach je vhodné prihliadnuť aj na diela slovenských homiletikov (porov. Šuráb 2004; Vrablec – Fabian 2001).

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LA DIMENSIONE IMMAGINARIA DEL REALE SECONDO LA TEORIA DELLA COMPLESSITÀ DI PAVEL A. FLORENSKIJ (1882 – 1937)[1]

The Imaginary Dimension of the Real According to the Theory of Complexity by Pavel A. Florensky (1882 – 1937)

Ľubomír Žák

Abstract: ŽÁK, Ľubomír. *The Imaginary Dimension of the Real According to the Theory of Complexity by Pavel A. Florensky (1882 – 1937)*. Having for many years the theme of "complex thought" as developed by Pavel Florensky at the centre of his philosophical and theological research interest, the author of the article highlights an important aspect of complexity, namely, the imaginary dimension as a structural part of reality. First of all, he shows how Florensky, famous Russian mathematician, physicist, electro-technical engineer, philosopher and theologian, comes to explain the existence of the imaginary dimension starting from his original interpretation of Albert Einstein's theory of relativity, made with reference to Dante Alighieri's Divine Comedy. Consequently, he explains that the existence of this dimension coincides with the existence of a general predisposition of every human being to the experience of the "imaginary" as a door towards the "mysterious depths" of reality, the depths that in many cases tend to manifest themselves. Christian theology and spirituality help to know and experience exactly this kind of complexity of reality, glimpsing its vital and dynamic connection with the Trinitarian being of God.

Keywords: *Russian thought, theory of complexity, imaginary space, Dante Alighieri, Albert Einstein, general relativity, faith and raison*

1. Verso una visione globale del reale - in dialogo con A. Einstein

Una grande competenza scientifica e una singolare ingegnosità di pensiero sono attributi ormai ben noti di Pavel Aleksandrovič Florenskij, versatile studioso delle discipline sia umanistiche che scientifiche, in particolare della filosofia, della teologia, della filologia, della teoria dell'arte, della matematica, della geometria, della fisica, della biologia, della mineralogia e della chimica. E va sempre ricordato che egli è riuscito a sviluppare i suoi straordinari talenti intellettuali e a farli fruttificare nonostante le difficili condizioni di vita e di lavoro in cui vennero a trovarsi in Russia, dopo la rivoluzione d'ottobre del 1917, tutti gli scienziati e i pensatori giudicati dal nuovo regime insidiosi e poco affidabili. In una lettera del 13 maggio 1937, scritta dal gulag staliniano a mezz'anno

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dalla fucilazione, revisionando il suo operato, Florenskij stila un lungo elenco degli ambiti e delle questioni scientifiche più importanti di cui si è occupato con interesse e successo:

> "*In matematica*: 1) I concetti matematici come elementi costitutivi della filosofia (discontinuità, funzioni ecc.). 2) La teoria degli insiemi e la teoria delle funzioni delle variabili reali. 3) Gli immaginari geometrici. 4) L'individualità dei numeri (numero-forma). 5) Lo studio delle curve *in concreto*. 6) I metodi di analisi della forma. *In filosofia e storia della filosofia*: 1) Le radici cultuali delle origini della filosofia. 2) La base cultuale e artistica delle categorie. 3) Le antinomie della ragione. 4) Lo studio storico-filologico-linguistico della terminologia. 5) Le basi materiali dell'antropodicea. 6) La realtà dello spazio e del tempo. *In critica d'arte*: 1) I metodi di descrizione e datazione degli oggetti dell'arte antica russa (intaglio, articoli di gioielleria, pittura). 2) La spazialità nelle opere d'arte, in specie nelle arti figurative. *In elettrotecnica*: 1) Lo studio dei campi elettrici. 2) I metodi dell'analisi dei materiali elettrici: la base della scienza dei materiali elettrici. 3) Il significato delle strutture dei materiali elettrici. 4) La diffusione delle resine sintetiche. 5) La diffusione e l'elaborazione degli elementi della depolarizzazione aerea. 7) Le classificazioni e la standardizzazione di materiali, elementi ecc. 8) Lo studio dei minerali di carbonio come gruppo. 9) Lo studio di una serie di rocce. 10) Lo studio sistematico della mica e la scoperta della sua struttura. 11) Lo studio di suoli e terreni. E così via. Sono poi a parte: la fisica del gelo; l'uso delle alghe" (Florenskij 1998, 702; 2011, 399).

Sicuramente colpisce, quando si entra in contatto con il pensiero e le opere di Florenskij, non solo l'enciclopedismo delle conoscenze, ma soprattutto una *forma mentis* assolutamente polifonica, capace di orchestrare – all'interno di un unico quadro di pensiero – temi e prospettive notevolmente differenti, istaurando tra di essi "sia 'sequenze orizzontali', cioè sviluppi argomentativi, sia agganci verticali, cioè relazioni tra vari piani e livelli" (Tagliagambe 2006, 15). Il senso di tale orchestrazione è intimamente connesso con quello che egli considerò lo scopo principale della sua vita: "l'apertura di nuove vie per una futura e globale visione del mondo" (Florenskij 1994, 38; 2007a, 5), in grado di cogliere e descrivere la complessità del reale.[2] Va sottolineato che Florenskij, riconoscendo nella matematica il primo e indispensabile presupposto di una futura visione del mondo, s'impegnò nell'ambiziosa impresa di prospettarla con la consapevolezza di dover rifiutare il dogmatismo di teorie scientifiche preconfezionate e di assumere, come punto di partenza e di costante verifica della sua ricerca, lo sperimento, ossia l'esperienza concreta di un vivo contatto con l'oggetto delle proprie indagini scientifiche. Erano, infatti, l'attenta osservazione dei fenomeni della natura e un certosino lavoro in laboratori forniti di indispensabili strumenti di analisi e di misurazione le sue attività congeniali e preferite, che gli furono possibili persino negli ultimi anni di vita trascorsi nel gulag.

Occorre tener presente che già da studente presso la Facoltà di Matematica e Fisica dell'Università di Mosca e fino all'arresto, nel 1933, Florenskij fu in stretto contatto con eminenti scienziati russi, unitamente ai quali seguì costantemente i più recenti sviluppi soprattutto della matematica e della fisica. Il che spiega come mai sia stato uno dei primi, in Russia, a leggere e a commentare le opere di Georg Cantor, e anche come mai non gli sia sfuggita la pubblicazione delle traduzioni russe degli studi dedicati al principio della relatività, inclusi quelli dello stesso Albert Einstein. Riguardo al fisico tedesco, insignito del premio Nobel per la fisica (1921), va rilevato che Florenskij aveva menzionato, seppur soltanto di sfuggita, il suo principio della relatività già nel 1915, nel

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2 Tra gli studi dedicati in Italia alla "concezione globale del mondo" (al "pensiero complesso") di Florenskij si rimanda a Žák 2017; Guerrisi 2017; Tagliagambe - Spano - Oppo 2018; Burzo 2018.

saggio *Il significato dell'idealismo*, dove aveva proposto una significativa riflessione sulla quarta coordinata del reale. E anche se, successivamente, non elaborò mai una monografia dedicata interamente a un approfondimento scientifico del principio della relatività, egli fece riferimento ad esso, direttamente o indirettamente, in diversi scritti. Lo citò ad esempio nel 1918 nel contesto delle lezioni sul culto, tenute per gli studenti dell'Accademia teologica di Mosca; e ne parlò successivamente nell'opera filosofico-teologica *Iconostasi* (1921),[3] nella parte dedicata al tema del tempo capovolto. Questo in qualche modo dimostra che tra gli impulsi che stimolarono Florenskij nel proseguire sulla via dell'elaborazione del "pensiero complesso" va annoverato anche quello offerto da Einstein, sebbene i due geni mai si siano incontrati di persona.

Esiste tuttavia uno scritto, del 1922, in cui Florenskij non solo cita, insieme al nome di Einstein, il principio speciale e quello generale della relatività, ma ne propone un approfondimento del tutto insolito e originale, che destò un vivo interesse tra molti intellettuali russi dell'epoca, sia matematici e fisici che filosofi e letterati, provocando, al contempo, una feroce critica da parte degli scienziati collocati nell'orbita dell'ideologia del nuovo regime. Mi riferisco al breve ma speculativamente intenso opuscolo di geometria analitica *Gli immaginari in geometria. L'ampliamento dell'ambito delle immagini geometriche bidimensionali (Tentativo di una nuova interpretazione degli immaginari)* (Florenskij 1991; 2007b).[4] Se Florenskij ha la fama di essere interprete della teoria della relatività generale di Einstein, l'ha guadagnata soprattutto grazie a questo testo. Eppure, con esso, non si spense il suo interesse per la teoria della relatività generale, che ad esempio adoperò, come una delle prospettive teoretiche di riferimento, nel contesto delle lezioni tenute negli anni 1923 – 1925 agli Atelier superiori tecnico-artistici di Stato e pubblicate, dopo la sua morte, con il titolo *L'analisi della spazialità (e del tempo) nelle opere d'arte figurativa*. I richiami espliciti e impliciti al principio della relatività generale sono, peraltro, presenti anche nel saggio *Prospettiva rovesciata* e soprattutto nelle riflessioni sullo spazio-tempo, inviate dal gulag al figlio Kirill mediante le lettere del 16 – 17 gennaio e del 3 aprile 1936.

Il presente articolo cercherà di illustrare non tanto gli aspetti teoretici della concezione che Florenskij ebbe della teoria della relatività generale, quanto piuttosto alcuni esempi della ricezione di essa nell'ambito delle sue ricerche e riflessioni sulla complessità empirico-metafisica del reale[5] – preso in considerazione sia nel suo insieme macrocosmico sia nei singoli elementi

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[3] Essa, come numerose altre opere di Florenskij, a causa della censura da parte del regime staliniano e della *damnatio memoriae* cui fu soggetto il suo autore, è stata pubblicata soltanto postuma, prima a Parigi (si è trattato di una pubblicazione non autorizzata dagli eredi), nel 1969, poi, nel 1971, a Tartu.

[4] Fa parte dell'opuscolo – di prossima pubblicazione per i tipi di Mimesis Ed. – la spiegazione, a firma di Florenskij, dell'illustrazione (si tratta di una xilografia del pittore V.A. Favorskij) presente sulla copertina, che riassume bene la sua concezione dell'immaginario (la trad. italiana è reperibile in: Florenskij 1990b). Per una presentazione dell'ontogenesi del testo, della spiegazione e dell'illustrazione si veda: Sokolov – Pyman 1989. Un'ottima introduzione all'opuscolo, che mette in luce anche la sua non facile ricezione nella Russia sovietica, si trova in: Polovinkin 2010.

[5] Si ricorda che Florenskij elaborò tali ricerche e sviluppò tali riflessioni non solo come scienziato (matematico, fisico, chimico, ingegnere elettrotecnico, ecc.), ma prima di tutto come filosofo cristiano e teologo ortodosso. Ne sono una conferma le opere *La colonna e il fondamento della Verità* (1914), *Il significato dell'idealismo* (1915), *Lezioni sulla concezione cristiana del mondo* (1921), *Iconostasi* (1921 – 1922), *La filosofia del culto* (1918 – 1922) e molti altri scritti. Ciò che caratterizza e rende originale il suo approccio filosofico-teologico alla questione della complessità del reale è il riferimento al mistero dell'essere uni-trino di Dio, rivelatosi nella persona di Gesù Cristo, compreso come fondamento (ma anche come idea/energia) che, a partite dal piano della struttura interna, determina ontologicamente e dinamicamente tutto il mondo creato, incluso l'essere umano. Per uno studio più approfondito della fondazione ontologico-trinitaria della teoria florenskijana della complessità si rimanda a: Žák 2016; Burzo 2020.

microscopici – e in particolare sullo spazio immaginario quale dimensione strutturale di tutto ciò che esiste (cose, oggetti, esseri viventi ecc.). Vista la particolare importanza, per il tema proposto, dell'opuscolo *Gli immaginari in geometria*, sarà questo il punto di partenza della successiva trattazione.

2. Einstein, Dante Alighieri e lo spazio immaginario

L'opuscolo *Gli immaginari in geometria* fu scritto a più tappe: mentre i paragrafi 1-7 furono redatti nell'agosto del 1902, quando Florenskij studiava alla Facoltà di Matematica e Fisica, gli ultimi due (8-9) furono concepiti venti anni più tardi. Solo nel 1921, infatti, fu aggiunto l'ottavo paragrafo, seguito, nell'anno successivo, dal nono, il conclusivo. Ed è proprio quest'ultimo a includere un riferimento diretto alla teoria della relatività, attraverso una trattazione che interagisce con Einstein a partire da un'originale interpretazione[6] della descrizione, nel XXXIV canto dell'*Inferno* dantesco,[7] di un misterioso fenomeno verificatosi durante la discesa di Dante e Virgilio negli inferi e la loro risalita. Vi si legge che entrambi "mantengono per tutto il tempo della discesa la posizione verticale, con la testa rivolta verso il luogo da cui sono scesi, cioè l'Italia, e i piedi verso il centro della Terra. Quando, però, i due poeti raggiungono indicativamente la cintola di Lucifero, si capovolgono all'improvviso, volgendosi con i piedi verso la superficie della Terra per dove sono entrati nel regno degli inferi, e con il capo nel senso opposto" (Florenskij 1991, 45; 2007, 280-281). E non è tutto: risalendo dalle profondità attraverso un passaggio crateriforme, Dante, asceso al monte del Purgatorio e salito attraverso le sfere celesti, "dopo aver volto lo sguardo da lassù, dall'empireo, verso la Gloria di Dio, si ritrova a Firenze *senza* essere di fatto tornato indietro" (Florenskij 1991, 46; 2007; 282). È esattamente questo curioso fatto quello che suscita l'interesse di Florenskij: "Dante si muove sempre in linea retta e in cielo sta con i piedi rivolti verso il luogo da cui è disceso"; ebbene, "avendo proceduto sempre in linea retta ed essendosi capovolto una sola volta lungo il cammino, il poeta giunge al luogo di partenza nella stessa posizione che aveva nel momento in cui l'aveva lasciato. Di conseguenza, se strada facendo non si fosse capovolto, lungo la retta egli sarebbe giunto al luogo di partenza a testa in giù" (Florenskij 1991, 46; 2007, 282).

Esaminando il racconto della *Divina Commedia*, Florenskij giunse a concludere che "la superficie su cui Dante si muove è tale che, con un capovolgimento di direzione, la linea retta che vi si segua porta a un ritorno al punto precedente in posizione eretta, laddove un moto rettilineo, senza inversioni, riporterebbe al punto di partenza un corpo capovolto" (Florenskij 1991, 46; 2007, 282). "Evidentemente" – spiegava il pensatore russo – "si tratta di una superficie che, primo, in quanto contiene rette chiuse, è un piano di *Riemann*, secondo, in quanto capovolge la perpendicolare che su di essa si muove, è una superficie *unilatera*. Tali condizioni sono sufficienti a caratterizzare geometricamente *lo spazio di Dante* come *conformato* alla geometria ellittica" (Florenskij 1991, 46; 2007, 282).

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[6] Tra le presentazioni introduttive e gli studi dedicati, in vario modo, a questa interpretazione di Florenskij si consigliano: Paršin 2002, 117-120; Bethea 1996; 2009, 149-166; Sedych 2011; Oppo 2015; Florenskij 2019; di non poco interesse è la presentazione – attenta alle particolarità della traduzione russa della *Divina Commedia* utilizzata dal Nostro – offerta dal poeta e filosofo Vjačeslav I. Ivanov (Ivanov 1995), per un periodo in stretto contatto con Florenskij.

[7] È degno di nota che esattamente l'*Inferno* della *Divina Commedia* sia stato preso in esame – seppure solo in riferimento alla questione delle dimensioni spaziali della "realtà sotterranea" descritta dal poeta fiorentino – già dallo scienziato Galileo Galilei; si vedano le sue *Due lezioni all'Accademia fiorentina circa la figura, sito e grandezza dell'inferno di Dante*, tenute nel 1588: Galileo 1970, 47-80.

Secondo Florenskij, il fatto descritto da Dante trovava una conferma e un ulteriore approfondimento nella fisica moderna, grazie alla teoria della relatività. Ricorrendo, dunque, al principio della relatività speciale, si poteva dimostrare che non c'è esperimento fisico in grado di dar prova del moto della Terra attorno al Sole e che, quindi, il sistema copernicano non è altro che una metafisica "nel senso più deleterio del termine" (Florenskij 1991, 47; 2007, 284). Quanto, invece, alla rotazione della Terra attorno al proprio asse, anch'essa oggetto di indagine da parte di Copernico, la teoria della relatività generale – riportata ad esempio nella formulazione di Philipp Lenard – mostrava che "*non ci sono* e sostanzialmente *non possono esserci* prove" (Florenskij 1991, 48; 2007, 285) nemmeno di questo movimento.

Ma, secondo Florenskij, dati ancor più interessanti emergono quando il principio della relatività speciale e quello della relatività generale vengono impiegati con riferimento al principio della velocità della luce: $c = 3 \cdot 10^{10}$ cm/sec. A suo parere, cioè, la teoria della relatività permette di reinterpretare il concetto di velocità cosmica massima ($= c$) e di svelare il senso più profondo della concezione della velocità della luce quale "limite ultimo". Perché, si chiede, tale velocità dovrebbe essere considerata un limite ultimo? Presumibilmente, si risponde, per il fatto che il suo superamento implicherebbe la comparsa di condizioni di vita del tutto nuove, trascendenti la nostra esperienza terrena. Tuttavia l'affermare questo non comporta che tali condizioni siano impensabili o inimmaginabili. Il nucleo della questione sta nel riconoscere che "in presenza di velocità pari o – tanto più – superiori a c, la vita del mondo è qualitativamente differente da ciò che si osserva con velocità minori a c" e, inoltre, che "il *passaggio tra gli ambiti di questa differenziazione qualitativa è pensabile solo come discontinuo*" (Florenskij 1991, 49; 2007, 286).

Per immaginare gli effetti di tale ipotizzata nuova situazione (del verificarsi, cioè, della velocità superiore a c), si deve partire dal presupposto che le

"caratteristiche dei corpi di un sistema in movimento osservato da uno immoto dipendono dal valore essenziale

$$\beta = \sqrt{1 - \frac{v^2}{c^2}}$$

dove v è la velocità di movimento del sistema, e c la velocità della luce. Fintanto che v è minore di c, di fatto β e tutte le altre caratteristiche restano immanenti all'esperienza terrena; con v uguale a c, $\beta = 0$, e con v maggiore di c, β diventa immaginario. In questi due ultimi casi ha luogo un doppio balzo qualitativo delle relative caratteristiche" (Florenskij 1991, 50; 2007, 287).

Nel caso di $\beta = 0$ la "lunghezza di qualunque corpo diventa uguale a zero, la massa diventa infinita e il suo tempo – osservato dal di fuori – altrettanto. In altri termini, il corpo perde la propria estensione, diventa eterno e acquisisce una stabilità assoluta" (Florenskij 1991, 50; 2007, 287). Invece nel caso di $v > c$, "il tempo scorre in senso *inverso*, cosicché *l'effetto precede la causa*", e ciò comporta che "*la lunghezza e la massa dei corpi diventano immaginarie*" (Florenskij 1991, 50; 2007, 287). Ci si può figurare, quindi, "come, ridottosi a zero, un corpo irrompe [*тело проваливается сквозь*] attraverso una superficie dalle coordinate corrispondenti, e rovesciandosi su se stesso [*выворачивается через самого себя*] acquista caratteristiche immaginarie" (Florenskij 1991, 51; 2007, 287-288). In tal caso intervengono infatti condizioni qualitativamente nuove per l'esistenza dello spazio, caratterizzate appunto da parametri immaginari. Questi, tuttavia, sono da considerare come oggettivamente reali, esistenti. Nel senso che "come *lo sprofondamento* [*провал – la rottura*] della figura geometrica ne determina non la distruzione, bensì un mero passaggio

all'altro lato della superficie e, di conseguenza, l'accessibilità a esseri che si trovano proprio su *questo* lato, allo stesso modo l'immaginarietà [*мнимость*] dei parametri del corpo andrà intesa non quale segno della sua irrealtà, ma come mera testimonianza del suo passaggio a una realtà altra" (Florenskij 1991, 51; 2007, 288).

Florenskij non ha dubbi: l'ambito degli *immaginari* esiste oggettivamente e fa parte della complessità del reale.[8] Infatti, ogni spazio è come doppio, "in quanto costituito dalle reali [*из действительных*] e – con esse coincidenti [identiche] – immaginarie superfici vettoriali di Gauss, tuttavia il passaggio dalla superficie reale a quella immaginaria è possibile solo attraverso una *rottura* [*через разлом*] dello spazio e il rovesciamento [*выворачивание*] del corpo su se stesso» (Florenskij 1991, 51; 2007, 288).

Florenskij è inoltre convinto che il tema della dualità dello spazio e, quindi, del reale stesso non possa esaurirsi con il discorso sui "due mondi", quello invisibile dell'*Empireo* – per dirla con Dante – e quello visibile terreno,[9] dato che quello di immaginario è un concetto complesso che implica innumerevoli stati intermedi (della duplice spazialità). Allo stesso tempo, è persuaso che il superamento della velocità della luce da parte delle particelle del corpo non sia l'unica via possibile per sperimentare la rottura dello spazio e il rovesciamento del corpo su se stesso. Sono esattamente questi i temi di cui il pensatore russo si è occupato, in diversi suoi scritti, facendo riferimento, in modo esplicito o implicito, alla teoria della relatività generale di Einstein.

3. Lo spazio-tempo e la sua molteplicità

C'è un presupposto che Florenskij considera della massima importanza per un ulteriore sviluppo del tema degli *immaginari* e, di conseguenza, del tema della dimensione simultaneamente reale/*visibile* e immaginaria/*invisibile* dello spazio. Ne parla persino in una lettera dal gulag, del 16-17 gennaio 1936, in cui spiega che lo spazio-tempo è non solo reale, ma anche assolutamente determinante per i fenomeni naturali. Vi sottolinea che, essendo lo spazio-tempo una "entità" esistente, reale – e quindi non soggettiva né fittizia –, esso agisce; e, in qualità di *forma interna,* è un fattore fondamentale dei fenomeni naturali. Chiaramente, anche "questa concezione s'intreccia con il principio della relatività" (Florenskij 1998, 369; 2011, 241), incrementando l'interesse per la struttura, dei fenomeni naturali, ovviamente, ma *in primis* dello stesso spazio-tempo,[10] e per l'elemento-chiave di essa: la curvatura della superficie.

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8 Riferendosi a questi risultati teorici della trattazione florenskijana, il matematico Renato Betti ne dà la seguente valutazione: "Dal punto di vista matematico, il saggio su *Gli immaginari in geometria* è una delle opere matematiche più significative di Florenskij, per il suo contenuto che proietta le strutture formali su una concreta interpretazione cosmologica. Il lavoro esplicita un nuovo modello rappresentativo dei numeri complessi corrispondente alla visione globale che Florenskij ha dei fenomeni del mondo e dello spirito. Così, il termine 'immaginario' perde alla fine la propria connotazione tecnica, estendendosi alla prospettiva di ciò che si percepisce quando la vita passa – come può passare – dal visibile all'invisibile. Non si riferisce più soltanto ai numeri, alle loro proprietà e alla loro rappresentazione, ma abbraccia ciò che solo si intuisce, si intravede, si immagina, nel desiderio di comprendere e descrivere quanto non è direttamente percepibile con i sensi. Il campo dei numeri complessi diventa una sorta di zona intermedia fra il reale e l'immaginario, con una totale, e felice, adeguatezza dell'intuizione alla terminologia matematica" (Betti 2009, 95).

9 Cfr. il saggio *Empiria ed empirismo* (Florenskij 1994, 146-178; 2014, 63-109), il capitolo *Due mondi* ne *La colonna e il fondamento della Verità* (Florenskij 1990a, 9-14; 2010, 17-21), oppure la parte introduttiva dell'*Iconostasi* (Florenskij 1995a, 419ss.; 2008, 19ss.).

10 La spazio-temporalità è un tema di basilare importanza per la teoria della complessità di Florenskij ed è evidente che sul suo approfondimento influì non solo il dialogo con la matematica e la fisica, ma anche

Il motivo dell'interesse di Florenskij per la struttura e, in particolare, per la curvatura della superficie (dello spazio-tempo) viene esplicitato nella lettera dal gulag del 3 aprile 1936, in cui si ribadisce che la superficie dello spazio-tempo e, di conseguenza, tutte le superfici in senso fisico sono curve, di una curvatura media non uguale a zero. È proprio tale curvatura a creare la reale distinzione tra un corpo e altri corpi, e, soprattutto, a determinare l'esistenza di ciò che è *esterno* e di ciò che è *interno*, e quindi anche di ciò che sta da una parte della superficie come suo *volto reale* e di ciò che sta oltre come realtà *immaginaria*.[11] Dunque la curvatura della superficie, in quanto configurazione di un determinato spazio-tempo, è da considerarsi una vera e propria *forma* con un suo peculiare potenziale. Di conseguenza essa crea un campo di forze che determina l'andamento dei fenomeni. Di conseguenza si può dire che "tutti i processi hanno luogo sulla superficie, sul confine tra INTERNO ed ESTERNO, ma" – aggiunge Florenskij – "questo confine è qualcosa di molto più complesso di quanto non appaia a un'analisi sommaria. Con il fatto di penetrare nella profondità del corpo poniamo una nuova superficie di confine, ed è questa poi, e non l'interno del corpo, che studiamo e che è oggetto di ricerca" (Florenskij 1998, 429; 2011, 271).

Nella stessa lettera, però, si trova un'altra importante puntualizzazione, in piena sintonia con la teoria einsteiniana: essendo lo spazio-tempo un insieme inscindibile, è evidente che "la curvatura della superficie non è una curvatura astratta della geometria, bensì una curvatura secondo tutte le coordinate, vale a dire anche secondo quelle del tempo" (Florenskij 1998, 429; 2011, 271). Ciò porta a concludere che l'andamento degli eventi sulle superfici di diversa curvatura è *differente* e, quindi, che su una determinata superficie il tempo scorre con velocità differente rispetto a un'altra superficie, di diversa curvatura.

In realtà, tali rilievi di Florenskij riprendono le ampie riflessioni sullo spazio-tempo già da lui espresse nell'ambito delle lezioni agli Atelier superiori tecnico-artistici di Stato e contenenti spiegazioni di grande rilievo per il nostro tema, formulate a partire dalla constatazione del superamento della concezione euclideo-kantiana di spazio ad opera della fisica moderna[12] e grazie soprattutto a entrambi i principi della relatività. In virtù di essi, infatti, è stato possibile stabilire che le caratteristiche dello spazio sono "la finitezza, la non omogeneità, l'anisotropia, la multidimensionalità (cinque dimensioni nella concezione di Eddington), la differenza della sua curvatura dallo zero (diversa inoltre nei diversi punti), la multivocità e, in base a un dato approccio (l'utilizzazione degli immaginari), la non connessione" (Florenskij 2000, 283; 1995b, 228). Ma c'è di

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con la filosofia e la teologia. Quest'ultima permise al pensatore russo di sviluppare il concetto di spazio-tempo con l'utilizzo delle categorie della metafisica cristiana fondata sul dogma trinitario e impostata in chiave del simbolismo ontologico, un concetto elaborato con la ferma convinzione della centralità del tempo (unitamente allo spazio) nel e per il cristianesimo e del particolare ruolo che esso, in quanto religione rivelata, ha, affinché sia possibile effettuare e praticare un ampio approccio conoscitivo alla *spazio-temporalità* del reale e alla *sua* "organizzazione". A parere di Florenskij il cristianesimo ha un interesse molto più elevato, rispetto alle religioni precristiane, per un'esatta organizzazione dello spazio-tempo, essendo la coscienza cristiana illuminata dall'Eternità. Per una presentazione e un'analisi filosofico-teologica del concetto florenskijano di spazio-tempo di vedano gli studi: Žák 2000; 2009; Chase 2015.

[11] Questa distinzione è in piena convergenza con quella tra il noumeno e il fenomeno, ossia tra le dimensioni noumenica e fenomenica della "cosa" (di un oggetto, un fenomeno, una particella del reale ecc.), che si trova descritta in: Florenskij 1992, 159ss.; 2009, 200ss.

[12] Va ricordato che alcuni scienziati iniziano a sostenere l'idea della necessità di rivedere tale superamento (Regge 1994, 200-201), in quanto, secondo i dati dell'attuale ricerca, apparirebbe evidente che lo spazio segue le leggi della geometria euclidea, manifestandosi perciò come uno spazio (un universo) piatto, a curvatura (e a energia) nulla, omogeneo e isotropico (Tonelli 2019, 44-46, 63-64). Si tratta comunque di una posizione che non riesce a smentire teoricamente le giustificazioni e descrizioni matematiche dello spazio addotte dai sostenitori della geometria non euclidea.

più: Florenskij insiste sulla necessità di riconoscere che nella nostra quotidiana esperienza di essere parte del reale il concetto di *spazio fisico* appare intrinsecamente connesso con quello di *spazio geometrico* e *psicofisico*.

Parlando dello spazio fisico, geometrico e psicofisiologico, Florenskij intende indicare tre differenti spazi (o proprietà spaziali) che realmente coesistono e quindi prospettare tre simultanei approcci conoscitivi alla spazialità complessa di un unico reale? La risposta va cercata nelle sue lezioni del 1925 sulla spazialità, nelle quali, rifacendosi a Einstein, assieme a W. K. Clifford, H. Poincaré, H. Weyl e A. Eddington, egli ribadisce l'importanza della scoperta della dipendenza delle proprietà spaziali dal cosiddetto *campo di forze* (Florenskij 2000, 81-146; 1995b, 19-85). E ricorda che già Riemann ha affermato che il fondamento delle relazioni metriche dev'essere cercato in forze coesive che agiscono su di esso; soprattutto riconosce che grazie a Einstein e a Weyl è stato possibile sviluppare tale brillante intuizione matematica, dal significato incomparabilmente più profondo e con un ventaglio di utilizzazioni molto più ampio di quelli solitamente presi in considerazione.

La cosa da tener presente – ed ecco la risposta alla succitata domanda – è che un campo di forze è un insieme di forze molteplici e diverse. Queste, da una parte, hanno una caratteristica comune che le definisce quali forze, per cui si può chiamare *forza* "tutto ciò che è in grado di agire producendo delle variazioni nelle caratteristiche del reale" (Florenskij 2000, 109; 1995b, 48), in primo luogo le variazioni del grado della curvatura della superficie dello spazio; dall'altra, sono comunque di diverso genere, il che spiega perché "l'attività di ciascuna di esse si manifesta e compare soltanto in presenza di una corrispondente sensibilità degli oggetti al loro influsso e rimane sconosciuta se questa sensibilità manca" (Florenskij 2000, 109; 1995b, 48).[13] Ciò significa che ogni specifica forza determina la curvatura di uno specifico spazio ad essa corrispondente, ma anche che, se esistono determinate forze, devono esserci realmente i rispettivi spazi, esistenti all'interno di un unico reale.

Ma di quali forze si tratta? Florenskij cita la forza di gravità, la forza d'urto, la forza magnetica e la forza della luce, appartenenti al genere di forze di cui si occupa la fisica, e ad esse aggiunge la forza dell'attenzione, la forza dell'impressione, la forza della passione, la forza della bellezza, la forza dello spettacolo e la forza della parola, facendo intuire che questo elenco potrebbe essere molto più lungo (Florenskij 2000, 104-110; 1995b, 43-48). Pertanto anche l'odorato, il gusto, le emozioni mistiche di diverso genere, i pensieri e persino le sensazioni hanno delle caratteristiche spaziali, il che vuol dire che sono anch'essi determinati da forze corrispondenti. Sta di fatto che ogni genere di forza crea, con caratteristiche peculiari e differenti, una determinata curvatura di una specifica superficie spaziale.

Eppure Florenskij, appena ribadendo che, essendoci molte forze, ci sono di conseguenza molti spazi, insiste sulla necessità di considerare il reale – e di descriverlo, creandone modelli conoscitivi – come un insieme la cui multispazialità non significa disgregazione ma interconnessione e coordinazione. Sicuramente, all'interno di un unico reale (di un'unica "cosa") intrinsecamente multispaziale si verifica il fenomeno dell'essere-fuori-luogo (внеположность), apparendo certi elementi *esterni* rispetto ad altri a causa del loro posizionamento in un proprio spazio, un posizionamento differente rispetto a quello degli elementi degli altri spazi di un unico reale. Tuttavia, pur riconoscendoli come esterni e pur differenziandoli, si è in grado di cogliere i differenti elementi come un *insieme*, come un qualcosa di *interconnesso* e coordinato, il che porta

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[13] "Fra le diverse forze *non c'è* una frontiera divisoria, da un lato della quale si trovi ciò che è oggettivo e dall'altro ciò che è soggettivo. Ciò che è oggettivo possiede il suo proprio lato interiore, allo stesso modo in cui ciò che è soggettivo può venire svelato. Non c'è niente di misterioso che non divenga evidente e, viceversa, tutto ciò che è evidente nasconde in sé un mistero" (Florenskij 2000, 109; 1995b, 48).

a riconoscere il reale quale un insieme organico, un'unità differenziata e una molteplicità unita (Florenskij 2000, 110-111; 1995b, 48-49).

L'argomentazione addotta mette bene in luce la grande complessità del concetto che Florenskij ha di spazialità simultaneamente geometrica, fisica e psicofisica, assieme al motivo di tale triplice strutturazione. Egli è convinto che la comprensione e la descrizione dello spazio da parte della geometria o della fisica – dell'"alleanza" delle quali non si può dubitare – non debbano scindersi dall'*esperienza concreta* del reale, garantita in particolare dalla sua percezione psicofisica, più idonea della fisica e della geometria a recepire e descrivere esaustivamente l'interna complessità dei campi di forze che determinano lo spazio.

L'originalità di tale concezione di Florenskij emerge ancor di più quando si prendono in considerazione gli ulteriori sviluppi della sua riflessione. Mi riferisco, ad esempio, alla sua idea che la spazialità (i differenti spazi e le loro curvature) esista come una realtà non solo data *a priori*, e con la quale bisogna fare i conti per il fatto di essere venuti all'esistenza all'interno di un ambiente reale già esistente, ma anche determinabile dagli esseri umani, essendo questi in grado di modificare gli spazi esistenti e, addirittura, di ricrearne di nuovi, e di stabilire una forza, o un determinato campo di forze, che, di conseguenza, crei una determinata curvatura della superficie di un determinato spazio. Mi riferisco inoltre alla convinzione – elaborata sul terreno della teoria della relatività – che Florenskij sviluppò a partire dalla concezione dello spazio e del tempo come di due realtà differenti eppure intrinsecamente unite. Essa poggia sul presupposto che la molteplicità degli spazi coincide con la molteplicità dei tempi, dato che la velocità del tempo (di una sequenza di attimi di tempo) dipende dal grado della curvatura della superficie sulla quale un determinato corpo si muove. Dunque, se esistono differenti forze che creano differenti curvature della superficie – creando in questo modo differenti spazi –, devono esistere anche tempi che scorrono con differenti velocità. Tutto questo caratterizza la complessità di un unico reale, sia nel suo insieme che nei suoi particolari.

Ebbene, è in questa prospettiva che deve essere interpretata l'idea di Florenskij circa la possibilità della *rottura* di una superficie e del *riversarsi* (rovesciarsi) su se stesso di un corpo che con ciò – per chi si trovava con esso da una parte della superficie di un determinato spazio – diventa *immaginario*, acquisendo delle caratteristiche nuove, corrispondenti a quelle che si verificano con il superamento della velocità della luce.

4. Predisposizione dell'essere umano all'esperienza dell'immaginario

Nel testo di una lezione di Florenskij del 1924, appuntata da una studentessa, si legge: «Il tempo scorre sempre in una nuova direzione che ha un unico verso e, in un significato preciso e sostanziale, è irreversibile. Questa è l'opinione comune sul tempo e sullo spazio. Cercherò ora di dimostrare che tale opinione è sbagliata» (Florenskij 2000, 371; 1995b, 317).

È sbagliata, perché la concezione del tempo non deve limitarsi al "tempo della fisica", ma deve prendere in considerazione anche il "tempo psicofisico". Ne è una riprova la realtà del sogno, che Florenskij cita nel testo della lezione e della quale si occupa ampiamente soprattutto nell'*Iconostasi*. Nelle prime pagine di quest'opera, riferendosi all'idea del tempo istantaneo di K. du Prel e alle ricerche di F.W. Hildebrandt, prima di tutto egli spiega che il contesto spazio-temporale in cui sorgono le immagini oniriche è la linea di confine tra sonno e veglia. Esse sorgono come passaggio istantaneo da una sfera all'altra della vita psichica e, solo dopo, alla sfera della memoria, cosicché, pur trasposte nella coscienza diurna e pur sviluppandosi nell'ordine del succedersi temporale proprio del mondo visibile, possiedono "una propria misura del tempo, quella 'trascendentale', non paragonabile a quella diurna" (Florenskij 1995a, 420; 2008,

20). Dunque, il sogno permette di passare con la coscienza ad un altro sistema, avente una nuova misura del tempo, differente da quella del sistema precedente.

Secondo Florenskij, pur non conoscendo il principio della relatività, quasi tutti gli uomini, grazie all'esperienza elementare del sogno, sono pronti a riconoscere senza difficoltà che in ciascuno dei differenti sistemi scorre un *proprio* tempo alla *propria* velocità e con la *propria* misura. Solo pochi, però, avvertono un altro fatto, ancora più sorprendente: che il tempo del sogno può scorrere a una velocità infinita e, addirittura, voltandosi su se stesso a velocità infinita, può invertire la direzione del suo corso. Questo sta a dimostrare che il tempo può essere "realmente istantaneo e teleologico, rivolto cioè dal futuro al passato, dalle conseguenze alle cause, il che si verifica proprio quando la nostra vita passa dal visibile all'invisibile, dal reale all'immaginario" (Florenskij 1995a, 420; 2008, 20). All'origine di tutto questo può essere comunque uno stimolo esterno, che però viene elaborato e assimilato in base a due coscienze: quella diurna e quella notturna. Una voce esterna, il tocco della fredda spalliera del letto di ferro o altre sollecitazioni esterne riescono, cioè, a provocare un immediato risveglio, che però viene vissuto dal dormiente come un susseguirsi di numerose e lunghe sequenze di eventi, alla cui fine – e solo alla fine! – la stessa causa del risveglio appare in forma simbolica come punto conclusivo della storia vissuta in sogno (Florenskij 1995a, 421-426; 2008, 21-27).[14]

Se è dunque vero che grazie al sogno – questa elementare e universalmente umana esperienza della grande complessità del reale – è possibile irrompere nella spaziotemporalità degli immaginari, il significato più profondo di un simile rovesciamento su se stessi è da ricercare, secondo Florenskij, nell'orizzonte della fede religiosa, in particolare quella cristiana, dotata di appositi concetti e di adeguate descrizioni. Egli spiega:

"Forse in questo mondo rovesciato, in questo riflesso ontologicamente speculare del mondo, non riconosciamo la sfera dell'*immaginario*, sebbene questo immaginario, per coloro che si sono rivoltati su se stessi e si sono rovesciati arrivando fino al centro spirituale del mondo, sia anch'esso autenticamente reale esattamente come loro. Sì, questo immaginario è reale nella sua essenza, non è qualcosa di totalmente diverso rispetto a questo nostro mondo. Essendo la benefica creazione di Dio una realtà unica, ciò che viene guardato dall'*altro lato*, da parte di chi vi si trova, è sempre la stessa e identica realtà. Da lì si vedono i *sembianti* e gli *sguardi spirituali* delle cose, visibili a chi ha reso manifesto in sé il proprio sembiante originario, l'immagine di Dio, ossia, per dirla in greco, l'*idea*: le idee della realtà esistente vedono coloro che, dalle idee, sono interamente illuminati, manifestando in sé e attraverso sé stessi, a questo nostro mondo, le idee del mondo celeste" (Florenskij 1995a, 427; 2008, 28).

Il sogno non rappresenta, certo, l'unica modalità di entrata nella spaziotemporalità dell'immaginario. Anche le creazioni artistiche, ad esempio, permettono una simile esperienza, seppure di altro genere, avendo al centro l'idea creativa/ispiratrice di una concreta opera artistica. Pertanto, sia il sogno che le opere d'arte – e la loro creazione – testimoniano l'esistenza di un preciso dato di fatto: la strutturale predisposizione dell'essere umano a fare l'esperienza dell'immaginario. Forte di questa convinzione, Florenskij afferma:

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[14] Ad esempio, un tocco della fredda spalliera sul collo nudo fa sognare una lunga e drammatica storia che finalmente si conclude, coincidendo con il risveglio del dormiente, quando il coltello della ghigliottina ne sfiora il collo.

"Sì, la vita della nostra stessa anima [∂yшa – significa anche 'psyché'] offre il punto di appoggio per poterci esprimere su questa linea di contatto tra i due mondi, poiché anche in noi stessi il vivere nel visibile si alterna con il vivere nell'invisibile. E perciò ci sono momenti – seppur brevi, ridotti, a volte della durata di un solo istante – in cui i due mondi si toccano e noi possiamo contemplarne il contatto. Dentro di noi per alcuni istanti si squarcia il velo dell'invisibile e attraverso il suo strappo, ancora percepibile, soffia l'alito invisibile di altri luoghi: i due mondi si sciolgono l'uno nell'altro e la nostra vita diventa una corrente continua, come quando nell'afa l'aria calda sale in alto" (Florenskij 1995a, 419; 2008, 19).

Sembrerebbe che le parole di Florenskij facciano parte di un discorso intenzionato a sostenere l'idea di un'intrinseca predisposizione umana a quel tipo di esperienze particolari di cui si occupano esclusivamente la teologia mistica o gli studi del paranormale. Non è esattamente così; perlomeno questa impressione non coglie tutta la verità sull'anima come luogo dell'incontro tra i due mondi. Infatti, Florenskij – sempre fermamente convinto dell'importanza della religione e della mistica per la conoscenza del reale – si riferisce qui in primo luogo alla strutturale predisposizione conoscitiva propria di tutti gli esseri umani, che, se presa seriamente in considerazione, è di cruciale importanza per la loro esperienza conoscitiva del reale. Volendo richiamare l'attenzione su questo tema persino in una lettera dal gulag (del 21 febbraio 1936), egli scrive al figlio Kirill:

"Il principio (minore) della relatività si basa semplicemente sul carattere necessario di ciò che tutti conoscono, ma con cui nessuno fa i conti nella vita concreta. In parole povere, per il fatto di vivere noi entriamo in comunicazione o ammettiamo la sua possibilità direttamente, non attraverso lo spazio, ma *al di sopra* dello spazio [fisico], oltrepassando le percezioni. [...] Occorre riconoscere che è veramente possibile una comunicazione con mezzi non fisici, o su un terreno non fisico: deve allora essere ricostruita quella teoria della conoscenza cui si attiene la maggioranza delle persone, deve essere ricostruita dalla base e, anche in tal caso, con tutte le conseguenze che ne derivano. Noi conosciamo una cosa non perché la vediamo, la udiamo, la fiutiamo e la tocchiamo, ma al contrario: se vediamo, udiamo, fiutiamo e tocchiamo una cosa, è perché l'abbiamo già conosciuta prima, cogliendola – anche se inconsciamente o al di sopra della coscienza – nella sua autenticità e nella sua realtà diretta. La percezione, allora, deve essere considerata solo come materiale per il trasferimento della cosa dalla sfera inconscia a quella cosciente, e non come materiale del contenuto stesso della conoscenza. Per me ciò è del tutto chiaro, ma non so se sia riuscito a spiegarti l'essenza della questione" (Florenskij 1998, 671; 2011, 379).

5. Conclusione: la fisica a servizio di una "nuova" Weltanschauung

La questione della complessità del reale, e quindi anche degli immaginari, è stata al centro dell'attenzione di Florenskij sin dal tempo dei suoi studi universitari, soprattutto a partire dall'iscrizione all'Accademia teologica di Mosca, da lui decisa nel 1904, dopo una brillante conclusione del ciclo di studi nella Facoltà di Matematica e Fisica presso l'Università di Mosca. Ne è una conferma la breve introduzione alla sua traduzione in russo della *Monadologia fisica* di I. Kant, scritta nel 1905 (Florenskij 1994, 682-686). L'allora studente di teologia vi tesse la lode della teoria degli insiemi (*die Mengenlehre*) elaborata da Georg Cantor, prospettata come strumento conoscitivo capace di cogliere, e tenere dialetticamente o dinamicamente insieme, non solo l'unità e la molteplicità dell'essere

di una cosa, ma anche il suo essere rivolto contemporaneamente verso l'esterno e l'interno, e quindi il suo "apparire" e la sua *interioritas*, in cui si cela ciò che di essa è "immaginario". Per abbracciare la totalità dell'essere (di una cosa, di un oggetto di conoscenza) occorre perciò ammettere il realismo anche della sua *interioritas*, inclusi i suoi immaginari, il che spinge a compiere un radicale passaggio dalla visione materialista del mondo a quella spirituale.

Secondo il giovane Florenskij, gli stessi studi fisici sull'atomo – quale "centro delle forze" – invitavano a fare una scelta di tal genere, tanto più alla luce del fatto che le ricerche iniziavano a focalizzarsi sull'elettrone, una particella subatomica del tutto particolare perché né materiale né fittizia e tuttavia centrale per la costituzione della materia. In questo modo la fisica avrebbe operato una "dematerializzazione della materia" (Florenskij 1994, 686) e così avrebbe invitato l'umanità ad aprirsi ai nuovi fatti e alle nuove idee, per giungere a una visione più ampia e globale del reale. Immergendosi nello studio della teologia e della mistica cristiana e ricevendo, più tardi, la consacrazione sacerdotale, Florenskij intendeva mostrare la validità di un percorso di vita e di conoscenza che non si discostava da tale visione, né la distorceva o frammentava, ma l'arricchiva di un'idea del reale e di un "pensiero complesso" possibili solo a chi vivesse una viva esperienza di fede nel Dio unitrino,[15] Fondamento trascendente assolutamente "complesso" e infinitamente "semplice" dell'intero universo e di tutti gli esseri.

Non a caso, sempre nel 1904, egli pubblicò un articolo, intitolato *Su un presupposto della concezione del mondo*, in cui ribadisce con molta convinzione l'idea dell'assenza delle contraddizioni di fondo tra l'ambito dell'osservazione scientifica (la scienza) e quello delle esperienze spirituali/mistiche (la religione), spiegando che entrambi sono ugualmente necessari all'uomo, essendo essi «ugualmente validi e sacri» per la «realizzazione del Bene» (Florenskij 2007c, 14).

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[15] Per una conoscenza più approfondita della teologia trinitaria di Florenskij rimango tuttora valide e da raccomandare le monografie: Silberer 1984; Žák 1998.

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RECENZIE / REVIEWS

TANESKI, Zvonko. POETIKA DISLOKÁCIE – Komparatistické sondy k migráciám v južnoslovanských literatúrach po roku 1989. Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského, 2021. 216 s. ISBN 978-80-223-5141-6.

Monografija Zvonka Taneskog *POETIKA DISLOKÁCIE: Komparatistické sondy k migráciám v južnoslovanských literatúrach po roku 1989*, nastala pod pokroviteljstvom VEGA V-19-017-00 *POETIKA DISLOKÁCIE. Obraz imigranta v južnoslovanských literatúrach po roku 1989* (Vydala Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave vo Vydavateľstve UK v roku 2021), sastoji se od uvodnih napomena autora, četiri poglavlja pod nazivom *Spoločensko-kultúrne pozadie uzlového výskumu južnoslovanských literatúr na Slovensku po roku 1989 (Postoje k transkultúrnemu obratu v podmienkach zrýchlenej globalizácie); Literárnohistorické a interpretačné východiská „poetiky dislokácie" v južnoslovanských literatúrach po roku 1989 a ich reflexia na Slovensku; Južnoslovanskí spisovatelia na stránkach slovenského časopisu Фragment (1987 – 2017); Umelecký preklad ako svedectvo transkultúrneho obratu – migrácia vs. integrácia: prítomnosť južnoslovanských spisovateľov v slovenskej kultúre po roku 1989*, zaključnih naznaka, uređivačke napomene, rezimea na engleskom jeziku, literature, spiska prevedenih dela iz južnoslovenskih književnosti na slovački jezik navedenih po abecednom redu i osnovnih podataka o autoru.

Težište naučnih interesovanja Zvonka Taneskog u monografiji *POETIKA DISLOKÁCIE: Komparatistické sondy k migráciám v južnoslovanských literatúrach po roku 1989* stavljeno je na problematiku dislokacije i pitanja migracije u južnoslovenskim književnostima, sa ciljem da se mapiraju poetska, prozna, dramska, esejistička, kniževno-kritička dela južnoslovenskih autora u Slovačkoj u periodu od 1989. do 2019. godine. Sem toga, autor u ovoj monografiji teoretski razmatra pitanja

povezana sa prevodilačkom praksom, izborom prevodne literature, mogućnostima prevoda, uz punu svest o uticaju političkog diskursa na jezik, ali i o naučnoj neophodnosti analize konkretne književne građe bez upliva bilo kakvih političkih implikacija i/ili generalizacija.

Ovako problemski postavljena monografija predstavlja značajan naučni doprinos uporednoj južnoslovenskoj književnoj istoriji, jer pokreće pitanje prevodne literature u Slovačkoj koji do sada u nauci nije bio razmatran u dovoljnoj meri. Prevodna literatura je u monografiji sagledavana u širem okviru migracija, pri čemu Zvonko Taneski ukazuje i na terminološke probleme koji se očituju u marginalnim razlikama između pojmova migracija, emigracija i imigracija i srodnih termina migrant, emigrant, imigrant. U tom smislu, autor posebno naglašava da se perspektive dislokacije i migracije prevashodno moraju shvatiti kao diskurzivni događaji.

Baveći se književnošću u dijaspori, tzv. "dislociranim", bezdomnim autorima, te pojmom heteroglosije koja, po njegovom mišljenju, neminovno nalazi svoje mesto i u domenu književne nauke i književne istorije, Taneski posvećenim proučavanjem statusa južnoslovenskih pisaca i odličnim poznavanjem književno-umetničkih prilika u Slovačkoj, nastoji da verifikuje (ne)validnost uverenja da je posle 1989. godine, usled političkih i društveno-istorijskih promena, uslovljenih Nežnom revolucijom, padom Berlinskog zida i uklanjanjem Gvozdene zavese, došlo do opadanja prevoda umetničke literature južnoslovenskih autora, odnosno, da je prevođenje umetničkih dela skrajnuto, marginalizovano i van kulturnih domašaja u Slovačkoj.

Proučavajući transkulturne obrte u kontekstu globalizacije, Zvonko Taneski u poglavlju *Spoločensko-kultúrne pozadie uzlového výskumu južnoslovanských literatúr na Slovensku po roku 1989 (Postoje k transkultúrnemu obratu v podmienkach zrýchlenej globalizácie)*, istraživački fokus

usmerava na tzv. postnacionalni identitet u južnoslovenskim književnostima, na svojevrsno formiranje postnacionalne svesti u književnom diskursu, tačnije, istraživanje usmerava na fenomen onoga što se danas naziva postjužnoslovenskim književnostima i na fenomen promene narativa u književno globalizovanom svetu. S tim u vezi, osvrće se i na krizu komparatistike, na različita imenovanja književnosti i kulture (multikulturalna književnost, policentrični pojam kulture), kao i na različite pristupe u oblasti uporednih studija (imagološki, postkolonijalna čitanja i sl.). Naročitu vrednost ovog poglavlja predstavlja detaljan pregled teorijske literature o slovačko-južnoslovenskim književnim i kulturnim vezama, pregled naučnih radova u kojima su obrađene teme dislokacije i migracije, kao i naučnih radova u domenu studija kulture i komparatistike. Ovakav teorijsko-metodološki okvir omogućio je autoru zauzimanje kritičkog stava prema delima iz južnoslovenskih književnosti, koja su posredno ili neposredno povezana sa poetikom dislokacije i likom doseljenika, ili u kojima se ovo pitanje na neki način očituje. To je prirodno vodilo ka daljem ispitivanju pojma interkulturnosti i posebno ka ispitivanju poetike dvojnih/dvodomnih pisaca.

U narednom poglavlju *Literárnohistorické a interpretačné východiská „poetiky dislokácie" v južnoslovanských literatúrach po roku 1989 a ich reflexia na Slovensku* prezentovan je osnovni istraživački materijal u oblasti slovačko-južnoslovenskih književnih veza i teorijske smernice kojima se autor rukovodio u pristupu raličitim izdanjima južnoslovenskih pesnika, prozaista i esejista.

Poglavlje *Južnoslovanskí spisovatelia na stránkach slovenského časopisu Fragment (1987 – 2017)* posvećeno je periodici u Slovačkoj i književnom časopisu *Fragment,* osnovanom u Bratislavi 1987. godine (prvih 10 brojeva kao samizdat pod imenom *Fragment K,* a od 1992. godine preimenovan je u *Fragment*). Temeljno, detaljno, pouzdano, precizno Zvonko Taneski registruje sve jugoslovenske pisce, esejiste, kritičare, prikaze književnih dela, kniževne razgovore zastupljene u *Fragmentu* od 1987. do 2017. Prvi južnoslovenski autor čije je delo publikovano u ovom časopisu je slovenački pesnik Tomaš Šalamuna. Potom su usledila dela Edvarda Kocbeka, Danila Kiša, Davida Albaharija, Mihajla Pantića, Mirka Kovača, Draga Jančara, Svetislava Basare, Milisava Savića, Milorada Pavića, Jovice Aćina i drugih pisaca. Glavni prevodilac dela pisaca sa južnoslovenskih prostora je Karol Chmel, a kao prevodioci javljaju se i Lech L. Mark, Dušanka Nováková, Mária Lamacká.

Translatologija i razvoj prevoda u Slovačkoj glavna su tema poslednjeg poglavlja *Umelecký preklad ako svedectvo transkultúrneho obratu – migrácia vs. integrácia: prítomnosť južnoslovanských spisovateľov v slovenskej kultúre po roku 1989.* U ovom poglavlju Zvonko Taneski bavi se uticajem otvaranja izdavačkog tržišta na izbor prevodne literature, komercijalizaciom prevodilačke delatnosti, preorijentacijom sa umetničkih na potrošačke tekstove i njenim negativnim i štetnim uticajem na umetnost. Izdvajajući veliki broj prevodilačkih imena, ali i imena autora koji su se teorijski bavili uporednim proučavanjem južnoslovenskih književnosti,, Taneski zaključuje da je sprovedeno istraživanje potvrdilo "že samotné vymedzenie roku 1989 ako časového míľnika reflektuje niekoľko paralelných historických udalostí, ktoré určili nový globálny poriadok a nové ekonomické a spoločenské vzťahy vo svete. Prechodom zo socializmu na kapitalizmus dochádza k zmene všetkých východoeurópskych literárnych priestorov. Literatúra stráca doterajšie privilégiá a výrazne upadá aj štátna podpora. Na literárne pole vplýva aj vstup na slobodný trh a v tom čase sa juhoslovanské literárne pole rozpadá na niekoľko národných polí. V juhoslovanských krajinách, ktoré boli zasiahnuté vojnou, sa obnovuje aj niekdajšia politická úloha literatúry ako nositeľky národnej identity."

Monografija *POETIKA DISLOKÁCIE: Komparatistické sondy k migráciám v južnoslovanských literatúrach po roku 1989* Zvonka Taneskog predstavlja značajni naučni doprinos iz više razloga: upoznaje širu čitalačku publiku sa recepcijom južnoslovenskih književnosti u Slovačkoj, aktuelizuje teorijska pitanja vezana za komparatistička istraživanja, značajna je za studente slavistike i bez sumnje će biti nezaobilazna u svakom novom prilazu poetici dislokacije.

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Exploring the Medieval World of the Polabian Slavs. DRAGNEA, Mihai. Christian Identity Formation across the Elbe in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries. Peter Lang: New York, 2021. 118pp. ISBN 978- 1- 4331- 8431-4.

Humility is probably the most important of all valuable and practical virtues that medieval history teaches us. Modern history books about the life in the 10th and 11th centuries offer us good evidence of how obscure many events, personalities and places still remain, even after centuries of research, how 'fragile' are in fact our reconstructions of the past and how modest we must be when we study and try to understand that distant period.

The reviewed publication *Christian Identity Formation across the Elbe in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (New York, 2021) by Mihai Dragnea has been published as the first book in the series 'Christianity and Conversion in Scandinavia and the Baltic Region, c. 800 – 1600', whose editor is Dragnea himself. Dragnea is an expert on medieval world, and his deep interest in the challenging topics, such as (forced) conversion, missionary Christian identity or religious beliefs of the Wends, is well documented in his previous monographs (*The Wendish Crusade, 1147: The Development of Crusading Ideology in the Twelfth Century*,

London: Routledge, 2019; *Mission and Crusade in the Wendish Territory, 12th century*, Bucharest: Etnologică, 2019) and several articles (e. g. 'Divine Vengeance and Human Justice in the Wendish Crusade of 1147', 2016; 'Verbal and Non-Verbal Communication Between Germans and Wends in the Second Half of the Tenth Century', 2019; or 'The Saxon expeditions against the Wends and the foundation of Magdeburg during Otto I's reign', 2019).

His recent monograph on Christian identity formation across the Elbe thus naturally follows Dragnea's research interests and, in a way, summarizes his long-term efforts to learn more about the medieval Polabian Slavs and their encounters with Christianity. The country along the Elbe river, what is today eastern Germany, was the land of the Polabian Slavs, also known as the Wends. Dragnea's research is based on literary sources, especially the medieval chronicles of Thietmar, the bishop of Merseburg (975-1018) whose work is an excellent (and first-hand) source for the history of the reign of Otto III and Henry II; the 10th-century Widukind of Corvey, the 11th-century chronicler Adam of Bremen (*Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum* [Deeds of the Bishops of Hamburg]) and the 12th-century chronicler Helmold of Bosau.

Dragnea's book can be read then, as he states in the introduction, as an attempt to show "how exactly the Christian writers from the tenth and eleventh centuries perceived the submission of the Wends to the Christian faith" (p. 7). This phrasing is important since by that Mihai Dragnea clearly suggests that stories, events and behaviour of people who would appear in the accounts had been shaped by the Christian mind-set and the monastic culture to which their authors belonged. This is not to 'blame' the monk-chroniclers for their 'biases' but rather to highlight that the medieval mind of a Christian monk saw the world differently, their outlook on life was strikingly different from ours and we should not pronounce

quick judgment over their values and spiritual perspectives. At the same time, theirs are often the only sources we have, besides the archaeological evidence which must be taken into account when one studies the period, and we must respect and appreciate the efforts and dedication with which the monks spent hours putting down what they regarded important and valuable information for their readers in the future.

As Mihai Dragnea's book elucidates, the medieval world he writes about is rooted in the amalgamation of military and spiritual, a rather foreign concept for the modern Western man. It is a complex issue and it would be an unnecessary digression to discuss it here in detail, but the book reports how unclear are the boundaries between the physical and spiritual warfare of the times. This is, of course, a universal feature of the medieval period, yet, in the studied region of the unusual border-land of the Elbe, it bears special significance because the power struggles between the Saxons and (especially) the Liutici shed important light on our understanding of the complexities of what it meant to be Christian and pagan at that time.

Scholars have been always fascinated with the phenomenon of religious conversion. Spirituality, and especially the act of conversion which encapsulates the most intimate part and essence of man, is difficult to discourse about because it is very subjective and deeply personal and as such belongs to experiences whose nature simply cannot be expressed verbally. We will never know for sure what happened during the 10th and 11th centuries on the Elbe, but interesting, though often perplexing and contradictory information that we find in the medieval sources and in archaeological excavations encourages us to study the past and reflect on it. As Mihai Dragnea writes, the Elbe became the political and cultural border in the Carolingian period, dividing the Franks, "heirs to Latin culture, and the Slavic East, isolated from the Carolingian world" (p. 12-13). Yet borders are

never sealed hermetically and ideas always travel, and in a particularly popular demand are those which are either 'useful' for people or which contain the elements of mystery and awe, as all religions do.

Dragnea's book focuses on the Wends, an exonym which covers the tribes and groups of many names, and his book references several of them, including the Obotrites, the Liutici, the Hevelli and the Sorbs. The book is divided into six chapters (Who Were the Wends?, A Brief History of Christianity across the Elbe, Wendish Idolatry in a Broader Context, Divination and Fortune-Tellers in Christianity, Horse Divination among the Liutici, and Rethra as the *sedes ydolatriae* of the Liutici) which follow logically and create a pattern of perspectives on the Wends.

As the chapter called 'A Brief History of Christianity across the Elbe' points out, the first clashes between the Saxons (Franks) and the Wends happened in the late eighth century and from that very beginning were military campaigns connected with religion (e. g. baptism of Dragovit, the prince of the Wilzi). In the tenth century, Christian missionary activities intensified across the Elbe and of great significance for the spread of Christian faith was the establishment of five dioceses (Brandenburg, Havelberg, Merseburg, Zeitz and Meissen) as suffragans of the important ecclesiastical centre of Magdeburg. Dragnea pays special attention to the role of Adalbert (c. 910 – 981), the first archbishop of Magdeburg and "a man of the greatest holiness", according to Adam of Bremen, who was a teacher of Adalbert of Prague, a Bohemian missionary, better known in central Europe as St. Vojtěch. A much less sympathetic portrayal is that of another Adalbert (c. 1000 – 1072), the first archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen. He was "a demagogue of his time", writes Dragnea (p. 35), an ambitious man who "aimed for the expansion of the archdiocese and the maintenance of ecclesiastical authority in northern Europe" (p. 36).

Somehow redundant seems the chapter on divination and fortune-tellers in Christianity, which mentions *sortes* ('lots') of various kinds, including *sortes sanctorum* and *sortes biblicae*. Their acceptance or refusal by Christian authorities has been always ambiguous and it is often very difficult to determine where innocent piety ends (a Christian who sees God's guidance in his 'random' selection of the Biblical text) and harmful superstition begins (a Christian who trusts external source of knowledge more than God). In my experience, a kind of *sortes biblicae* is practiced even today among members of Christian religious communities and it is not considered sinful by them. This chapter seems redundant because it offers just very brief general overview of divination and fortune-telling in Christianity and gives only little information relevant for introducing the wider context of next two chapters.

It is not very clear why is the next chapter called 'Horse Divination among the Liutici' as the phenomenon of horse divination is discussed very marginally and the focus is instead on other aspects of their religious life. Yet, most material had been discussed already by other authors, including the etymology of Riedegost, that mysterious spiritual centre of the Redarians, known also as Radogošč, Reda or Rethra, whose location has haunted historians and archaeologists for centuries. Dragnea suggests that Riedegost is the Old Saxon, rather than Slavic, word and connects it to the Old English *gāst*, "as a generic term which could designate a spirit life, a soul, breath, bad spirit, angel, or demon" (p. 85). Although he leaves "riede" unexplained, his line of thought matches very well with the Old English verb *rǣdan* which means "to counsel, advice, guide, explain" and Riedegost then becomes simply a place where the spirit gives advice.

The chapter called 'Rethra as the *sedes ydolatriae* of the Liutici' focuses closely on the descriptions of the Redarian site as they were documented in medieval chronicles. It is a pity that Dragnea's vast knowledge of the Wends, obvious to any reader who reads his book, is presented in the text with unnecessary formal and linguistic inaccuracies, including the grammar mistakes and extensive passages with obscure style, which must have escaped the attentive eye of the editor. In this chapter, as in other parts of the book, Dragnea's work with primary sources in Latin should certainly be praised, yet translations, their analyses and interpretations are often expressed with the lack of nuance and clarity. To give just one example, the descriptions of the site of Rethra and its cult practices were presented more clearly, for instance, in *Slavonic Pagan Sanctuaries* (1994) by Leszek Paweł Słupecki, translated from Polish.

Dragnea's conclusion to his research on the religious issues of the Polabian Slavs does not bring any definite statements and a few samples of his phrasing would benefit from further clarification (e. g. "In social terms, the Wends were perceived as Christians when they sought answers to certain existential issues through Christian teaching. This is how the Wendish *gentilis* transformed into a *novus homo Christianus*. Therefore most of the information regarding the spirituality of the Wends is inaccurate", p. 108; or "The priests used horses as sacred tools to motivate them spiritually to follow a political decision", p. 109).

Dragnea suggests that in order to understand the complexity of the situation in the Elbe region, we must consider the sources carefully and be open to re-visiting them. Concerning the religious beliefs of the Wends, he concludes that:

> "The Wends were not technically pagan. Their religion was a syncretism, which fused many Christian elements with certain pagan traditions. This symbiosis led to the formation of a religion based on superstitions rather than apostolic tradition. This phenomenon did not exist only in the Baltic, but throughout Europe" (p. 110).

As he observes further on, although medieval Christianity can be said to be based on official teachings of the Church, including the Creed and dogmas, it had been always meant as a practical faith, rooted in love towards God and others. As a practical faith, religion naturally enters the sphere of one's real life, with its everyday issues and problems. Mihai Dragnea writes that

> "The Wends, more than other rural Europeans more or less isolated from the ecclesiastical system, lived a simple life. It was inconvenient for them to follow Christian social norms and they preferred to live according to their own traditions. They did not have a problem with Christian spirituality, but rather with the obligations imposed by the priests" (p. 110-111).

This is a rather bold pronouncement concerning the medieval mind, yet as the research into several European cultures of medieval and post-medieval period has showed, to talk about "pure" Christianity in the regions which were originally "pagan" would be to misinterpret the richness of religious encounters which have been taking place there over centuries. As Henrik Janson (also quoted in Dragnea's book) so well expressed in his study 'Pagani and Christiani. Cultural Identity and Exclusion Around the Baltic in the Early Middle Ages' (2009),

> "*pagani* in the Viking age did not necessarily refer to people not yet embraced by Christendom. It could also refer to apostates, heretics and even perfectly good Christians living in an area that, with their support, had been cut off from the political and religious structures with which it once had been integrated" (p. 187).

Although I expressed a few critical comments, especially concerning the language and style of the publication, my overall conclusion is that Mihai Dragnea's work, even though it sums up already established knowledge about the Polabian Slavs rather than brings a new and ground-breaking interpretation, is the book worth reading. It definitely motivates the reader to go back and patiently re-examine primary sources in order to seek for additional interpretations of the distant past. Patience is, surely, another important virtue that medieval scholars must practice in order to solve the many early medieval puzzles. There is certainly a hope that with growing archaeological evidence, excellent textual criticism and solid knowledge of the religious contexts of medieval Europe, what will be discovered in the future about the faith and religious culture of the Polabian Slavs may surprise us. Dragnea's book indicates that, until then, we are left with many unanswered questions.

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NEKROLÓGY / NECROLOGIES

Za Jánom Jankovičom (21. 7. 1943 – 12. 6. 2021)

Nedávno na cestu do večnosti odišiel skutočne pozoruhodný človek: veľmi činorodý literárny vedec a historik s obrovskou bibliografiou, plodný prekladateľ, dlhoročný publicista a redaktor, jeden z najväčších znalcov a propagátorov južnoslovanských jazykov na Slovensku vôbec, vzácny priateľ a podnetný kolega s „južanským slnkom" v srdci, s nesmierne širokou dušou, ktorá sa vedela celá otvoriť a podať pomocnú ruku mladším vždy, keď pocítila, že ju potrebovali. A on fakt cítil správne a nepretržite a zanechal nám preto toho dobrého naozaj dosť. Už teraz takmer naisto vieme, že bude nenahraditeľný a neprekonateľný.

PhDr. Ján Jankovič, DrSc., bol členom korešpondentom Chorvátskej akadémie vied a umení. Narodil sa v Považskej Bystrici, kde bol napokon aj pochovaný, v kolíske svojho rodiska. Po maturite v rodnom meste absolvoval Filozofickú fakultu UK v Bratislave (slovenčina a dejepis, lektoráty z chorvátčiny a srbčiny; diplomová práca o srbskom spisovateľovi Lazovi Lazarevićovi, doktorská práca o chorvátskom autorovi Antunovi Nemčićovi). Pracoval v redakciách a vydavateľstvách, bol šéfredaktorom a riaditeľom vydavateľstva Slovenskej akadémie vied, neskôr vlastnil svoje vydavateľstvo Juga. Ostatných dvadsať rokov bol neúnavným vedeckým pracovníkom Ústavu svetovej literatúry SAV, niekoľko rokov bol predsedom vedeckej rady a zástupcom riaditeľa. Okrem toho bol zakladateľom a prvým predsedom Spolku priateľov národov Juhoslávie, reprezentatívnym členom Spolku slovenských spisovateľov a Spolku slovenských prekladateľov umeleckej literatúry. Bol zároveň podpredsedom Slovenského komitétu slavistov a čestným členom Spolku chorvátskych prekladateľov krásnej literatúry. Prekladu sa venoval od 60. rokov 20. storočia. Doposiaľ je najproduktívnejším prekladateľom literatúr národov bývalej Juhoslávie: chorvátskej, srbskej, čiernohorskej, bosnianskej, slovinskej a macedónskej (napr.: M. J. Zagorka, I. Aralica, P. Pavličić, L. Bauer, H. Hitrec, I. Vojnović, M. Begović, S. Mihalić, M. Grgić, G. Tribuson, M. Gavran, V. Möderndorfer, A. Hieng, M. Lalić, Lj. Simović, B. Šćepanović, D. Kovačević, O. Nikolova, K. Racin, G. Stefanovski, J. Plevneš a mnohí ďalší) do slovenčiny (viac než sto kníh, viac než štyridsať inscenácií prekladov na profesionálnych scénach). Vydal takisto viac vedeckých monografií (napr. *Chorvátska literatúra v slovenskej kultúre I* a *II, Boje Čiernohorcov a túžby Slovákov 1839 – 1914, Srbská dráma na Slovensku/Srbska drama u Slovačkoj, Adaptabilita poézie hviezdneho obdobia/Prilagodljivost poezije zvjezdanoga razdoblja, Poézia slovensko-srbskej vzájomnosti 1827 – 1938, Legenda o grófovi Zrinskom I.* a *II. atď.*), kníh esejí, ale aj kníh publicistického charakteru. Za priekopnícke dielo možno pokladať tiež jeho pozoruhodný *Slovník prekladateľov s bibliografiou prekladov z macedónčiny, srbčiny, chorvátčiny a slovinčiny* (2005). Za svoju prekladateľskú, literárnu a vedeckú prácu získal dôležité a početné ceny, prémie a odmeny na Slovensku, v Chorvátsku, Srbsku a Macedónsku.

Milý Janko, možno ešte pomerne malo ľudí vie, že si bol jedným z mojich najväčších duchovných mentorov na Slovensku. Počas našej pätnásťročnej profesionálnej spolupráce si ma svojimi „otcovskými" radami výborne naučil, aké prínosné je udržiavať prostredníctvom literatúry a lásky k nej medzinárodné kultúrne vzťahy. Osud tak zariadil, aby som teraz kráčal v Tvojich šľapajach. Beriem túto výzvu zodpovedne a s pokorou, lebo na Slovensku, žiaľ, nezostalo toľko ľudí, ktorých láka skúmať, prednášať a pestovať korpus južnoslovanských literatúr a kultúr a udržiavať tak naše, ako si vedel často povedať, tradičné slovensko-južnoslovanské literárne a kultúrne vzťahy. Vedel si, že niet seminára ani ročníka na Filozofickej fakulte UK v Bratislave, na ktorom by som Ťa pravidelne nespomínal, poukazujúc s rešpektom na Tvoj bohatý tvorivý opus, pracovné

výsledky a kolegiálnu priazeň. Takto to zostane aj naďalej. Ešte mám čerstvo v pamäti, ako si mi pozorne, poctivo a s nadšením korigoval u Teba doma prvú vedeckú monografiu o macedónsko--slovenských literárnych a kultúrnych vzťahoch, ktorú si následne aj nezištne vydal vo svojom vydavateľstve, aby sme tak po dlhých rokoch zaplnili „biele miesto" v dejinách slovenskej recepcie južnoslovanských literatúr. Spolu sme v nej upozornili ľudí dobrej vôle na tradície a jednotlivé tematické okruhy, ktorými sa obe naše kultúry a literatúry dotýkali a stále dotýkajú. Samozrejme, nikdy nezabudnem ani na to, že si mi pomohol aj vtedy, keď mi bolo v živote najťažšie. Bol si a navždy si zostal úprimným priateľom celej mojej rodiny. Neprerušená kontinuita našej akademickej spolupráce by, pochopiteľne, nebola mysliteľná bez Tvojho osobného ľudského šarmu, akým si vedel nadchnúť mnoho ľudí okolo seba pre spoločnú vec a ktorý robil spoluprácu s Tebou neustále takou príjemnou. Svojou pracovitosťou, precíznym vedeckým pohľadom a Tebe vlastnou empatiou si si na dlhé trate získal srdcia a mysle všetkých Slovákov a Juhoslovanov, ktorých si získal pre svoje výskumné témy, prekrývajúce sa s mojimi výskumnými zámermi.

Ďakujem Ti za toto všetko a aj za mnohé iné. Som hrdý, že som Ťa poznal. Nikdy si neprestanem vážiť Tvoj prínos k dialógu medzi našimi kultúrami a zo srdca Ti ďakujem za Tvoju trvalú priazeň. Pozdravujem Ťa, priateľu, a na Tvoju počesť dvíham džbán červeného vína, z ktorého Ti teraz už nalievajú múzy v nebi.

Česť Tvojej pamiatke!

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Za prof. Ivanom Dorovským (18. 5. 1935 – 23. 8. 2021)

Nedávno z Brna prišla skutočne smutná správa, že nás navždy opustil prof. PhDr. Ivan Dorovský, DrSc., h. c., člen Macedónskej akadémie vied a umení. Dlhé roky pôsobil na Ústave slavistiky Masarykovej univerzity v Českej republike, kde vyškolil značný počet mladších balkanistov i slavistov. Zaoberal sa otázkami dejín slovanských a balkánskych literatúr, jazykov, etnografie, folkloristiky, kulturológie a širšou problematikou česko-slovensko-juhoslovanských kultúrnych vzťahov. Jeho tvorivý opus je naozaj impozantný. Dorovský je totiž autorom takmer 50 vedeckých kníh a veľa umeleckých prekladov z juhoslovanských jazykov do češtiny. Pri tejto príležitosti by sme spomenuli iba zopár z nich: *České země a Balkán. Kapitoly z dějin česko-makedonských a makedonsko--českých kulturních styků* (1973), *Konstantin Jireček. Život a dílo* (1983), *Rajko Žinzifov. Vozdejstvije russkoj i ukrainskoj literatury na jeho tvorčestvo* (1988), *Studii za balkanskiot literaturen proces vo 19 i 20 vek* (1992), *Dramatické umění jižních Slovanů I.* (1995), *Balkán a Mediterán. Literárně historické a teoretické studie* (1997), *Slovanské literatury a dnešek* (2008), *S domovem v srdci* (2014) a i. Je spoluautorom a vedeckým redaktorom *Slovníku slovanských spisovatelů* (1984), *Slovníku balkánských spisovatelů* (2001), *Slovníku autorů světové literatury pro děti a mládež I.* (2007). Bol dlhoročným predsedom Spoločnosti priateľov južných Slovanov v Českej republike, ktorá vydávala podnetný časopis *Slovanský jih*. Okrem toho, prof. I. Dorovský vydal s D. Stefanijou *Česko-makedonský a makedonsko-český slovník* (1994, 1995, 2002) a s V. Bartošovou *Česko-charvátský slovník* (1996). Redigoval takisto sedemzväzkovú bibliografiu československej balkanistiky, päť zväzkov *Studia Balkanica Bohemo-Slovaca,* spisy *Slavica na Masarykovej univerzite* (1993) a niekoľko ďalších desiatok zborníkov. Jeho bibliografia má viac než 3000 bibliografických jednotiek. Podrobnejšie

informácie o jeho plodnej akademickej a umeleckej činnosti možno nájsť napr. v publikáciách: *Ivan Dorovský – Bibliografie* (2000), *Slavista s dusí básníka* (2005) a *Ivanu Dorovskému ad honorem* (2020).

Prof. PhDr. Ivan Dorovský, DrSc., h. c., bol oddaným prívržencom komparatistickej školy Dionýza Ďurišina na Slovensku a profesionálne spolupracoval s niekoľkými slovenskými vedeckými inštitúciami a s viacerými kolegami, s ktorými úprimne pestoval priateľské vzťahy po celé desaťročia. S jeho odchodom jednoznačne zaznamenávame ďalšiu obrovskú stratu literárnovednej balkanistiky a slavistiky v celom areáli strednej Európy.
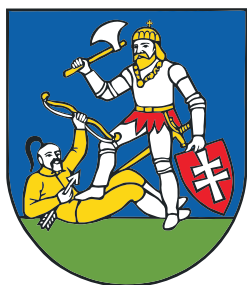
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