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# A CRITICAL REVIEW AND QUANTITATIVE STUDY OF ROMANOS THE MELODIST'S HYMNOGRAPHICAL CORPUS

Miriam Urbano-Ruiz

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**Abstract:** URBANO-RUIZ, Miriam. *A Critical Review and Quantitative Study of Romanos the Melodist's Hymnographical Corpus*. This article has three main objectives. Firstly, it presents a review of some of the specific bibliography on the Byzantine hymnographer Romanos the Melodist (5th-6th century). Secondly, it discusses the traditional views about his hymnical corpus and systematises the main studies on his life and literary production, which belong to the past century, while updating the existing material by examining the diachronic course of research from the discovery of his first hymns to the present day. It also discusses the different taxonomies that have been applied to the poems of this author and, finally, it analyses the compositional data of both the genuine and the spurious part of his work, extracting percentages that can be very useful in making definitive judgements about the possible authorship or not of the Melodist, together with other criteria such as the form of the text, the content, the sources used or the style of each *kontakion*. Such a quantitative study of the *Cantica* of Romanos the Melodist has not yet been undertaken.

**Keywords:** *Romanos the Melodist, kontakia, bibliography, review, hymnographical corpus, quantitative analysis*

## 1. Introduction

The name of Romanos the Melodist is one of the most famous in the literary field of hymnography. Born around 485 AD, the poems he wrote at the beginning of the sixth century are known by the term *kontakion*. The *kontakion* is a kind of verse-sermon, and corresponds to a type of hymn which finds its origin in Syriac literature. The rhetorical and narratological structure of this hymn is tripartite: the introduction or invocation, the plot, and the denouement and final prayer. This tripartition corresponds to the formal structure, which has very clear defining elements, such as the proem, the stanzas, the hirmus – a metrical pattern based on the combination of tonic and atonic syllables –, the refrain and the acrostic.

Eighty-nine of Romanos' *kontakia* have survived to the present day, and his work can be classified according to several criteria. The first of these is the authenticity of the texts. Thus, Romanos' corpus is divided into two large parts: the *Cantica genuina* and the *Cantica dubia*. This is the classification followed by the Melodist's main editors, Maas – Trypanis. Other authors however, make a subdivision according to content. Thus, the hymns focus on Christological, *Old Testament, New Testament, circumstantial and hagiographical themes*.

To these ways of understanding the Melodist's work, two other must be added, taking into account, on the one hand, the integrity of the hymnic text and, on the other, the nature of the poems. From each of these points of view, the assessments lead again to a bipartite division of the work. In the first case, Romanos' work is divided into complete and fragmentary surviving poems. In the second case, it is divided into actual hymns and liturgical poems that do not fit exactly into the formal requirements of the *kontakion*. The categories mentioned here are by no

means rigid, and the same poem may fall into more than one of them. It is noteworthy that the hymns dedicated to episodes on the life of Christ form the bulk of the hymnographer's work and, perhaps, its centre.

A final way of classifying the hymns is mentioned in connection with the hagiographical *kontakia*, but it can apply to the entire corpus of the Melodist. For Maas – Trypanis (1970, X), the tone of the text is remarkably distinctive and comes together in three types of poem. On the one hand, the encomiastic type, composed under the influence of rhetorical *encomium* (Maas 1906, 33). On the other hand, there are the narrative *kontakia*, and, finally, those of a mixed character.

This article will briefly discuss the character and content of the research published relating to Romanos the Melodist and his literary production. It will also attempt to analyse the nature of the majority of the scholarly production about the *kontakia* composed by this hymnographer and the role that these works occupy in the studies of the author and his work, so that the reader will be able to discern the degree of contribution that they have in the field of hymnography. Finally, a quantitative study of Romanos' *Cantica genuina* and *Cantica dubia* is offered by analysing the compositional elements of his poems, such as the number of proems and stanzas, the acrostic, the hirmus or the refrains, among others. The result of this work can be considered as a short guide for those who want to start studying the hymnography of Romanos the Melodist from scratch.

## 2. Romanos the Melodist's hymnographical corpus

### 2.1. Editions and translations

Some of Romanos the Melodist's *kontakia* were first published in the late 19th century by Cardinal Pitra (1867; 1876; 1888), Christ – Paranikas (1871) and Papadopoulos-Kerameus (1897). After Pitras's death the work of editing was taken up by Krumbacher (1899; 1900; 1902; 1903; 1907; 1911) and his pupil Maas. A considerable number of hymns remained unpublished until Cammelli (1930), Carpenter (1936), Mioni (1937; 1958) and Trypanis (1968), and even then there was no complete edition of the Melodist's poems. This task was entrusted to the Greek professor Tomadakis, who undertook the process of reading the manuscripts and reconstructing the original texts in the middle of the 20th century (1952-1961) with the help of some of his students, to which Livadaras (1959) adds the edition of the Greek text of 4 *kontakia* at the end of his Doctoral Thesis. However, it was Trypanis (1963; 1970) who became the first scholar to succeed in editing the entire corpus of Romanos on the basis of the earlier material compiled by Maas. Trypanis, together with Maas, published the poems of Romanos in two volumes: one in 1963 (*Sancti Romani Melodi cantica. Cantica genuina*) and the other in 1970 (*Sancti Romani Melodi cantica. Cantica dubia*). Between 1963 and 1970 Grosdidier also began editing the Greek texts, publishing the first volume in 1964 and continuing this task until 1981. Years later, in the 21st century, some modern editions appeared, such as the Greek of Tziatzi (2009; 2010) and Papagiannis (2013-2014). The first translations in German are by Krumbacher (1907; 1911), and later, by Koder (1996; 2005-2006). These were followed by Italian translations by Cammelli (1930), Gharib (1981), Schognamiglio (1985), Maisano (2002a) and Mangogna – Trombi (2007), and the French versions of the text by Khawam (1956), Decarreux (1958), Grosdidier (1964-1981) and Bigel (2014). In English, those of the 1970s by Carpenter (1970; 1973) and Moskhos (1974) and later by Schork (1995) and Barkhuizen (2000; 2008) stand out. In the early 2000s, the Catalonian translation was published by Janeras, Camps i Gaset and Grau (2005), followed by the Spanish versions by Merino Rodríguez (2012; 2013) and Urbano-Ruiz (2019; 2022a; 2022b; 2023).

## 2.2. Some specific works on Romanos' *kontakia*

Besides the traditional and major works on the life and work of the hymnographer (Livadaras 1959; Mitsakis 1965; 1967; Grosdidier 1977; Van Rompay 1993), specific studies of Romanos' *kontakia* began to proliferate after the initial work of reading and editing the manuscripts. For example, in the 20th century, Trypanis (1971; 1972) has published some articles with comments on metre and rhythm in the Melodist's opera or the study of specific words in his poems, although a little bit earlier, Baud-Bouvy (1938) also focused on the metrical aspect of Romanos' *kontakia*. In the 70's, Dalmais (1972) focuses on the Syriac background and Greek symbolism in the biblical hymns composed by Romanos. Later, Barkhuizen (1986a; 1986b; 1989; 1991; 1992; 1993a; 1993b; 2000; 2005; 2008) initiated the analysis of specific hymns and also established a compositional pattern in the proems, epilogues and refrains (1989). Studies focusing on specific hymns are also published by Catafygiotou Topping (1968; 1977; 1978; 1982) and Van Ommeslaeghe (1980). By the end of the 20th century, Gatier (1983) focuses on establishing a reasonably accurate date for the composition of some hymns, following the attempt of the Oxonian editors (Maas 1906; Maas – Trypanis 1963, XIX-XX) and Grosdidier (1977, 243-245). Also, Maisano's articles examine the reception of the Melodist's work in the West (1993), focuses on certain formal aspects of his hymns (2002b), and discusses the biblical (2004) and patristic sources of the hymns (2006).

The production becomes richer once the 21st century approaches. Varghese (2006) studies the propagandistic background of some texts, as does Koder (2008), who also revisits the concept of *oikonomia* in the *kontakia* (2018). Krueger (2004; 2013) and Gador-Whyte (2017; 2020; 2021) focus their research on the theological domain and examine some of the poems from a rhetorical point of view, as do Krueger (2003), Cresci (2007a; 2007b; 2014), Eriksen (2012; 2018) or Mellas (2017; 2020). Arentzen (2013), Gador-Whyte (2013) and Peltomaa (2007; 2010; 2015) delve into the Marian background of Romanos' hymnody; Frank (2005) and Arentzen (2017) interpret some aspects that are metaphorically related to the theological realm, and Mulard (2016) studies the symbolism of the genuine hymns written by Romanos. With Schork (1962) as predecessor, Prelipcean (2015) explains the use of typology in hymns with *Old Testament* content, and Khachidze (2018) studies the transmission and translation into Georgian of Romanos' *kontakion* on Adam's lament. Individual studies on specific hymns are also published, for example, by Saylor Rodgers (2014), Kuper (2019), Dzwigala (2020), Urbano-Ruiz (2020; 2021a; 2021b; 2022a; 2022b; 2023), Boned (2021) or Camps Gaset (2021). Finally, Cunningham (2021) notes that the reception of Romanos in the homiletics and hymnography of the middle Byzantine period is an area in which much remains to be done, although Louth (2005) had previously devoted a paper to the development and treatment of certain themes in hymnography from the Melodist to John Damascene.

As it can be seen from this brief review of the bibliography on Romanos' corpus, most studies focus on the content of the work or on the sources of specific poems and their expression. The number of papers dealing with the compositional elements of the *kontakia* is smaller, and focus on the analysis of the metrical patterns, language and vocabulary. There is a lack of detailed study of all the compositional elements of the *kontakia* together as a whole in Romanos' *Cantica genuina* in contrast with the *Cantica dubia*. This analysis can contribute to the study of his work from the point of view of its authenticity and can lead to some very interesting conclusions.

### 3. Analysis of Romanos' *kontakia*

#### 3.1. Material sources for the work of Romanos the Melodist

The sources for the Melodist's hymns are a list of manuscripts known as *kontakaria*. According to the canonical edition of Romanos' corpus, these *kontakaria* are divided into primary and secondary codices. This taxonomy is based on whether or not they contain the text in its entirety. Maas – Trypanis (1970, XIV-XV) count up to fourteen primary and nineteen secondary codices on which they base their edition. Grosdidier (1964, 24-44) also gives an account of these manuscripts, although he adds one which he calls N (1964, 28; 1977, 218-220) and follows the same primary-secondary classification. However, he is more thorough in this task and gives a more detailed description of the *kontakaria* he works on, following the earlier model of Mioni (1937, 56-61), who also briefly describes them. Cammelli (1930, 76-80) gives some notes and an outline of what he considers to be the stemma of the manuscripts. Mioni (1937, 67) is more exhaustive in his attempt to sketch the stemma of the Melodist's *kontakaria* and goes into somewhat more detail in his comments on each (1937, 53-68). Both Italians follow the primary-secondary subdivision mentioned above but they also speak of the subdivision into families, which Merino Rodríguez (2012, 21-22) later takes up in his introduction to the Spanish translation. Likewise, Tomadakis in his edition names the manuscripts he follows and pays particular attention to the two volumes from Patmos, devoting an entire volume to them in 1954, together with the *kontakaria* from Sinai in 1957. The provenance of all this material is varied. They are preserved in Rome (2), Messina (1), Turin (1), Grottaferrata (6) and Venice (2); Vatican (7); Mount Athos (3) and Patmos (2); Sinai (4); Moscow (2); Vienna (1); Paris (1); Jerusalem (1).<sup>1</sup>

In addition to all these manuscripts containing Romanos' work, a search in *Pinakes* revealed 16 codices that had not previously been considered or mentioned in any study. With the exception of two that date from the 11th-12th centuries, all of them are late, after the 14th century. They are the following:

- 1) Wien, ÖNB, jur. gr. 18, s. XI.
- 2) Vaticano, BAV, Vat. gr. 1871, s. XII.
- 3) Wien, ÖNB, jur. gr. 15, s. XIV.
- 4) Vaticano, BAV, Vat. gr. 711, s. XIV.
- 5) Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library, MS 47, s. XIV-XV.
- 6) London, British Library, Arundel 527, s. XV.
- 7) Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. II 126 (coll. 440), s. XV.
- 8) Istanbul, Patriarchikē Bibliothēkē, Hagia Trias 31, s. XV.
- 9) Istanbul, Patriarchikē Bibliothēkē, Panaghia 41, s. XVI.
- 10) Sinai, Monē tēs Hagias Aikaterinēs, gr. 976, s. XVI-XVII.
- 11) Meteora, Monē Barlaam 113, s. XVII.
- 12) Hagion Oros, Monē Megistēs Lauras K 13, s. XVIII.
- 13) Kecskemet, Orthodox Központ Hagiosz Nikolaosz 928, s. XVIII.
- 14) Sparte, Mouseio Ekklesiastikēs Technēs, Monē Hagiōn Tessarakonta 58, s. XVIII.
- 15) Hagion Oros, Monē Hagiou Pantaleēmonos 659, s. XIX.
- 16) Hagion Oros, Monē Hagiou Pantaleēmonos 660, s. XIX.

<sup>1</sup> For the specific nomenclature of each codex, see the works cited above.

The most important testimonies for the corpus of hymns attributed to Romanos the Melodist are two codices preserved in the library of St John the Theologian on the island of Patmos, registered under the numbers 212 and 213. Although Krumbacher (1903, 78; 1907, VII) distinguishes the two volumes by the initials he assigns to them, P and Q respectively, Maas – Trypanis (1970, XIV) assign the same letter (P) to both. The other editors follow Krumbacher's decision. As for its content, apart from the brief notes by Mioni and Grosdidier, it is studied in detail by Tomadakis (1954) and subsequently described by Arentzen – Krueger (2016), who also present a codicological analysis in which they update some of the data on P and Q.

However, the manuscript series constituted by the *kontakaria* is not the only documentary source for the hymns of Romanos, and the existence of papyri transmitting his work is rarely mentioned. Maas – Trypanis (1963, XXVII) only mention one, although more are now known:

- 1) Pap. gr. Vind. 29430; contains a fragment of the *Hymn on the Three Children* (no. 46). Dated by Maas – Trypanis (1963, XXVII) to the 6th century and edited by Maas (1939). Zuntz (1965) presents an analysis of it and, from its handwriting, places its chronology probably in the 7th century. He also provides his own version of the text. Zuntz (1965, 464) and Porter – Porter (2002, 136) refer to it as P. Vindob. G 29430 and state that its chronology actually lies between the 6th and 7th centuries, a fact accepted by Arentzen – Krueger (2016, 650). This is the first papyraceous fragment of Romanos to be published.
- 2) P. Amst. I 24; contains a fragment of the *Hymn on the Nativity II* (no. 2). Identified by Brunner (1993, 185) as P. Amsterdam Inv. Nr. 198. Brunner gives a description of the papyrus and states that it is a page from a codex. He also adds his version of the text. Porter – Porter (2002, 136) note that this is the second of the Romanos papyri to be published and catalogue it under the designation P. Vindob. G 26216. Like Brunner and Porter – Porter, Arentzen – Krueger (2016, 650) consider its date of composition to be between the 6th and 7th centuries.
- 3) P. Vindob. G 26068. Contains a fragment of the *Hymn on the Resurrection of Lazarus I* (no. 14). Together with manuscript Q, it is the only evidence of this *kontakion*, and it was transcribed, edited and annotated in Römer (1995). This third discovered fragment is a leaf of parchment, as also been noted by Porter – Porter (2002, 136). Both works state that the date of composition of this fragment is between the 7th and 8th centuries (Römer 1995, 298; Porter – Porter 2002, 136).
- 4) P. Vindob. G 26225. This is the last testimony found so far and has been collated and studied by Porter – Porter (2002) and a year later by Koder (2003). It transmits the *Hymn on the Entry to Jerusalem* (no. 16). The editors of the fragment note that it is the papyrus with the largest amount of Melodist text and dates from the 6th-7th century.

It is clear from these data that the papyri presented here are in fact the earliest evidence of Romanos' *cantica*.

Romanos the Melodist's manuscript testimonies are composed of a total of 49 codices and 4 papyri. Of all the codices, 14 belong to the primary ones, 19 to the secondary and 16 have not been examined or collated. The following conclusions from these data can be drawn:

- 1) The manuscripts constitute 92% of the physical evidence of Romanos the Melodist.
- 2) The papyri, 8% of Romanos' *kontakia*, contain information that can be very useful in approaching the original text, since they are chronologically very close to the date of the hymnographer.
- 3) Most of his work, 38,78%, has been transmitted in fragmentary form, and if it were not for the primary codices (28,57%) –the least voluminous part of the testimonies– some of his *kontakia* would not be known in their entirety.

- 4) 32,65% of the data have not yet been taken into account because not all of this material has been included in the editions and studies. The impact this may have on the hymnical text is therefore unknown, despite the fact that most of them are late.

### 3.2. Quantitative analysis of Romanos the Melodist's hymnographical corpus

Among the 89 *kontakia* of Romanos the Melodist, 59 belong to the *Cantica genuina* and 20 to the *Cantica dubia*. In the genuine section, 15 are devoted to celebrations of the fixed calendar and 44 to celebrations of the movable calendar. In the dubious section of the hymns, on the other hand, the situation is the opposite: 26 are for fixed feasts and 4 for movable feasts. The latter is due to the nature of the feasts themselves, since the name day of the saint does not usually vary in date. Thus, 46% of the hymns attributed to Romanos belong to the fixed cycle, while the remaining 54% belong to the movable cycle.

In Romanos' corpus we can find a total of 35 hymns dedicated to episodes from the life of Christ (34 genuine and 1 of dubious authorship); 6 relating to *New Testament* stories (5 and 1); 7 relating to the *Old Testament*; 12 circumstantial *kontakia* (10 and 2) and 29 hagiographical (3 and 26). As can be seen, the majority of the *kontakia* are either Christological (39,33%) or hagiographical (32,58%). Those on the *New Testament* make up 6,74%, those on the *Old Testament*, 7,87% and the circumstance ones, 13,48%.

Subsequently, a quantitative study of the compositional data of the *Cantica* of Romanos is presented.

Of the 59 hymns that constitute Romanos the Melodist's *Cantica genuina*, the most common is the presence of a single proem (64%), although there are also hymns with 2 (22%) or 3 (14%). The maximum number of stanzas is 40 (2%), but most of his *kontakia* have 18 (29%) or 24 (14%), and his shortest hymn has a total of 11 stanzas (3%). Most of the hymns that have the adjective ταπ(ε)ινός<sup>2</sup> in their acrostic correspond in many cases (59%) to the formula «τοῦ ταπεινοῦ Πωμαοῦ [...]», although it is true that there are more *kontakia* that use this adjectival form to identify the acrostic (5%) –indeed, it has been one of the components that has attracted the attention of scholars on numerous occasions when making value and authenticity judgments about the *Cantica dubia*. All of Romanos' genuine poems have the hymnographer's name as a signature in the acrostic, and only one of them –*Hymn on Joseph I* (no. 43)– is alphabetical, reading all the Greek letters one by one.

Fifty-one *kontakia* (86%) have one-line refrains, while seven (12%) have longer refrains with two lines, and only in one poem (2%) this element is omitted.<sup>3</sup> With regard to the modes to which the chanting of the hymns conforms, the plagal modes (61%), especially the fourth and second, stand out, as opposed to the authentic modes (37%). The remaining 2% is made up of one hymn (no. 22) which is intoned according to the mode known as “βαρύς”.

As for their presence in P and Q –considered the “best” testimonies for Romanos’ hymns– and according to the data of the Oxonian edition, the following stands out: 56 out of 59 *kontakia* are found transmitted in these *kontakaria* (94,92%). Of them, two hymns have only P as their unique witness and 18 have Q. Thus, 33,90% of the genuine hymns of the Melodist are transmitted by a single manuscript.

The *Cantica dubia* of Romanos the Melodist contain 23 complete poems, all of which belong to hagiographical themes. Of these, 78% of the hymns have a single proem, while the remaining 22% have two options for this element. The longest *kontakion* is made of 33 stanzas, and the

<sup>2</sup> The total percentage of occurrences of ταπεινός in Romanos' acrostics is 64%.

<sup>3</sup> See the *Hymn on Abraham and Isaac* (no. 41).

shortest one, 10. In the acrostic, 39% of the hymns include the adjectival form ταπ(ε)ινός, while 13% of them contain the adjective τάλας. As in the *Cantica genuina*, most of the poems (96%) witness the name of the hymnographer. There is no alphabetical acrostic. As far as the responsion is concerned, most of them are one-line refrains (96%), although there is also one hymn with a two-line one (4%). A total of 7 *kontakia* (30%) change their refrain at some point in the text, resulting in two different variants of this element. The result is a remarkable alternation of this element throughout the stanzas. The musical mode to which the rhythmic-metric patterns of the hymns correspond is not balanced: 61% of the poems follow the authentic or principal chants and 39% the plagal ones.

On the other hand, 25 of the 30 *Cantica dubia* are attested in P and Q (83,33%). In the case of these hymns, the poems find a better situation for their transmission: only 3 of them find a sole manuscript testimony, whether it is P or Q (5,08%). From this fact it can be concluded that they could have enjoyed the sufficient popularity to reach almost massive levels of copying and to ensure their preservation in the face of the vicissitudes of the future of textual transmission.

#### 4. Some final remarks

Obviously, this article does not cover a large number of works devoted to Romanos the Melodist.<sup>4</sup> An attempt has been made to refer to those that are more accessible and also updated, and not only to the classical list of scholars to which we are accustomed.

The aim of this work was threefold. On the one hand, to offer a diachronic bibliographical selection of the most recent material. On the other, to reflect on the way of understanding the Melodist's work, as well as to provide a panoramic view of methodological trends that research on Romanos' *kontakia* is taking. We also deal with a subject that is not usually dealt with in the manuscript tradition of Romanos: the papyri – on which we also offer an up-to-date bibliography – and a series of codices that have never been taken into account in the edition of the Melodist and never been cited in research works. Finally, we tried to extract the percentages derived from the quantitative study of the formal and compositional elements of his hymnical corpus. These data undoubtedly provide useful information for the study of Romanos' *Cantica*.

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<sup>4</sup> A specific bibliography on the life of Romanos the Melodist can be found in Prelipcean (2019).

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# CONSTRUCTING IDEAS OF BEING PAGAN IN EASTERN SAXONY IN RELATION TO REBELLION AND APOSTASY BEYOND THE ELBE (10TH – 11TH CENTURIES)<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract:** DRAGNEA Mihai. *Constructing Ideas of Being Pagan in Eastern Saxony in Relation to Rebellion and Apostasy Beyond the Elbe (10th – 11th Centuries)*. This article argues that the making of a pagan identity in eastern Saxony during the Ottonian era and even after it relied on biblical concepts such as rebellion and apostasy, which were connected in the minds of medieval Christian clerics. It shows that disobedience, considered a sin, and thus an evil thing, was their source, and not necessarily or exclusively pre-Christian beliefs. Paganism during the Early Middle Ages should not be associated with modern paganism, which originates in the nineteenth-century ethno-romanticism. This approach does not exclude the existence of archaic beliefs and rituals, but rather diminishes their importance in the definition of paganism. Medieval paganism should be understood rather as a literary construction, strongly influenced by theology. Furthermore, the connection between disobedience, rebellion, and apostasy functioned as a literary device for the purpose of justifying the punitive campaigns against a wide range of rebels, who rejected everything that involved ecclesiastical authority. Technically moral theology does not allow military conquest. However punitive actions were considered legitimate and were legally and morally justified, especially by the clerics, when a wide range of rebels committed crimes. In the primary sources these were described as defensive campaigns aiming to protect the Christians and to bring back the apostates to the Church. The promoters of this type of speech were the clergy, who used certain biblical passages to affirm their authority and emphasize ecclesiastical hierarchy.

**Keywords:** Christianity, Paganism, Disobedience, Apostasy, Rebellion, Idolatry, Elbe Slavs, Polabian Slavs, Wends, Saxony, Saxon Marches

## Introduction

It is generally considered that apostasy is a full departure with no intent to return within the Church. Although it is often followed by rebellion, disobedience offers the voluntary chance of return. Both were considered sins and attracted more or less hostile reactions. In the Middle Ages, apostasy was seen as a permanent and deadly sin, lethal when it came to salvation, compared to disobedience, where the focus was on the severity of the departure. Apostasy was worse than heresy. It was a rejection of religion, in theory and practice. It was not only the *fides Christiana* that was rejected, but also the Church as an institution, and its representatives. Rebellion and apostasy were connected in the minds of medieval clerics. This is not surprising, considering that the Bible

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contains several passages where disobedience is equated with rebellion.<sup>2</sup> In the Old Testament it appears as insubordination which originates from the vice of pride, one the seven deadly sins.<sup>3</sup> A disobedient person is someone who is unwilling to obey God. Disobedience was also equated with idolatry<sup>4</sup> and various pagan practices such as divination.<sup>5</sup>

In Christian theology, the first apostates were the “fallen angels.” Through the sin of pride, they rejected God and established a rival satanic kingdom. Medieval theologians like Thomas Aquinas equated heresy and the lack of faith with apostasy and labeled them as originating from human pride. A thirteenth-century canonist, Henry of Segusio (Hostiensis), distinguished three categories of apostasy. The first was called *apostasia a perfidia* and meant rejecting one faith and converting to another. The departure from the *fides Christiana* after receiving the holy grace was considered a greater evil than never having previously known faith. Those who did that were considered traitors and infamous and were able to lose their wealth and even life. The second category of apostasy is directly linked to disobedience (*apostasia inobedientiae*). This was a voluntary violation of one of the major commandments. The best examples are Adam and Eve who due to their “illegal” act had been expelled from Heaven and thus lost their chance for the eternal life. The third category of apostasy, *apostasia irregularitatis*, is related to priests, monks, and nuns who broke their sacred vows. They became renegades in society and were expelled from their homes and sent to jail (Goodich 1988, 61).

In the last few decades, scholars have focused on the theological arguments used by chroniclers to define pagan identity on the Southern Baltic coast (Goetz 2015, 103-118; Cusack 2011, 33-51; Ingrao – Szabo 2008; Kaljundi 2008, 113-127; Lübke 2008, 189-203; Jensen 2002, 173-193; Scior 2002). Such approaches questioned the validity of sources who mentioned the Slavic religious beliefs and rituals beyond the Elbe, which had to be discussed much more critically (Dragnea 2021a; Dragnea 2021b, 243-273; Rosik 2020; Hardt 2015, 263-268; Müller-Wille 1999). The political, social and cultural interaction between pagans and Christians on the Southern Baltic coast were also analyzed in different ways (Dragnea 2019a, 5-33; Hardt 2005, 35-49; Zaroff 2003, 5-36; Petersohn 2003, 99-139; Lübke 2002, 91-110; Althoff 1999, 267-292; Hoffmann 1998, 23-49).

The influence of theology (religious world-view) on concepts like disobedience, rebellion, and apostasy in Middle Ages, the strong connection between them, and the legitimacy of power, has been underappreciated. Clerical writings are extremely important sources in understanding the ideological component of the medieval warfare. A few scholars who worked on various research areas focused on the justification of military campaigns against the apostates and their forced conversion in relation to canon law and theology (Jensen 2016, 227-250; Becher 2013, 23-52; Hen 2006, 33-51; Warner 2006, 11-35; Kahl 1955, 161-193, 360-401). The influence of crusading ideas in the discourse of twelfth-century chroniclers, the way in which they were implemented in the Baltic Sea region, their social and cultural effects, and their adaptability to the regional context were also discussed (Dragnea 2024, 247-262; Dragnea 2021c, 41-61; Dragnea 2019b; Güttner Sporzynski 2014; Gładysz 2012; Fonnesberg-Schmidt 2007; Lotter 1989).

<sup>2</sup> While describing the nature of disobedience, Samuel used three key words: rebellion, insubordination, and rejection (1 Samuel 15:22-23).

<sup>3</sup> Satan is described as an illegitimate king over “all the children of pride” (Job 41:34). Disobedience is linked to the widespread myth of Satan’s rebellion against God in the New Testament as well (Ephesians 2:2-3).

<sup>4</sup> Disobedience was seen as idolatry because it replaced God’s sovereign will and authority. The veneration of carved idols was forbidden (Exodus 20:1-3; Isaiah 42:8). Insubordination was a kind regarded as a kind of iniquity (1 Samuel 15:23).

<sup>5</sup> Divination was a pagan practice that rooted in idolatry (Deuteronomy 18:10-12). While serving God, obedience is better than sacrifice, and the refusal to obey God’s commands due to pride is considered rebellion and it is equal to the practice of divination (1 Samuel 15:22-23).

The theological arguments used to justify the punitive campaigns against rebels have been neglected by scholars in the last decades. Although moral theology does not allow conquest, punitive actions were thought legitimate and legally and morally justified, especially by the ecclesiastical authorities, when a wide range of rebels committed crimes. These were considered defensive campaigns aiming to protect the Christians and to bring back the apostates into the Christian fold. This speech mostly belonged to the clergy, who used certain Biblical passages to affirm their authority and emphasize ecclesiastical hierarchy.

This article focuses on biblical concepts such as disobedience, rebellion, and apostasy in clerical writings. An analysis of these allowed to understand that the pagan identity was a literary construction made with the help of certain theological filters of what is usually called *interpretatio Christiana*. This does not exclude the existence of pre-Christian beliefs and rituals, whatever they were, but rather diminishes their importance in the definition of medieval paganism. After a careful analysis of the primary sources, it can be observed that the transition from disobedience to rebellion and then apostasy was influenced by the political context. First, disobedience was seen as rebellion and treated as an offensive action. Second, the rebellious acts were perceived as apostasy. Third, apostates were designated as idolaters and pagans and thus could be treated with severe methods.

Studies focusing on such kind of approaches will refresh research on pagan identity in the medieval Latin periphery.<sup>6</sup> Idolatry and paganism are fluid concepts. Paganism in Early and High Middle Ages should not be associated with modern paganism. Medieval paganism was rather related to the rebel instinct, disobedience, immoral behaviour and lack of discipline. This study shows that in the process of making the pagan identity, it is important to consider what is behind the label because it reveals how its architects thought about pagans and what was their mentality. This is obvious since the medieval pagans did not call themselves in this way, nor did they leave written testimonies regarding their identity. The way in which the pagan identity was created can be observed in the primary sources, which provide enough data in this regard, but the interpretation must be done after a hypercritical reading.

The rebels questioned in this article are the Elbe Slavs, also known as the Polabian Slavs. They lived not only along the Elbe river as one might think, or on the southern coast of the Baltic Sea,<sup>7</sup> but in a vast area between the Elbe and Saale in the west, the Baltic Sea in the north, the Ore Mountains in the south, and the Oder in the east. Both collective terms are not accurate, but the second one is even more problematic. Its use, with reference to all Slavs in this vast area, might create confusion. First, because the Polabians (*Polabi*) were a minor tribe living in a small territory around Ratzeburg, in what Helmold of Bosau called *terra Polaborum* (Helmold of Bosau I, 52, 56, pp. 196, 210). Since Polabia is clearly defined by the twelfth century chronicler, there are no logical reasons to extend its name and include other regions. Second, because the Slavs east of the river Elbe never developed a political or cultural unity and did not even create a political community with a specific name (Mühle 2023, 266). The Early Slavs in general were neither culturally nor genetically homogeneous.

<sup>6</sup> After the Second World War, Hans-Dietrich Kahl and Reinhard Wenskus pointed out that the pagans beyond the Elbe between the 10th and 12th centuries were no pagans in the modern sense of the word, but rather apostates (Kahl 1955; Wenskus 1956). This approach was somewhat slowed down later, but it has aroused the interest of researchers in the last two decades (Janson 2009, 171–191; Janson 2010, 11–30).

<sup>7</sup> “Baltic Slavs” is also used sometimes for all the Slavs in this vast area, but it should only refer to the northernmost tribes bordering the Baltic Sea.

The eleventh-century German chronicler Adam of Bremen, an important source for the history, geography and ethnology of Scandinavia and the Baltic Sea region,<sup>8</sup> mentioned several Slavic tribes beyond the Elbe with various identities and political status. The most important were the Obotrites (*Obotriti*, also known as *Reregi*), who lived between the Bay of Wismar and Lake Schwerin in Mecklenburg, the Luticians (*Leutici*, known as *Wilzi* before the late tenth century), who stretched between the Warnow and the Oder, up to the Peene, the Rugians (*Runi, Rani*) on the island of Rügen, the Pomeranians (*Pomeranos*) across the Oder, the Hevelli (also known as *Stoderani*), located on the Havel in Brandenburg, and the Sorbs (*Sorabi*) in Lusatia, between the Elbe and Neisse (Adam of Bremen II, 21-22; III, 20, 22; IV, 13, 18, pp. 76-75, 162-163, 165, 241, 244-245).

Another term widely used in modern studies written in English is Wends. This is also not accurate, because it suggests almost the same thing, namely the unity of the Slavs from a vast area, ignoring their cultural, social and political diversity. It comes from an exonym sporadically used in vernacular languages throughout the Middle Ages. In skaldic poetry they are labeled by using the collective name *vinder*. In some cases, the Scandinavian (Varangian) leaders were called *Vinða myrðir* ("murderer of Wends") and *Vinðum hátr* ("danger to the Wends") because they defeated the Slavs from the southern coast of the Baltic Sea.<sup>9</sup> One of the most active Scandinavian monarchs in these campaigns was the Norwegian King Magnus the Good (d. 1047). In 1043, together with the Danes he brutally suppressed Slavic invasion of Jutland at the battle of Lyrskov Heath, located north of Hedeby. This happened with the miraculous support of his father, Olaf II Haraldsson (later St. Olaf), who appeared in a dream.<sup>10</sup>

Current knowledge about the identity of the Early Slavs is, to a large extent, a legacy of the nineteenth-century ethno-romanticism. The Slavic pre-Christian religion as it is perceived in the modern sense is often projected onto the very different medieval political realities by those seeking to hijack and distort the interpretation of history. Some faithful pioneers of this approach are still trying to prove the existence of "a common pan-Slavic heritage" (Dynda 2020, 127-150) of the Early Slavs through language and what can hardly be called mythology. The focus is only on Slavic paganism seen in a modern and fashionable way,<sup>11</sup> and not on what this concept meant in the Middle Ages and how the Slavs became pagans.

The history of the Early Slavs has been a subject of controversy and has generated heated debates. The Slavic expansion is often explained by the traditional models of migration of people, which implies to some extent the existence of a native culture. Such models completely reject the idea that in some cases, the Slavic identity was also formed through the transformation of existing populations, involving the spread of language, social identities, or economic and communication patterns.<sup>12</sup> The Slavs beyond the Elbe are very important when it comes to the identity of the Early

<sup>8</sup> A relevant volume about the origins and context in which Adam wrote his *Gesta* as well as various interpretations of his accounts is Bartusik – Biskup – Morawiec, 2022.

<sup>9</sup> For the Viking raids on the Baltic coast inhabited by Slavs, see Morawiec 2006, 707-717.

<sup>10</sup> His cult reached up to the Byzantine Empire, in Constantinople. For the Varangians in Constantinople and Olaf's cult in Greek and Latin Churches, see Dragnea 2020, 145-167.

<sup>11</sup> On May 20-21, 2024, the Institute of Slavonic Studies in Prague (Czech Academy of Sciences) organized the international conference „Understanding Slavic Paganism”. This brought together specialists from various disciplines, who discussed the „primordial monotheism of the Slavs”, visual representations of the Slavic deities in written sources (sic), the „Slavic pantheon”, and other trending topics.

<sup>12</sup> The traditional model of migration is questioned in other parts of Europe. For example, Florin Curta has numerous studies on the ethnicity of the Early Slavs in the Lower Danube region, where they are mentioned for the first time in the 6th century sources. In one of his recent studies, he pointed out that the spread of the Slavic language in this area was not the result of a migration (Curta 2024, 1-16).

Slavs because they were described as the last bearers of old cultural features (Leciejewicz 1989, 215). Therefore, any approach that would question the importance of indigenous features in their “paganism”, is seen as an attack against the native culture of the Early Slavs and often attracts aggressive reactions by the defenders of the traditional models of migration.

From the archaeological perspective it seems that at least for the moment, the Early Slavic settlement in north-eastern Germany, which appeared no earlier than the last decades of the seventh century, could be explained as “a complex of migrations”, rather than the Slavicization of the existing (Germanic) populations. There are no indications of continuity between Germanic and Slavic settlements (hiatus) and patterns of the two groups are different.<sup>13</sup> Archaeology is indeed useful to explain the Slavic expansion and the development of the Slavic settlement in the region. However, it cannot clarify particular issues about the formation of religious identity beyond the Elbe, like those addressed in this study.

## The Redarian rebellion seen as apostasy in the time of Henry I

A major confrontation between the Saxons and the Slavs took place in the first half of the tenth century. The first Ottonian king, Henry I (d. 936) subdued the Slavs. This brought peace beyond the Elbe only for a short time, because the Redarians rebelled against the king. Although this was a political rebellion most likely caused by the tribute, the tenth-century Saxon chronicler Widukind of Corvey said only that the Redarians “moved away from faith.”<sup>14</sup> Their rebel status in the beginning of the chapter is emphasized only through apostasy.

The Redarian rebellion had innocent victims, which could not be tolerated. The Redarians crossed the Elbe and seized Walsleben, a Saxon border stronghold, killing its entire Christian population. These actions aroused rebellious feelings among the Slavs. All the Slavic groups – probably also those obedient or at least not hostile who had accepted the payment of tribute – were inspired by this attack and rebelled again.<sup>15</sup> In 929, at Lenzen (*Lunkini*) Henry I (d. 936) crushed a large multi-ethnic coalition led by the apostate Redarians.<sup>16</sup> After its defeat, the Obotrites, Wilzi, Hevelli, Daleminzi, Bohemians and Redarians, became tributaries of Henry (Widukind of Corvey I, 36, p. 51).

What should be noticed in this narrative is the direct connection between apostasy and rebellion. It is important that what would be later labeled as rebellion was started by the only ones described as apostates. What the audience had to understand is that the rebellion was started not because of political reasons, but from the desire to depart from the faith, that is, by committing a sin. Therefore, the Saxon punitive actions could be legitimate, because the rebellion had victims, Christians from Walsleben. Widukind is not the only one who connected the rebellion of the Slavs with their apostasy. Their status (rebels and apostates) after the battle of Lenzen was clearly emphasized by Adam of Bremen as well, who said that “the Bohemians, the Sorbs, and other Slavs, promised to Henry the payment of the tribute, and to God that they would become Christians” (Adam of Bremen I, 56, p. 56).

<sup>13</sup> For the results of the dendrological analysis in this matter and literature on the two models proposed for the Slavic expansion (see Biermann 2020, 77-90).

<sup>14</sup> “Redarii defecerunt a fide” (Widukind of Corvey I, 36, 51).

<sup>15</sup> “Quo facto omnes barbarae nationes erectae iterum rebellare ausae sunt” (Widukind of Corvey I, 36, 52).

<sup>16</sup> This episode is part of Henry’s military actions in the east which also included Prague and should be placed in the context of organizing the defense against the Hungarian invasions. Some Slavic tribes like the Hevellians were allies of the Bohemians, who had permitted access through their territory for the Magyars when they raided into Germany (Bachrach 2014, 28).

## The Slavs as rebels after the foundation of bishoprics by Otto I in their territory

It is generally assumed that Henry's son, King Otto I (d. 973, emperor from 962), conquered the whole territory up to Oder and converted most of the Slavs. In 948 he founded the dioceses of Brandenburg (east of the Elbe) and Havelberg (at the confluence of the Elbe and Havel). In 968, three other dioceses were founded. Merseburg (on the Saale), Zeitz (later Naumburg, on the White Elster), and Meissen (on the Elbe). All these five dioceses were suffragans of Magdeburg, founded in 968. A sixth diocese in the Slavic territory was Oldenburg in Wagria, a suffragan of Hamburg-Bremen. It is not known how many of the Slavs were converted, or how those who accepted baptism practiced Christianity. The members of the Obotrite dynasty Nakon, and other ruling families, were Christian.<sup>17</sup> As long as they were obedient to the Church and the secular rulers, usually they were not described by the chroniclers as pagans or idolaters.<sup>18</sup>

In 1003, King Henry II (d. 1024) managed to make the Luticians his friends after he offered them gifts and certain promises. In a letter written to Henry around 1008 or 1009, when he was already emperor, Bruno of Querfurt (d. 1009) was outraged by his alliance with what he called the *pagani Liutici* against the Christian Poles. Bruno rebuked Henry, complaining that he would not compel them to enter Christianity (*compellere intrare*), "as the Gospel commands."<sup>19</sup> In this case, H. D. Kahl's idea remains valid. Bruno saw the Luticians as apostates; a distinct group outside the church, to which they had to be returned by any means. It is, as Stanisław Rosik argued, a narrower version of the Augustinian principle of *compellere intrare*, in this case applied only to apostates, and not to other categories like pagans, Jews, or schismatic Christians.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore Bruno's attitude could be explained by the fact that at that time, the two dioceses – Havelberg and Brandenburg – still did not have titular bishops in the territory, and the Emperor, the supreme authority to wage wars in defense of the Church, did nothing to fix this.

Following the Ottonian conquest, the Slavic princes like the Obotrite Nakonids accepted Christianity and became tributaries to the Saxon margraves. The relationship between them was based on verbal "pledges" (*sponsiones*) made by the Slavic princes. These implied fidelity and obedience to both *regnum* and *sacerdotium*, which were seen as indivisible parts of the Christian empire. For Adam of Bremen, a true conversion also implied obedience to archbishops and acceptance of Church decisions (Kłoczowski 1998, 32). As long as they paid tribute and tithes, and maintained a Saxon ecclesiastical organization, the Slavs were accepted as part of what can be called the Saxon *Imperium Christianum*. This power relation made the Saxons consider themselves the legitimate rulers of the Slavic territory.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Gazzoli 2022, 401. Some members of the Hevelliian ruling family were Christian as well. They tolerated pre-Christian practices among their subjects. However, to some extent, this ensured continuity of Christianity in some areas beyond the Elbe (e.g. Brandenburg) (Mühle 2023, 280).

<sup>18</sup> The same applies to the Danish king Sweyn Forkbeard (d. 1014), who was depicted as a pagan rebel by Adam of Bremen. Although he was a Christian, he rebelled against his father, Harald Bluetooth – who introduced Christianity to Denmark – and sought to maintain the independence of the Danish Church from the Archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen (Adam of Bremen II, 27, 87).

<sup>19</sup> *Epistola Brunonis ad Henricum regem*, 104. It has been emphasized that Henry marched against the Poles also because of disobedience of their duke, Bolesław I (d. 1025), who intervened in neighboring Bohemia and refused to pay homage (Körntgen 2024, 171).

<sup>20</sup> For the polemics on the religious status of the Luticians in Bruno's letter, see Rosik 2020, 82-83.

<sup>21</sup> One relevant example can be found at Adam of Bremen, who considered the Sorbian territory to be part of Saxony. "Eam partem Saxoniae, quae trans Albiam supra incolitur a Sorabis" (Adam of Bremen I, 1, 4). In the first half of the twelfth century, Saxons also considered themselves the owners of the Slavic territory

The Slavs did not always implement these agreements. Often, their disobedience resulted in armed rebellions. In the autumn of 955, on the river Raxa, Otto I's armies crushed a rebellion led by the Obotrites. Widukind clearly described this event and even mentioned the requirements of the rebels. Before the Battle of Raxa, a delegation (*legatio barbarorum*) made up of representatives of the tribes from the Obotrite association (*socii*) said that their rulers were willing to pay the tribute to the king according to the "custom" (i.e. following the previous agreements),<sup>22</sup> on the condition of maintaining a dominant position at the regional level. This is how the rebels wanted peace with Otto. If the agreement did not hold, the Slavs would have to "fight for their freedom" (Widukind of Corvey III, 53, 132).

Widukind said nothing about the religious status of the Obotrite prince, Stoinef, his subjects, or allies. This should not raise major concerns for scholars, since after 968 the ecclesiastical network beyond the Elbe expanded. It was not important how many of the Slavs were Christians, but that their territory was part of *Imperium Christianum*. When they described their religious identity, the chroniclers took into account their relationship with the missionaries, their level of submission to the archdioceses in charge of conversion (Hamburg-Bremen and Magdeburg), and the obedience to the clerical representatives. The best example is Adam of Bremen, for whom the most important criterion for evaluating the Slavs east of the Elbe was religious affiliation (Grzybowski 2021, 1, 16; Scior 2002, 102).

## The Slavic rebellion of 983 seen as mass apostasy

One of the most reliable sources for the 983 rebellion is Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg (d. 1018). The rebellion was mentioned in other late sources as well, but their information relies mostly on four independent accounts from Bruno, Thietmar, the *Annals of Hildesheim*, and Adam of Bremen and does not provide any different details.<sup>23</sup> In the *Annals of Hildesheim*, compiled in the eleventh century at St. Michael's Benedictine abbey, with additional information in the twelfth century, it was mentioned that the Slavs became rebels against the Saxons in 983.<sup>24</sup>

According to Thietmar, following the rebellion, which had several episodes,<sup>25</sup> the Slavs expelled the Saxons from their territory. This led to mass apostasy and almost the entire Saxon marcher infrastructure and ecclesiastical network collapsed. It was a catastrophe impossible to fix in a short time. The episcopal sees beyond the Elbe were abandoned and territorial jurisdiction was lost. Titular bishops (*episcopi titulares*) were appointed in exile. Brandenburg and Havelberg were

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by the inheritance of the Billung lands. This was divided between Saxon nobles. For the legal inheritance of the Billung territory through marriage (see Dragnea 2021a, 45; Dragnea 2019c, 127).

<sup>22</sup> Sometimes, such agreements included, in addition to the payment of tribute, often very high, the obligation to build and maintain fortifications beyond the Elbe, with the aim of defending the eastern border. This is what most likely happened to the Slavs (*Lusiki*) in the northern parts of Lusatia in 963, when they were defeated by the Margrave Gero (d. 965), who compelled them to accept the heaviest burdens of servitude. "Ad ultimam servitutem coegit" (Widukind of Corvey III, 67, 141-142). Neither conversion nor apostasy were mentioned in this account.

<sup>23</sup> *Annales Altahenses* (c. 1075), *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium* (c. 1142), *Annales Magdeburgenses* (c. 1176), *Chronica Slavorum* (after 1171), the *Annalista Saxo* (1148-1152), the *Chronicon sancti Michaelis Luneburgensis* (c. 1229), *Chronicon principum Saxoniae* (c. 1280).

<sup>24</sup> "Sclavi Saxonibus rebelles effecti sunt." *Annales Hildesheimenses*, year 983, p. 24.

<sup>25</sup> The 983 rebellion has been interpreted in different ways. However, the interpretation as apostasy is marginal and does not offer convincing theological arguments in the context of the relations between the Slavs and the Saxons (Gazzoli 2022, 406-408; Büker 2008, 8-60; Lübke 1998, 109-21; Weinrich 1988, 77-87; Saherwalu and Escher 1983; Fritze 1984, 9-55; Herrmann 1983, 9-17; Brüske 1983; Fritze 1958, 1-39).

abandoned until the twelfth century. Bishops of Havelberg were appointed as *episcopi in partibus infidelium* in exile, and had no real power beyond the Elbe. For a while, Havelberg and Oldenburg had no bishops at all, not even titular ones (*sede vacante*) (Lees 1998, 55–56).

The diocese of Merseburg, dissolved in 981, was refounded as a prince-bishopric in 1004 by Emperor Henry II (Thietmar of Merseburg V, 39, 44, pp. 265, 271). The dissolution meant that Merseburg was merged with the Archdiocese of Magdeburg. This made the Merseburg bishop Giselher (d. 1004) Archbishop of Magdeburg. The abolition of the diocese was seen as a sinful damage to the Church. The patron of the Diocese of Merseburg was the martyr saint Lawrence, an important figure in Ottonian proselytism, whose image was connected to the struggle against pagans and apostates (Hehl 2024, 260). During the series of Slavic rebellion, an abbey dedicated to him in Anhalt was devastated. From this perspective, the rebellion was interpreted by Thietmar as divine punishment for this sacrilege (Körntgen 2024, 178).

To the south, the see of Zeitz was relocated in Naumburg – further away from the border – in 1028, with Hildeward (d. 1032) as bishop (Brüske 1983, 36). In 984, following the invasion of Meissen by the Bohemians, Bishop Volkold of Meissen was expelled by Prince Boleslav II (d. 999), and took back his see only some years later (Thietmar of Merseburg IV, 6, pp. 137–138). The bishopric of Oldenburg was restored in 1013/1014 with the help of the Obotrite prince Mstislav, but the episcopal see was in Mecklenburg, where the prince resided (Petersohn 2003, 110). Following another rebellion in 1066, with a strong anticlerical character, the dioceses of Starigrad (Oldenburg) and the newly founded Mecklenburg were abandoned until 1149. The episcopal see of Oldenburg was moved to Liubice (Lübeck) in the early 1160s.<sup>26</sup>

The main protagonists of the rebellion series were the Luticians. Their Christian identity before 983 was confirmed by Wipo (d. c. 1050), a chaplain to Emperor Conrad II (d. 1039) and confessor to his son Emperor Henry III (d. 1056). According to the eleventh-century chronicler, “some time ago” (most likely before 983), the Luticians were “half-Christians” (*semichristiani*). Because of their “evil apostasy”, they became “altogether pagans”.<sup>27</sup> Anyway, following the apostasy, the Luticians were not completely pagan,<sup>28</sup> but rather they all became “pagans” (*omnino* can also be translated as “altogether”). If Wipo had in mind a diversification of apostasy, then he would have at least briefly defined the differences between the categories of apostates, from a canonical point of view. He only said that the campaign of Conrad II beyond the Elbe in 1035 was meant to avenge one of the “superstitions” of the Luticians. As usually, this came as a result of a rebellion with an anti-clerical character and meant the desecration of Christian symbols (in this case, the vandalism of a wooden effigy of Jesus Christ).<sup>29</sup> What mattered was how many rebels became apostates, and not the size of their apostasy. When they all became apostates, any hope of restoring the ecclesiastical infrastructure was through a military campaign.

Taking in consideration the existence of an ecclesiastical network beyond the Elbe before 983, *semichristiani* could emphasize formal acceptance of Christianity (Baptism, Sacraments, and

<sup>26</sup> A volume dedicated entirely to the medieval town of Lübeck is Jahnke 2019. For the re-establishment of Oldenburg under Bishop Vicelin (see Hoffmann 1976, 115–142).

<sup>27</sup> “Deinde collectis copiis de Saxonia super eos, qui Liutici vocantur quique olim semichristiani, nunc per apostaticam nequitiam omnino sunt pagani, imperator venit ibique conflictum implacabilem mirabiliter diremit” (Wipo 33, 52).

<sup>28</sup> “Omnino sunt pagani” was translated as “fully pagans”, a result of an apostasy which meant the return to the old beliefs. It was interpreted as a clear evidence of a “total repaganisation”, namely an “apostasy” as “transition to paganism” (Rosik 2020, 83).

<sup>29</sup> The effigy had been captured by the pagans, who mocked it in a blasphemous way – spat on it and slapped it – and gouged out its eyes and cut off its hands and feet. The pagans were “mutilated” by the emperor in the same way, as a revenge (Wipo 33, 53).

maybe tithes), but with illegitimate practices and rituals. Even if the Slavs did not fully embrace Christianity, at least they did not organize armed rebellions resulting in the killing of clerics and desecration of Christian symbols. What mattered was that Church authority was not fully abolished. The term *semichristiani* has been used since Late Antiquity in polemical theology. It was useful in the practice of proclaiming the truth with reference to specific errors such as heresy and superstition. Faustus of Mileve, a fourth-century Manichaean bishop, said that Augustine of Hippo and all the “Orthodox” were *semichristiani* because they did not reject the “Jewish superstition”. In response, Augustine labelled Faustus and the Manichaeans as *pseudochristiani* due to their heresy.<sup>30</sup> The term has not disappeared in the Middle Ages, nor has it significantly changed its meaning. In the thirteenth century, it was linked to apostasy, heresy, and blasphemous behaviour and referred to a sort of illegitimate Christians. The citizens of Venice and many Italian towns were called *semi-Christianiani* by the English chronicler Matthew of Paris (d. 1259) because in 1250 they fell into apostasy. They rejected ecclesiastical authority and venerated what can be called “unauthorized saints,” that is outside of canonical regulations (Matthew Paris 2012, 170).

## The Slavic anticlericalism

The anticlericalism of the 983 rebellions is confirmed by Bruno of Querfurt, a distant relative of Thietmar and a contemporary of the events. Bruno, who was consecrated as missionary archbishop in 1004, stated that the instigators of the rebellion were the Luticians. They had a single aim, namely to free themselves not from the Saxon domination, as it has been misinterpreted by many scholars over time, but from the “yoke of Christianity.”<sup>31</sup> Significant damage occurred in the western part of the Northern March. The ecclesiastical infrastructure and the existing defense network connected to it were the rebel targets. Killing of clergy and the exhumation of a bishop’s body and the public desecration of his vestments are also recorded in connection to the rebellion.<sup>32</sup>

It is unlikely that the Slavic anticlerical manifestation started from theological reasons. There is no information that would confirm this. Instead, there are enough mentions about the Slavs’ dissatisfaction with the payment of the heavy tribute. Research conducted in this direction shows that under the early Ottonians, the Slavs were exploited through tribute usually paid in silver coins.<sup>33</sup> This could have been received by the Saxon margraves from the Slavic rulers – as a sign of obedience to the Emperor – who collected it from their subjects. Besides the tribute, there was a tax that the Slavs had to pay to the bishoprics. The tithes (*decimae*) were most probably collected by churchmen and used for the fulfilment of the church activity and the needs of the bishops. The Slavs saw the tribute and tithe not as natural obligations, but rather as means of submission to a single (Christian) entity. This can be explained by the fact that according to Christian views, obedience to the secular rulers was inseparable from that to the ecclesiastical authorities. This was one of the main reasons why a peaceful coexistence with the Saxon clergy on one side, and Christian indigenous rulers on the other, was extremely difficult and sometimes impossible. When the Obotrites and

<sup>30</sup> For the polemic between the two on the legitimacy of Christianity, see Perrin 2018, 389–392.

<sup>31</sup> “Ea tempestate effrena gens Lutici pagani iugum christianitatis deponunt et cum quo errore adhuc laborant, post deos alienos erecto collo currunt” (S. Adalberti Pragensis episcopi et martyris 10, 49).

<sup>32</sup> The second bishop of Brandenburg (Brenna), probably a Hevillian, was Dodilo (Dragnea 2021b, 95).

<sup>33</sup> An exception was in the southern marches, where the local elites were replaced to integrate the Slavic territory in the Ottonian system (Halsted 2018, 17–18). The Slavs living there did not have the strength to rebel against the Empire and thus they were not labeled as apostates, idolaters, or pagans (Rosik 2013, 61).

the Wagrians rebelled against their Christian prince in 1018,<sup>34</sup> inspired by the Lutician rebellious attitude, they were also labeled by Thietmar as rebels against Christ.<sup>35</sup> The rebellion against the secular and ecclesiastical powers acquired the dimension of apostasy.<sup>36</sup>

The anticlerical attitude of the Slavs is also explained by the fact that clerics participated in the punitive Saxon campaigns meant to crush their rebellions. One example was somewhere in late summer of 983, when several Saxon nobles stopped the Slavic advance at Balsamgau.<sup>37</sup> Most of the Slavs were killed. The hastily assembled Saxon troops were led by the Archbishop of Magdeburg himself, Giselher (d. 1004) and the exiled bishop Hildeward of Zeitz (Thietmar of Merseburg III, 19, pp. 121-122; Brüske 1983, 36). What could be the reaction of the Slavs in such a situation? How would they perceive the clerical involvement in warfare? They must have been confused. Such situations generalized the anticlerical attitude and sparked hostile reactions against the clerics. The Slavs were not able to distinguish between peaceful and vengeful clerics and between the greed of the Saxon margraves for the tribute and land ownership, and the right of the Church to receive tithes, and the clerical possession of their land.

## Saxon rebels against the Ottonians and the Church

Disobedience to a higher authority was often blamed by the medieval writers. First because it was considered a sin and second because it was contagious. Sometimes, the Slavic rebellions were presented as minor acts in a wider context of disobedience involving people with a higher status and closer to the center of power. Regardless of their identity and status, rebels were often united in doing evil things, which could justify the ruler's revenge.<sup>38</sup> Widukind shows that the Obotrite rebellion suppressed in 955 was not an event isolated from the internal conflict within the Ottonian state. The Obotrite rebellion was instigated by the Saxon nobles from the Billung family, Wichmann the Younger (d. 967) and his younger brother, Egbert the One-Eyed (d. 994) (Widukind of Corvey III, 52, p. 131). Both were well-known rebels against Otto and often associated with evil deeds.<sup>39</sup> The whole scene was part of a conspiracy against Otto I, publicly denounced as an act of treason<sup>40</sup> and avenged at Raxa.

Thietmar did not consider that the source of the 983 rebellion was the desire to return to the pre-Christian beliefs, but rather the immorality of the Saxon nobles. The Slavs started the rebellion because they were "irritated" by the excessive pride of the margrave of the Northern March, Dietrich of Haldensleben (Thietmar of Merseburg III, 17, p. 118). In the medieval world,

<sup>34</sup> According to Adam of Bremen, 60 priests were killed in Oldenburg by the Wagrians, including the Cathedral Provost Oddar, a relative of the later Danish king, Sweyn II (Adam of Bremen II, 43, 104).

<sup>35</sup> "Christo seniorique proprio rebelles" (Thietmar of Merseburg VIII, 5, 499).

<sup>36</sup> Rosik correctly pointed out that at Thietmar, the Slavs (Luticians in this case) were a sort of *gens apostata* (Rosik 2020, 187).

<sup>37</sup> Thietmar's father, Siegfried of Walbeck, and other Saxon nobles took part in the campaign.

<sup>38</sup> "Quod scelus imperator ulcisci gestiens, victoria iam de Ungariis patrata, regiones barbarorum hostiliter intravit". Widukind of Corvey III, 53, p. 132.

<sup>39</sup> "Wichmannus vero et Ecberhtus scelerum consciit in Galliam profecti..." (Widukind of Corvey III, 55, 135). "Wichmannum [...] numquam aliquid inique consilio aut actu facturum" (Widukind of Corvey III, 60, 136).

<sup>40</sup> "Consultum de Saxonibus, qui cum Sclavis conspiraverant, iudicatum est Wichmannum et Ecberhtum pro hostibus publicis habere oportere" (Widukind of Corvey III, 53, 132). Widukind have many records on Wichmann's rebellious acts (III, 50-70). Based on the association of events beyond the Elbe it has been deduced that in 963, being an outlaw, Wichmann found shelter among the Redarians, one of the most rebellious tribes (Mühle 2023, 232).

the vice of pride, known in Latin as *superbia*, was the deadliest of the seven deadly sins.<sup>41</sup> It was seen as a distinct sign of serving idols,<sup>42</sup> together with *avaritia* (avarice or greed for riches). In those times the term “idolatry” was used in a broader sense. It also included Christian nobles or high-rank clergy who sometimes supported the emperor in the conflict with the papacy. Disobedience to the pope and denial of his prerogatives as the supreme head of *Christianitas* was labeled as idolatry (Dragnea 2021a, 58). At the same time pride, also interpreted as arrogance, was considered the root of all evil. Therefore, obedience to ecclesiastical authorities was a moral act that legitimized true faith.

Thietmar was not confused when it comes to the religious identity of the Slavs. He made it very clear that they have already accepted Christianity and served the German kings and emperors with tribute. Only in certain circumstances did they “unanimously” decide to take up arms against the Saxons.<sup>43</sup> In the Northern March, the source of their rebellion was a sin very popular in those times among Christians. The rebellion did not start from an irresistible desire for independence. Readers had to know that the rebellion was not an innocent and legitimate reaction for freedom. Its source was the arrogance of the margrave, an evil thing, criticized by clerics over the centuries.

The tributary status of the Slavic rulers also included the offering of military assistance to the Ottonians in their external or internal conflicts. If this did not happen, the tributaries could be punished for disobedience. When he wanted to punish the Obotrite prince Mstislav in 1018, who was a Christian (previously he allowed the Diocese of Oldenburg to be re-established), Henry II did not send the Saxon armies, but asked his Lutician allies to do so (Rosik 2020, 183).

Usually, a rebel against the emperor, regardless of his status or origin, was labeled by the faithful clergy a rebel against the Church as well. The Saxon Duke Bernard II (d. 1059) is one of the best examples. He was described by Adam of Bremen as a sinner lacking humility and piety and criticized because around 1019 he dared to rebel against Henry II.<sup>44</sup> Bernard’s hostility to the Archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen was also emphasized by the chronicler. If Archbishop Unwan (d. 1029) made huge efforts to preserve the wealth of the church and was faithful to the Ottonian monarchs, Bernard took up arms against both the emperor and the Church.<sup>45</sup> Driven by the sin of pride, Bernard not only raised all of Saxony against the emperor, but also attacked the Saxon churches, especially those in Hamburg-Bremen.<sup>46</sup>

Bernard had a similar profile to that of the margrave of the Northern March, Dietrich of Haldensleben. Because of his pride and avarice, he oppressed the Slavs so hard that they rebelled again around 1018. Pride before God, whose churches were attacked and servants killed, offended the cosmic order. His sins were commensurate with the consequences they caused. It was his

<sup>41</sup> A volume about the seven deadly sins in medieval communities, focusing on Christian ethics and institutional imperatives within the Church is Newhauser 2007.

<sup>42</sup> For key-terms like idolatry in connection to disobedience in Early Middle Ages, and their interpretation, see Dragnea 2021b, 58-60.

<sup>43</sup> “Gentes quae suscepta christianitate regibus et imperatoribus tributarie serviebant [...] presumpcioe unanimi arma commoverant” (Thietmar of Merseburg III, 17, 118).

<sup>44</sup> “Dux Bernardus, Heinrico imperatori ausus rebellare” (Adam of Bremen II, 48, 108).

<sup>45</sup> “Nunquam discordia cessavit inter geminas domos, scilicet archiepiscopi et ducis, illis impugnantibus regem et ecclesiam, istis pro salute ecclesiae ac fidelitate regum certantibus” (Adam of Bremen II, 48, 108).

<sup>46</sup> “Deinde per superbiam beneficiorum immemor totam secum ad rebellandum caesari movit Saxoniam. Novissime surgens in Christum ecclesias huius patriae non dubitavit impugnare, precipue vero nostram, quae et dicit eo tempore ceteris et longinquier videbatur a manu imperatoris” (Adam of Bremen II, 48, 109).

pride, avarice, and cruelty that annihilated the Christian faith in Mecklenburg area.<sup>47</sup> The Slavs had no choice but to throw off the yoke of slavery and take up arms to defend their freedom.<sup>48</sup>

## Conclusion

A closer examination of the primary sources shows that throughout history, the association between disobedience and rebellion on the one hand and apostasy, idolatry, and paganism on the other, was a rhetorical device to justify the punitive campaigns against the Slavs. Although the authors emphasized Slavs' apostasy, this does not necessarily mean that they have returned to certain pre-Christian beliefs and rituals. They could have been rebels against the Church, who rejected everything that involved ecclesiastical authority (a sort of illegitimate Christians). Of course this identity had to be defined somehow, and the easiest way to do it was by connection to what was known at that time about idolatry and paganism in a practical sense from ancient Greco-Roman writings and from the Bible.

The rhetorical device used by the authors is not necessarily a diversion to manipulate the audience. It describes well the medieval realities beyond the Elbe. It shows how the authors saw the Slavs and how they created their religious identity. Certain labels applied to the Slavs which had been banned by theology since late Antiquity had less to do with any features of what can hardly be called Slavic mythology, and more to disobedience and rebellion as well as the Saxon desire to legitimate superiority and justify conquests. Disobedience, an evil thing that led to rebellion, came from sin. When sinners were important people, their rebellious actions were condemned to arouse shame and guilt, feelings useful for repentance, which was necessary for salvation.

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<sup>47</sup> The 1018 and 1066 rebellions were presented in a similar way to that of 983. An analysis of the rebellions in relation to disobedience to secular and ecclesiastical authorities, anticlericalism, apostasy, and idolatry in a broad sense can be found in Dragnea 2021b, 48-62. The deeds made by the rebels in 1018 and 1066 were briefly discussed in Mühlé 2020, 276-277 and more details can be found in Rosik 2020, 183-187; 240-247.

<sup>48</sup> “Tunc vero et Sclavi a christianis iudicibus plus iusto compressi excusso tandem iugo servitutis libertatem suam armis defendere coacti sunt.” Adam of Bremen II, 42, p. 102.

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# KOMUNIKÁCIA V STREDOVEKU: MENOVANIE UHORSKÝCH KAPLÁNOV V AACHENE

## Communication in the Middle Ages: The Appointment of Hungarian Chaplains in Aachen

Jaroslav Nemeš

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**Abstract:** NEMEŠ, Jaroslav. *Communication in the Middle Ages: The Appointment of Hungarian Chaplains in Aachen*. King Louis I of Hungary, a devout believer, built a Hungarian pilgrimage chapel (1366) near the Marian church in Aachen, where two chaplains were to serve. He provided material support to ensure the livelihood of the two clergymen. The chaplains were required to be fluent in Hungarian. Based on research of historical sources, we have identified the names of eight chaplains over a period of 86 years. The list shows that part were descendants of older German families living in Hungary. Therefore, in addition to their knowledge of Hungarian, they also had a good command of German. One of the eight, Paul Scalitzer, did not know Hungarian; he came from the Diocese of Bamberg, and his appointment did not meet the founder's conditions, making it an exceptional case for unknown reasons. Detailed biographies of the chaplains are not well-documented, but one, Gallus of Nižné Raslavice, was the son of a royal notary and familiar, while another, Stephen of Cluj-Napoca, was a royal chaplain. The administrative process for appointing a chaplain typically took at least six months, though the case of Nicholas Brant took over two years. By the 16th century, with the rapid decline of Hungarian pilgrims, the people of Aachen found this bureaucratically lengthy process less meaningful. This paper discusses the challenges in managing the two chaplaincy positions and communication strategies in the medieval period.

**Keywords:** Middle Ages, Kingdom of Hungary, medieval pilgrimage, Aachen, Hungarian Chapel

Uhorský kráľ Ľudovít I. zriadil v mariánskom chráme v Aachene Kaplnku sv. Ladislava slúžiacu uhorským pútnikom. Bola obľúbeným miestom, ľudia tam putovali každých sedem rokov, aby takto vzdali úctu Božej Matke a látkovým relikviám, ktoré pripomíinali jej život. Kráľ ju vybudoval na vlastné náklady a zriadil v nej dve kaplánske miesta „na spásu svojej duše a duší svojich rodicov, s nádejou na večnú odmenu v nebi“. Uhorská kaplnka bola dostavaná do roku 1366, ako sme o tom informovali na inom mieste (Nemeš 2019, 7-8). Pridala sa tak do prstence bočných kaplniek postavených okolo pôvodného oktogónu mariánskeho dómu z čias Karola Veľkého.

Cieľom nášho príspevku je preskúmanie procesu a princípov menovania uhorských kaplánov v Aachene a tiež zdokumentovanie ich mien. Priblížime procedúru postupu jednotlivých menovaní a prípadné špecifická sprevádzajúce tento proces. Zaoberáme sa však iba obdobím stredoveku, teda existenciou pôvodnej gotickej kaplnky, ktorá bola ako prvá pristavaná k hlavnému oktogónu.

K výskumu dejín uhorskej kaplnky sme využili pramene z troch archívov: z Krajinského archívu Severného Porýnia-Vestfálska v Düsseldorffe; z Archívu katedrály v Aachene a z Archívu mesta Aachen. Na týchto troch miestach sa v zachovaných fondoch stredovekých rukopisov nachádzali aj písomnosti k minulosti kaplnky. V spomenutých porýnskych archívoch ochraňujú niekoľko listín, v ktorých príslušní uhorskí králi predstavili kapitule meno nového kaplána. Išlo predovšetkým o menovacie (resp. poverovacie) listiny, prípadne ich neoverené odpisy z 15. storočia. Pod niektorými textami boli aj krátke záznamy o inštalácii kaplánov do úradu s konkrétnym dátumom.

Použili sme aj vizitačné protokoly a inventáre kaplnky, ktoré však máme zachované iba z rokov 1367 a 1381.<sup>1</sup> V 15. storočí prebehlo viacero kanonických vizitácií, no pri výskume nám však neboli nijako nápmocné. V rokoch 1438 a 1468 sa uskutočnili dve dekanské vizitácie, z ktorých sa, žiaľ, nezachovali autentické zápisnice. Pretrval iba neoverený a skrátený odpis ich inventára z 18. storočia nazvaný *Pro Memoria über Visitation der Ungarischen Kapelle*.<sup>2</sup> Ani v ňom však okrem zoznamu liturgických a sakrálnych predmetov nebolo uvedené meno žiadneho uhorského kaplána.

Iné účtovné písomnosti, napríklad súpisy príjmov a darov kaplnky, sa tiež uchovali iba výnimočne a útržkovito. Mená kaplánov sa v nich ale vôbec nespomínali. V edícii mestských účtovných dokladov z 15. storočia sme vyhľadali meno iba jediného kaplána, hoci drobné príjmy a výdavky kaplnky tam boli na viacerých stranách zaznačené (Kraus 2004, 386).

Odbornej literatúry k téme personálneho obsadenia uhorskej kaplnky je poskromne a navyše je aj staršieho dátta. Nás pramenný výskum má ambíciu tento priestor vyplniť, prípadne korigovať niektoré mylné závery. Vyzdvihnut môžeme dve staršie práce od autoriek: Edith Tömöry – *Az Aacheni magyar kápolna története* (1931) a Elisabeth Thoemmes – *Die Wallfahrten der Ungarn an der Rhein* (1937). Obe monografie, ktoré sa vyznačujú výbornou znalosťou prameňov, si udržali svoju hodnotu dodnes. Štúdia od nemeckého historika Franka Pohla v časopise *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* z roku 2007 riešila predovšetkým existenciu neskoršej barokovej kaplnky v období protireformácie (Pohle 2005 – 2007, 377-395). Najnovšia monografia mesta Aachen od Thomasa Krausa a kolektívú z roku 2015 spomíala kaplnku v rámci opisu „sedemročných púti“ iba sporadicky (Kraus et al. 2015, 306-325). Kraus mal ako riaditeľ mestského archívu o tamojších stredovekých prameňoch výborný prehľad, no, žiaľ, v roku 2019 zomrel.

## Spravovanie uhorskej kaplnky

Uhorský kráľ Ludovít I. sa pri zriadení kaplnky a jej fungovaní inšpiroval postupom rímsko-nemeckého cisára a českého kráľa Karola IV., ktorý utvoril oltárnictvo sv. Václava a vybudoval ho na poschodi aachenského chrámu 20. decembra 1362. Podľa dohody Karol IV. alebo jeho nasledovníci na českom tróne určovali osobu kaplána, ktorý musel predstúpiť pred dekanom a kapitulu. Ak nejestvovali cirkevné prekážky, tí ho museli prijať do chrámu. Okrem toho, že mal byť Čechom známy čeština, musel byť duchovne spôsobilý, aby vedel pútnikom slúžiť.<sup>3</sup>

Ludovít nedal postaviť oltár, ale hned celú kaplnku s dvoma kaplánskymi miestami. Aj dva uhorskí kapláni však museli ovládať reč uhorských pútnikov, aby im mohli v cudzine poskytovať plnohodnotné duchovné služby. Podľa historika Franka Pohla museli byť znali „ungarischen oder wendischen Sprache“ (Pohle 2005 – 2007, 377). Kaplánov uhorského pôvodu mohol vymenovať len

<sup>1</sup> Originál listiny: DAA, II. A.b. 8 Nr. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Odpis: DAA, II. Ab. 8. Nr. 14 – fol. 9r (1438); fol. 9v (1468). Edícia: Tömöry 1931, 54-55.

<sup>3</sup> Originál listiny: DAA, II. A.a. 2 Nr. 6. Odpisy: DAA, II. A.b. 8 Nr. 4, pag. 1-3 (18. stor.); StAA, Hs. 280, pag. 127-132 (18. stor.).

uhorský kráľ, ale museli podliehať disciplinárnemu dohľadu kapituly, boli povinní priať rezidenciu a mali právo zúčastňovať sa na chórovej službe (Pohle 2005 – 2007, 379).

Ako ďalší v poradí založili 26. júna 1495 svoj „Oltár štyroch doktorov“ slovinskí pútnici. Popri Panne Márii boli na ňom vyobrazení cirkevní učitelia Augustín, Hieronym, Gregor a Ambráz (Stabéj 1967, 108). Oltár sa nachádzal na poschodí chrámu, nedaleko toho českého. Odstránené boli oba spoločne v roku 1734 (Kraus et al. 2015, 325). Je prekvapivé, že v čase, keď sa tento spôsob poskytovania duchovnej služby pre rôzne národy pútnikov ukázal ako málo efektívny, bolo založené oltárnictvo pre Slovincov. Dôležitú úlohu v tomto prípade ale rovnako zohrávala snaha o vybudovanie si „domáceho“ jazykového prostredia v cudzine. Podľa historika Gabriela Hunčagu „schopnosť navzájom si porozumieť bola podmienkou akýchkoľvek snáh o *cura animarum* predovšetkým v prostredí, ktoré bolo z hľadiska jazyka cudzie“ (Hunčaga 2023, 55).

Ludovít zabezpečil v Aachene dvom uhorským kaplánom všetky materiálne podmienky na život a prácu. O právach a príľegieh neváhal rokovať so všetkými zainteresovanými stranami. Ktoré inštitúcie si musel nakloniť? Hlavne magistrát mesta, prepoštstvo a kolegiálnu kapitulu. Získať tiež musel dôveru tamojších mešťanov, aby jeho zbožnú základinu podporovali. Samozrejme, celú pastoračnú aktivitu musel podporiť a posvätiť rímsky pápež, čo sa v prípade Urbana V. aj stalo.

Zo strany mesta Aachen boli súčinní richtár a magistrát, resp. prísažní, ktorí zastupovali svojich obyvateľov a uhorskému panovníkovi vyšli v ústrety. Kaplnke poskytli benefíciá, najmä rôzne nehnuteľnosti: niekoľko domov, lúky, nivy v mestskej priekope a pravidelné dôchodky (Nemeš 2019, 16-17). Obyvatelia mesta prispievali príležitostnými milodarmi, neraz poskytovanými aj prostredníctvom testumentov.

Kaplnka stála medzi bočnými prístavbami v mariánskom chráme, ktorý bol domovom kapituly, zboru kanonikov na čele s prepoštom a dekanom. Pre úspech uhorskej základiny bola kapitula rozhodujúcou inštitúciou. Uhorských kaplánov musela priať do svojho chóru, museli byť rovncenní s ďalším nižším duchovenstvom, kaplánmi, oltárikmi a inými beneficiátm, ktorí pri kostole pôsobili. Okrem toho tam bolo zriadené i prepoštstvo na čele s prepoštom.

Ludovít I. nemohol v Aachene všetko vybavovať a zabezpečovať osobne, preto ako svojho zástupcu poveril blízkeho človeka, brata Henricha, opáta cistercitského kláštora Pannej Márie v Piliši v rokoch 1356 – 1379. Panovník ho musel dôverne poznať, lebo bol zároveň kráľovským kaplánom a jeho služby využíval i predtým. Kláštor v Piliši ležal nedaleko Budína a jeho opáti sa neraz zúčastňovali rôznych zahraničných posolstiev (A kiváltságos 1910, 19, 44 a iné). Nevieme, kedy sa Henrich do Aachenu vybral, no podľa historičky Edithy Tömöryovej to bolo v roku 1367 a pobýval tam asi desať rokov (Tömöry 1931, 7). Ako maďarsky hovoriaci knaz potom zriadenú uhorskú kaplnku s kráľovským splnomocnením dočasne spravoval (CDH IX/4, 61; Hervay 1984, 145).

Zakladajúce dielo sa podarilo a uhorský kráľ sa za to tri roky po dostavaní kaplnky mestu odvdačil. Kupcom z Aachenu priznal v Uhorsku rovnaké práva, aké tam mali kupci z Norimbergu a Prahy. Jeho obchodníkom doprial 2. marca 1369 výsadnú listinu, tzv. *Handelsprivileg*. Predovšetkým aachenské plátno sa v Uhorsku dobre predávalo, doklady poznáme napríklad zo Šopronu, Bojníc a Banskej Bystrice (Peltzer 1906, 452-454; Kraus 2002, 98-100, č. 219; Kraus et al. 2015, 139).

Vybudovanú kaplnku spolu so všetkými benefíciami a liturgickou výbavou podriadil Ludovít I. mestu a kapitule. Listinou z 2. januára 1370 zriadil rektorát kaplnky a ustanovil v nej dve kaplanske miesta (CDH IX/4, 215-218; Kraus et al. 2015, 323). Písomne zabezpečil všetky právne nároky voči mestu. Obaja duchovní museli byť v budúcnosti vždy menovaní uhorskými králmami.<sup>4</sup> Pilišský opát Henrich následne listinou zo 16. apríla 1370 zaradil tieto dva nové posty pod právomoc

<sup>4</sup> Jednoduchý odpis: StAA, RA II Allgemeine Akten 932, Nr. 4-5 (fol. 2r-3r, 4r-5r).

kapituly mariánskeho domu.<sup>5</sup> Pripomenuj, že bol splnomocnený uhorským kráľom Ludovítom rokovať s dekanom a kapitulou, aby zaistil správcovstvo kaplnky a zaopatrenie dvoch kaplánov. Výsledok spolupráce bol pôsobivý, dohoda obsahovala nasledujúce body:

1. Kaplánov do úradu uvádzali dekan a kapitula domu, ako to bolo pri ostatných kaplánoch.
2. Kapláni skladali osobitnú prísahu pred kapitulou, pred ktorú mali predstúpiť.
3. Kapláni mali spadať pod trestnú právomoc dekana a kapituly.
4. Ak by v kaplnke zostal iba jeden kaplán alebo by tam neostal žiadny, dekan a kapitula ich miesta obsadia inými kaplánmi z chrámu. Uhorské dôchodky mali byť medzi nich proporčne rozdelené. Príčinou výpadku mohlo byť úmrtie, odstúpenie alebo odchod z mesta.
5. Prechodné obdobie trvalo dovtedy, pokiaľ uhorský kráľ dekanovi a kapitule nepredstavil nejakých iných kaplánov.
6. O uprázdenom mieste (o vakancii) mal v období jedného mesiaca informovať uhorského kráľa druhý kaplán.
7. Všetky existujúce výdavky museli vyplatiť z dôchodkov uprázdeného miesta.
8. Dekan a kapitula mohli a smeli nedbanlivého kaplána k tomu nútiť a prinútiť.

Týmto konsenzom bolo ukončené úspešné vyjednávanie. Opát Henrich, tvorca tejto dohody, apeľoval na dodržiavanie predpísaných ustanovení v mene kráľa Uhorska a všetkých jeho nasledovníkov. Prevádzku kaplnky, jej údržbu a zásobovanie dvoch kaplánov obstaral na okolitých trhoch, ďalšie nehnuteľnosti získal v spolupráci s magistrátom mesta. Úprimne podakoval ríchtárovi, prísažným a senátu mesta, špeciálne vyzdvihol vzdanie úcty svätým kráľom Štefanovi a Ladislavovi, tiež kráľovičovi Imrichovi, ktorých relikvie ležali v kaplnke.

Panovníkovi už predtým vyhovel aj pápež Urban V. v dvoch pápežských listinách z Avignonu 1. augusta 1366. Dvom kanonicky menovaným kaplánom doprial v uhorskej kaplnke slúžiť bohoslužby. Povolil im spovedať krajanov-pútnikov a rozhrešovať ich. Kapláni mohli činiť všetky cirkevné úkony a udeľovať sviatosti, ako aj pochovávať tam zomrelých. Nesmeli však ukrátiť práva tamojšieho farára. O dôležitejších veciach musel rozhodnúť miestny ordinár, t. j. sídelný biskup z Lutychu (Liège), ktorý mesto v rámci svojej diecézy spravoval. V druhej listine pápež zdôraznil, že kánonické právo a iné práva domácich cirkevných predstaviteľov museli zostať pri zakladaní kaplnky zachované. Dôležité preňho bolo, aby mohli uhorskí veriaci v meste Achen bezstarostne sláviť bohoslužby (Theiner 1860, 82, č. 153 a 154; Sauerland 1910, 195-196, č. 523 a 524; Fierens – Tihon 1928, 848-850, č. 1820 a 1821).

## Prví uhorskí kapláni Ján a Ján Gerlach

Výstavbu uhorskej kaplnky zavŕšili v roku 1366, ihneď potom bola vybavená kráľovskými darmi a relikviami. Niekedy medzi rokmi 1370 až 1374 ju spolu s inventárom odovzdali do opatery mesta a kapituly. Zachované archívne pramene však vysvetlovali počiatočné fungovanie kaplnky iba čiastkovo: listiny viac hovorili o cirkevnoprávnych dohovoroch a fundačných procesoch; účtovné písomnosti zasa poukazovali na jej majetok, príjmy a dôchodky; iné, sporadicky zachované písomnosti, až na malé výnimky, nespomínali mená kaplánov alebo ich činnosť.

V prípade uvoľnenia jedného z dvoch kaplánskych miest zohrávali uhorskí králi ako patróni kaplnky s právom „prezentácie“ najdôležitejšiu úlohu. Stávalo sa tak v prípade úmrtnia alebo odchodu kaplána z pozície. K listine zo 16. apríla 1370 sme sa už vyjadrili, kapláni mali byť po poverení

<sup>5</sup> Originál listiny: DAA, II. A.b. 8 Nr. 6I. Edícia: CDH IX/4, 265-267.

kráľom predstavení dekanovi a kapitule. Pred obsadením miesta mali u nich vykonať prísahu. Mená prvých dvoch uhorských kaplánov poznáme – boli to dvaja Jánovia – *Johannes a Johannes Gerlacus* (CDH IX/5, 525-526; Tömöry 1931, 8, 60; Thoemmes 1937, 83; Hervay 1984, 145).

O kaplánovi Jánovi vieme vďaka listine z 27. októbra 1367. Opát Henrich z Piliša v nej potvrdzuje, že kráľovské dary, liturgické odedy, predmety, relikviáre a tabuľové obrazy, ktoré poslal panovník do Aachenu, kaplán Ján, menovaný za kráľovského kaplána v pútnickej kaplnke, v prítomnosti kapituly prevzal. Zariadenie kaplnky a jej klenotnicu teda Henrich osobne odovzdal kaplánovi Jánovi.<sup>6</sup> Nič bližšie však o samotnej postave Jána listina neuvedza, preto pre nás zostáva neznámou osobou.

O druhom kaplánovi Jánovi Gerlachovi sa dozvedáme za podobných okolností. Listina z 9. júna 1381 ohlasovala, že brat Ulrich, opát kláštora v Piliši, bol poverený kráľom Ľudovítom vizitáciou uhorskej kaplnky. Ulrich tento sakrálny objekt navštívil a skontroloval, či sa úmysel zakladateľa naplnil. Podrobne rozpísal, aké predmety a cennosti našli spoločne s vicedekanom a kapitulou dómu v úschove u kráľovského kaplána Jána Gerlacha. Podľa vtedajších nariadení nemal žiadny z kaplánov z týchto vecí nič zobrať a kapitula mala dbať o to, aby sa z kaplnky nič nepredalo alebo nezamenilo.<sup>7</sup> Aj v prípade Jána Gerlacha musíme skonštatovať, že žiadny ďalší konkrétny údaj o jeho osobnosti nemáme zachovaný.

O tom, že medzi početným duchovenstvom slúžiacim v mariánskom dóme prebiehali najmä v časoch pútí vázne spory, svedčí aj listina z 19. novembra 1390. Gróf Wilhelm von Wied, prepošt mariánskeho dómu, v nej ujasňoval jednotlivé kompetencie prepoštstva a kapituly. Medzi kauzami spomenul aj spravovanie uhorskej kaplnky (*van der ungerser capellen*), čo sa týkalo hlavne otázky znášania nákladov a delenia príjmov medzi jednotlivých kaplánov.<sup>8</sup>

Založením uhorskej kaplnky v Aachene vznikla zložitá právna situácia. Svetské benefícium uhorského kráľa bolo v úzkom priestorovom a funkčnom spojení so sakrálnym priestorom chrámu Panny Márie, ktorého majetky ale spravovalo mesto. Zdá sa však, že výnosy uhorskej fundácie aj v 15. storočí smerovali tam, kam mali, hoci veľké pútnické výpravy vyrážali na cestu do svätyne len raz za sedem rokov. V 15. storočí prichádzalo do Aachenu pri tejto príležitosti až päťtisíc pútnikov z Uhorska (Pohle 2005 – 2007, 379), celkom to bolo štrnástkrát.

## Kapláni Pavol Scalitzer a Havel z Raslavíc

Ľudovítov nasledovník na uhorskom tróne Žigmund Luxemburský mal k mariánskym látkovým relikviám v Aachene takisto veľmi blízky vzťah. Jemu tieto sväteniny dvakrát sprístupnili aj mimo sedemročného cyklu, konkrétnie v rokoch 1414 a 1417. V druhom prípade sa však spolu s ním do svätyne dostal aj pospolitý ľud (Kraus et al. 2015, 306-307). Na základe zachovaných archívnych dokumentov vieme, že práve Žigmund sa o náboženskú základinu v Aachene staral vzorne a spravoval ju osobne.

Na začiatku 15. storočia vznikol nový problém. Jeho dôvod však ostáva neznámy. Post uhorského kaplána zastával duchovný, ktorý nepochádzal z Uhorska a ani nepoznal rodnyj jazyk pútnikov. Dokazujú nám to dve kráľovské listiny z roku 1417, ktoré tento problém riešili. Podľa záznamu v registrárnych knihách žiadal Žigmund dňa 8. júna 1417, počas pobytu v Kostnici

<sup>6</sup> Originál listiny: DAA, II. A.b. 8 Nr. 5 II. Edícia: CDH IX/4, 91-92 (inventár z roku 1367).

<sup>7</sup> Originál listiny: DAA, II. A.b. 8 Nr. 8. Inventár v odpise: MNL OL, sign. DL-DF 276146. Edícia inventára: CDH IX/5, 525-526.

<sup>8</sup> De concordia facta inter prepositum et capitulum et C Flor(en)is tempore ostensionis reliquiarum capitulo solvendis. Originál listiny: LA NRW D, Aachen, St. Marien, Urk. 269. Neúplná edícia: Thyssen 1910, 289-291, č. 32. Regest: Kraus 2005, 231-233, č. 423.

(nem. Konstanz), neznámu osobu, aby podporila jeho návrh na „kaplánku“ v Aachene. Ako uhorský panovník mal totiž právo toto miesto obsadiť. Urgoval preto v prospech Havla, syna Imricha z Raslavíc, svojho notára, keďže bol „*purus Hungarus*“. Koho v Aachene panovník konkrétnie súril, sa zo zápisu nedozvedáme, ale určite išlo o vysokopostaveného cirkevného alebo svetského hodnostára (Altmann 1896 – 1897, 166, č. 2387).

Oveľa viac svetla do tohto prípadu vniesla ďalšia listina, vydaná tiež v Kostnici 1. augusta 1417 (Caro 1880, 141-143; Altmann 1896 – 1897, 176, č. 2497). Žigmund v jej úvode ocenil zbožnosť, ktorú prejavili jeho predchodcovia na uhorskom tróne, jednak založením a udržiavaním kaplnky v Aachene, ale aj preukazovaním rôznych darov milosti. Preto aj on chcel disponovanie s jej beneficiami „usmerňovať do lona kráľovskej slávy“. Rozhodol sa tiež, podľa jeho slov, vynaložiť osobitné úsilie na spravovanie benefícii, ktoré sa v meste nachádzali.

Z toho dôvodu Žigmund pripomenuл rok 1410, keď bol do kaplánstva uvedený „ctihodný Pavol Scalitzer, farár v Kasendorfe v diecéze Bamberg“. Pristavaná uhorská kaplnka bola vtedy „istým spôsobom“ uprázdená a Pavol sa jej správy pravdepodobne legitímne ujal.

Neskôr sa však uhorský kráľ dopočul, že spomenutý „*Paulus plebanus in Cassendorf*“ odstúpil z funkcie. „Rozdielnosť jazyka učinila tohto Pavla nevhodným pre riadenie zmieneného oltára.“ Spomenuté správcovstvo si od kaplánov vyžadovalo z praktických dôvodov uhorskú príslušnosť. „Aby teda kaplnka alebo oltár v Aachene neutrpeli škody degradáciou spomínaného držiteľa a ani starostlivosť o duše nebola nijako zanedbaná ich dlhou vakanciou“, po odstúpení Pavla Scalitzera kráľ Žigmund na jeho miesto menoval a prezentoval istého Havla.

O Pavlovi Scalitzerovi nevieme, kedy, prečo a ako sa ocitol v správe uhorskej kaplnky v Aachene. V čase, keď o ľom Žigmunda informovali, bol už zrejme farárom v Kasendorfe, menšom bavoriskom mestečku s trhovými prívilegiami, vzdialenom asi 35 kilometrov od Bambergu. Pavol sám rezignoval, pretože nevedel po maďarsky a pri práci s uhorskými pútnikmi sa neosvedčil. Veľká sedemročná púť sa konala v roku 1412 a práve to mohol byť čas zlomu, keď veci vyšli najavo. Kráľ musel po odstúpení Pavla konať a vymenovať iného kaplána. Prečo prípad neriešil už v roku 1414, keď bol v Aachene osobne, nevedno. Nového kaplána napokon vymenoval až v auguste roku 1417, keď tam pobudol druhý raz.

Novoustanovený Havel (lat. *Gallus*) bol klerikom pochádzajúcim z diecézy Jáger (mad. Eger) v Uhorsku, bol synom nebohého Imricha z Raslavíc (*Raslawitz*), Žigmundovho notára a „oddaného familiára nášho milovaného“. Na novom pôsobisku mal Havel po „slobodnom odstúpení spomenutého Pavla“ vykonávať „namáhavú prácu, akou bolo cvičenie v cnostiach, miernosti mrvov, plnosti stálosti, dlhorocnej znamenitosti, vytrvalosti“ atď. Jeho výber prebehol podľa platných pravidiel uhorskej základiny.

Nad spomenutou kaplnkou a jej oltárom „akýmkoľvek spôsobom uprázdeným“ (*quovis modo vacante*) uplatňoval Žigmund ako uhorský kráľ „právo zaopatrenia alebo autoritu zaopatrenia“ (*ius provisionatus sive auctoritas provisionis*) a „právo prezentácie“ (*ius presentandi*). Vyhlásil, že kaplnke alebo oltáru poskytoval a „milostivo poskytuje terajší patronát“ (*presenti patrocinio providemus gracie*). Kráľ sa rozhodol predstaviť prepoštovi, dekanovi a kapitule dómu, spoločne a nerozdielne, spomínaného Havla ako rektora kaplnky alebo oltára. Pokiaľ Havel alebo jeho legítimny zástupca vstúpi v mene kráľa do vyššie uvedenej kaplnky alebo oltára obvyklým spôsobom, musia ho uviesť do tohto beneficia. Spolu so zodpovednosťou potom prevezme aj právo na jeho úžitky alebo farchy vyplývajúce z prenájmu vlastnených domov, odvedených plodín, majetkov a iného príslušenstva zmienenej kaplnky a oltára.<sup>9</sup> Prepošta a kapitulu panovník upozornil na to, že „podľa vyššie

<sup>9</sup> ... *de fructibus redditibus proventibus juribus emolumentis et obvencionibus ac domibus et pertinenciis prefate capelle ac altaris responderi.*

uvedeného cirkevného zvyku tak museli urobiť bez meškania, hned' ako zazreli vyslaných prítomných, s účinnosťou bez ohľadu na námiestky<sup>10</sup>.

Správcovstvo nad kaplnkou alebo samotným oltárom mohlo byť udelené komukoľvek iba cez královskú autoritu. Zároveň vladár zrušil predošlú dispozíciu alebo ustanovenie, anuloval jeho aktuálnu platnosť a odstránil akéhokoľvek držiteľa beneficia, ak by nejaký existoval, zo správcovstva tej istej kaplnky alebo oltára. Vyhradil si teda osobitné právo menovať niekoho na post kaplána. Ním nepovolaného človeka v tejto funkciu nestrel.

V závere listiny nechýbala zmienka o spečatení tajnou pečaťou uhorského kráľovstva a datovacia formula: „Dané v Kostnici v prvý augustový deň roku Pána 1227, teda tridsiateho prvého roku nášho panovania v Uhorsku a siedmeho roku rímskeho panovania.“

V Uhorsku narodený kaplán Havel pochádzal z obce Raslavice, ktoré ležali na polceste medzi královskými mestami Prešovom a Bardejovom. Obec s týmto názvom však vznikla až v roku 1971, a to zlúčením Vyšných Raslavíc (najprv so slovenským obyvateľstvom) a Nižných Raslavíc (s maďarským obyvateľstvom). Kedže Havel rozprával po maďarsky, s najväčšou pravdepodobnosťou pochádzal z Nižných Raslavíc. V tejto lokalite stál hneď pri hlavnej ceste neskorománsky Kostol sv. Alžbety z druhej polovice 13. storočia.<sup>10</sup> Nižné Raslavice sa nazývali i Uhorskými alebo Maďarskými Raslavicami. Od Vyšných (Slovenských) Raslavíc ich oddelovali dva potoky – Sekčov a Rešovka (Novák 2008b, 36; Beňko 1985, 188-190). Administratívne patrili do Jágerskej diecézy a Šarišskej stolice.

Nebohý Imrich z Raslavíc, otec vymenovaného kaplána Havla, bol notárom kráľa, teda vyšším úradníkom na dvore. Nesporne teda patril k nejakému významnému zemianskemu rodu. Žigmund ho dokonca zaradil medzi svojich familiárov. Pred rokom 1345 sa v Nižných Raslaviciach usadili zemania zo susedných Tročian (Súpis 1968, 386), tak by sa teoreticky dala predpokladať príslušnosť k tomuto rodu. Naopak, Ferdinand Uličný videl za zemanmi z Raslavíc (de Razlawycha) potomkov šľachtica Tibu, ktorému tamojší majetok daroval niekdajší kráľ Ladislav IV. (Uličný 1990, 260-262; 1994, 70). Imrichov syn Havel sa však vydal na knázskú dráhu a po čase sa ako královský kaplán odobral do Aachenu. O ostatných jeho potomkoch nevieme nič bližšie.

## Kapláni Peter Vavrinec z Drienovca a Štefan z Klužu

O šesť rokov neskôr, po uprázdení jedného kaplánskeho miesta, sa dozvedáme o menovaní ďalšieho kandidáta. Stalo sa tak v apríli 1423 po smrti predošlého knáza, ktorým mohol byť aj Havel z Raslavíc (?). Žigmund Luxemburský to začal riešiť až po tom, čo mu z Aachenu „dlho posielali svoje listy a prosebné modlitby podnietené zbožnosťou a náboženstvom“ (Altmann 1896 – 1897, 389, č. 5512; Szilágyi 1934, 196, pozn. 79). Kapitule Panny Márie predložil meno nového kaplána do uhorskej vikárie (*ad vicariam seu capellam Hungaricam*) v kolegiálnom kostole, nad ktorou si ako uhorský kráľ uplatňoval právo prezentácie (predstavenia). Ako uviedol, post si vyžadoval muža, ktorý ovládal maďarský jazyk a bol vhodným duchovným prostredníkom pre kajúcinkov z Uhorska. Nájdenie takého knáza nebolo pre Žigmunda vôbec jednoduchou úlohou: „Je pravda, že my, zostupujúc cez naše Uhorské kráľovstvo k rôznym panstvám, sme sa usilovali získať človeka vhodného na takýto podnik, a napokon sme prišli do Košíc.“ Tam poveril a ustanobil Petra Vavrinca z Drienovca (*Petrus Laurentius de Somodi*) s pokynom, aby ho v Aachene prijali. „Vybrali sme si knáza z diecézy Ostrihom, nášho milovaného, osvedčeného povahou i životom, ktorý by mohol s úžitkom predsedať tomuto úradu a postarať sa o spásu duší, ako si to vyžadovali kajúcincii.“

<sup>10</sup> Dnes je to evanjelický Kostol sv. Trojice v Raslaviciach.

Žigmund ďalej v listine uviedol, že za zriadenie kaplnky a jej „uvevnenie všetkými spôsobmi“ boli uhorskí králi ako jej zhотовitelia plne zodpovední, tiež za všetko imanie, pôžitky a výnosy z nej. Aj on si chcel túto povinnosť splniť, preto tak učinil. Záver jeho listiny ukončila dátovacia formula: „Dané v Košiciach 25. apríla 1423, tridsiateho siedmeho roku nášho panovania v Uhorsku, trinásteho roku rímskeho a tretieho roku českého panovania.“<sup>11</sup>

Somodi bol historický názov dnešnej obce Drienovec. Podľa historika Jozefa Nováka sa obec prvýkrát spomína ako královský majetok v roku 1335. Ležala v Abovskej stolici, konkrétnie na ceste prechádzajúcej pod Turnianskym hradom smerom do Košíc. Vyberalo sa v nej myto (1396), stál tam mlyn a v 14. storočí stál nad ňou aj kamenný hrádok (Novák 2008a, 226-227; Súpis 1967, 340). Peter Vavrinec bol kňazom Ostrihomskej arcidiecézy (*presbyter Strigoniensis diocesis*), čo sa zhoduje aj s tvrdením, že potočná radová dedina Drienovec patrila v stredoveku práve do tejto arcidiecézy. V Aachene pôsobil pätnásť rokov, až do svojej smrti. Okrem týchto spomínaných ďalšie správy o jeho osobe nemáme.

To, či kaplán Petra uhorský kráľ osobne poznal a prečo ho vybral, nevedno. Mohol mu ho niekto odporučiť. Vybavením celej záležitosti bol osobne poverený ostrihomský veľprepošt František Gewitz (1421 – 1426), ktorý bol zároveň cisárskym vicekancelárom a pápežským protonotárom (Tóth 2007, 642; Kollányi 1900, 90). Jeho poverenie vyplývalo zo záveru listiny: „*Ad mandatum domini regis Franciscus prepositus Strigoniensis.*“ Práve prepošt František riešil, ako je zrejmé zo zachovaných listín, početnú domácu a zahraničnú agendu. Podľa Loránda Szilágyiho *Cancellaria imperialis* prijímal opatrenia aj vo veciach, ktoré neboli diplomatickými záležitosťami, napríklad v prípade zahraničných členov rádov pod uhorským kráľom (Rád sv. Juraja, Dračí rád). Vydávala tiež pasy a vstupné listy uhorským poddaným cestujúcim do zahraničia, chránila záležitosti uhorských poddaných nielen v ríši, ale aj v cudzine (Szilágyi 1934, 196). To sa zhodovalo s povahou a charakteristikou vtedajšieho putovania do Aachenu.

Nasledujúcich pätnásť rokov nám nezanechalo žiadnu ďalšiu písomnú agendu. Menovanie nového kaplána prebehlo v roku 1439. Na základe neskoršieho odpisu v repertóriu listín aachenského chrámu z 2. polovice 15. storočia vieme o ďalšom uhorskom kaplánovi – presbyterovi Štefanovi z Klužu (*Stephanus de Clausenburg*).

Rímsky kráľ Albrecht II. Habsburský, tiež uhorský a český kráľ, prezentoval v dôsledku uvoľneného miesta a na základe práva prezentácie Kapitule Panny Márie v Aachene do uhorskej kaplnky sedmohradského kňaza Štefana. Stalo sa tak po smrti kaplána Petra Vavrinca (*per obitum honorabilis quondam Petri eiusdem capelle ultimi capellani*). Královská listina bola štandardne adresovaná prepoštovi, dekanovi a kapitule chrámu. Kráľ Albrecht potvrdil, že ak akýmkoľvek spôsobom zostalo jedno z dvoch kaplánskych miest neobsadené, mal podľa patronátneho práva (*presentatio seu ius patronatus*) povinnosť predstaviť inú vhodnú osobu na toto miesto. Tak, ako to kedysi ustanovil jeho predchodca a fundátor kaplnky kráľ Ludovít.

Vymenovaného Štefana z Klužu (dnes Cluj-Napoca v Rumunsku) predstavil ako „milovaného zbožného kňaza a svojho kaplána“ pochádzajúceho zo Sedmohradskej diecézy so sídlom v Alba Iulii (*presbiterum dioc. Alben. Transsiluanen. capellanum nostrum deuotum dilectum*). Panovník žiadal hodnostárov kapituly uviesť a potvrdiť (*investire, confirmare*) kaplána Štefana ako druhého kaplána „do tej istej kaplnky Uhrov vo vašom kostole“. Apeloval na ich povinnosť zabezpečiť mu práva všetkými možnými spôsobmi, aby mu vyrovnali dlhy „z výnosu almužny [t. j. beneficia, pozn. autora] a podielu jedného kaplána tej istej kaplnky“. Teda urobiť všetko tak, ako to mal v úmysle královský zakladateľ tejto uhorskej základiny.

<sup>11</sup> Originál listiny: LA NRW D, Aachen, St. Marien, Urk. 334; pozri tiež: Repertorium des Urkunden und Acten Archivs des Königlichen Krönungs-stifts B.M.V zu Aachen (sine data), pag. 370. Fotokópia repertoaria: StAA, sign. Staatsarchiv in Düsseldorf, Marienstift zu Aachen.

Na záver kráľovskej listiny nasledovala koroboračná formula a dátum: „Dané v Starom Budíne dňa 5. júna roku 1439, panovania nášho druhého roku.“<sup>12</sup>

O tom, či sa Albrechtova vôľa v aachenskom chráme skutočne naplnila, sa dozvedáme z doloženej poznámky pod odpísaným textom listiny. Zápis sa viaže k sobote 18. júla 1439 a k času tichej omše (*hora silente misse*<sup>13</sup>), teda k skorému ránu pred východom slnka (Friedrich 1997, 30, 318). Vtedy sa v chráme zhromaždili dekan a členovia tamnejšej kapituly, aby kvôli presbyterovi Štefanovi z Klužu a jednému benefíciu uhorskej kaplnky zadosťučinili cirkevnému právu. Na základe „sily listín“ zložili dvaja noví kaplani príslahu podľa zvykov.<sup>14</sup> „A ja, podpísaný Peter Norrius, na základe poverenia od spomínaných páнов dekana a členov kapituly voviedol som tohto pána Štefana do držby spomínamej kaplnky, za prítomnosti pánov svedkov, presbyterov Šimona Roisplacka a Guerarda Lywntera, v sakristii a kaplnke.“<sup>15</sup> Toľko hovoril krátky zápis vyhotovený o šesť týždňov neskôr pod kráľovskou menovacou (poverovacou) listinou. Štyri týždne Štefan cestoval a dva týždne čakal, kým ho kapitula inštalovala do správy prideleného benefícia. Keďže sa „vytratil“ aj z ďalších písomných správ, žiadne ďalšie informácie sa o ňom nedozvedáme.

## Kapláni Mikuláš Brant a Benedikt Winter

Čas sa posunul o ďalších šesť rokov, kým jedno z dvoch kaplánskych miest znova zostało určité obdobie neobsadené. Situáciu musel vyriešiť rímsko-nemecký kráľ Fridrich III. v zastúpení, ako strýc a poručník uhorského kráľa Ladislava Pohrobka, ktorý mal v tom čase iba päť rokov. Fridrich bol jeho poručníkom a konal v jeho mene od 23. augusta 1440 až do roku 1452 (Papajík 2016, 266-267). Do uprázdnenej uhorskej kaplnky prezentoval, podľa patronátneho a prezentačného práva uhorských kráľov, svojho kandidáta.<sup>16</sup> Menovacia listina bola vydaná vo Viedenskom Novom Meste (*in Noua Ciuitate*) a potvrdená „odtlačkom našej kráľovskej pečate“ s datovaním 13. júla 1445, „roku panovania nášho šiesteho“.<sup>17</sup> Fridrich III. situáciu v aachenskom dóme poznal z osobnej skúsenosti, keďže v ňom bol tri roky predtým, dňa 17. júna 1442, korunovaný za rímsko-nemeckého kráľa (Papajík 2016, 75).

Fridrich sa na začiatku listiny adresovanej dekanovi a kapitule domu v Aachene odvolal na predchádzajúceho uhorského kráľa Ľudovíta, ktorý tam zriadil kaplnku pre uhorských veriacich ku cti sv. Štefana a iných svätých s dvoma kniežetskými miestami. Namiesto sv. Štefana-kráľa však v texte uviedol sv. Štefana prvomučeníka, takže koncipient z jeho kancelárie zrejme nepoznal uhorské reálne (sub titulo sancti Stephani martiris et aliorum sanctorum fundata).

Kapitule a jej dekanovi po viacerých ich žiadostiah predostrel do uhorskej kaplnky „ctihodného pána Mikuláša Branta, knieza z Aachenu a kanonika z Vacova“, dobre ovládajúceho maďarský

<sup>12</sup> Odpis listiny: LA NRW D, Aachen, Marienstift, Rep. u. Hs. Nr. 5, fol. 67v (pag. 131); pozri tiež: Repertorium des Urkunden und Acten Archivs des Königlichen Krönungs-stifts B.M.V zu Aachen (sine data), pag. 393. Fotokópia repertória: StAA, sign. Staatsarchiv in Düsseldorf, Marienstift zu Aachen.

<sup>13</sup> *Missa bassa alebo missa silentia* sa konala ešte pred svitaním, v tichosti. *Missa matutina* bola ranná omša pri východe slnka (so spevom hymnov).

<sup>14</sup> Druhý anonymný kaplán skladal príslahu asi s poverením pre nejakú ďalšiu bočnú kaplnku alebo oltár.

<sup>15</sup> Pravdepodobne bol tento text z 18. júla 1439 pôvodne napísaný na rubu listiny z 5. júna 1439, takto ho totiž nájdeme aj v repertóriu.

<sup>16</sup> ... ad eandem capellam cuius ius patronatus seu presentatis dum vacat, ad regem vngarie pertinere dinoscitur propter rex.

<sup>17</sup> Odpis listiny: LA NRW D, Aachen, Marienstift, Rep. u. Hs. Nr. 5, fol. 68v (pag. 133); pozri tiež: Repertorium des Urkunden und Acten Archivs des Königlichen Krönungs-stifts B.M.V zu Aachen (sine data), pag. 399. Fotokópia repertória: StAA, sign. Staatsarchiv in Düsseldorf, Marienstift zu Aachen.

jazyk, so znalosťou písma a morálne spôsobilého. Mikuláš mal zabezpečovať duchovné potreby Uhrov počas pútí do kolegiálneho kostola Panny Márie. Rektorát kaplnky bol už dlhší čas z viacerých dôvodov uprázdený, okrem iného aj pre chabé majetkové zabezpečenie, teda nedostatočné príjmy.

Smrťou posledných dvoch kaplánov, prípadne iba jedného z nich, sa miesto v Aachene uprázdnilo (*per obitum ultimorum vel ultimi capellanorum seu capellani eius vacantem*). Preto Fridrich v mene uhorského kráľa Ladislava vyhovel opakovaným žiadostiam hodnostárov a poprosil ordinariát kapituly, aby Mikuláša ako jeho kandidáta uviedli do správy kaplnky. Zároveň panovník súhlasiel s tým, aby boli všetky zisky a výnosy uhorskej kaplnky v plnej výške vyplatené, ak by ich použili na „náležitý a obvyklý obrad uvedenia kaplánov“.

O novovymenovanom kaplánovi Mikulášovi Brantovi, kanonikovi z Vacova (*canonicum Vacciensem*), sme sa nič bližšie nedozvedeli, nenašli sme ho ani v žiadnych zoznamoch členov tejto kapituly v stredoveku. Pravdepodobne už pred rokom 1445 dlhšie pôsobil v Aachene, lebo vo Fridrichovej listine sa spomínal i ako *presbiter Aquensis*. Vedel po maďarsky, takže mohol pochádzať z Uhorska. Originál tejto kráľovskej listiny sa nezachoval a jej text poznáme iba z neovereného odpisu v knihe s 95 fóliami. Pisár kaplánovo priezvisko skomolil a prepísal ho nie ako Brant, ale ako Bramit. Preto je kaplán v staršej literatúre známy pod prekrúteným menom Mikuláš Bramit.

Zvláštne je aj to, že obrad prijatia Mikuláša do personálneho stavu uhorskej kaplnky v Aachene sa konal neočakávane neskoro, a to až 28. júna 1447. Vieme to z krátkeho zápisu pod textom listiny. Kanonické ustanovenie prebehlo pred všetkými prítomnými zhromaždenými v sakristii dómu, „pred pánni dekanom a kapitolou, pánni Christianom Bemerom a Jánom Hasemuylom ako svedkami a ďalšími.“ Trvalo teda takmer dva roky, kým jeho inštalácia prebehla. Kde sa veci zastavili, nevieme. K náprave možno napomohla skutočnosť, že v tom mesiaci a roku, v júni 1447, sa konala veľká sedemročná púť k látkovým relikviám a kapitula chcela celú záležitosť právne usporiadať.

S menom kaplána Mikuláša Branta sme sa na rozdiel od iných kaplánov stretli ešte raz. Do účtovných kníh mesta Aachen v 15. storočí sporadicky zapisovali i drobné príjmy alebo výdavky uhorskej kaplnky. Popri menších obnosoch peňazí tam ale mená aktuálnych kaplánov neuvádzali. Výnimkou bol práve zápis z rokov 1457 až 1462, kde sa raz spomíнал zmienený *hern Niclaes Brant, cappellaen der Vngersser capellen* (Kraus 2004, 386, 32/120). Teda na tejto pozícii pôsobil Mikuláš ešte minimálne desať rokov.

Ďalšie menovanie sa uskutočnilo v roku 1453 a išlo o druhý kaplánsky post, keďže prvý zastával už zmienený Mikuláš. Medzitým už plnoletý a svojprávny uhorský kráľ Ladislav V. Pohrobok prezentoval Kapitule Panny Márie v Aachene kňaza Benedikta Wintera z Rábskej diecézy (dnes Győr v Maďarsku). Menoval ho do vakantnej uhorskej kaplnky, ktorá podliehala jeho patronát-nemu právu (*ius patronatus habemus*).<sup>18</sup> Poverovaci listinu Ladislav adresoval „milovanému nášmu urodzenému mužovi Benediktovi Winterovi, kňazovi Rábskej diecézy“, pričom vyzdvihol jeho „život a poctivosť mravov a iné chvályhodné zásluhy cností“. O kaplnke sa zmienil, že ju založil jeho kráľovský predchodca „pre slávu Boha a jeho Panny“ a zároveň ju obdaroval početnými príjmami a dôchodkami. Právne a fakticky uvoľnené kaplánske miesto kráľ potom udelil Benediktovi (*de iure et de facto vacantem tibi contulimus*), vrátane jeho benefícia (*te instituendo in illo beneficio*). Panovník požiadal „všetkých ostatných ľudí akéhokoľvek stavu“, mysliac hlavne na kapitulu a osadenstvo chrámu Panny Márie, aby boli v tejto cirkevnoprávnej veci súčinní.

<sup>18</sup> Odpis listiny: LA NRW D, Aachen, Marienstift, Rep. u. Hs. Nr. 5, fol. 72r (s. 200); pozri tiež: Repertorium des Urkunden und Acten Archivs des Königlichen Krönungs-stifts B.M.V zu Aachen (sine data), pag. 411. Fotokópia repertória: StAA, sign. Staatsarchiv in Düsseldorf, Marienstift zu Aachen.

Listina skončila datovacou formulou: „Dané vo Viedni v najbližší piatok pred Turícam, roku Pána 1453, panovania nášho roku trinásteho“, čo predstavovalo 18. mája 1453.

Pod listinou bola neskôr dopísaná správa o naplnení vôle uhorského panovníka. Záznam potvrdil, že vo štvrtok 5. júla 1453 bol Benedikt Winter prijatý a inštalovaný cez pána vicedekana a členov kapituly do jednej z uhorských „kaplánok“, a to po absolvovaní prísahy za prítomnosti svedkov Pavla Guldewysa a Gerarda Lywntera, kňazov-kaplánov.

Ešte sa ponúka dôvetok: Ladislav I. Pohrobok, už ako český kráľ, 30. júla 1455 osobne vymenoval aj oltárnika českého oltára v Aachene – kanonika Žigmunda z Jihlavy (Hilger 1973, 232). On ho tam potom, ako svojho kráľa dobrodincu, nechal vyobraziť kľačiaceho pod krížom na jednom z oltárnych obrazov (Papajík 2016, 248).

### Správa kaplnky v čase poklesu počtu pútnikov

Štyri veľké látkové relikvie z Aachenu boli i na konci 15. storočia stredobodom záujmu pútnikov. Fridrichovi III. a Maximiliánovi I. ich dokonca prezentovali v roku 1486 mimo tradičného sedemročného cyklu. Fridrich teda dobre poznal ich hodnotu (Kraus et al. 2015, 306-307). V roku 1489, na sklonku svojho života, putoval do Aachenu aj biskup Urban Dóczzi z Jágru, uhorský kráľovský mestodržiteľ. Pri tej príležitosti daroval chrámu striebornú polfigúrku Panny Márie s dieťaťom (Kraus et al. 2015, 331, s chybou v datovaní).

Z obdobia vlády Mateja Korvína (1458 – 1490) ale nie sú známe žiadne doklady o menovaních kaplánov do uhorskej kaplnky. Nepoznáme mená duchovných, nenachádzajú sa v archívnych fondech, ediciách historických prameňov ani v odbornej literatúre. Na druhej strane to však okrem pramennej nûdze mohlo súvisieť aj s Matejovými konfliktnými, až nepriateľskými vzťahmi s cisárom Fridrichom a Maximiliánom počas jeho vlády. Ich vzájomné spory sa týkali predovšetkým území Dolného Rakúska a častí Štajerska, Korutánska a Kranska (Kraus et al. 2014, 475-477). Na sklonku svojej vlády sa Matej ocitol v akejsi medzinárodnej izolácii, jeho širšie uznanie v zahraničí chýbalo a navyše pochádzal z menej urodzeného rodu.

Dobré vzťahy nemal ani s mnohými uhorskými cirkevnými hodnostármi, azda najhoršie s Jánom Vitézom zo Zredny, prímasom a ostruhomským arcibiskupom (1465 – 1472). Slabinou spravovania uhorskej kaplnky v Aachene bola na sklonku stredoveku aj málo pružná komunikácia medzi vzdialými svetskými a cirkevnými inštitúciami, jej administratívna náročnosť, nedostatočné príjmov kaplnky a napokon zmenšujúci sa počet uhorských pútnikov.

To, že v 2. polovici 15. storočia a v 16. storočí tento spôsob správy uhorského pútnického mesta už neboli efektívny, sa preukázalo i v prípade riadenia oltára Slovincov z roku 1495. Slovinskí pútnici mali v Aachene podobné problémy ako uhorskí. Podľa historika a filológa Jožeho Stabéja mestské rady Ľubľany a Kranja, ktoré založili benefícium Oltára štyroch doktorov, si vyhradili právo menovania jeho oltárikov. Žiaľ, v Ľubľane, Kranji ani Aachene sa nenašli dokumenty, ktoré by poskytli nejaké bližšie informácie o súvislostiach medzi zriadením oltára a jeho benefícia (Stabéj 1967, 108).

Podľa Stabéja bol topograf Janez Vajkard Valvasor (1641 – 1693) prvý, kto vo svojich *Dejinách Kraňska* z roku 1689 podrobne informoval o oltári. Vyčítal Kranjcom, že mu nechceli ukázať svoje prívilegiá. Hrozilo im, že vďaka svojmu tajnostkárstvu stratia v Aachene právo prezentácie (*Präsentationsrecht*). Kedže Kranjci dlho k oltáru nikoho nenavrchovali, keď na nich prišiel rad, ako uvádzá Valvasor, *ius praesentandi* z nedbalosti už dávno stratili (Stabéj 1967, 108). Slovinská pútnická aktivita, podobne ako tá uhorská, smerovala na začiatku novoveku k neúspechu.

S meniacim sa storočím začal počet pútnikov z viacerých príčin postupne klesať. Okrem zložitej medzinárodnopolitickej situácie to mohlo súvisieť i s krízou neskorostredovekej zbožnosti.

V roku 1524 údajne putovalo cez Kolín nad Rýnom do Aachenu ešte stále dvetisíc až tritisíc pútnikov z Uhorska, Čiech a Rakúska. Potom ale v dôsledku reformácie a ozbrojených konfliktov, najmä v Porýní a Uhorsku, nastal ich prudký pokles. Napočítali ich iba sto až dvesto (1531). Podľa Franka Pohleho „udržiavať pastoračnú starostlivosť o takú malú skupinu s dvoma uhorskými kaplánmi sa nezdalo byť veľmi zmysluplné. Preto už od roku 1555 nebolo zvykom, aby kaplánov vyberal uhorský kráľ, ale kapitula mariánskeho kostola. Pritom sa už neprikladal význam ich národnosti alebo jazykovej zdatnosti“ (Pohle 2005 – 2007, 379-380). Mená a menovacie, resp. poverovacie listiny ďalších uhorských kaplánov v Aachene poznáme až z 2. polovice 16. storočia – napríklad z rokov 1557, 1563 a 1606 (Tömöry 1931, 60). Ich nominácie však prechádzali cez viedenský habsburský dvor a vyberali osoby nemeckej národnosti nielen z Uhorska.

Zničujúci požiar v meste Aachen a v mariánskom dóme 2. mája 1656 napokon zdevastoval aj gotickú uhorskú kaplnku. Požiar zničil za dvadsaťtyri hodín sedem osmín mesta. Kaplnka musela byť nanovo postavená, tentokrát už v barokovom slohu. Režim jej správy sa následne zásadne zmenil.

## Zhrnutie problematiky

*Menovanie kaplánov v 14. a 15. storočí (od dokončenia kaplnky v roku 1366)*

	MENO KAPLÁNA	ZMIENKA/ PÔVOD	VZŤAH K PANOVNÍKOVІ	MENOVANIE	INŠTALÁCIA	PANOVNÍK
1.	Ján	1367 (27. 10.)	–	?	?	Ludovít I.
2.	Ján Gerlach	1381 (9. 6.)	–	?	?	Ludovít I.
3.	Pavol Scalitzer	farár Kasendorf, diecéza Bamberg	–	1410	1410	Žigmund
4.	Havel z Nižných Raslavíc	kňaz diecézy Jáger	syn kráľovho notára a familiára	1417 (8.6.)	1417 (1.8.)	Žigmund
5.	Peter Vavrinec z Drienovca	kňaz arcidiecézy Ostrihom	–	1423 (25.4.)	?	Žigmund
6.	Štefan z Klužu	kňaz diecézy Alba Iulia	kráľovský kaplán	1439 (5.6.)	1439 (18.7.)	Albrecht
7.	Mikuláš Brant	kanonik z Vácu	–	1445 (13.7.)	1447 (28.6.)	Fridrich III. Ladislav V.
8.	Benedikt Winter	kňaz diecézy Győr	–	1453 (18.5.)	1453 (5.7.)	Ladislav V.

V priloženej tabuľke sme poskytli chronologický prehľad menovaní uhorských kaplánov. Čo sa týka jednotlivých kandidátov na kaplánske miesta, ich výber bol na samotných uhorských panovníkoch, prípadne im blízkych cirkevných hodnostároch. Viacerí z kráľovských radcov zastávali miesta v kancelárii či iné vysoké posty a určite tieto rozhodnutia ovplyvňovali. Na základe výskumu historických prameňov sme identifikovali mená ôsmich kaplánov v priebehu osemdesiatich

šiestich rokov. Nie je to mnoho z celkového počtu, ale absentujúce pramene neumožnili zoznam rozšíriť. Životopisy kaplánov nie sú bližšie známe, o niektorých z nich sa však dozvedáme zopár detailov – jeden z nich, Havel z Nižných Raslavíc, bol synom kráľovho notára a familiára, druhý, Štefan z Klužu, bol kráľovským kaplánom. Kaplánske benefíciúm v aachenskom mariánskom chráme nebolo až natoľko „lukratívne“ a ani dlhodobý odchod z Uhorska do cudziny kandidátov veľmi nelákal. S miestom sa totiž viazala povinnosť rezidencie. Menovaní boli kňazi z rôznych uhorských končín a zo Sedmohradská: z Ostrihomskej arcidiecézy a diecáz Jáger, Alba Iulia, Vác a Győr. V Aachene patrili skôr do stavu nižšieho duchovenstva a na ďalší hierarchický postup ako cudzinci medzi početným osadenstvom chrámu nemohli ani pomyslieť.

Na základe vytvoreného zoznamu kaplánov môžeme potvrdiť, že časť spomedzi nich tvorili potomkovia starších nemeckých rodov žijúcich v Uhorsku, teda okrem maďarčiny ovládali dobre aj nemecký jazyk. Jeden z ôsmich (Pavol Scalitzer) nevedel po maďarsky. On však nepochádzal z Uhorska, ale z diecézy Bamberg. Jeho menovanie teda nesplňalo podmienky zakladateľa kaplnky kráľa Ľudovíta a bolo z neznámych príčin mimoriadne.

Na základe výsledkov výskumu je zrejmé, že postup obsadenia uprázdneneho kaplánskeho miesta možno zhrnúť do nasledujúcich desiatich krokov:

1. Po smrti alebo odchode aktuálneho kaplána informovali uhorského panovníka (druhý kaplán, resp. predstavení kapituly či mesta) o uprázdení pozície do tridsiatich dní, niekedy s meškaním.
2. Uhorský kráľ vybral osobu nového kaplána buď osobným rozhodnutím, alebo prostredníctvom jemu blízkeho hodnostára.
3. V kráľovskej alebo cisárskej kancelárii vyhotovili menovaciu (resp. poverovaciu) listinu.
4. Slávnostne odovzdali poverovaciu listinu vyslanému kandidátovi.
5. Kandidát sa vybral na cestu z Uhorska do Aachenu, ktorá trvala mesiac.
6. Kandidát sa s písomným poverením prihlásil u dekana Kapituly Panny Márie v Aachene.
7. Kapitula mariánskeho chrámu overila vhodnosť a rezidenciu kandidáta.
8. Kandidát zložil prísahu pred nastúpenou kapitulou a jej dekanom (vicegedkanom) v sakristii kostola, spravidla do dvoch až troch týždňov od prihlásenia.
9. Prísahu kandidáta overovali dvaja svedkovia, viedli o tom krátke písomné záznam.
10. Novovymenaný kaplán prevzal v uhorskej kaplnke jej správu, celý jej inventár a benefíciúm v meste.

Ak nikde tento administratívny postup neuviazol, uskutočnil sa najskôr v priebehu pol roka, máme však zachytený aj prípad kaplána Mikuláša Branta, pri ktorom celý proces trval z neznámych príčin viac ako dva roky. V 16. storočí, keď počet pútnikov z Uhorska rápidne klesal, Aachenčania prestali vidieť v tomto byrokraticky zdľhavom procese zmysel. Často sa totiž stávalo, že uhorské kaplánske miesta boli dlhší čas vakantné. Rovnako znalosť maďarského jazyka u kaplánov strácali svoje opodstatnenie. Podobná situácia nastala aj v prípade správy dvoch oltárov na poschodí domu: českého a slovinského.

Ďalšie nové podrobnosti o správe uhorskej kaplnky sú známe až od 18. storočia, po jej barokovej prestavbe v dôsledku požiaru. Spôsob jej prevádzky sa zreformoval. Podľa Franka Pohleho bola mestská rada zodpovedná za údržbu jej budovy, vyplácanie platov kaplánom, starostlivosť o pokladnicu kaplnky a organizovanie čistenia interiéru kaplnky. Na oplátku mesto dostávalo časť príjmov tejto kaplnky. Malá rada menovala dvoch provízorov, ktorí spravovali majetok kaplnky. Za údržbu a čistenie bol konkrétnie zodpovedný meštanosta (*Schöffenbürgermeister*), za čo dostával príplatok k platu (Pohle 2005 – 2007, 379, pozn. 9). Týmto spôsobom prešla správa kaplnky z „uhorských rúk“ do područia mesta Aachen a jeho oficiálnych predstaviteľov.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- DAA = Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen / Archivbestände Domarchiv  
LA NRW D = Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen Abteilung Rheinland / Standort Düsseldorf  
MNL OL = Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára Budapest  
StAA = Stadtarchiv Aachen

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# KONFRATERNITY MORAVSKÝCH KONVENTŮ ŘEHOLNÍCH KANOVNÍKŮ SV. AUGUSTINA POZDNÍHO STŘEDOVĚKU (ŠTERNBERK, FULNEK, PROSTĚJOV A OLOMOUC)

**Confraternity of Moravian Convents of the Canons Regular  
of St. Augustine in the Late Middle Ages  
(Šternberk, Fulnek, Prostějov, and Olomouc)**

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**Abstract:** KRAFL, Pavel. *Confraternity of Moravian Convents of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine in the Late Middle Ages (Šternberk, Fulnek, Prostějov, and Olomouc).* The convents of the Order of Canons Regular of St. Augustine of the Roudnice circuit were associated by means of confraternities, the essence of which being reciprocal care for the salvation of deceased members of the convents through worship and other liturgical acts. The article describes the confraternal documents of Moravian convents from the Middle Ages that are still extant (Šternberk, Fulnek, Prostějov, and Olomouc). The archives of the monasteries in Fulnek and Prostějov no longer exist. Part of the archive of the monastery in Šternberk is preserved in the Olomouc branch of the Provincial Archive in Opava. The archive of the monastery in Olomouc can be found in the Moravian Provincial Archive in Brno (fund E 3). Confraternal documents issued by provosts and convents in Šternberk, Fulnek, and Prostějov are scattered throughout various archives in the Czech Republic and abroad. To complete the picture of the overall situation, further details are provided in the form of data from preserved necrologies of the Roudnice monastery from the 14th century and the Kazimierz monastery from the end of the 15th century.

**Keywords:** *confraternity, monastery, Canons Regular of St. Augustine, Diocese of Olomouc, Moravia, medieval document, Middle Ages*

Konventy řádu řeholních kanovníků sv. Augustina roudnického okruhu mezi sebou uzavíraly konfraternity, jejichž podstatou byla vzájemná péče o spásu zemřelých členů konventů prostřednictvím bohoslužeb a jiných liturgických úkonů. Konvent v čele s představeným se jednostranně listinou zavazoval ve prospěch vybraného druhého konventu konat uvedené bohoslužebné akty za nahlášeného zemřelého člena konventu a posléze pravidelně ve výročí. Druhý konvent zpravidla opětoval vydáním konfraternitní listiny ve prospěch prvního konventu. Konfraternitní listiny byly v klášterech roudnického okruhu stylizovány podle jednotného formuláře. Předmětem konfraternity bylo celebrování mše, zpěv žalmů a odříkání modliteb Otčenáš a Zdrávas Maria za zemřelé bratry z druhého konventu po jejich smrti, ve výroční den se jednalo o zpěv žalmů, menší vigílie a celebrovanou mši (Krafl 2003, 18; Krafl 2018, 61, 63, 65-66; Krafl – Mutlová – Stehlíková 2010, 55, 58, 62; Krafl 2022a, 87).

Ve statí představíme konfraternity a dochované konfraternitní listiny moravských klášterů řeholních kanovníků sv. Augustina z období středověku. Jednalo se o kláštery ve Šternberku,

ve Fulneku, v Prostějově a v Olomouci. Klášter řeholních kanovníků ve Šternberku založil roku 1371 toho času magdeburský arcibiskup Albert ze Šternberka. Zrušen byl za Josefa II. roku 1784 (Hradil – Kroupa 2009, 11, 27; Foltýn et al. 2005, 662–663; Prucek 1971, 25). Klášter ve Fulneku vznikl roku 1389, jedná se o fundaci Beneše z Kravař a na Krumlově. Zanikl rovněž roku 1784 (Foltýn et al. 2005, 293; Peřinka 1931, 28–29). Klášter v Prostějově fundoval v roce 1391 Petr z Kravař a na Plumlově. Následné spory s Jiřím z Kravař vedly k odchodu konventu. Posledním aktem existence kláštera bylo předání klášterního archivu komisařům Jana z Pernštejna roku 1521, tehdy vlastníka Prostějova (Foltýn et al. 2005, 604–605). Klášter řeholních kanovníků v Olomouci vzniká roku 1500, kdy papež Alexandr VI. vydal privilegium, kterým souhlasí se změnou sídla konventu řeholních kanovníků z Lanškrouna na Olomouc u Všech svatých.<sup>1</sup> Tehdy lanškrounský konvent u olomouckého kostela Všech svatých sídlil již po osm desetiletí, kam se uchýlil poté, co na počátku husitské revoluce uprchl ze svého domovského kláštera před husity (Krafl – Mutlová – Stehlíková, 2010, 87–88; Foltýn et al. 2005, 490–491).

Archivy klášterů ve Fulneku a Prostějově se nedochovaly, proto nemáme přehled o konfraternitních listinách, které tyto konventy obdržely. Z původního archivu kláštera ve Šternberku se dochovaly skromné zbytky zejména v olomoucké pobočce Zemského archivu Opava (fond Augustiniáni Šternberk). Bohužel neobsahuje originály konfraternitních listin, které konvent obdržel, nicméně o listinách jsme zpraveni alespoň prostřednictvím kopírky z 17. století, který obsahuje jejich opisy.<sup>2</sup> Archiv kláštera v Olomouci se nachází v Moravském zemském archivu v Brně, ve fondu E 3 Augustiniáni Olomouc (Švábenský 1959, 187–289). Konfraternitní listiny vydané probošty a konventy ve Šternberku, Fulneku a Prostějově jsou roztroušeny po různých archivech v České republice a v zahraničí, vesměs byly edičně zpřístupněny (Reviczky 1897; Krafl 2003; 2016a; 2019; 2022b; Krafl – Mutlová – Stehlíková 2010, 103–286; Krafl – Blechová – Sedláček, 2018). Obraz situace doplňují údaje dochovaných nekrologií. Využít lze nekrologium roudnického kláštera řeholních kanovníků sv. Augustina z 14. století<sup>3</sup> a nekrologium kláštera téhož rádu v Kaziměři u Krakova ze závěru 15. století, které patrně představuje opis nedochovaného staršího nekrologia.<sup>4</sup>

Literatura k řeholním kanovníkům sv. Augustina v českých zemích ve středověku je shrnuta v přehledech bádání (Krafl 2015, 43–63; 2018, 9–24), upřesněna byla terminologie (Krafl 2009, 148–155; 2015, 13–22). Prezentovaný článek navazuje na statě o konfraternitách konventů v Kladsku, v Novém Městě pražském, Roudnici nad Labem, Jaroměři, Rokycanech a v Sadské, kde lze nalézt novější literaturu (Krafl 2017; 2022a; 2023). Pro olomoucký konvent mají význam konfraternity jeho právního předchůdce lanškrounského konventu (Krafl – Mutlová – Stehlíková 2010, 55–64). Shrnutí konfraternit šternberského konventu podle šternberského kopírky podal Mojmír Švábenský (1959, 53). Konfraternity třeboňského konventu řeholních kanovníků sv. Augustina s moravskými konventy jsou stručně podchyceny v dějinách třeboňského kláštera (Kadlec 2004, 81).

<sup>1</sup> Moravský zemský archiv (=MZA) Brno, E 3 Augustiniáni Olomouc, sign. B 5, inv. č. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Zemský archiv (=ZA) Opava, pobočka Olomouc, Augustiniáni Šternberk, původní sign. 167, pag. 150–159. Úřední kniha je nadepsána *Liber fundationum, confirmationum privilegiorum, liberae electionis terminorum, item emptionum, commutationum, contractuum, venditionum haereditatum omnium pagorum ad canoniam Sternbergensem canonicorum regularium ordinis sancti Augustini spectantium*.

<sup>3</sup> Národní knihovna (=NK) Praha, sign. XIX B 3, fol. 66v–117r.

<sup>4</sup> Národní archiv (=NA) Krakov, Archiv města Krakova, sign. K 888, pag. 35–132.

## Šternberk

Nejstarší konfraternitní listina šternberských řeholních kanovníků dochovaná v originále pochází z 2. srpna 1376. Vydavatelem je probošt Václav a konvent šternberského kláštera P. Marie. Vystavena byla pro konvent řeholních kanovníků sv. Augustina v Kladsku. Nachází se ve farním archivu v Kladsku.<sup>5</sup> Text je psán bastardou. Úvodní slovo „In“ je zvětšeno, iniciálka „I“ je provedena tučně, vyplněna inkoustem, v ní je ve výšce druhého rádku umístěn nevybarvený čtyřlístek s tečkami na ploše listů a pátu tečkou uprostřed. Iniciálka je položena podél prvních deseti rádků textu. První rádek textu je zvýrazněn zvětšenými literami z počátků některých slov nebo literami s horními délkkami, které jsou prodlouženy. Písmena „d“ jsou opatřena čtyřmi nebo více tečkami na vnější straně dříku. Na dorsu jsou dvě příjemecké poznámky. Jedna z nich odkazuje na vydavatelský konvent, druhá poznámka shrnuje úkoly jednotlivých členů konventu podle ustanovení listiny (Krafl – Blechová – Sedláček 2018, 137, č. 44).

Přivěšeny jsou pečeti probošta Václava a šternberského konventu. Proboštova špičatěoválná pečeť je z přírodního vosku. V pečetním poli je zobrazena postava madony s dítětem. Z přírodního vosku je rovněž kulatá pečeť konventu. V pečetním poli je napravo z profilu vyobrazena postava sedícího anděla s křídly, který drží žezlo a žehná Panně Marii s nimcem a volá na ni: „Ave“. K P. Marii, která je jakoby v pohybu, přilétá z vrchu od prostředka Duch svatý v podobě holubice. Na podložce mezi postavami stojí váza s lilií o třech květech. Za zády anděla je erb s heraldickým křížem, za zády P. Marie je umístěn erb Šternberků s osmicípou hvězdou. Obě postavy stojí na podstavci, na kterém jsou naznačeny cihle. Uprostřed podstavce je výklenek, v kterém je umístěna drobná postava zakladatele kláštera arcibiskupa Alberta ze Šternberka s mitrou a berlí (Seichertová – Štěpán 2018, 75-76, č. 1). Koroborace listiny ohlašuje též pečeť příjemeckého kláštera, tedy probošta a konventu z Kladská, které absentují. Přivěšeny nebyly, na plíce absentují zárezy, které by naznačovaly jejich někdejší přítomnost na listině. Nicméně s nimi ve Šternberku počítali, neboť obě šternberské pečeti jsou umístěny v levé polovině pliky, pravá část je volná a tedy k dispozici pro následná přivěšení dvou kladských pečetí. Listina je edičně zpřístupněna v diplomatáři kladského kláštera (Krafl – Blechová – Sedláček 2018, 137-138, č. 44).

Druhá konfraternitní listina vydaná šternberským proboštem a konventem dochovaná v originále byla vydána proboštem Václavem a konventem kláštera dne 18. března 1379. Dnes se nachází v Národním archivu v Praze ve fondu Archivy zrušených klášterů.<sup>6</sup> Písmem je barda, písá je jiný než u předchozí listiny z 2. srpna 1376. Absentuje úvodní iniciálka v počátečním slově „In“. Zvětšen je grafém „n“ z tohoto počátečního slova, jinak jsou zvýrazněny vybrané litery prvního rádku textu podobně jako v předchozí listině, ovšem ne tak výrazně. Na dorzu je příjemecka poznámka ve znění „Littera fraternitatis cum Sternbergensibus“. Jako v předchozí listině jsou v korobaci ohlášeny pečeti vydavatele i příjemeckého konventu, tedy pečeť probošta ve Šternberku, konventu tamtéž, probošta v Třeboni a konventu tamtéž. Nicméně i zde byly přivěšeny tolíko pečeti vydavatele, tedy pečeť šternberského probošta Václava a pečeť šternberského konventu. Umístěny byly v levé části pliky, pravá část pliky zůstala prázdná. Pečeť probošta je stejná jako u předchozí listiny, její horní část je poškozena, ulomena je spodní špička. Pečeť konventu je deperditní, z uchycení zůstala část pergamenového proužku provlečená do zářezu v plíce. Listina byla vydána (Krafl 2022b, 206-207, č. 6).

Další listina od šternberských řeholních kanovníků, která se dochovala v originále, pochází až z 3. května 1407. Je uložena v archivu kláštera Božího Těla řeholních kanovníků sv. Augustina

<sup>5</sup> Klášter jezuitů Kladsko (=KJK), Farní archiv Kladsko, sign. A 8 b.

<sup>6</sup> Národní archiv Praha, Archivy zrušených klášterů, ŘA Třeboň, i. č. 131.

v Krakově-Kaziměři.<sup>7</sup> Písmem listiny je barda. Na psací látce jsou narýsované rádky. Téměř po délce celého levého boku listiny se táhne tučná iniciálka „I“. První rádek nevykazuje zdobné prvky, jak je tomu u řady jiných listin. Vydavatelem je Florian, probošt kláštera ve Šternberku, a konvent ve Šternberku. Ohlášeny jsou pečeti probošta a konventu ve Šternberku. Přivěšena byla jedna pečeť, která ovšem absentuje, zůstal po ní toliko pergamenový proužek. Listina je edičně zpřístupněna (Krafl 2003, 22-23, č. 2).

Následuje originál listiny z 2. února 1408. Nachází se ve fondu E 3 Moravského zemského archivu v Brně.<sup>8</sup> Vydavatelem je probošt Florián a konvent šternberského kláštera. Písací je jiný než u předchozí listiny z 3. května 1407. Text je psán úhlednou bardou, zaujme iniciálka a podoba zvýrazněného prvního rádku. Iniciálka „I“ přesahuje přes prvních pět rádků. Dřík liter je vyplněn jakýmisi půlkapkami s tečkou, zbytek těla liter je šrafován. U některých liter prvního rádku je použita majuskule. Výrazně zdobné jsou horní délky písmen prvního rádku. Takto šikmý horní dřík liter „d“ má podobu dvou stočených provazů, horní dřík liter „l“ a „b“ je členěn stupňovitě (tři na sebe navazující dílčí dříky) s drobnými srdíčky malovanými nitkovitým tahem. Stejným motivem se srdíčky a k tomu s kolečky je vybavena litera „k“. Na dorsu je příjemecká poznámka „Confraternitas de Sternberk“. V korobaci jsou ohlášeny pečeti probošta a konventu kláštera ve Šternberku, i zde byla přivěšena toliko jedna pečeť, která byla umístěna uprostřed pliky, jak naznačuje zbylý pergamenový proužek – pečeť je deperditní. Podle listin z 3. května 1407 a z 2. února 1408 lze soudit, že probošt Florian pravděpodobně připojoval svoji pečeť jako rubní pečeť k pečeti konventní. Listina z 2. února 1408 byla in extenso editována v diplomataři lanškrounského kláštera (Krafl – Mutlová – Stehlíková 2010, 242-244, č. 47).

Dne 10. listopadu 1416 vydali šternberský probošt Florián a tamní konvent konfraternitní listinu pro konvent řeholních kanovníků sv. Augustina ve Vyhelu, dnešním Novém Mestě nad Váhom. Originál listiny se původně nacházel v archivu proboštství novoměstského kláštera, nedochoval se ovšem. Koroborace ohlašuje pečeť probošta a pečeť konventu. Na nedochovaném originále údajně měly být na pergamenovém pásku přivěšeny obě pečeti. Text listiny je k dispozici prostřednictvím starší edice (Reviczky 1897, 172-173, č. 14).

Na závěr středověku ještě šternberští řeholní kanovníci vydali dvě listiny ve prospěch konventu řeholních kanovníků sv. Augustina u Všech svatých v Olomouci. Originál obou listin lze nalézt ve fondu E 3 Moravského zemského archivu v Brně,<sup>9</sup> ani jedna z nich dosud nebyla edičně zpřístupněna. Obě tyto listiny vznikly, přestože konfraternitní listina vydaná roku 1408 šternberskými řeholními kanovníky ve prospěch konventu v Lanškrouně, který byl právním předchůdcem olomouckého konventu, neztrácela platnost (viz výše).

První z nich vydali Mikuláš Velkův, probošt kláštera ve Šternberku,<sup>10</sup> a konvent téhož kláštera dne 7. prosince 1503. Listina je psána úhlednou bardou, bez zvýrazněného prvního rádku. Zvěšená je toliko iniciálka „n“ u úvodního slova „Nicolaus“. Na dorsu nalezneme dorsální poznámku „Sternbergenses“. Přivěšeny byly pečeti probošta a konventu, dnes jsou deperditní. Jak vyplývá ze zbytků vosku na pergamenových proužcích, obě měly červenou barvu. Text listiny má formulář odlišný od ostatních konfraternitních listin roudnického okruhu konventů řeholních kanovníků sv. Augustina (viz výše). Příjemeckému konventu je ve stručné dispozici přislíbeno vykonání zádušní mše za bratra, jehož jméno je oznameno, a k tomu vigília.

<sup>7</sup> Klášter Božího Těla Krakov-Kaziměř, archiv, č. 30.

<sup>8</sup> MZA Brno, E 3, sign. D 3, i. č. 41. Srov. Krafl 2010, 234, č. 487.

<sup>9</sup> MZA Brno, E 3, sign. D 15, i. č. 53; sign. D 19, inv. č. 57.

<sup>10</sup> S proboštem Mikulášem se setkáváme již k roku 1463, kdy byl zvolen do svého úřadu, v kterém následně působil přes čtyřicet let. K volbě proboštem Krafl 2016, 556; k jeho působení stručně Hradil – Kroupa 2009, 15.

Druhá z listin vydaných pro olomoucký konvent řeholních kanovníků uvádí jako vydavatele probošta Benedikta, převora Serváce a konvent Panny Marie ve Šternberku. Datována je do 3. května 1522. Písmem listiny je rotunda. Text představuje samostatný formulář s tím, že jeho druhá část je postavena na znění formuláře rozšířeného v roudnickém okruhu klášterů řeholních kanovníků, jak bylo výše naznačeno. Na rozdíl od listiny z roku 1503 jsou podrobně rozepsány stanovené liturgické povinnosti. Ohlášeny jsou pečeti probošta a konventu. Obě jsou přivěšeny na zdvojeném konopném provázku sestaveném z červených a modrých svazečků nití. Jsou vybaveny pečetními miskami ze dřeva. Obě pečeti jsou kulaté a jsou z pečetního láku. V pečetním poli pečeti probošta Benedikta je postava Panny Marie s dítětem. Začátek a konec legendy pečeti je uvozen kartuší. Pečeť konventu je dochována ve zlomku (levá část). Je na ní anděl s křídly a za jeho zády erb s heroldským křížem. Jedná se o stejný typ pečeti jako u listiny šternberského konventu adresované kladským řeholním kanovníkům z 2. srpna 1376 (viz výše).

Máme doklady o dvanácti konfraternitních listinách vydaných českými, moravskými, malopolskými, uherskými a dolnorakouskými konventy ve prospěch konventu kláštera řeholních kanovníků sv. Augustina ve Šternberku. Jejich opisy jsou dochovány v kopiáři šternberského kláštera ze 17. století. Listiny v kopiáři jsou rozčleněny tematicky, v rámci poddílů jsou pak seřazeny chronologicky. Přítomen je samostatný oddíl pro konfraternitní listiny.<sup>11</sup> Nalezneme zde konfraternitní listiny klášterních konventů řeholních kanovníků sv. Augustina z Roudnice nad Labem, Jaroměře, Třeboně, Sadské, z Prahy od sv. Karla Velikého, z Rokycan a z Lanškrouna. Jednotlivé listiny máme z Malopolska (Kaziměř u Krakova), z Uher (Vyhel, dnes Nové Mesto nad Váhom) a z Dolních Rakous (Dürnstein). Z konventů jiných rádů se objevují křížovníci s červenou hvězdou v Praze a benediktinky v Pustiměři, který představuje jediný ženský klášter zapojený do sítě konfraternit šternberského konventu.

Jako první text v kopiáři nalézáme listinu probošta Mikuláše a konventu kláštera v Roudnici nad Labem, kteří svoji konfraternitní listinu pro šternberské řeholní kanovníky vydali dne 27. ledna 1373 (pag. 150-151). S tříletým odstupem po listině roudnických řeholních kanovníků následuje listina jaroměřského probošta Jakuba a tamního konventu vydaná 18. května 1376 (pag. 151-152) a posléze listina třeboňského probošta Beneše a tamního konventu z 22. června 1379 (pag. 152-153). Křížovníci s červenou hvězdou z Prahy, konkrétně komendátor Mikuláš Stach, převor Oldřich a konvent tohoto domu vydali pro šternberské konfraternitní listinu dne 7. prosince 1381 (pag. 153). Půl roku poté, dne 21. června 1382, následovala konfraternitní listina probošta Beneše a konventu sv. Apolináře ze Sadské (pag. 154). Opat Prokop a konvent Hory sv. Karla Velikého řeholních kanovníků sv. Augustina v Praze vyhotovili pro šternberský konvent konfraternitní listinu dne 5. ledna 1388 (pag. 154-155). Téhož roku ještě vznikla listina probošta Domaslava a konventu z Rokycan, a to 14. června (pag. 155-156). Abatyše Juta a sestry kláštera benediktinek v Pustiměři vydaly svoji listinu dne 6. ledna 1400 (pag. 156). Další listina pochází od lanškrounského probošta Jindřicha a tamního konventu, je z 23. dubna 1406 (pag. 157). U této listiny se můžeme opírt též o originál, dochovaný ve fondu E 3 Moravského zemského archivu v Brně.<sup>12</sup> V kopiáři pak následuje konfraternitní listina probošta Konráda a konventu z Kaziměře publikovaná 7. ledna 1407 (pag. 157-158), která byla edičně zpřístupněna (Krafl 2018, 215-216, č. 2). Probošt Petr a konvent ve Vyhelu (v Novém Městě nad Váhom) vydali listinu pro šternberské dne 18. ledna 1417 (kopiář, pag. 158-159). S časovým odstupem sedmadvacet let byla ještě vydána listina probošta Jana a konventu kláštera řeholních kanovníků sv. Augustina v Dürnsteinu. Datována je do 12. června 1444 (pag. 159).

<sup>11</sup> ZA Opava, pobočka Olomouc, Augustiniáni Šternberk, sign. 167, pag. 150-159.

<sup>12</sup> MZA Brno, E 3, sign. D 10a, inv. č. 49.

Originál listiny probošta lanškrounského kláštera Jindřicha a jeho konventu z 23. dubna 1406<sup>13</sup> je sepsán úhlednou bastardou. Text je uvozen iniciálkou „I“, která přesahuje před pět rádků. Dřík iniciálky je vyplněn kolečky a obdélníky s černou tečkou uprostřed, zbytek prostoru dříku je vyplněn inkoustem. Není zvýrazněn první rádek. Na dorsu je příjemecká poznámka „Lanczkrona“. V koroboraci jsou ohlášeny pečeti probošta a konventu, a ty také byly přivěšeny; dnes jsou deperditní. Listina byla editována v diplomatáři lanškrounského kláštera (Krafl – Mutlová – Stehlíková 2010, 220–221, č. 42).

Listiny komendátora a konventu pražského domu křižovníků s červenou hvězdou a probošta a konventu dürnsteinského kláštera řeholních kanovníků sv. Augustina mají odlišné formuláře. Podle listiny křižovníků se za zemřelého bratra měly konat zpívané viglie a nazítří čtená zádušní mše, klerici a laici měli zpívat žalmy a provádět modlitby. Ve výročí se měla konat viglie a následující den měly být celebrována zpívaná mše.<sup>14</sup> Podle stručné dispozice listiny konventu z Dürnsteinu se za zemřelého bratra se měly konat viglie a zádušní mše.<sup>15</sup>

*Tabulka I.: Konfraternity šternberského konventu*

	Listiny vydané šternberským konventem pro jiné konventy	Listiny vydané jinými konventy pro šternberský konvent
Roudnice nad Labem		27. leden 1373
Jaroměř		18. květen 1376
Kladsko	2. srpen 1376	
Třeboň	18. březen 1379	22. červen 1379
Staré Město pražské, křižovníci s červenou hvězdou		7. prosinec 1381
Sadská		21. červen 1382
Nové Město pražské, u Panny Marie a sv. Karla Velikého		5. leden 1388
Rokycany		14. červen 1388
Pustiměř, benediktinky		6. leden 1400
Lanškroun	2. únor 1408	23. duben 1406
Kaziměř u Krakova	3. květen 1407	7. leden 1407
Vyhel (Nové Město nad Váhom)	10. listopad 1416	18. leden 1417
Dürnstein		12. červen 1444
Olomouc	17. prosinec 1503	
Olomouc	3. květen 1522	

<sup>13</sup> Viz předchozí poznámka.

<sup>14</sup> ZA Opava, pobočka Olomouc, Augustiniáni Šternberk, rkp. sign. 167, pag. 153.

<sup>15</sup> ZA Opava, pobočka Olomouc, Augustiniáni Šternberk, rkp. sign. 167, pag. 159.

## Fulnek

V případě kláštera sv. Trojice ve Fulneku máme, jak bylo naznačeno, k dispozici pouze jednotlivé listiny vydané fulneckým proboštem a konventem dochované v původních archivech příjemecích klášterů. Nejstarší listina je z 16. ledna 1390, vydali ji probošt Jan a konvent ve prospěch kladského konventu řeholních kanovníků sv. Augustina. Originál je dochován ve farním archivu v Kladsku.<sup>16</sup> Text je psán diplomatickou minuskulou. Velmi zdobná iniciálka „I“ se rozkládá podél prvních dvanácti rádků. Hlavní část těla písmena je krátká (přes prvních šest rádků), obsahuje jakousi vlnovku, zbytek těla je zatmaven inkoustem. V dolní části z oné hlavní části písmena vystupují tenké čáry. Tělo písmene včetně těchto čar je z levé strany pokryto obloučky. Zdobné prvky v podobě půloblouku, nad nímž je šrafováný kruh, se nacházejí v horní části písmena a nahrazují horní záhyb písmena I směrem nalevo. Prodlouženy jsou horní délky vybraných liter prvního rádku textu listiny, na prvním rádku jsou též zvýrazněna zkracovací znaménka.

Na dorsu jsou přítomny dvě poznámky psané odlišnými rukami. Jedna z nich stručně uvádí jméno lokality, z níž pochází vydavatelský konvent („Fulnek“), druhá podává výtah z dispozice listiny. Korobace předpokládá přivěšení pečetí probošta a konventu vydavatelského konventu a pečeť probošta a konventu příjemeckého konventu. Přivěšena byla pečeť fulneckého probošta a pečeť fulneckého konventu. Obě pečeť jsou z přírodního vosku. V pečetním poli špičatěoválné pečeť probošta Jana je zobrazena postava Panny Marie s dítětem, prostor kolem je vyplněn šrafováním. Kulatá konventní pečeť má v pečetním poli sedící postavu Boha-otce, který drží v rukou kříž s ukřižovaným Kristem. Vlevo dole stojí klečící postava. Dole do prostoru legendy je zakomponován erb rodu pánu s Kravař s odřívousem. Bůh-otec je umístěn na podstavci, po jeho bocích jsou umístěny gotické prvky, které jsou spojeny nad jeho hlavou jakousi stříškou (Seichertová – Štěpán 2018, 76, č. 3). S přivěšením příjemeckých pečetí se evidentně nepočítalo, vzhledem k umístění pečeť vydavatelů na pláci (rovnoramenně podél svislé osy pláky). Neprizpůsobili tedy pouze znění formuláře listiny, který zřejmě získali po založení kláštera. Listina byla edičně zpřístupněna (Krafl 2019, 105–106, č. 2).

Druhý dochovaný originál vzešlý z fulneckého kláštera pochází z 28. dubna 1397. Vydavatelem jsou Jan, probošt kláštera ve Fulneku, a tamní konvent, listina je adresována konventu v Lanškrouně. Originál je uložen ve fondu E 3 Moravského zemského archivu v Brně.<sup>17</sup> Je silně poškozen, spodní část napravo včetně části pláky chybí, v pravé části a při levém okraji jsou skvrny. Text je psán bastardou. Co se týče prvního slova „In“, iniciálka „I“ je mírně zdobná, má v horní části zdvojený dřík, zvýrazněno je i písmeno „n“. Prodlouženy jsou horní dříky u vybraných liter prvního rádku. Z levé strany prodloužených dříků vyčnívají hrbolky. Na dorsu je příjemecká poznámka ve znění „Confraternitas de Fulnek“. Ohlášeny jsou pečeť probošta a konventu z Fulneka. Z pečeť probošta Jan zůstalo torzo. Je z přírodního vosku. V pečetním poli je zobrazena P. Marie s dítětem, je to stejný typ pečeť jako u listiny z 16. ledna 1390. Konventní pečeť je ztracena. Listina byla editována v diplomatáři lanškrounského kláštera (Krafl – Mutlová – Stehlíková 2010, 181–183, č. 30).

Třetí originál fulneckých řeholních kanovníků je z 16. června 1398. Vydali jej probošt Jan a tamní konvent, adresována je třeboňskému konventu řeholních kanovníků sv. Augustina. Uložen je v Národním archivu v Praze, ve fondu Archivy zrušených klášterů, v bývalém archivu třeboňského kláštera.<sup>18</sup> Listina je psána bastardou. Mírně zdobná je iniciálka „I“ přesahující přes čtyři rádky. Tentokrát jsou již ohlášeny pouze pečeť vydavatelů, probošta a konventu ve Fulneku, které jsou také přivěšeny. Špičatěoválná pečeť probošta je silně poškozena (větší část pečetního

<sup>16</sup> KJK, Farní archiv Kladsko, sign. A 8 i.

<sup>17</sup> MZA Brno, E 3, sign. D 8, i. č. 46.

<sup>18</sup> NA Praha, AZK, ŘA Třeboň, i. č. 146.

pole a legenda), patrný je jen zbytek postavy v dolní části pečetního pole. Konventní pečeť je stejná jako u listiny z 16. ledna 1390. Má setřené pečetní pole, patrná je postava Boha-otce, legenda pečeti je zničená. Listina byla edičně zpřístupněna (Krafl 2022b, 212-213, č. 11).

*Tabulka II.: Dochované konfraternitní listiny vydané proboštem a konventem ve Fulneku ve prospěch jiných konventů*

Konvent – příjemce listiny	Datum
Kladsko	16. leden 1390
Lanškroun	28. duben 1397
Třeboň	16. červen 1398

## Prostějov

Rovněž u prostějovského konventu jsme odkázání pouze na listiny vydané proboštem a konventem v Prostějově ve prospěch jiných konventů. Dochovány jsou ve skromném počtu tří originálních listin v někdejších archivech příjemeckých konventů. Jedná se o listinu z 25. května 1393, kterou vydali prostějovský probošt Jakub a konvent ve prospěch kladských řeholních kanovníků. Listina je uložena ve farním archivu v Kladsku.<sup>19</sup> Text je psán bastardou. Na začátku textu je zdobná iniciálka „I“ zasahující k čtvrtému rádku. Na dorsu je obsažná poznámka shrnující ustanovení listiny. Koroborace ohlašuje pečeť probošta a konventu prostějovského kláštera. Na pergamenovém proužku je přivěšena kulatá pečeť konventu z přirozeného vosku, na které je přes celou délku prasklina. Na rubní straně konventní pečeť je otisk špičatěoválné pečeti probošta. V pečetním poli konventní pečeť jsou zobrazeny postavy Panny Marie a sv. Alžběty (s nimby) přivrácené k sobě, vzájemně se drží rukami za ramena. Na vnějších stranách pečetního pole jsou vedle světic umístěny erby pánů z Kravař s odřívousem. Postavy světic stojí na rovné ploše, která je vyplňena řadou gotických oblouků, uprostřed nich je oblouk, v němž je klečící postava fundátora (Seichertová – Štěpán 2018, 76, č. 2). Na okraji je legenda, která je v dolní části na dvou místech a na jednom místě v horní části odlomená. V pečetním poli pečeť probošta Jakuba je postava Ježíše nesoucího kříž. V legendě není uvedeno jméno probošta.<sup>20</sup> Listina je edičně zpřístupněna (Krafl 2019, 106-107, č. 3).

Následuje listina prostějovského probošta Jakuba a jeho konventu z 27. srpna 1402. Uložena je v Národním archivu v Praze, ve fondu Archivy zrušených klášterů, konkrétně v rádovém archivu třeboňského kláštera u sv. Jiljí. Adresátem je konvent v Třeboni. Psána je diplomatickou minuskulou. Je zdůrazněno úvodní slovo „In“, iniciálka „I“ přesahuje přes dvanáct rádků, její tělo přes pět rádků, prodloužení zdobným tahem směrem dolů zabírá dalších sedm rádků. Tělo písma je vyplňeno obloučky s čarami, zbytek kolem nich je zatmaven inkoustem. V horní části se připojuje příčné břevno. Vybraná písmena prvního rádku mají prodloužené horní dříky nebo jsou jinak zvýrazněna. Prostřední část spodní poloviny textu poškozena vlhkostí. Na dorsu je příjemecká poznámka „Littra fraternitatis de Prostyeyow“. Koroborace listiny ohlašuje pečeť probošta a konventu, ty jsou také přivěšeny. Pečeť probošta Jakuba je ze zeleného vosku, jedná se o odlišný typ než u předchozí listiny. V pečetním poli je ukřížovaný Kristus, jméno probošta

<sup>19</sup> KJK, Farní archiv Kladsko, sign. A 8 h.

<sup>20</sup> „S : PREPOSITI : IN : PROSTEIS“.

v legendě opět není uvedeno.<sup>21</sup> Pečeť konventu je totožná s pečetí z předchozí listiny. Je z přírodního vosku. Pečetní pole je setřelé, vpravo dole je poškozena legenda. Listina byla editována (Krafl 2022b, 213–214, č. 12).

O rok později vydali probošt Jakub a konvent v Prostějově konfraternitní listinu pro konvent řeholních kanovníků sv. Augustina ve Vratislavě. Datována je do 29. listopadu 1403. Uchovává ji Státní archiv ve Vratislavě, a to ve fondu 55, který uchovává někdejší archiv vratislavských řeholních kanovníků.<sup>22</sup> V korobaci jsou zmíněny pečeti vydavatelů. Přívěšena je špičatěoválná pečeť prostějovského probošta Jakuba, která je totožná s jeho pečetí z listiny vydané roku 1402, a kulatá pečeť konventu v Prostějově, kterou již známe z předchozích listin z let 1393 a 1402. Pečeť probošta je tmavě zelená, konventní pečeť je z přírodního vosku, s drobnými poškozeními legendy. Text listiny je dostupný v edici (Krafl 2016a, 265–266).

*Tabulka III.: Dochované konfraternitní listiny vydané proboštem a konventem v Prostějově ve prospěch jiných konventů*

Konvent – příjemce listiny	Datum
Kladsko	25. květen 1393
Třeboň	27. srpen 1402
Vratislav	29. listopad 1403

## Olomouc

Jak bylo naznačeno, olomoucký konvent řeholních kanovníků sv. Augustina byl pokračováním lanškrounského konventu téhož rádu a jeho právním nástupcem. Fakticky tedy zůstávaly v platnosti konfraternity uzavřené v předhusitském období, v době, kdy ještě působili ve svém domovském sídle v Lanškrouně. Konfraternity měli uzavřeny s kláštery řeholních kanovníků sv. Augustina v Roudnici nad Labem, Kladsku, Třeboni, Novém Městě pražském, Jaroměři, Fulneku, Šternberku a Kaziměři a s klášterem kartuziánů v Dolanech (Krafl – Mutlová – Stehlíková 2010, 58).

Z první čtvrtiny 16. století máme tři konfraternitní listiny vydané ve prospěch řeholních kanovníků sv. Augustina v Olomouci. Dvě z nich byly popsány ve výkladu o konfraternitách šternberského konventu – jedná se o listiny šternberského probošta a konventu ze 7. prosince 1503 a z 3. května 1522 (viz výše). Třetí konfraternitní listinu vydali pro olomoucké řeholní kanovníci sv. Augustina v Borovanech. Uložena je ve fondu E 3 Moravského zemského archivu v Brně.<sup>23</sup> Listina je datována do 3. srpna 1505. Vydavateli jsou probošt Ondřej a konvent Panny Marie. Text je psán bastardou, zachováno je linkování rádků. Výrazná je iniciálka „A“ úvodního slova Andreas. Textově se jedná o formulář odlišný od obvyklého znění rozšířeného mezi konventy řeholních kanovníků roudnického okruhu; současně je totožný s listinou šternberského konventu vydanou pro olomoucké dne 7. prosince 1503. V korobaci jsou uvedeny pečeti vydavatelů, přivešeny jsou pečeti probošta a konventu. Obě jsou chráněny pergamenovým obalem.

<sup>21</sup> „S : PREPOSITI IN : PROSTEIS“.

<sup>22</sup> Státní archiv Vratislav, fond 55, listina č. 16.

<sup>23</sup> MZA Brno, E 3, sign. D 16, inv. č. 54.

Tabulka IV.: Dochované konfraternitní listiny vydané ve prospěch konventu v Olomouci

Konvent – vydavatel listiny	Datum
Šternberk	7. prosinec 1503
Borovany	3. srpen 1505
Šternberk	3. květen 1522

## Nekrologia

Praktickým dokladem uplatňování konfraternit jsou nekrologia, do kterých si konvent zapisoval jména zesnulých bratrů ze spráteleného konventu. Nekrologium roudnického konventu řeholních kanovníků sv. Augustina obsahuje záznamy jmen členů šternberského,<sup>24</sup> fulneckého<sup>25</sup> i prostějovského<sup>26</sup> konventu. Jména jsou roztroušena po celém nekrologiu. V nekrologiu kaziměřského kláštera téhož řádu jsou bratří z jednoho kláštera soustředěni do jednoho dne, dny v roce jsou označeny souvislou řadou čísel. Zemřelé bratry ze šternberského konventu zaznamenává u položek číslo 194, 195 a 196,<sup>27</sup> bratry z prostějovského konventu u položky číslo 254<sup>28</sup> a bratry z fulneckého konventu u položky číslo 350.<sup>29</sup> Na konci rukopisu je na dvou paginách soupis jmen konventů, se kterými byl kaziměřský konvent provázán konfraternitní vazbou, připojena je zhuštěná informace o liturgických úkonech, které mají být konány. Uvedeni jsou šternberští, prostějovští a fulnečtí řeholní kanovníci.<sup>30</sup>

## Závěr

Nejbohatší podklady pro rozbor konfraternit jsou k dispozici u kláštera řeholních kanovníků sv. Augustina ve Šternberku. Doloženo je třináct konfraternit. Z celkového počtu předpokládaných listin vydaných šternberským proboštem a konventem je jich dochováno sedm. Deperditních listin mohlo být do šesti kusů, ne ve všech případech probošt a konvent ve Šternberku nutně museli vydat konfraternitní listinu pro probošta a konvent jiného kláštera, kteří jim adresovali svoji listinu. Je doloženo dvanáct listin, které šternberští řeholní kanovníci obdrželi od jiných konventů, byť bohužel toliko v novověkém opise. Svědčí to o vysokém zájmu o tento konvent. Vydavateli byli převážně konventy z Čech, dále konvent z Malopolska, z Dolních Rakous a z Uher. Ve dvou případech se jednalo o konventy jiných řádů. Překvapivá je absence dokladů o konfraternitách s nedalekými moravskými konventy řeholních kanovníků ve Fulneku a v Prostějově.

Oproti tomu ve prospěch lanškrounsko-olomouckého konventu šternberští vydali hned tři konfraternitní listiny, první roku 1408, kdy ještě sídlil ve východočeském Lanškrouně, a následně v letech 1503 a 1522, kdy již se oficiálně jednalo o konvent olomoucký. Listina z roku 1408 formálně platila i po oficiálním přesunu kláštera do Olomouce roku 1500, s přesunem přecházela

<sup>24</sup> NK Praha, sign. XIX B 3, fol. 68r, 69r, 77r, 78r, 89r, 103v, 105v, 107v, 111r, 115r.

<sup>25</sup> NK Praha, sign. XIX B 3, fol. 68v, 77r, 86r, 94v, 100v, 104v, 107v, 108v, 115r.

<sup>26</sup> NK Praha, sign. XIX B 3, fol. 78r, 82v, 84v, 90v, 98r, 100v, 102r, 105v, 108v, 111r, 112v.

<sup>27</sup> NA Krakov, Archiv města Krakova, sign. K 888, pag. 87-88.

<sup>28</sup> NA Krakov, Archiv města Krakova, sign. K 888, pag. 103.

<sup>29</sup> NA Krakov, Archiv města Krakova, sign. K 888, pag. 129.

<sup>30</sup> NA Krakov, Archiv města Krakova, sign. K 888, pag. 264.

na nový klášter i všechna práva někdejšího lanškrounského kláštera. Nové vydání listin tedy nebylo bezpodmínečně nutné. Opakování vydání konfraternitních listin ve prospěch olomouckého konventu v první čtvrtině 16. století svědčí o eminentním zájmu o kontakt s řeholními kanovníky ze sídelního města diecéze. Listina z roku 1503 je formulována obecně, listina z roku 1522 specifikuje podobu prováděných liturgických úkonů. Obě listiny jsou stylizovány odlišně od obvyklého formuláře využívaného roudnickým okruhem klášterů řeholních kanovníků sv. Augustina.

Pouze ve čtyřech případech šternberských konfraternit se dochovala jak konfraternitní listina konventu, který konfraternitu inicioval, tak konfraternitní listina druhého konventu, který iniciativu opětoval. Ve dvou případech byl iniciátorem šternberský konvent, který vydal jako první listinu pro třeboňský konvent (18. března 1379, třeboňský konvent reaguje listinou z 22. června 1379) a pro konvent ve Vyhele (10. listopadu 1416, vyhelský konvent reaguje listinou z 18. ledna 1417). Ve vztahu ke šternberskému konventu iniciativní byl konvent v Lanškrouně (23. dubna 1406, šternberský konvent reaguje teprve po roce a tři čtvrtě listinou z 2. února 1408) a nově založený konvent v Kaziměři (7. ledna 1407, šternberský konvent reaguje po čtyřech měsících 3. května 1407).

Absence archivů klášterů ve Fulneku a Prostějově nedovoluje vytvořit celkový obraz konfraternit uzavřených témito konventy. K dispozici jsou pouze některé listiny vydané oběma konventy a dochované v archivech příjemeckých konventů. Probošt a konvent ve Fulneku takto vydali konfraternitní listiny pro konventy v Kladsku, Lanškrouně a v Třeboni, probošt a konvent v Prostějově zase ve prospěch konventů v Kladsku, Třeboni a ve Vratislavě. Ve spojitosti s olomouckým konventem se jako aktivní projevil jihočeský konvent z Borovan.

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# ANGELS IN CYPRIOT RELIGIOUS FOLK SONGS. SYMBOLIC ARCHETYPICAL CHARACTERS IN THE WORLDVIEW OF POPULAR CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUSNESS IN CYPRUS

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**Abstract:** MARTÍN VICO, Ana María. *Angels in Cypriot Religious Folk Songs. Symbolic Archetypical Characters in the Worldview of Popular Christian Religiousness in Cyprus.* Cypriot religious folk songs constitute a manifestation of Greek Cypriot Christian identity across time. Their lyrics reveal an intratextual context in which the universe's order distinguishes between Earth, Heaven and Hell. In this worldview, angels are heavenly spiritual beings that present discernible biblical attributes and roles. Nevertheless, given the folk nature and popular religiousness of this lyrical poetry, these angels also differ from their canonical conception. Therefore, since different elements are provided, they are symbolic archetypical literary characters that Cypriot Greek people link to the biblical creation myth, Saint Mary and Jesus Christ's Passion and Resurrection. In addition, the archangels Gabriel and Michael are especially significant, for they are both alluded to on several notable occasions. Other religious references demonstrate that the people who created the songs may have had knowledge of additional features related to angels.

**Keywords:** *angels, Cypriot folk songs, symbolic archetypical characters, worldview, Christian religiousness*

## Introduction

Cypriot religious folk songs find their roots in the history of the island of Cyprus. Over time, the Christian Greek Cypriot individuals who settled there developed their own folk music tradition, their anonymous lyrics were mainly composed in Cypriot Greek<sup>1</sup>, and thus reflected their cultural identity. Given the conflicts between Christians and Muslims from the 12th century onwards, these religious songs were a way to reaffirm the religious identity of Christians<sup>2</sup>. Consequently, both the songs and their lyrics, which are considered to be poems when they are detached from the music, constituted a very relevant part of the Cypriot oral folk tradition (Kliridis 2017, 33).

Certainly, the Cypriot author Nearchos Kliridis devoted the first part of his work *Κυπριακά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια [Cypriot Folk Songs]* to the aforementioned kind of songs<sup>3</sup>. In this anthology, the author included a significant number of songs, and the translations of their titles are as follows: *Hymn to Saint Mary, To Saint Mary, Rejoice for Ascetic Poetry, To Saint Mary and Various Saints,*

<sup>1</sup> For further details on Cypriot Greek dialect, cf. Nikolaos Kondosopoulos (2000, 196-197).

<sup>2</sup> According to Isabel de Cabo Ramon (2005, 192-193), Cyprus was conquered by the Arabs in 694 and invaded by the Ottoman Empire in 1571.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Nearchos Kliridis (2017, 41-201).

*Saint Mary's Dream, The Alphabet Song, The Song of the Soul, Hymn to the Deipara, There Is Avarice, Saint Lazarus' Song<sup>4</sup>, Saint Mary's Lament<sup>5</sup>, The Resurrection Song<sup>6</sup> and Saint George's Song<sup>7</sup>.*

For the purpose of this article, the aforementioned poems are studied in order to identify and analyse information on angels. Taking into consideration their intratextual context, the intention here is to determine how they are represented (i.e., what their attributes and roles are), what they entail as literary characters, what they mean in the context of popular religiousness and, as a result of this, how they differ from their distinctive canonical features or aspects which are referred to in the Holy Bible.

## Intratextual context of Cypriot religious folk songs

It should be specified that the intrinsic holistic context of Cypriot religious folk songs lies in the worldview revealed by these texts, that is to say, in the conception of the world according to Christian Greek Cypriot people from previous eras<sup>8</sup>. Through their verses, the existence of an archetypical biblical universe is observed, which consists of three distinct main parts: Earth, Heaven and Hell.

As the Creation is described in detail, the heavenly bodies are emphasized. The nature of Earth is underlined, as it comprises the sea, mountains, trees and fish (at this point, no other living beings are mentioned<sup>9</sup>, although the Holy Bible does refer to them<sup>10</sup>). Therefore, it is an immense work by God (and/or Jesus Christ<sup>11</sup>), who metaphorically is an exceptional 'engineer'. Likewise, the world is a 'watch' that is wound up, the sun is a 'medallion' above it, the stars are a 'chain', and the moon is a 'key'<sup>12</sup>. Nevertheless, just as it happened to 'the first mother' (Eve) in Genesis 3: 22-24, the Earth's land is the place where people are banished to<sup>13</sup>.

Heaven, as the spiritual place where God resides, is located in the heights so that the Father is omnipresent and can see the actions of men<sup>14</sup>; note that this perception is clearly reflected in Job 31:2, for example. Additionally, floodgates can be found in Heaven (in this case, for the purpose of denoting its greatness<sup>15</sup>). Here it can also be disambiguated that the metaphors 'Kingdom of Heaven' and 'Gates of Paradise' allude to Saint Mary<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Nearchos Kliridis (2017, 60-102) includes eight versions of *Saint Lazarus' Song*. The first is titled *The Raising of Lazarus the Fair*, and the fourth *Lazarus of the Four Days and Christ's Friend*.

<sup>5</sup> Nearchos Kliridis (2017, 105-165) includes seven versions of *Saint Mary's Lament*. The first is titled *Saint Mary's Lamentation*, the sixth *Epitaphic Lament*, and the seventh *Saint Deipara's Lament*.

<sup>6</sup> Nearchos Kliridis (2017, 168-187) includes five versions of *The Resurrection Song*. The second is titled *Poem of Christ's Resurrection*, and the fourth *Eulogy to the Saint and Praised Resurrection on the Third Day of our Lord Jesus Christ*.

<sup>7</sup> Nearchos Kliridis (2017, 192-201) includes three versions of *Saint George's Song*.

<sup>8</sup> For further details regarding the term *worldview*, cf. James W. Sire (2004, 23-50).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. verses 1-45 of the sixth version of *Saint Mary's Lament*.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Genesis 1: 10-25.

<sup>11</sup> In verses 156-161 of the second version of *Saint Mary's Lament* and in verses 203-206 of the third version of the same song, Jesus Christ is referred to as the creator of the universe. This connects to the concept of the Sacred Trinity, which links the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit (cf. verses 214-215 of the fourth version of *Saint Mary's Lament*).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. verses 64-76 of *There is Avarice*.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. verses 42-44 of *There is Avarice*.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. verses 154-158 of *There is Avarice*.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. verse 44 of the first version of *The Resurrection Song*.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. verses 6-7 of *Hymn to Saint Mary*.

In contrast with Heaven (no heavenly material element is mentioned), and in a similar way to Matthew 13: 42, Luke 16: 23 and Apocalypse 20: 10-15, Hell is a place of fire, where there are scalding rivers, tar boils<sup>17</sup> and Evil is its lord<sup>18</sup>. Also known as Hades, this is a location plunged into black shadows<sup>19</sup>, like in Matthew 8: 12, 22: 13 and 25: 30, and its gates are defended by guards<sup>20</sup>. Besides, hordes of demons and damned suffering souls can be distinguished<sup>21</sup>.

As for human beings, they are thought to be incarnated souls which live ephemerally on Earth. It is even believed that when the body passes away, the soul travels to a 'distant place' which this immaterial identity does not know. There the souls live without torment but it is recalled that God has the power to dispense justice<sup>22</sup> (this attribute of God is explicitly referred to in Psalm 75: 7).

## **Creation of the angels and the heavenly armies**

Containing several differences, in the sixth version of *Saint Mary's Lament*, the poem begins by concisely relating the biblical myth of the *Creation*, *Temptation* and *Fall* (Genesis 1-3)<sup>23</sup>. Verses 5-8 of the composition indicate that on Monday, God decreed the creation of cherubim and seraphs in order to place them by his throne<sup>24</sup>. Additionally, these verses refer to the creation of the heavenly armies as well as all the archangels<sup>25</sup>. Indeed, the archangels Michael<sup>26</sup> and Gabriel<sup>27</sup> are mentioned by their forenames. It may also be added that they are both recognised as the main taxiares, which means that they are the angels who command God's armies. Concerning these hosts, verse 2 of *Hymn to Saint Mary* refers to the idea that their head is Virgin Mary. Later, in verse 17, it is inferred that archangels are holy entities which chant and accept Virgin Mary's companionship while singing<sup>28</sup>.

As indicated above, several kinds of angels are mentioned (cherubim, seraphs and archangels). Nevertheless, the meaning of this can be observed in verse 23 of *Hymn to the Deipara*. At this point, the Greek word ασώματα (< ασώματος, -η, -ο) is mentioned. This lexical unit is a neuter substantive adjective in its plural form. It describes the complete group of incorporeal beings which constitutes the heavenly choruses<sup>29</sup>. Consequently, the existence of their corresponding

<sup>17</sup> Cf. verses 139-141 of *There is Avarice*.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. verse 31 of the six version of *Saint Mary's Lament*.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. verse 88 of the first version of *Saint Lazarus' Song*.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. verse 105 of the eight version of *Saint Lazarus' Song*.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. verse 90 of the first version of *Saint Lazarus' Song*.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. verses 1-4 of *The Song of the Soul*.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. verses 1-50 of the *Epitaph Lament* (sixth version of *Saint Mary's Lament*).

<sup>24</sup> In the Bible, cherubim are mentioned for the first time in Exodus 25: 18-22, as they will decorate the Ark of the Covenant covering the artefact with their wings. For further details regarding their physical features, cf. 1 Kings 6: 24-25, 2 Chronicles 3: 11-12, Ezechiel 10: 14 and Ezechiel 41: 18. Regarding seraphs, Flora Macallan (2007, 40) reports that they are the closest angels to God's throne, cf. Isaiah 6:2.

<sup>25</sup> For further details on the heavenly armies, cf. Genesis 32: 1-2, Judges 5: 20, Job 19: 12, Psalms 91: 11-12, Isaiah 40: 26, Matthew 13:41, Apocalypse 7:2 and Apocalypse 12: 7.

<sup>26</sup> For further details on archangel Michael, cf. Joshua 5: 13-15, Daniel 10: 13-21, Daniel 12: 1, Jude 1: 9 and Apocalypse 12: 7-9.

<sup>27</sup> For further details on archangel Gabriel, cf. Daniel 8: 16, Daniel 9: 21, Luke 1: 19-26 and Enoch 10: 9 and 20: 7.

<sup>28</sup> In verse 177 of the fifth version of *Saint Mary's Lament* and in verse 145 of the seventh version, Joseph of Arimathea uses the vocative Δέσποινα τῶν Αγγέλων (i.e. 'Lady of the Angels') to address Virgin Mary.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Panagiota Papadopoulou (2007, 31).

hierarchies may be asserted<sup>30</sup>. Furthermore, in the aforementioned verse (which has Virgin Mary as its referent), the metaphor Υμνος των Ασωμάτων (literally, 'Hymn of the Incorporeal Beings') indicates that all heavenly angels sing to Mary, praising her.

## Angels

Although it is not mentioned in the Holy Bible, in verses 38-39 of the fifth version of *Saint Mary's Lament*, the poem's poetic voice declares that when they heard Virgin Mary lamenting the Passion of Christ<sup>31</sup>, the heavenly angels trembled and were surprised.

Recalling that indicated in the Gospels, verses 85-100 of the second version of *Saint Mary's Lament* narrate the last moments of Christ's life, when he drank vinegar and gall from a sponge<sup>32</sup> and finally committed his spirit to the Father<sup>33</sup>. Immediately after this event, the text indicates the extraordinary phenomena that would have taken place<sup>34</sup>. Furthermore, in verses 97-98, it adds of its own accord that the angels took fright before the sanctuary was destroyed, in order to emphasize this particular event.

In a similar manner to Matthew 5-7, in verses 21-28 of the first version of *The Resurrection Song*, and in the context where Jesus had been buried for three days, it is said that an angel from Heaven appeared above his sepulchre as lightning at midnight, rolled away the stone that hid the tomb, sat down in it and announced the miracle of the Resurrection to the guards, who were frightened and blinded<sup>35</sup>. Additionally, this angel speaks as follows in verses 25-26: «Ιδού ανέστη ο Χριστός και τι τον εζητείτε;/ Τον θάνατον επάτησεν, ανέστη ως προείπε!», i.e. "Behold, Christ came back to life and do you seek him?/ He stepped on death, came back to life as he predicted".

In verses 35-43 of the first version of *The Resurrection Song*, the poetic voice addresses its audience in order to celebrate Easter and listen to the Good News, that is to say, the Resurrection of Jesus. As a consequence of the joy caused by the Resurrection, in verses 41-43 it is imagined that the angels were glad for the miracle, the sky cleared and they chanted in the company of the holy apostles.

In verses 84-91 of the first version of *The Resurrection Song*, after the Myrrhbearers<sup>36</sup> had met the risen Christ and ran to communicate this to the apostles, Saint Peter visited Jesus' sepulchre and found only the Sudarium, the Mandylion and the Holy Shroud (these three relics are mentioned here)<sup>37</sup>. Although this does not happen in the Holy Bible, in verses 90-91 the angels said to Peter: / [...] «Εδώ, τίνα ζητείτε;/ Τον Ναζωραίον Ιησούν; Ανέστη ως προείπε!»/, i.e., / [...] "Here, what are you looking for?/ For Jesus the Nazarene? He came back to life as he predicted!"<sup>38</sup>.

Similarly, verse 41 of the aforementioned poem can also be found in the second version of the previous text (entitled *Poem of Christ's Resurrection*). In this case, it is verse 15, «/οι ἀγγελοι εχάρησαν κι ο ουρανός εξέστη!» (/the angels rejoiced and the sky cleared"/).

<sup>30</sup> The hierarchy of the angels was first determined by the Christian theologian and philosopher Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (Macallan 2007, 38).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Matthew 26-27, Mark 14-15, Luke 22-24 and John 12-19.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Matthew 27: 34-48, Mark 15: 36, Luke 23: 36 and John 19: 29-30.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Matthew 27: 50, Mark 15: 37, Luke 23: 46 and John 19: 30.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Matthew 27: 51-53, Mark 15: 38 and Luke 23: 44-45.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Matthew 28: 5-7 and 62-66.

<sup>36</sup> For further details on the Myrrhbearers, cf. Jesús Castellano Cervera (1999, 129-130).

<sup>37</sup> For further details on the terms *Sudarium*, *Mandylion* and *Holy Shroud*, cf. John C. Iannone (2009).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Luke 24: 12 and John 20: 3-10.

Further on, in verses 40-41 of the *Poem of Christ's Resurrection*, it is affirmed that, once the holy women had gone to visit Jesus Christ's sepulchre (on the third day after his death), an angel exhorted them to spread the news of Jesus' Resurrection. Again, it can be observed that the text includes a quotation of angel's words: / [...] «Δράματε, λέγετέο, / πως αναστήθην ο Χριστός και ομιλήσετε το.», i.e. / [...] "Run, announce it, / that Christ came back to life and talk about it". Note that, although this incident is narrated in Matthew 28: 1-7, Mark 16: 1-7 and Luke 24: 1-7, it is closer to the first two of these Gospels.

In verses 76-80 of the *Poem of Christ's Resurrection*, it is said that Saint Longinus and other men (the guardians of Christ's sepulchre) saw the apparition of an angel, which had taken the form of lightning, and were scared. Consequently, in the next strophe, they flee and the Myrrhbearers discover that the tomb is empty. However, the Holy Bible alludes to the saint in John 19: 34, for in this verse it is said that a soldier pierced the side of Christ with a lance.

In verses 41-44 of the third version of *The Resurrection Song*, it is said that a heavenly angel appeared at Christ's sepulchre at midnight in the form of lightning. Thus, the tomb's guards were dazzled, trembled with fear, fell over and ran away. But in Matthew 27: 62-66, where the biblical episode of *The Guard at the Tomb* is narrated, this information is not given.

In verses 65-76 of the fourth version of *The Resurrection Song*, what happened on the third day of Jesus' death is narrated. At six o'clock in the morning, at the place where the sepulchre was located, an enormous earthquake occurred and an angel appeared, frightening the tomb's guards. This angel is characterized as αστραπτφόρος (< αστραπή + -φόρος, i.e., 'lightning' + 'the one who wears'). This means that the angel was clothed in lightning. Here, it may be recalled that these details are mentioned in Matthew 28: 2-4.

In verses 85-98 of the same poem, it is said that the Myrrhbearers visit the sepulchre, see two men dressed in white near the back of the tomb and think that the men are angels. Immediately afterwards, the text's poetic voice affirms that one of these angels talks to the holy women. Indeed, here it can be distinguished that there are seven verses written in direct speech, recreating the words of the angel. This being announces the Resurrection, refers to the empty sepulchre and the shroud as evidence of the miracle, and exhorts the women to look for him in Galilee. Nevertheless, in Luke 24: 1-12, the deduction that the men were angels is not made, the conversation differs and thus the reason why Galilee is mentioned (there, Christ predicted his Passion and Resurrection).

## Archangels

In verses 20-29 of the first version of *Saint Mary's Lament*, the mother of Christ expresses that she is glad to have given birth to him. Afterwards, she also mentions that her son created a tree with twelve branches, i.e. the twelve apostles. In addition, she adds a metaphor in verse 25: «/όρνεα τα πετούμενα είναι οι αρχαγγέλοι/, i.e., "/the archangels are flying raptors"<sup>39</sup>.

In verses 100-104 of the first version of *Saint Mary's Lament*, archangel Gabriel is alluded to as Αγγελος της Δέσποινας ('Angel of our Lady'). When Virgin Mary collapses because of Christ's death, this spiritual being addresses her in order to convince her to keep on living and save the world.

Gabriel is also mentioned in verses 29-30 of *Hymn to the Deipara*, which recalls the *Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin Mary in the City of Nazareth*. Note that the content of the verses alludes to

<sup>39</sup> According to the Holy Bible, angels are winged beings, cf. Exodus 25: 20, Exodus 37: 9, 1 Kings 6: 27, 1 Kings 8: 6-7, 1 Chronicles 28: 18, 2 Chronicles 3: 11-13, 2 Chronicles 5: 7-8, Isaiah 6: 2, Ezekiel 10: 5-21 and 11: 22.

Note that Glenn Peers (2001, 28) considers the assimilation of birds and angels in Byzantine iconography.

the Holy Bible, Luke 1: 26-38. Indeed, the poem's poetic voice declares «/Ο Γαβριήλ ο θαυμαστός εν Ναζαρέτ τη πόλει/ το Χαίρε Σοι προσφώνησε, καθώς το ξεύρουν όλοι/, i.e., “/In the city of Nazareth, the admirable Gabriel / addressed the Hail Mary to you, as everybody knows/”.

In verses 15-17 of the fifth version of *Saint Mary's Lament*, the Virgin Mary addresses archangel Gabriel. She complains because the words the archangel said to her in the Annunciation (in the poem, «/ [...] χαίρε Δέσποινα, ο Κύριος δικός σου/, i.e. “[...] Hail Lady, the Lord is with you/”) should have been different, for she would never have thought that she would suffer for her son. Likewise, in verses 122-123 of the sixth version of *Saint Mary's Lament*, the Virgin Mary also addresses archangel Gabriel. In this case, she uses linguistic style similar to the previous one and expresses the same communicative intention: «/ [...] Χαίρε Δέσποινα! Ο Κύριος Υιός σου!/», i.e., “/Hail Lady! The Lord is your Son!/”<sup>40</sup>.

In verses 44-50 of the sixth version of *Saint Mary's Lament*, after the biblical passages mentioned above, God's solution to the *Fall* (Genesis 3) is indicated. Accordingly, the liberation of Adam, Eve and their descendants finds its origins in the Annunciation. In this case, however, only the name Αρχάγγελος ('Archangel') is mentioned, and it may be deduced that this refers to Gabriel due to the context. Indeed, verses 48-50 include an angel's quotation, i.e., «/ [...] Χαίρε Δέσποινα, Χαίρε Χαριτωμένη, Υιόν και λόγον του Θεού είσαι αγκαστρωμένη, γιατί θα πολευτερωθούν όλοι οι κολασμένοι/» (i.e. “/Hail Lady, hail, full of Grace,/ you are with child by the Word of God,/ because all the damned souls will be released/”). Note the linguistic style used and the purpose of the speech.

Furthermore, verses 229-230 of the second version of *Saint Mary's Lament* describe how archangel Michael is called by Virgin Mary after the Descent from the Cross, where the mother of Christ reproduces some words from the archangel: «/ [...] Χαίρε Δέσποινα! Επκιάσαν τον Υιόν σου; /» (“/Hail Lady! Did they apprehend your Son?/”). As in the previous information, it may be observed that this speech of archangel Michael's is not canonical. However, this heavenly being expresses itself in a similar manner to archangel Gabriel's known canonical words<sup>41</sup>.

Inspired by Luke 23: 56 and John 19: 20, verses 283-289 of the third version of *Saint Mary's Lament* indicate that, after the deceased body of Christ was perfumed and shrouded, archangels quickly went to it in order to chant in honour of Jesus and to lay him to rest with the help of Joseph of Arimathea. Immediately after, it is mentioned that the angels sang in the same way as Joseph.

Archangel Michael is referred to several times: in verses 76-77 of the first version of *Saint Lazarus' Song*, in verses 167-168 of the fifth version of this song and in verses 168-173 of the sixth version. On each occasion, Saint Michael is mentioned in order to pray for his shelter.

Moreover, although this is not mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, according to verses 105-107 of the first version of *Saint Mary's Lament*, archangel Michael is the one on her right supporting her (archangel Gabriel's role is explained above). Nevertheless, in verses 124-131 of the seventh version of the same text, it is said that archangel Michael is on the right of Virgin Mary and archangel Gabriel on her left. Next, the poem includes a quotation from the first archangel, who addresses Mary in order to calm her down and stop her from taking her own life due to the pain she feels.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Luke 1: 26-38.

<sup>41</sup> For further details regarding the Descent from the Cross, cf. John 19: 38: 42.

## Angels and archangels

In verses 100-113 of the eighth version of *Saint Lazarus' Song*, the poem recreates the voice of this saint<sup>42</sup>, who addresses Hell, informing its guardians and all its supporters throughout the ages of the coming of Christ. According to him, Jesus would have the company of both angels and archangels in order to defeat Hell and end the lives of the damned souls.

As for verse 3 of the poem entitled *To Saint Mary and Various Saints*, both angels and archangels are the second kind of divine entity referred to when the poetic voice addresses some divine beings and affirms that they do intercede for believers. Indeed, Virgin Mary is mentioned first and then, after the angels and archangels, the apostles and the forenames of diverse saints such as Prodromos of the Lord (John the Baptist)<sup>43</sup>, Stephen Protomartyr, Victor, Menas, Vincent, Demetrius, Theodore, Great Martyr George, Saint Nicholas, servant of Christ, Athanasius and Charalampos<sup>44</sup>.

## Other aspects

On one hand, in verses 171-172 of the fourth version of *Saint Lazarus' Song*, it is declared that people sing the *Trisagion* (i.e., /Άγιος ο Θεός, Άγιος Ισχυρός, Άγιος Αθάνατος/). Afterwards, there is a parenthetical apposition, the syntagma τον Ύμνον τον Αγγελικόν (< ο Ύμνος ο Αγγελικός, *Angelic Hymn*). However, it must be clarified that both names make reference to the same hymn. Therefore, the *Trisagion* is elevated to the category of heavenly hymn.

On the other hand, in verses 81-84 of the first version of *Saint Mary's Lament*, Christ announces the end of the world and his descent into Hades in order to release his prophets, i.e. his descendants. As the prophets' last destination is New Jerusalem, this holy city is mentioned in verse 84. It should be recalled that according to the Holy Bible, the aforementioned place is related to angels, for it would have twelve gates guarded by twelve angels and an angel would have told John the Apostle the measurements of New Jerusalem. Similarly, New Jerusalem is also mentioned in verse 143 of the fifth version of *Saint Mary's Lament*, for Christ announces his Resurrection on the third day and that he is going to release Adam, Eve and even those who are in Hell. Afterwards, in verses 94-103 of the seventh version of *Saint Mary's Lament*, which narrates Christ's death, the poem's poetic voice mentions in reported speech a promise of Christ, that he will ascend prophets to New Jerusalem.

In verses 150-155 of the second version of *Saint Mary's Lament* and in verses 189-194 of the third version, Mary remembers Simeon's prophecy that a flaming sword will pierce her heart and cut her entrails<sup>45</sup>. As this type of sword is a majestic symbolic object which connects to diverse myths, finding its origin in the Book of Genesis (3:24) and has even been given to angels in multiple artworks, this adds a very strong emphasis that represents Mary's pain.

<sup>42</sup> For further details on Saint Lazarus, cf. John 11: 1-44.

<sup>43</sup> Note that John the Baptist is the first saint to be mentioned in the poem. The reason may be found in the fact that he occupies a privileged place within the Orthodox calendar.

For further details on John the Baptist, cf. Emmanouil G. Varvounis (2017, 165-167).

<sup>44</sup> Here, it may be recalled that «saints and patrons has been drawn both for Greece and other Mediterranean countries (Campbell 1964: 342; Pina-Cabral 1986: 163) and it applies on Naxos as well. A person becomes a saint (*agiazei*) in return for displaying exemplary faith and sacrifice for God. After death such a person is accepted into heaven and charged with a power to intercede in human affairs on behalf of God» (Stewart 1991, 65).

<sup>45</sup> For further details of Simeon's prophecy, cf. Luke 2: 25-35.

## Conclusion

In Cypriot religious folk songs, angels are characters that are already known by their audience. Thus, they belong to the collective imagination of their listeners and do not need to be introduced in a very complex way.

Their physical features are occasionally described, and when this happens, they are archetypical characteristics based on the Holy Scriptures. It should be added parenthetically, that comparative study of the representation of angels in both Cypriot religious folk songs and icons of the Cypriot Orthodox churches (for example those found in the Church of Panagia Angeloktisti<sup>46</sup>) would be revealing. Likewise, their psyche is not shaped on the basis of a dynamic and/or complicated psychology. Thus, the angels are flat characters.

As for the roles they play, it should be emphasized that they are messengers from Heaven that contact religiously honourable individuals. By the same token, angels strengthen certain dramatic scenes which are recreated in the poems and hence the mental images that are produced.

Furthermore, it can be said that archangels Gabriel and Michael are those mentioned here (note that archangel Raphael, who appears in Tobit 5 and is recognised by the Orthodox Churches, is not mentioned). Hence, the Annunciation is a biblical passage which is frequently alluded to, and the fact that archangel Michael is referred to in prayers with other religious figures such as Christ, Saint Mary and Saint Lazarus, indicates the relevance of Saint Michael in popular Cypriot religiosity. Therefore, it can be asserted that the texts reflect deep devotion to both of the main archangels.

It should be added that there is recurrent intertextuality between the Holy Bible and the songs. In spite of the differences analysed, the angels' behaviours, speeches and even linguistic style are always close to those identified in the Scriptures.

In conclusion, given their condition as spiritual beings that are connected to God, meet the aforementioned characteristics and carry out the aforementioned special tasks, they constitute an archetypical symbol of divinity, peace, magnificent beauty and joy. Certainly, these angels present Christian values which are already known, but, as they appear in the context of a specific worldview related to a very particular culture, it should be emphasized that they present their own characteristics and even differences which have their origins in their folk nature and popular religiousness.

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# WINO W BIZANTYŃSKIEJ ENCYKLOPEDII ROLNICZEJ PT. GEOPONIKA

**Wine in the Byzantine Agricultural Encyclopedia *Geponica***

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**Abstract:** JAWORSKA, Magdalena. *Wine in the Byzantine Agricultural Encyclopedia "Geponica"*. Oinos or vinum was one of the most prestigious and common beverages in Greek and Roman culture. Without a doubt, wine got an equally great recognition in the Eastern Roman Empire, where, as before, it was a signifier of social position and cultural identity. Nevertheless, wine was considered a drink beneficial to the human body and health.

The motive of wine was also a significant one in the Greek thought for many distinguished and prominent authors, among others Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus and Epicurus. Naturally, a similar passion was retained in the late ancient and Byzantine culture and literature. It is therefore not surprising that in *Geponica*, so much attention and care was devoted to the types of *oinos* and its production, maintenance and preservation. It is also not surprising that this work includes recipes for preparing medicinal wines, which have been eagerly used for a long time.

**Keywords:** *wine, Geponica, grapewine, recipes, medicinal wines*

Wino zawsze i dla wszystkich wspaniałe: pogodnym sprzyjające ku wzmacnieniu radości, krzepkim dobre dla utrzymania zdrowia, przygnębionym przynoszące ulgę, chorym zdrowienie.

(Michał Psellos, tłum. wł., *Enkomion wina* 5)

Jest prawdopodobne, że dzieło pt. *Geponika* będące kompendium wiedzy rolniczej zostało skompilowane w VI wieku i wyszło spod pióra bliżej nieznanego Kassianusa Bassusa Scholastyka. Zostało ono odnalezione w pierwszej połowie wieku X i być może po raz wtóry opublikowane i zredagowane przez anonimowego twórcę, przy czym – jak sugeruje autor polskiego przekładu Ireneusz Mikołajczyk – „na dworze bizantyńskim, jakiś literat bez skrupułów, odnalazłszy je, zastąpił oryginalny wstęp Kassianusa Bassusa, którym był skierowany do syna Bassusa list, wstępem dedykacyjnym do cesarza Konstantyna VII Porfigerety i opublikował dwadzieścia ksiąg traktatu”<sup>1</sup>. I choć w literaturze przedmiotu autorstwo i czas powstania *Geponik* uchodzi za kwestię sporną<sup>2</sup>, to wiadomo, że w ten sposób dotychczas nieznane w bizantyńskim świecie poświęcone cesarzowi pismo zyskało rozgłos i zaczęło cieszyć się niezwykłą popularnością.

<sup>1</sup> Por.: Mikołajczyk 2012, 36.

<sup>2</sup> Szerzej na temat autorstwa i czasu powstania *Geponik* zobacz m.in.: Simonović 2016, 797-813; Mikołajczyk 2012, 9-11; Amato 2006, 1-6; Carrara 2006, 103-132.

Wzmiankowana powyżej encyklopedia rolnicza stanowi komplikację rozmaitych wyciągów i ekscerptów wziętych z pism starożytnych autorów, którzy podejmowali się rozważań z zakresu agronomii, rolnictwa i innych dziedzin, w tym choćby astrologii, meteorologii czy sposobności zwalczania szkodników. Na całość pisma składa się dwadzieścia ksiąg poświęconych różnej tematyce i aż 621 jego rozdziałów. Treści agronomiczne w nich zawarte w dużej mierze zachowują zaś instruktywny i nader pouczający charakter.

Jak słusznie zauważa Andrew Dalby, *Geponika* wywodzi się z tradycji rolniczych Cesarstwa Rzymskiego. W wielu jej miejscach widoczne są bowiem podobieństwa do wcześniejszych podręczników rolniczych powstałych w I i V wieku autorstwa Kolumelli i Palladiusza, mimo że autorzyowi nie są cytowani<sup>3</sup>. Bez wahania można też dodać, że *Geponika* doskonale oddaje ducha encyklopedyzmu bizantyńskiego humanizmu właściwego dla twórców X wieku. Jest też nieocenionym źródłem wiedzy o zaginionych i niezachowanych pismach rolniczych powstałych w dobie starożytności. Ponadto dzieło to stanowi istotne uzupełnienie w zakresie informacji na temat zarówno uprawy i pielęgnacji winorośli, jak również rodzajów, wytwarzania i przechowywania *oinos*, co postaramy się omówić w niniejszym artykule.

### **Miejsce *oinos* w *Geponikach***

Twórca *Geponik* poświęcił niemałą uwagę rozważaniom na temat uprawy winorośli i produkcji wina, które zostały przezeń przedłożone w ponad stu sześćdziesięciu rozdziałach. Ponadto w samych dociekaniach o winie autor encyklopedii sięgnął po wypisy z dzieł braci Kwintyluszy, Diofanesa, Demokryta, Zoroastra, Florentyna, Afrykanina, Paksamosa, Frontona, Damegerona, Sotiona, Tarantyna, Didymosa, Pamfila, Warrona, Apulejusza, Berycyusza, Leontyna i Windaniona, a zatem (pomijając Zoroastra) mniej lub bardziej znanych twórców żyjących od III w. p. n. e do IV wieku n. e.

Warto podkreślić, że w *Geponikach* zagadnienia wprost tyczące się wina zostały podjęte w dwóch księgach, a precyzyjnie rzecz ujmując, w księdze siódmej i ósmej. Wszelako stanowią one dopełnienie kwestii poruszanych w obrębie wcześniejszych ksiąg, tj. czwartej, piątej i szóstej, które traktują o winorośli wielorako i z różnych perspektyw. I tak w księdze czwartej omówiono *arbustum*, tj. winorośle pnące się na drzewach, te zaszczepione na mircie, dobre na ukąszenia zwierząt (głównie gadów), wykazujące działania przyczyszczające lub wonne. Księga czwarta daje nam także informacje z zakresu szczepienia winorośli i typów samych winogron (wczesnych, późnych i bezpestkowych) oraz przechowywania ich kiści.

Księga piąta stanowi przegląd rozmaitych odmian winorośli i ogólnie przybliża nam kwestie związane z ich sadzeniem i pielęgnacją. Nie brakuje tam zatem wskazówek na temat odpowiedniej ziemi dla winorośli i poszczególnych jej odmian, warunków klimatycznych najlepszych do uprawy tych roślin, pory ich sadzenia i zbioru, przygotowania ziemi, podpór, okopywania, prześwietlania i przycinania czy choćby unikania i zapobiegania ewentualnym chorobom, na jakie winorośle są narażone.

Z kolei w księdze szóstej mamy odniesienia do prac poprzedzających winobranie, między innymi do budowy tłoczni, zbiornika pod prasą i samej prasie, urządztania piwnicy przeznaczonej do przechowywania wina, stosownego ustawnienia pitosów, procesu ich wytwarzania i należytego smołowania. Ponadto w księdze tej możemy wyczytać o praktykach tłoczenia winogron oraz produkcji moszczu winnego i różnych sposobach jego składowania.

<sup>3</sup> Por.: Dalby 2011, 13.

## O różnych gatunkach i doglądaniu wina

Księga siódma *Geponik* składająca się z 37. rozdziałów jest pierwszą, w której autor przedkłada nam nie tylko gatunki win, sposoby ich doglądania i degustowania, ale także nadmienia o innych przydatnych działańach wokół traktowania i konserwacji *oinos*. Co najważniejsze jednak, rozdziały wieńczące tę księgę poświęcił on spożywaniu tegoż trunku, nadmiernemu jego spożycia i uwolnieniu się od skłonności do picia.

Zgodnie z relacją autora jakość wina nieodzownie wiąże się z miejscami wzrostu samych winorośli, gdyż „wino z winogron, które wyrosły w miejscowości gorących, jest bardziej trwałe. Winogrona z innych miejsc i stąd, gdzie ziemia zachowuje w sobie nieco z dzikiego stanu, dają wino pozbawione wszelkiej mocy (*Geponika* 2012, VII, 1, 4)<sup>4</sup>”. Naturalnie, lepszej jakości wino powstaje z winogron pochodzących z bardziej nasłonecznionych terenów wyżynnych aniżeli z nizin, przy czym wino większej mocy zauważamy winorośli, na której wzrasta mała liczba winogronowych kiści.

Gdy chodzi zaś o przechowywanie wina mocnego, to w przeciwnieństwie do wina słabego wymaga ono pomieszczenia otwartego, a nie zamkniętego (*Geponika* 2012, VII, 2). Moc wina zależna jest i od rodzaju winogron, z jakich powstaje. Mocniejsze otrzymujemy z czarnych winogron, średnie z białych, a z czerwonych bardziej słodkie aniżeli z czarnych (*Geponika* 2012, VII, 3). W zależności też od wieku *oinos* różnią się jego właściwości, a mianowicie młode wino jest chłodne ze swej natury, a stare nie dość, że zyskuje na mocy i aromacie, to jeszcze lepiej rozgrzewa.

Składinąd, aby wino zachowało dobrą jakość, należy je doglądać w określony sposób. Autor encyklopedii sugeruje, iż pitosy, w których jest ono przechowywane, powinny być otwierane w określonych warunkach przy uwzględnieniu pory dnia. Inaczej wszakże wino reaguje na światło za dnia, inaczej w nocy (*Geponika* 2012, VII, 5). Przelewanie wina z jednego zbiornika do drugiego także musi zachodzić właściwie. Po pierwsze, można je ruszyć tylko wówczas, kiedy wieje wiatr północny, a nie południowy, a po drugie, słabsze wymagają przelania w porze wiosennej, starsze natomiast – latem. Nigdy nie przelewa się wina w pełni księżyca, albowiem wtedy zamienia się ono w ocet<sup>5</sup>, przy czym latem *oinos* powinno leżakować w chłodnym pomieszczeniu, zimą – zgoła przeciwnie – w ciepłym. Przelewając wino do mniejszych naczyn, trzeba baczyć, by mogło ono dalej oddychać, wskutek czego nie napełnia się ich do pełna i po brzegi (*Geponika* 2012, VII, 6).

Wytwórcy wina muszą też dbać o jego czystość. Według wytycznych zawartych w *Geponikach*, istnieje co najmniej kilka metod weryfikujących występowanie wody w tym trunku (*Geponika* 2012, VII, 8). Oto kilka z nich: niektórzy wrzucają doń jabłka lub gruszki, inni – szarańcze lub cykady. Jeśli owoce i owady nie ulegną zatopieniu, to wino jest czyste, w odmiennym znowuż przypadku – nie. Jeszcze inni wkładają do wina trzcinę lub papier nasączone oliwą, bo gdy wino jest nieczyste, nie przylega do oliwy, albo przelewają je do nowych i czystych amfor, ponieważ te ostatnie nie przesiąkną, o ile trunek jest wyzbyty wody. I choć obecność wody w winie nie jest pożądana, to – jak podaje autor w następnym rozdziale *Geponik* – można temu zjawisku zaradzić tak: „Wlej do amfory płynny ałun, a potem gąbką nasyconą oliwą zatkaj jej otwór i nachyliwszy ją pozwól cieczy spływać; odpłynie tylko woda (*Geponika* 2012, VII, 9)”.

<sup>4</sup> Wszelkie cytaty z *Geponik* podaję w przekładzie Ireneusza Mikołajczyka.

<sup>5</sup> Na temat pór roku sprzyjających zamianie wina w ocet możemy jeszcze wyczytać z rozdziału dziesiątego księgi VII *Geponik*, gdzie mowa jest o tym, że proces ten zachodzi zwłaszcza podczas największych upałów lub mrozów, w czasie ulew, natężonych wiatrów i burzy oraz kwitnienia róż. O tym zaś, jak uchronić wino przed burzami lub piorunami mowa jest w rozdziale jedenastym tejże księgi.

Obok dbałości o najwyższą jakość i czystość wina, do równie ważkich kwestii pielegnacyjnych przynależy troska o jego trwałość, której dotyczą następne rozdziały encyklopedii księgi VII. Okazuje się, że sól dodana do wina zarówno powstrzymuje jego kwaśnienie, jak i ponowny proces fermentacji czy pojawienie się piany w nadmiarze (Geponika 2012, VII, 12). Kwaśnieniu *oinos* zapobiegają również słodkie migdały oraz rodzynki bez pestek z piaskiem, uprzednio namoczone w moszczu lub w moszczu gotowanym dłujo. Trwałości winu przydaje też wsypyany do niego gips, otarta kozieradka pospolita, orzeszki cedru libańskiego, suche galasy dębowe, proszek z kamienia *porinon*, popiół z gałązek winorośli, prażone nasiona kopru włoskiego, popiół z żołędzi i drewno dębowe, mleko i miód, sproszkowane muszle, spalone pestki oliwek czy glina, alun łupkowy i żywica sosnowa.

Nawet skwaśniałe wina w efekcie wlania ich na dobry osad mogą stać się trwałe. Proces kwaśnienia powstrzymuje także zgaszenie w winie palących pochodni albo rozgrzanego żelaza. Jeżeli zaś wino ucierpiało wskutek gorąca albo chłodu, to odpowiednio przenosi się je do pomieszczeń zimnych lub ciepłych i suchych. Dodanie do winnego moszczu korzeni winorośli, oliwy i nasion lnu też czyni je trwałszym. Ponadto porcja ciemięzycy czarnej albo białej nie tylko oczyszczca wino, lecz i sprzyja tym, którzy je spożywają. Z kolei uprażone ziarna czarnej ciecierzycy jednocześnie i wino konserwują, i nadają mu właściwości moczopędnych. Trwałość wina można osiągnąć przez jego przyprawianie, lecz wtenczas trzeba pamiętać, że czynność tę zawsze wykonuje się po zakończeniu fermentacji (Geponika 2012, VII, 13).

Wino chroni również przed zepsuciem pewien zapis, wszak: „Wino nie ma prawo skwaśnieć, jeżeli na amforze lub pitosach napiszesz takie boskie słowa: *Skosztujcie i zobaczcie, że Pan jest dobry*. Pięknie postąpisz, jeżeli napiszesz to na jabłku i włożysz je do wina (Geponika 2012, VII, 14, 1-2)”.

Wytrawny znawca winien też rozpoznawać, jakiej jakości będzie wytwarzane przezeń wino (Geponika 2012, VII, 15). Twórca *Geponik* podaje co najmniej kilkanaście metod, w oparciu o które można ową jakość przewidzieć i stwierdzić. W ich gronie między innymi mamy: zbadanie osadu, ocenę smaku wina po uprzednim przegotowaniu niewielkiej ilości trunku, przebadanie pokryw pitosów pod kątem zgromadzonej na nich wilgoci albo ich suchości, bezpośrednie skosztowanie wina, ocenę koloru powstałego na winnej powierzchni *kwiatka*, zapach dłoni po zanurzeniu ich w winie. Co interesujące, zgodnie z podaniem autora jakość wina da się sprawdzić i tak: „Jeżeli z kolei w czasie winobrania zobaczysz węża owiniętego wokół winorośli, możesz się spodziewać, że wino zamieni się w ocet (Geponika 2012, VII, 15, 7).

Należy podkreślić, że kiedy wino zaczyna zmieniać się w ocet, można je uzdrowić (Geponika 2012, VII, 16), a kiedy wymaga ono przetransportowania drogą morską, to przez dodanie do pitosów osadu oliwnego wymieszanego z miodem przedłużona zostanie jego trwałość (Geponika 2012, VII, 17). Istnieje też wiele przepisów na fałszowanie wina, czyli czynienia wina młodego starym (Geponika 2012, VII, 24), oraz oczyszczanie go bądź z nadmiernego osadu (Geponika 2012, VII, 28), albo z jadu zwierząt (Geponika 2012, VII, 27). Da się także zapobiec pojawienniu *kwiatka* na winie (Geponika 2012, VII, 25) tudzież jego przesiąkaniu (Geponika 2012, VII, 26).

Można też pozyskać wino słodkie z gotowego już moszczu (Geponika 2012, VII, 19) lub słodkie wino mirtowe, które – podług autora *Geponik* – przyrządza się tak: „Zbierz kilka jagód mirtu, ususz je i utrzyj, wsyp do glinianego garnka, zwanego *choiniks* [...] i odstaw na dziesięć dni. Potem otwórz i używaj (Geponika 2012, VII, 20, 1)”.

Składnikiem innych win aromatycznych wytwarza się przez dodanie do nich wody po jabłkach, kwiatostanu rosnących na drzewach winorośli albo przez stopienie wosku w pitosie lub nasmarowanie jego brzegów igłami czarnej lub alpejskiej sosny, limby i cydru. Aromat winu w pitosie przydają jeszcze zawieszone i umieszczone w liniowej szmatce m.in. rozmaite owoce oraz

bylica boże drzewko, gorzkie migdały czy glina, kwiaty szparaga, kora cedrowa i mąka pozyskana z kozieradki pospolitej (Geponika 2012, VII, 20). Nie należy też zapomnieć o istnieniu win cedzonych (Geponika 2012, VII, 37) oraz tych, które pozyskuje się z odmiennych roślin (np. derenia i mirtu, granatu czy choćby zielonych fig), a nie z winogron (Geponika 2012, VII, 35). Ostatecznie wina białe da się również zamienić w te ciemnoczerwone i na odwrót. Pierwsze pozyskuje się przez dodanie gałzki ciemnej winorośli, drugie – soli, serwatki lub popiołu z gałęzi białej winorośli (Geponika 2012, VII, 21)<sup>6</sup>.

W księdze VII, oprócz omówionych powyżej wątków, odnajdujemy i te o nieco innej wymowie i charakterze. Wszelako rozdziały od 29. do 34. podnoszą kwestię spożywania *oinos* i jego wpływu na człowieka. Zgodnie z treścią *Geponik* dodanie soku z kapusty do wina lub zjedzenie tego warzywa pomaga ukryć picie przed innymi (Geponika 2012, VII, 29), a znowu żucie irysa po spożyciu winnego trunku ponoć niweluje właściwy dlań zapach (Geponika 2012, VII, 30). Okazuje się także, że wypijając duże ilości wina nie trzeba się nim upić. Autor encyklopedii bowiem wprost konstataje: „Przed wypiciem zjedz pieczone kozie płuco albo zjedz na czczo pięć lub siedem suchych migdałów albo surową kapustę, a nie upijesz się. Kto chciałby dużo wypić nie upijając się, niech włoży na głowę wieniec z dąbrówki żółtokwiatowej albo niech wyrecytuje, zanim zacznie pić, następujący wiersz homerycki:

*Z góry Idajskiej Zeus, cny doradca, zagrzmiał piorunem (Geponika VII, 31, 1-2)*.

Antidotum na wrodzoną skłonność do wina może być sok wyciekający ze świętych gałęzi winorośli, którego wypicie odgania ochotę do dalszego spożywania trunku (Geponika 2012, VII, 32). W chwilach zaś trzeźwienia winopijców lekarstwem jawi się wypicie octu, zjedzenie surowej kapusty<sup>7</sup> albo ciastek i placków przygotowywanych z dodatkiem miodu. Trzeźwieniu pomaga nawet opowiadanie starych legend albo owinięcie się wieńcem z kolorowych kwiatów (Geponika 2012, VII, 33).

Warto zaznaczyć, że w świetle *Geponik* człowiek upija się zarówno przyjmując *oinos* w nadmiarze, jak i wodę, napoje z ziaren zbóż i jęczmienia<sup>8</sup>, napoje z pszenicy orkiszu i owsa czy prosa i moharu. Co istotne, na podobieństwo Arystotelesa, autor encyklopedii zauważa, że bardziej podatni na upicie się są starcy i ludzie wychłodzeni<sup>9</sup>, a kobiety przejawiają mniejsze skłonności do popadania w ten stan, gdyż na ogół piją wino wymieszane z wodą (Geponika 2012, VII, 34)<sup>10</sup>. Istnieje skądinąd białe wino, które zmieszane z rozmaitymi ziołami pomaga dożyć starości bez chorób (Geponika 2012, VII, 36).

<sup>6</sup> O wytwarzaniu białego wina z czerwonego wzmiankują także Palladiusz i Apicjusz. Przykładowo drugi z autorów w swoim dziele pt. *O sztuce kulinarnej. Księgę dziesięć* podaje, że takie wino otrzymujemy nie tylko przez dodanie do czerwonego wina popiołu z białej winorośli, ale i mączki z bobu albo białek z trzech jaj. Zob.: Apicjusz 2012, 35. O wykorzystaniu białek z jaj celem zmiany koloru wina w: Palladiusz (1999, XI, 14).

<sup>7</sup> Na temat łagodzących właściwościach kapusty po przepiciu zobacz: Arystoteles *Problemata* (III 17).

<sup>8</sup> O napoju jęczmiennym, czyli piwie wzmiankował już Arystoteles. Według filozofa piwo ma działanie otępiające, a jego nadmierne spożycie sprawia, że człowiek pada do tyłu i na wznak. Por.: Atenajos, *Uczta mędrców* (447a).

<sup>9</sup> Stagiryta co najmniej w dwóch dziełach podaje, że najbardziej podatnymi na działanie wina są starcy. Ci ostatni, wskutek znikomej ilości ciepła zawartej w ich naturze upijają się najszybciej. Por: Arystoteles, *Problemata* (III 26); Atenajos, *Uczta mędrców* (34c-b).

<sup>10</sup> O piciu wina przez kobiety i byciu mniej przez nie podatnymi na jego działanie wypowiadał się też Arystoteles. Por.: Plutarch (*Quaest. Conv.* 650a); Laurenti 1987, 626; Zanatta 2008, 108.

## Wina lecznicze

Księga ósma składa się z 42. rozdziałów, spośród których ponad dwadzieścia obejmuje różnorakie przepisy na odgrywające niemałą rolę w antyku wina lecznicze. W rozdziale tym mamy również podane sposoby przyrządania innych napojów na bazie miodu, mleka, jabłek czy wody oraz octów.

W rozdziale 1. autor ogólnie podnosi kwestię wytwarzania win o właściwościach leczniczych, które wymagają konkretnych działań. Otóż wiadomo, że użyte do ich wyrobu przyprawy i składniki już od niepamiętnych czasów uznawano za te, które leczą stany chorobowe. Wiadomo także, że owe substancje muszą być bezpieczne dla człowieka, stąd też najczęściej do przyrządania win leczniczych wykorzystuje się tylko sprawdzone składniki, tj. różne wyciągi czy to z róży, anyżu, bylicy piołunu, czy mięty. Bez względu na to, po który z nich sięgniemy, wpierw składnik musi ulec skruszeniu i zostać zawinięty w szmatkę, a następnie w tej postaci dodaje się go do wina.

Zgodnie z podaniem autora wino różane jest dobre dla chorych na żołądek i płuca. Przyrządza się je, dodając do trunku mieszaninę z róży górskiej, anyżu i szafranu (*Geponika* 2012, VIII, 2)<sup>11</sup>. Inne właściwości wykazuje wino z domieszką kopru ogrodowego, które zalecane jest jako środek nasenny, moczopędny i wspomagający trawienie (*Geponika* 2012, VIII, 3). Wina anyżowe (*Geponika* 2012, VIII, 4) i z gruszek (*Geponika* 2012, VIII, 5) odpowiednio albo usuwają trudności z oddawaniem moczu, albo mają właściwości ściągające. To przyrządzane z kopytnika pospolitego natomiast nie tylko jest moczopędne i hamuje dreszcze, ale doskonale sprawdza się w leczeniu chorych na puchlinę wodną, żółtaczkę, rwę kulszową i malarię (*Geponika* 2012, VIII, 6).

W odtruwaniu na jad węży przydaje się wino z mięty polej, którą się wraz z nim gotuje dopóki objętość trunku nie ulegnie redukcji do jednej trzeciej swej objętości (*Geponika* VIII, 7)<sup>12</sup>. Wino z lauru szlachetnego jest rozgrzewające i moczopędne, pomocne na kaszel, bóle klatki piersiowej, ukąszenia węży oraz bóle uszu. Z racji swych właściwości zalecane jest ono szczególnie starcom i kobietom ciężarnym (*Geponika* 2012, VIII, 8). Moczopędnym i dobrze sprawdzającym się w dolegliwościach żołądka i przy braku apetytu okazuje się wino z kopru włoskiego (*Geponika* 2012, VIII, 9). W radzeniu sobie z chorobami żołądka i malarią nieodzownym jawi się wino z omanu wielkiego, które też uchodzi za odtrutkę na ukąszenia gadów (*Geponika* 2012, VIII, 10). Szerokie spektrum działania wykazuje wino przyrządzone na bazie niedojrzałych winogron, gdyż autor *Geponik* wprost konstatuje:

„To wino ułatwia trawienie, pomaga sparaliżowanym, tym, którym drętwieją i drżą części ciała, w chorobach żołądka, przy zawrotach głowy, w chorobach nerek, przy kolkach jelitowych oraz jest skuteczne w chorobach zakaźnych (*Geponika* 2012, VIII, 11).“

Składniad na wzmocnienie żołądka, wywołanie czkawki i apetytu dobrym jest wino z pietruszki, które również ma działanie moczopędne i nasenne (*Geponika* 2012, VIII, 12), a na truciznę ukąszenia gadów i rozgrzanie – to z ruty ogrodowej (*Geponika* 2012, VIII, 13). Odpowiednim znowu w dbaniu o wątrobę jest wino z kozieradki pospolitej (*Geponika* 2012, VIII, 14)<sup>13</sup>. Wina przyprawiane hizopem i selerem zwyczajnym są pomocne przy schorzeniach związanych z trawieniem, pracą jelit, oddawaniem moczu, bólami mięśniowym i podżebrza (*Geponika* 2012, VIII, 15-16). Wzmiankowane jedynie w *Geponikach* wino z pigwy pospolitej (*Geponika* 2012, VIII, 17), jak donosi nam inny autor, tj. Kolumella, jest środkiem działającym przeciwko kolkom<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Na temat przyrządania wina różanego por.: Apicus 2012, 33-34.

<sup>12</sup>Więcej o winie miętowym dobrym na kaszel w zimowe chłody w: Kolumella 1991, 165.

<sup>13</sup> Szczegółowy opis przyrządania tego wina dostępny jest u Kolumelli (1991, XII, 28, 1-4).

<sup>14</sup> Por.: Kolumella 1991, XII, 42.

Nieco inaczej przyrządza się wino przeczyszczające, albowiem nie pozyskuje się go przez dodanie określonych składników, lecz wymaga ono specjalistycznych zabiegów już przy sadzeniu samych winorośli. Otóż: „Kiedy kopiesz doły pod winorośle, potnij na kawałki korzenie ciemiężyce czarnej i oczyściwszy starannie korzenie dzikiej winorośli wymieszaj je z pociątą ciemiężycą i sadź w ten sposób (Geponika 2012, VIII, 18)”. Wino doprawione tymiankiem uchodzi za lekarstwo na zwiększenie mleka macierzyńskiego oraz w odpedzaniu chorób (Geponika 2012, VIII, 19). Winem skutecznym na biegunkę i wzdęcia jest zaś to przyrządzone z granatów (Geponika 2012, VIII, 20). Wino piotunowe z kolei spożywa się, by zapobiec bólem podżebrza i żołądka, wątroby, niestrawnościom i obecnościom glist (Geponika 2012, VIII, 21).

## Receptury na inne wina niż lecznicze

Prócz win leczniczych, twórca *Geponik* w księdze ósmej podaje nam sposoby przyrządzenia różnych win. Wśród nich mamy recepturę na wino aminnejskie, wino z Tasos i z Kos, wino zaprawiane miodem lub moszczem, wino z selera zwyczajnego czy wino przyprawiane pieprzem.

Oto przepisy na wybrane z przywołanych w encyklopedii win:

Wino aminnejskie da się sporządzić co najmniej na kilka sposobów. Przykładowo możemy je pozyskać, wlewając wino z winogron aminnejskich do pojemników po winie włoskim i pozostawienie ich pod gołym niebem albo przez dodanie do tegoż wina gorzkich migdałów, szczyru trwałego oraz gotowanego winnego moszczu czy aloesu wątrobowego. Wino aminnejskie m.in. otrzymujemy także przez wsypanie do wina wytworzonego z winogron aminnejskich czterech drachm miry, strączyńca wąskolistnego czy szafranu uprawnego lub trzciny (Geponika 2012, VIII, 22).

Wino z Tasos znane jako wino greckie, wymaga dokładnego wysuszenia kości dojrzałych winogron na słońcu przez pięć dni. Szóstego dnia rozgrzane kości należy zebrać i włożyć do moszczu oraz wody morskiej do połowy wygotowanej. Następnie, powyjęciu, wkładamy je do zbiornika na okres jednego dnia i nocy, a zaraz po wytłoczeniu tak przygotowany moszcz wlewamy do naczynia. Po przefermentowaniu i oczyszczeniu się moszczu należy połączyć go z dwudziestą piątą częścią moszczu gotowanego, przy czym po nadejściu wiosennej równonocy przelać do średnich amfor (Geponika 2012, VIII, 23)<sup>15</sup>.

Skądinąd według jednej z obecnych w *Geponikach* receptur na sporządzenie wina miodowego czy też wina zaprawionego miodem potrzeba miodu attyckiego. Ten ostatni wlany do kociołka wymaga podgrzania na popiele, by powstała piana. Kiedy miód stanie się gorący, na około pół litra miodu wlewa się w przybliżeniu dwa litry wina. Ogólnie tak przygotowane wino przelewa się dalej do osmołowanego zbiornika, zamyka się i zostawia na strychu. Dodatek szczyru trwałego i kopru włoskiego czyni ponoć miodowe wino niezwykłym i niemającym równych sobie. Odmienne przygotowuje się wino miodowe przez niektórych zwane nektarem. W jego bowiem przypadku mieszaninę ze specjalnie wyselekcyjowanych ziół i przypraw (w jej skład wchodzą m.in. mira, strączyniec wąskolistny, nard celtycki i pieprz) łączy się z około trzema

<sup>15</sup> Inny przepis na przygotowanie wina greckiego podaje m.in. Kolumella. Według podania autora: „Trzeba zerwać jak najdojrzańsze wczesne winogrona i suszyć je przez trzy dni na słońcu. Czwartego dnia udeptać, a moszcz, który nie będzie zawierał nawet kropelki moszczu uzyskanego przez tłoczenie, wlać do kadzi i dokładnie zważyć na to, aby, kiedy przestanie fermentować, osad został usunięty. Potem, piątego dnia, gdy moszcz zostanie oczyszczony, dodaje się na czterdzieści osiem sextarii moszczu dwa sextarii lub co najmniej jeden sextarius uprażonej i pokruszonej soli. Jedni dolewają również sextarius gotowanego moszczu winnego (*defrutum*). Niektórzy dodają nawet dwa, jeżeli uważają, że gatunek wina nie jest dość mocny” (Kolumella 1991, XII, 37).

litrami miodu i około dwunastoma litrami wina, i wystawia na słońce na okres czterdziestu dni (*Geponika* VIII, 25)<sup>16</sup>.

Wino przyprawiane moszczem winnym, które choć wywołuje obrzęki i niekorzystnie działa na żołądek, sporządza się zaś z wygotowanego do połowy moszczu. Około pięć litrów moszczu łączy się z połową litra miodu, wlewa się do garnka, gipsuje i zostawia w cieniu (*Geponika* 2012, VIII, 26).

Do przyrządzenia wina z selera potrzeba dwunastu lub szesnastu gramów nasion selera zwyczajnego, sześć gramów nasion lub liści ruty ogrodowej, około pół litra miodu i dwóch lub dwóch i pół litrów wina. Po wymieszaniu tych składników wino ma leżakować przez piętnaście dni (*Geponika* 2012, VIII, 30). Wino pieprzowe znowuż robi się z mieszaniny w skład której wchodzą: osiem gramów utartego pieprzu, około pół litra miodu attyckiego oraz dwa lub dwa i pół litry starego białego wina (*Geponika* 2012, VIII, 31).

### **Ważkie znaczenie wina**

*Oinos* lub *vinum* było jednym z najbardziej prestiżowych i powszechnych trunków w greckiej i rzymskiej kulturze<sup>17</sup>. Na popularność wina zapewne miało wpływ kilka czynników. Po pierwsze dość łatwo można było je wyprodukować, po drugie zaś jego spożywanie uchodziło za bardziej bezpieczne aniżeli nierzadko zanieczyszczonej wody. Skądinąd picie wina wymagało zachowania umiaru, w związku z czym na ogół mieszano je w różnych proporcjach z wodą. Zarówno w Grecji, jak i w Rzymie panowały inne zwyczaje związane z jego kosztowaniem. W Grecji nie pito wina podczas jedzenia posiłku, a raczej po jego zakończeniu, w Rzymie zaś kosztowano wina i przed posiłkiem i w jego trakcie, przy czym wpierw sięgano po wino zaprawione miodem lub przyprawami (*conditum*), a następnie po wino z dodatkiem wody. Bez wątpienia, wino cieszyło się również dużym uznaniem w Cesarstwie Wschodniorzymskim, gdzie jak i wcześniej było desygnatem pozycji społecznej oraz tożsamości kulturowej<sup>18</sup>. Wino klasyfikowano zależnie od wieku jako dojrzałe lub młode. Często przydawano mu nazwy miejsc, z których pochodziło. Rozróżniano wina białe, czerwone, ciemnoczerwone i żółte, ale i z racji smaku – słodkie, półsłodkie oraz wytrawne. Ponadto dodawano do win również składniki, które wpływały na walory lecznicze tegoż trunku. Ogólnie wino uznawano za napój dobrze wpływający na organizm i zdrowie człowieka.

Nie dziwi więc, że w *Geponice* rodzajom *oinos* i jego produkcji, догlądaniu i konserwacji poświęcono tak wiele atencji i uwagi. Nie dziwi też, że w encyklopedii nie zabrakło receptur na przyrządzanie win leczniczych, po które od dawien dawna z chęcią sięgano. Wszelako widziano w nich nade wszystko środek leczniczy i antidotum na rozmaite schorzenia. Należy podkreślić, że zgodnie z encyklopedycznym duchem i przeszaniem tegoż dzieła nie bez powodu odnajdujemy w nim wytyczne na wypadek nadmiernego spożycia winnego trunku i zatraty umiaru w jego kosztowaniu i piciu. *Oinos* bowiem wymaga nie tylko należytej troski i przygotowań, ale i czerpania zeń stosownego użytku.

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<sup>16</sup> Porównaj przepis Kolumelli (1991, XII, 41) na najlepsze wino zaprawione miodem.

<sup>17</sup> Zob.: Dalby 2003, 350-351.

<sup>18</sup> Zob.: Dalby 2010, 85-92; Leszka, Wolińska 2011, s. 565.

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**КИРИЛО-МЕТОДИЕВСКИ КОНТЕКСТИ НА РАЗНОГЛАСИЕТО  
ЗА УПОТРЕБАТА НА РОДНИ ЕЗИЦИ В ЛИТУРГИЯТА.  
ЕДИН СЮЖЕТ ОТ РЕЛИГИОЗНАТА ПОЛЕМИКА  
МЕЖДУ ПРОТЕСТАНТИТЕ И РИМСКИТЕ КАТОЛИЦИ  
В ЖЕЧПОСПОЛИТА ПРЕЗ XVI – XVIII ВЕК**

**Cyrillo-Methodian Contexts of Disagreement About the Use of Native Languages in Liturgy. A Story From the Religious Controversy Between Protestants and Roman Catholics in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 16th – 18th Centuries**

**Jan Stradomski**

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**Abstract:** STRADOMSKI, Jan. *Cyrillo-Methodian Contexts of Disagreement About the Use of Native Languages in Liturgy. A Story From the Religious Controversy Between Protestants and Roman Catholics in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 16th – 18th Centuries.* During the Counter-Reformation period in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, there were lively disputes between adherents of different Christian denominations. These resulted in numerous works of religious polemics, which covered various themes from the history of the Slavs, including the processes of Christianisation and the origins of writing. In books devoted to the polemics between the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church in Poland in the 16th – 18th centuries, the topic of Saints Cyril and Methodius and the use of the native language in liturgy by some Slavs often appears. This article is an attempt to see whether this theme also appears in the polemical works of Roman Catholic and Protestant writers and how it is commented on. The author's findings show that, unlike disputes with Orthodox Christians, the theme of the activity of Saints Cyril and Methodius is almost absent from polemics between Protestants and Roman Catholics (and vice versa).

**Keywords:** *religious polemics, old book prints, Protestants in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Saints Cyril and Methodius, Slavic liturgical language*

Във времето на контреформация (сред. XVI – сред. XVIII в.) в полско-литовската държава (Жечпосполита) е била проведена много насилиствена религиозно-политическа борба между представителите на преобладаваща Римокатолическа църква и другите религии и вероизповедания – протестанти (от различните учения), православни, евреи и арменци. В следствие на това в ръкописен и печатен вид са се появили многобройни полемични съчинения с догматическа, църковно-историческа, политическо-еклесиална и обществено-нравствена тематика. Независимо от етническата или религиозната принадлежност на участниците в тази дискусия, във повечето от произведенията виждаме подобен тип проблематика, отнасяща се към въпросите, свързани с историята и организацията на Църквата, позицията на папата, покръстването на европейските

народи, различията в богослужението, църковната практика, почитта към светците и чудесата и пр. Като сюжет от този широк репертоар на проблематиката може да намерим разпръсната на различни места информация за светите братя Кирил и Методий, за тяхната мисия във Велика Моравия и другите страни, а също така и за епохалната им преводаческа и литературна дейност (Naumow 1999; Naumow 2000; Stradomski 2003, 94-125, 129-131; Stradomski 2007, 709-720; Stradomski 2018).

Преди няколко години започнахме да търсим и събираме този изворов материал от полски, руски и латински старопечатни книги, издавани и четени на територията на Жечпосполита от началото на XVI до към края на XVIII век. Целта ни беше да се съберат на едно място и да се изследват тези фрагменти и изказвания, за да се отговори по този начин на следните въпроси: какво е било известно за св. св. Кирил и Методий и тяхното дело в полско-литовската държава и как е резонирала информацията в историческата, религиозната и полемичната литература в тези важни и изключително сложни времена. Прегледаният тогава материал, свързан предимно с историческата писменост и религиозно-полемичния спор между римските католици, униатите и православните, е обработен и издаден с коментари през 2013 г. в един сборник за светите братя Кирил и Методий (Cyril i Metody 2013) и десет години по-късно допълнен от една статия в списанието „Кирило-Методиевски студии“ (Stradomski 2023). Тъй като издирванията за полско-руската религиозна полемика тогава се оказаха не само интересни, но и доста плодотворни, решихме да продължим изследванията ни, като тръгнем обаче в друга посока, към протестантската и антипротестантската книжовност от същият период.

За целта на този изследване проверихме над 150 старопечатни книги от сред. XVI-XVIII в. издадени на полски и латински език, свързани с религиозния и гражданско-политическия спор между протестантите и католиците в Жечпосполита<sup>1</sup>. Тази доста обширна подборка на изданията по религиозна, екзегетична, проповедническа и преди всичко полемична литература, е представителна с оглед на тематиката и авторите. Очаквахме, че на местата, в които дискусията се отнася към християнизацията на европейските народи (включително и славяните), абсолютния авторитет на папата, култа на светците и светите мощи и преди всичко споровете за библейските преводи и богослужението на (на)роден език, ще намерим някаква информация или поне намек за Кирил и Методий и тяхното дело<sup>2</sup>. Този път обаче проверката ни се оказа твърде разочаровща. След дълготрайни

<sup>1</sup> Освен многобройни сбирки от научни и музеини библиотеки в Полша, за целта използвахме също така различни дигитални колекции с отворен достъп, от които най-представителна е сбирката на Народната библиотека във Варшава ([www.polona.pl](http://www.polona.pl)) и асоциацията на държавните и църковните библиотеки от Полша ([www.fbc.pionier.net.pl](http://www.fbc.pionier.net.pl)).

<sup>2</sup> Фигурите на Светите солунски братя също така са били силно изтъквани в писмени източници от зората на словашкото народно възраждане. Тук обаче на преден план излизат не толкова контекстите на конфесионалните несъгласия (като аргумент в подкрепа или против църковната уния), колкото културното значение на славянския език (първоначално великоморавският диалект от епоха на св. св. Кирил и Методий, по-късно местни диалектални разновидности) като основа за кодификация на словашкия език и отправна гледна точка за модел на литература, култура, а също така и чувството за национална самоидентичност на словашкия народ (вж. Bagin 1993; Lacko 2011; Žeňuch 2023). За ендемична връзка на словашката култура с традициите на великоморавската мисия свидетелстват не само местните паметници на кирилската писменост, свързани непосредствено с общ модел на византийско-славянската литература (вж. Žeňuch – Vasil, 2003; Žeňuch 2015; Žeňuch – Belyakova – Našdenova – Zubko – Marinčák, 2018), но и богослужебни и историко-религиозни извори от западен (латински) тип писменост (вж. Vragaš 2013, 58–61; Zubko 2014, 35–53; Žeňuch – Zubko, 2021).

издирвания установихме, че сюжетът в този тип издания на практика не съществува<sup>3</sup>. Без да сме прекалено категорични в момента, но бихме искали да обърнем внимание на тази черта, която става един отлика за този тип литература в Полша. От проверения засега изворов материал намерихме само два кратки фрагмента, в които открито се споменават имената на Кирил и Методий.

Първият четем в една творба на йезуита Мартин Лашч (1551 – 1615), със заглавие „Очила за Огледалото на християнското богослужение в Полша...“<sup>4</sup>, която е пряк отговор на издадена през същата 1594 година от протестанта Шимон Теофил Турновски (1544 – 1608) брошура „Огледало на християнското богослужение в Полша“<sup>5</sup>. В творбата си Турновски – привърженик на полската клонка от общността на чешки братя (Śliziński 1957, 52-64; Gmiterek 1976), силно подчертава мнението, че „неопорочена от папски намеси и тълкувания“, старата християнска вяра в Полша е била проповядвана от чешки епископ св. Войчех-Адалберт (Turnowski 1594)<sup>6</sup>. В полемичен отговор на Мартин Лашч се появяват намеките за фигуранте на Солунските братя, обаче само като контекст или допълнителна информация към един разширен коментар за събитията, отнасящи се към началото

<sup>3</sup> Това е случай донякъде подобен на рецепцията в полско-руската историческа, полемична и религиозна литература на църковните унии в Закарпатска Рус – Ужгородска (1646 г.), Мукачевска (1664 г.) и Мармарска (1713). Оказва се, че в периода от края на XVI до средата на XVIII в. в религиозна литература в Жечпосполита религиозни и етически въпроси, отнасящи се до земите, разположени от югозападната страна на Карпатите остават практически без коментар. Вж. Stradomski 2020, 25-30.

<sup>4</sup> Marcin Łaszcz, *Okulary na Zwierciadło nabożeństwa chrześciańskiego w Polszcze. Począwszy od przystania Polaków na wiarę chrześcijańską aż do teraźniejszego roku 1594*. Kraków 1594. Второто издание – Kraków 1597 и третото, с променено заглавие: *Okulary wtore na ciemne i ślepe oczy ministrow...* (1605, без информация за място на отпечатване). Вж. Estreicher 1906, 104-106; срв. Cyryl i Metody 2013, 196-198.

<sup>5</sup> Szymon (Bogumił) Teofil Turnowski, *Zwierciadło nabożeństwa chrześciańskiego w Polszcze, począwszy od przystania Polaków na wiarę krześcijańską aż do teraźniejszego roku 1590*, Wilno 1594. Следващите издания: Kraków 1597 и – без информация за мястото – 1604, 1639 (изд. съмнително). Турновски е автор и на друга брошура-отговор в спора с Мартин Лашч, със заглавие *Jasne oko prawdy [...] z obroną a z odpowiedzią na okulary ciemne a omylne przez X. Marcina Tworzydła w Wilnie wydane*. Единственият известен днес екземпляр на съчинението е подвързан заедно с второто издание на *Zwierciadło nabożeństwa* и се съхранява в Библиотека на ПАН в гр. Курник (Полша). Вж. [https://platforma.bk.pan.pl/en/search\\_results/248892?q%5Bq%5D=Turnowski](https://platforma.bk.pan.pl/en/search_results/248892?q%5Bq%5D=Turnowski). За друг екземпляр от Библиотеката на князете Красински във Варшава съобщава прочутият полски библиограф Карол Естрайхер в своята многотомна *Библиография*. Estreicher 1936, 396-400. Този екземпляр за съжаление е вече загубен по времето на Втората световна война, когато (25 октомври 1944 г.) библиотеката е била нарочно опожарена от немците.

<sup>6</sup> Всъщност вероятно става дума за предговор към творбата, написан от проповедника на протестантския сбор в гр. Биржа, свещеника Андрей Хшонтовски (Andrzej Chrząstowski, ок. 1550 – преди 1632), който предизвиква полемично вълнение на М. Лашч. В увода четем: „Nas [т.e. чехите] ś. Wojciech uczył. My od jego nauki nie odstąpiemy. Wy nas z ojczystych dóbr potwarzam swemi wyzuć chcecie. Myśmy są prawdziwimi dziedzicami wiary świętego Wojciecha. Wyście od nas wyszli nie my od was. [...] Bo i najprostrzy człowiek przyjdzie do tych czasów, w które ś. Wojciech Ewangelią opowiadał, obaczmy natychmiast, jaka się stała w samym papiestwie różność, tak iż każdy rzecze: abo w teraźniejszym papiestwie niemasz dawnego chrześciaństwa, bo jedno drugie pożarło, abo samo w sobie papiestwo będąc rozdrojone z różnych wiar jako płaszcz żebrazcy z różnych płatów jest złatane.“ fol. 4-4v (в цялото издание листовете са без номера). В основния текст на „Огледалото“, за покръстването на Полша от „братята чехи“ и идването на св. Войтех се пише само кратка информация, по-скоро историографска (fol. 7-7v).

Кирило-методиевски контексти на разногласието за употребата на родни езици в литургията. Един сюжет от религиозната полемика между протестантите и римските католици в Жечпосполита през XVI – XVIII век

на утвърждаването на християнската вяра в Полша и Чехия (Łaszcz 1594, 14, 46)<sup>7</sup>. За другия пример ще кажем след малко.

Това премълчаване на имената и делото на Кирил и Методий е твърде изненадващо, понеже авторите, свързани с протестантско-католическата полемика в Жечпосполита се опират и цитират на практика същите късносредновековни, ренесансови и раннобарокови хроники, църковни книги и религиозно-исторически съчинения, в които се появяват доста разнообразни информации за Светите братя. Любопитно е и това, че правилото важи и за авторите, които почти паралелно водят спор с православните русини и там, в своите полемични съчинения с православната църква, те охотно се обръщат към Кирило-Методиевите примери и аргументи<sup>8</sup>. В антипротестантските творби обаче същият сюжет не се появява, въпреки че е имало за това много подходящи моменти<sup>9</sup>. Още повече – изглежда даже на места сякаш този наратив е нарочно избягван. Трябва да припомним, че още през 1558 г., полският кардинал Станислав Хосий – една видна личност измежду отците, участвали в Трентския събор – в своите писма, създадени тъкмо против

<sup>7</sup> „[Wiara Czeska] Pytam cię [t.e. Szymon T. Turnowski], kto one Polaki nasze na wiarę nawracał? kto ich uczył? kto Ewangelią przepowiadał? wejrzysz w Zwierciadło co tam Symon pisze?

Za Powodem, powiada, a przyczyną Czechów braciej swych. Tak jest, za powodem Czechów. Ale pytam cię: Czechowie na on czas jaką wiarę mieli? jaką Ewangelią wzięli? Tak powiadają Kroniki: od papieża Mikołaja Pierwszego, byli posłani św. Cyryllus i Metodiusz, którzy księże czeskie Boryworium ochrzczili, a pierwszego biskupa dał Czechom, papież Jan Dziewiąty, Dothmarum, na którego miejsce nastąpił św. Wojciech. Widzisz, że papiescy księża i Czechy nawrócili, i od papieżów z Ewangelią posłani? Widzisz ty, a przecież ślepy.“ [Łaszcz 1594, c. 14 (в цялото издание страниците са пагинация)].

<sup>8</sup> Представителен в това отношение е йезуитът Пьотр Скарга, който е автор на редица творби против протестанти и православни. В неговите полемични и проповеднически съчинения фигуранте на св. Кирил и Методий намират само в изданията против православните русини от Жечпосполита (вж. Naumow 2002, 32-34, 39; Stradomski 2018, 160-161). Друг пример е прочутият полски историк и епископ – Мартин Кромер (1512 – 1589), към чиито творби *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum* (Bazylea 1555, 1558, 1568, 1589) и *Polonia sive de situ, populis, moribus, magistratibus et republica regni Polonici libri duo* (Kolonia 1577, 1578) се обръщат за примери повече от антиправославните полемични писатели от 2 пол. XVI-XVIII век (вж. Cugul i Metody 2013, 191, 193, 206, 208-209, 211-212, 219, 223, 254). Същият Кромер обаче, в антипротестантските си съчинения като *Czego się chrześcijański człowiek dzierżęć ma...* (Kraków 1552), *O Kościele Bożym albo Krystusowym: mnicha z dworzaninem rozmowa trzecia* (Kraków 1553), *O nauce Kościoła świętego: dworzanina z mnichem rozmowa czwarta i ostateczna* (Kraków 1554), *Catecheses to jest napomniania i nauki kożdemu człowiekowi krześciąkiemu [...] barzo potrzebne* (Kraków 1570) нито с една дума не споменава св. св. Кирил и Методий. Аналогични примери можем да посочим в литературна дейност на Бенедикт Хербест (Benedykt Herbest), Миколай Чиховски (Mikołaj Cichowski), Станислав Ожеховски (Stanisław Orzechowski) и др.

<sup>9</sup> Ще посочим тук един пример в който се вижда очевидна текстова подложка от латинските извори за св. Кирил, същите от които са били заимствали авторите на „полските хроники“, но и където личността на св. Кирил се споменава открито: „Niech tedy każdy narod swoim językiem Pana Boga chwali, i wszelki język wyznawa, iż Jezus Krystus jest Panem, ku chwale Boga Ojca. To Grek po grecku, Łacinnik po łacińie, Polak po polsku niechaj odprawuje. Boć i dlatego Duch św. W rozmaitości języków zstąpił na Apostoły, aby też każdy naród własnym językiem wyuczyli się znać i chwalić Pana Boga wszechmogącego. A Dawid w ostatnim psalmie tak do tego napomina, mówiąc: *Omnis spiritus laudet Domini*. Wszelki duch niech chwali Pana. A czytamy w Kronikach Polskich, iż gdy tam chciano wyzrucić z kościołów śpiewanie językiem własnym, tedy głos był na powietrzu słyszan: Wszelki duch niech chwali Pana: przedsię to onemu co w Rzymie panu [т.e. римски папа] k'woli uczyniono, iż Polakom używanie własnego języka z kościoła nie wiedzieć dlaczego było ukradziono“ (Katechizm 1600, fol. 115v-116).

протестантските движения в Полша<sup>10</sup>, открито е посочвал като пример мисионерското дело на Светите братя (Naumow 2002, 30-32; Stradomski 2018, 159-161). Книгите на Хосий са били много известни, издавани в многоброен тираж на латински и полски език (Hosius 1557; Hosius 1558a; Hosius 1558b; [Hozjusz] 1562<sup>11</sup>; Hosius 1584) и съответно четени не само от римокатолическото духовенство в Полша, но и – поне частично – от протестантското. Интересно е, че религиозните писатели и полемисти не са тръгнали в тази посока. Не е лесно да се отговори на въпроса защо е така. В литературните полемични произведения против евреите, арменците и мюсюлманите от XVI – XVII век тази тема също така не се появява, но това не ни изненадва, понеже не я очакваме там по липса на фактографски и контекстуални връзки.

Търсейки възможно обяснение на тази загадка се наложи да обърнем внимание на един въпрос, който е често застъпван в протестантските постулати за църковната реформа – правото да се превежда и да се чете Библията на (на)родните езици, съответно и да се извърши богослужение по същия начин. Тук няма да ни интересува чисто богословски контекст на споровете за точния или не превод на съответни библейски места, отнасящи се към доктрините несъгласия за Светата Троица, съществото на евхаристийните хляб и вино, значението на името Петър (Кефас) на апостола, тълкуването на званието му „върховен“ и пр. По-интересни за нас в случая са историческите примери и аргументи, съпровождащи този сюжет, в който намираме следи от кирило-методиевски контекст. И така стигаме до втория пример, за който намекнахме преди малко. В една протестантска творба от края на XVI век на калвиниста Кшиштоф Краински (1556 – 1618)<sup>12</sup> са приведени информации за повикване през 1394 г.<sup>13</sup> от полския крал Владислав Ягело на чешки бенедиктинци от Прага, които в един манастир по име Св. Кръст, в квартал Клепаж в Краков, са били извършвали „до скоро“ литургията на славянски език. Също така се споменава и за полската кралица Ядвига, жената на Ягело, която е поръчала Библията за превод на полски език, като я четяла после всекидневно (Kraiński 1599, 69-70)<sup>14</sup>. Двете съобщения произхождат от хрониката на Мартин Биелски<sup>15</sup>, но те са известни и от по-стар извор – *Annales seu Cronice incliti Regni Poloniae* на прочутия полски историограф Ян Длугош

<sup>10</sup> Вж. *Opera omnia hactenus edita: in unum corpus collecta, ac npperim ab ipso auctore...*, Venetiis: Apud Dominicum Nicolinum 1573, f. 311.

<sup>11</sup> През 1562 г. в Краков е излязла в полския превод една от най-интересните със отношении на кирило-методиевския въпрос творби на Хосий – *Dialogus de eo, num calicem laicis, et uxores sacerdotibus permitti, et divina officia vulgari sub utraque specie*, Dilingae 1558. Книгата (без името на автора) е със заглавие *Księgi o Jasnym a Szczyrym Świecie Bożym* и е отпечатана в Краков през 1562 г. в конвой с друг трактат срещу известния полски писател и учен протестант Анджей Фрич Моджевски (Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, 1503 – 1572).

<sup>12</sup> Kraiński, Krzysztof. 1599. *Porządek nabożeństwa Kościoła powszechnego apostolskiego słowem Bożym zbudowanego w Jezusie Chrystusie...*, Toruń (издадено в Raków или Kraków), второ изд.: 1602 (без означенено място на отпечатване).

<sup>13</sup> Грешка в датата. Всъщност основаването на манастира се е състояло през 1390 година.

<sup>14</sup> „Zamknę Polakami naszymi, ci, jako wspomina Bielski, niedawno przestali językiem słowińskim, na Kleparzu u ś. Krzyża nabożeństwa odprawować. Anoż i ona święta Pani Jadwiga Królowa, jako prawa ewangeliczka, kazała sobie Biblią przełożyć na polski język, i onę ustawicznie czytała. A mąż jej, Król świętej pamięci Jagiełło Władysław, wezwał z Czech do Krakowa ministrów, którzy nie po łacinie, ale językiem słowińskim naszym wyrozumny, nabożeństwo odprawowali, roku 1394.“ Kraiński 1599, 69-70.

<sup>15</sup> Краински в творбата си посочва листовете от второ издание (Краков 1554) на Хрониката на М. Биелски (fol. 236). В първото издание (1551) и в третото (1564) има сериозни различия в разпределението на текстовия материал, така че посочените пасажи са на следните места: ed. 1551 = fol. 164v-165; ed. 1564 = fol. 343.

(1415 – 1480). На същите информации бяха обърнали внимание Шимон Турновски<sup>16</sup> и Мартин Лашч<sup>17</sup> в полемичния спор, за който вече споменахме. Тези аргументи са имали за цел да се припомни, че преди години е имало случаи, когато в латинската църква са били използвани библейски и богослужебни книги на славянски и полски език без никаква съпротива от страната на римските или полските епископи. Това щеше – казва по-нататък Краински – да е продължение на една много стара християнска практика, да се хвали Бога на собствен – значи „народен“ – език. Така се движели, според него, първите християни, преди да е започнал този особен езиков ексклузивизъм в западната църква, където в библейски и богослужебни текстове преобладава само латински език. Великолепните химни и молитви на св. Ефрем – забелязва писателят – са написани на родния му сирийски език и никой никога не се е съмнявал, че е станало това според божието благоволение. Подобен случай имало – казва Краински – и със славянските книги, преведени от св. Кирил, които одобрил и благословил даже самият римски папа (Kraiński 1599, 72-76). Този втори намек за св. Кирил е едва един кратък цитат на латински език, приведен по *Historia Bohemica* на Енеа Силвии (Пиколомини, 1405 – 1464, от 1458 като папа Пий II) и остава в творбата на протестанта без никакво продължение или допълнителен коментар. По-нататък полемиката върви към общи изказвания за правото на миряните да слушат божествената литургия на разбираемия си, роден език, и да се молят така. Настойчивото утвърждаване от католиците на практиката да се използва чужд и неразбирам език в литургията е възприета от реформаторите като очевидна съпротива на смисъла на Петдесетницата, а оттам и на Божията воля (Kraiński 1599, 78-80). Полемистът казва, че католическите духовници (повече от които, според него, лошо разбират латинския език) нарочно го използват, за да не станат явни пред миряните техните грешки в доктрината и срамежлива неграмотност (Kraiński 1599, 81).

Този тип обвинения към римокатолическата църква са били наистина сериозни, така че отговорът от страна на привържениците на папата щеше да е силен. Опорна точка на това е един прост силогизъм. Понеже спорът за преводите на Библията и богослужението на роден език е тръгнал от Ян Хус (1369 – 1415) и другите реформатори (като Джон Уиклиф, Ян Калвин), а те са вече официално обвинени от Рим в ерес, това означава, че еретик – според католическо учение – става всеки, който изисква самостоятелно да се чете

<sup>16</sup> „Tenże Jagiełło Władysław Król z Jadwigą Królową, a dziedziczką polską znacznie bogobojną Panią, (którą dała sobie Biblią na polski język przełożyć, na której ustawnicznie jako prawa Ewangeliczka czytała) wezwał z Czech do Krakowa księżej, którzy nie po łacinie, ale słowieńskim naszym wyrozumianym językiem nabożeństwo sprawowali roku 1394. A niedawnych czasów Mszą, abo sprawie Wieczerzy Pańskiej przestano po słowieńsku śpiewać w Krakowie na Kleparzu u świętego Krzyża.“ Turnowski 1594, fol. 11v-12 (без оригинална пагинация). В полето е посочен източникът на информацията: Bielski 1554, fol. 271.

<sup>17</sup> „[Msza słowieńska] A co powiedacie, iż Jagiełło mszą słowieńskim językiem do Krakowa wprowadził, cóż to was pomoże? I owszem to po nas, bo znać, że pierwsi msza była łacińska w Polsce niż słowieńska, bo więcej niż we trzy sta lat słowieńska była msza po nawróceniu Polaków, a przed tym zawzdy msza była łacińska we wszystkich kościołach, a ona tylko w jednym kościele: wszakże i Słowacy to czynili, za pozwoleniem biskupów rzymskich, od których św. Cyrillus i św. Metodius to dla Słowaków uprosili, i dziś gdzie są Słowacy, miewają mszą słowieńskim językiem. I nie masz żadnej różnicy od łacińskiej tylko w języku, także transubstantiatia jest także adoratio, jako i w łacińskiej. A ta msza słowieńska zaczęła się roku 900. w Czechach, chocia i łacińska tamże była“ [Łaszcz 1594, c. 52, (без оригинална пагинация)]. „Dopiero lat 158 jako Czechowie kielicha dostali: nie możesz tego zaprzecić, bo sam tak rachujesz. A przed tym czasem poczawszy od św. Wojciecha, jakoli Czechowie używali tego sacramentu? nie może być jedno pod jedną osobą. Tak św. Wojciech podał, jak Apostołowie Czescy św. Cyrillus i Metodius nauczyli: aż po nich, podobno w 500 lat, napierwszy Hus począł tym kielichem częstować“ [Łaszcz 1594, c. 63].

и да коментира библейския текст. Но и не само това. Ереста му идва от самата дейност на четенето и тълкуването на Свещеното писание, ако се извършива това не на благословен латински, но по „съмнителен“ превод на някакъв роден език. Латинската Вулгата и римското изложение на смисъла на Божието слово са възприемани като единственият начин, да се запази правоверие и по този начин да се върви към спасение. И тук ние намираме контекст, който може да ни обясни, защо католическата полемика избягва случая с Кирил и Методий и техните библейски преводи в спора с протестантски дейци. От историческите извори (даже латиноезични) се е знаело добре, че Кирило-Методиевите книги не само са били одобрени от папите и предадени за ползване на славяните (Barlieva 2019, *passim*; Barlieva 2021, *passim*), но и това е станало повече от пет века преди да са се появили първите протестантски изяви. По този начин мнимата протестантска ерес никак не е можела да произхожда (само) от четенето на Библията на роден език. Аргументът просто не е бил логически, а също така е бил много неудобен за тази основна идея за атака срещу протестантите. По този начин сюжетът или е бил внимателно заобикалян, или отговорът към закачката – ако се появява – е бил общ и лаконичен. Очевидно фигурите на Солунските братя и тяхното дело като цяло са имали силно начертан конфесионален контекст, който ги е свързвал с линията на спора между западно (римокатолическо) и източно (православно) християнство. Обвиненията в ерес, отправяни към православните русини, са свързвани главно със църковната схизма, като са имали основното обяснение в пренебрегване от тях на претенциите към върховната власт на римските папи, а не ползването на богослужебни и библейски книги на друг, освен латинския, език. Но остатъци от този тип мислене намираме още в първото издание на известната полемично-апологетична творба от Пьотр Скарга от 1577 г. „За единството на Църквата под върховенството на един пастир“ (Skarga 1577). Прочутият полски ѹезуит изтъква в нея, като „сериозна пречка“ на спасението, не само това, че православните русини/рутени са схизматици, но и това, че извършват богослужение на църковнославянски език (Skarga 1577, 356-364). Това становище обаче скоро изчезва вследствие на сключен църковен договор (уния) в Брест Литовски през 1596 г. Униатите успели да запазят църковнославянското си богослужение и книги, което означавало, че е било достатъчно да се подчинят на папата, за да не ги счита вече за еретици и схизматици. Католическо-униатско-православната полемика в повечето случаи се е съсредоточавала около интерпретациите на факта – признавали или не св. Кирил и Методий римския папа като върховен пастир, а не дали техните библейски преводи са били коректни или не (Naumow 1999). От друга страна, протестантските автори предимно вървят по същия подбор на аргументи, които използват в антикатолическите трактати техните съизповедници от Западната Европа, а там интересът към историята на славянските народи е бил твърде малък. Освен това реформаторите и католиците спорят в областта на същия модел на културата и не ги засягат толкова въпросите, свързани с покръстването на народите, както е било в граничната зона между източната и западната църква, където живеят славянските племена<sup>18</sup>. Може би по този повод, дори когато се

<sup>18</sup> Например Еразм Гличнер (Erazm Gliczner, 1541 – 1603), авторът на книгата *Odpór na odpowiedź kwestij niektórych o Kościele powszechnym i na książki o mszach i jałmużnach za umarłe wierne...*, Grodzisk 1579, когато споменава за покръстването на руския княз Владимир (+1015), отбелязва само, че князът се е бил отказал категорично да приеме „вярата на Римската църква“ (Rzymskiego kościoła nabożeństwo) и се е покръстил след сватба си с Ана, дъщерята на византийския император. Във пасажа, който е основан несъмнено върху материал от староруските летописи, не се говори изобщо за славянската писменост или участие в покръстването на Киевска Рус на славянски мисионери от Морава, което е един повтарящ се сюжет в историческите творби на Ян

говори за св. Йероним, като за прочут и авторитетен преводач на Библията (за когото не само в полската историография се изказва мнение, че е бил славянин) авторите мълчат за светите Кирил и Методий<sup>19</sup>.

За съжаление не успяхме да прегледаме всички книги, свързани с протестантизма в Полша от XVI до XVIII век. Не всички ни бяха достъпни по библиотеките, а много от тях просто не са оцелели до днес, но проверихме не по-малко от половината издания от този тип (като се обърнахме за информация към каталогите и справочниците). Затова с колебание, но изказваме предварителното си мнение, че в протестантската и антипротестантската писменост в Жечпосполита Кирило-Методиевият сюжет на практика липсва. Ще продължим издирванията си из други извори от този период и проблематика, както и проучванията си на този въпрос. Ще искаме да се убедим дали наистина е правилен изводът ни, или това беше някакъв изключително куриозен лош късмет на изследвача.

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# VEĽKOMORAVSKÁ TEMATIKA A JEJ VPLYV NA FORMOVANIE HISTORICKÉHO VEDOMIA ŠTUDENTOV VEĽKOREVÚCKEHO GYMNÁZIA<sup>1</sup>

**The Topic of Great Moravia and Its Impact on Shaping Students' Historical Consciousness at the Grammar School in Veľká Revúca**

**Miriam Viršinská**

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**Abstract:** VIRŠINSKÁ, Miriam. *The Topic of Great Moravia and Its Impact on Shaping Students' Historical Consciousness at the Grammar School in Veľká Revúca.* The study focuses on the importance of teaching history at the first Slovak Evangelical Grammar School in Veľká Revúca. It analyses how its teachers, often active in national and political affairs, used history teaching to strengthen Slovak national consciousness. The study underlines that history education contributed to the formation of historical consciousness as well as national awareness. One of the fundamental aims of history education is to develop one's own knowledge of the past, which each individual possesses to varying degrees. Special emphasis was placed on the topic of Great Moravia, which was presented as a successful period of Slovak history before the arrival of the Hungarians, emphasizing the antiquity of the Slovak nation and its right to self-determination within the multi-ethnic Habsburg Empire. The study shows how history education contributes to the formation of historical consciousness and national identity and how the goals of the Slovak national movement were fulfilled by the teachers of the Revúca Grammar School also through the teaching of Slovak history.

**Keywords:** historical consciousness, The Great Moravia, first Slovak Lutheran Grammar School in Veľká Revúca, history textbooks, history of education, Hungarian Kingdom

## Úvod

Poznanie vlastnej minulosti sa už od dávnych čias považovalo za dôležitú súčasť kultúrneho dedičstva každej spoločnosti. Historické vzdelávanie prispievalo k formovaniu historického vedomia, ako aj národného povedomia. K základným cieľom výučby dejín patrí rozvíjanie vlastného poznania o minulosti, ktorým disponuje v rozličnej miere každý jednotlivec. Samotnému pojmu historické vedomie sa v historiografii venujú domáci, ale najmä zahraniční historici, ich prístupy a názory naň sa v odlišnej miere zhodujú, ale aj diferencujú. Vo všeobecnosti možno konštatovať, že spoločnou tézou pre väčšinu definícií historického vedomia zostáva idea, že historické vedomie zahŕňa spojenie medzi interpretáciou minulosti, chápaním súčasnosti a perspektívou budúcnosti. Veľmi zjednodušene možno uviesť, že pod historickým vedomím rozumieme schopnosť vytvárať

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u jednotlivca spojenie medzi minulosťou, prítomnosťou a budúcnosťou (Šubrt – Pfeiferová 2010, 21; Thorp 2013, 188-189).

Historické vzdelávanie predstavuje jeden zo základných komponentov sprostredkúvajúcich spoločnosť vedomosti, ktoré vytvárajú základ jej vedomia o histórii a prispievajú k tvorbe obrazov o dejinných udalostiach či osobnostiach. Dejepisné vyučovanie umožňuje spoznávať história nielen cez jednotlivé fakty v chronologickom slede, ale následne vytvára priestor chápať historické udalosti v súvislostiach, umožňuje vnímať kontinuitu medzi minulosťou a prítomnosťou a do istej miery pripravuje spoločnosť rozpoznávať dôležitosť zmien, ktoré jej prinesie budúcnosť.

V 19. storočí predstavovala výučba dejepisu neoceniteľný nástroj na vytváranie individuálnej národnej identity, ako aj na budovanie historickej pamäti a historického vedomia. V tomto období sa formovanie historického vedomia stalo dôležitou súčasťou národnouemancipačných úsilí jednotlivých národných hnutí v habsburskej monarchii. Významne k tomu prispela aj reforma školského systému v habsburskej monarchii v roku 1849, ktorá zasiahla aj dejepisné vyučovanie a nanovo stanovila jeho hlavné ciele. Po revolúcii 1848/1849 mala história a výučba dejepisu poslúžiť v politických zápasoch na vytváranie takého obrazu o minulosti, ktorý mal potláčať rôzno-rodosť a špecifickosť historického vývoja jednotlivých častí monarchie.

Pád neoabsolutizmu a uvoľnenie politických pomerov koncom 50. rokov 19. storočia, sprevádzané hľadaním nového štátoprávneho usporiadania habsburskej monarchie umožnili aj Slovákom sústrediť sa na hlavné úlohy slovenského národného života. Spomedzi nich je potrebné vyzdvihnúť výchovu a vzdelávanie novej vzdelaneckej vrstvy, ktorá mala zohrať vedúcu pozíciu v posilňovaní slovenského národného, politického a kultúrneho života. Objavovanie histórie a oživovanie historických a kultúrnych tradícii sa stali dôležitou súčasťou týchto procesov. Dôraz na spoznávanie vlastnej minulosti mal podporiť slovenské úsilie o národnú emancipáciu a formovanie národnej identity v kľúčovom období 60. rokov 19. storočia.

Tzv. matičná generácia slovenských národomcov nadviazala na svojich predchodcov a v historickej a umeleckej tvorbe sa prihlásila k odkazu Veľkej Moravy ako dôležitého obdobia slovenských dejín. Naďalej kultivovala a popularizovala kultúrne dedičstvo Veľkej Moravy a jej najdôležitejších aktérov ako súčasť slovenského národného príbehu a reflektovala Cyrila a Metoda ako duchovných otcov slovenského národa, ktorí sa zaslúžili o jeho christianizáciu. K rozširovaniu a upevňovaniu veľkomoravskej a cyrilo-metodskej tradície medzi mladou slovenskou inteligenciou prispelo aj vyučovanie na prvom slovenskom veľkorevúckom gymnáziu. Tejto tematike bol priestor venovaný nielen na hodinách dejepisu či slovenskej literatúry, ale zvýšený záujem o toto obdobie dejín dokladá taktiež tamojšia študentská spolková činnosť.

Pedagógov, ako aj študentov od pertraktovania veľkomoravských a cyrilo-metodských témy neodradili ani zásahy uhorskej štátnej moci, ktorá v období vrcholiacich príprav osláv tisíceho výročia príchodu solúnskych bratov Cyrila a Metoda na Veľkú Moravu považovala ožívajúci cyrilo-metodský kult za prejav silnejúcich slovenských národnouemancipačných snáh. Uhorské vládne kruhy videli v týchto aktivitách nebezpečenstvo ohrozujúce ich asimilačné úsilie o vytvorenie jednonárodného maďarského štátu. Začiatkom roka 1862 preto uhorská miestodržiteľská rada prijala rozkaz, podľa ktorého sa zo slabikárov a čítaniek pripravovaných pre slovenských žiakov ľudových škôl mali vynechať „všetky články, rozprávky, a história týkajúce sa Veľkej Moravy alebo Čiech [...] a namiesto nich, aby sa spracovali primerané články a rozprávky z dejepisu a zemepisu Uhorska“ (Butvin 1963, 158-159).

Napriek tomu, že sa problematike Veľkej Moravy a cyrilo-metodskej tradície<sup>2</sup> a ich prítomnosti v historickej pamäti v 19. a 20. storočí venuje viacero slovenských historikov (Škvarna – Hudek

<sup>2</sup> Percepcia veľkomoravskej tematiky a cyrilo-metodskej tradície v slovenských dejinách sa odohrávala v dvoch rovinách. Zatial čo diela o Cyrilovi a Metodovi sú späť predovšetkým s cirkevnými dejinami,

2013; Borza 2013; Kodajová 2014; Lopatková 2014; Hetényi – Ivanič, 2013, 2017; Hetényi 2019; Podolan 2013; 2015; 2018), jej reflexia v školskom prostredí, resp. medzi dospievajúcou generáciou v 19. storočí zostáva minimálne spracovanou (Wolfová 1994; Matejková 2014; Lomenčík 2016; 2022; Petríková 2021; 2023).<sup>3</sup> Štúdia má preto za cieľ priblížiť na základe doposiaľ málo využívaných prameňov – rukopisných poznámok profesorov, školských zošitov a učebných materiálov žiakov a študentov velkorevúckeho gymnázia – formovanie obrazu o Veľkej Morave a reflektovať túto tému ako pevnú súčasť stredoškolského vzdelávacej inštitúcie.

## Výučba histórie ako dôležitá súčasť veľkorevúckeho gymnaziálneho vzdelávania

Formovanie historického vedomia považovali za dôležitú súčasť dejepisnej výučby už aj učitelia, profesori na prvom slovenskom gymnáziu vo Veľkej Revúcej, ktoré začalo poskytovať vzdelanie pre študentov v slovenskom jazyku od roku 1862. Jeho spoluzakladateľ, dlhorocný správca, predstaviteľ slovenského národného hnutia a zároveň aj učiteľ dejepisu August Horislav Škultéty vo svojej reči prednesenej 16. septembra 1862 pri príležitosti otvorenia gymnázia zdôraznil, že popri všeobecnom vzdelaní má revúcka škola „vychovávať v duchu národnom. Človečenstvo rozčlánkované je na rozličné národy. Každý národ má svoju zvláštnu povahu, svoju reč, svoje mravy a zvyky, svoju minulosť i prítomnosť i svoj úkol, ktorý v budúcnosti previesť má. Na všetko toto ohľad treba vziať, ak sa mládež pre svoj národ a národ pre človečenstvo náležité vychovávať má“ (Škultéty 1889, 44). Za jednu z hlavných príčin slovenského odrodilstva a prekážku národnej emancipácie považoval nedostatočnú znalosť histórie svojho národa. História má študentov naučiť spoznať nedostatky národa, jeho negatívne vlastnosti, mentalitu, aby ich v budúcnosti vedeli identifikovať a zamerali sa na ich odstraňovanie, čo by u Slovákov mohlo napomôcť prehĺbiť ich vzťah k národnému spoločenstvu (Škultéty 1889, 44). V konečnom dôsledku aj vedomosti o minulosti mali prispieť k zlepšeniu postavenia slovenského národa v Uhorsku a poznanie slovenských dejín malo zdôvodniť jeho právo na sebaurčenie v tejto mnohonárodnostnej ríši. Štúdium histórie ponúkalo študentom revúckeho gymnázia možnosť naplniť hlavnú výzvu ich učiteľov, aby z revúckych radosť vziašla nová slovenská generácia schopná pozdvihnuť slovenský národ v súlade s duchovnými hodnotami. Túto predstavu deklaroval Samuel Ormis, jeden z miestnych učiteľov dejepisu: „Však nás predně dejepis učí, že umění a věda pozdvihla již dávnovéké národy na výši slávy a moci. – A v dejepisu vidíme ako v zrcadle život národův, kteří dávni před námi byli a žili, dějstvovali a se pominuli z dějiště tohto světa. – Z dejepisu známe, že poměrně malé, nepatrné národy skrze umění a vědu vyšinuli se na vysoký stupeň slávy, a zastínili počtem sice ohromné, ale v nevědomosti, jakoby ve snách a v spánku smrti polohřízené národy...“ (Ormis 1873, 23).

Dejepis sa na revúckom gymnáziu nevyučoval ako samostatný predmet. V učebných plánoch pre jednotlivé ročníky sa nachádza ako súčasť spojeného predmetu zemepis-dejepis.<sup>4</sup> Výučba sa delila do dvoch učebných cyklov, a to na zemepisno-dejepisné vyučovanie pre nižšie gymnázia

s náboženskou hagiografiou, miesto Veľkej Moravy nachádzame predovšetkým v politických dejinách (Podolan 2015, 127).

<sup>3</sup> Jednej z najvýraznejších postáv veľkomoravskej histórie panovníkovi Svatoplukovi a jeho obrazu v učebniciach dejepisu, avšak v 20. storočí, sa venovala vo svojej štúdii Slávka Otčenášová (2021, 91-112). Obraz Veľkej Moravy v najnovších slovenských a českých učebniciach pre stredné školy predstavili autorky B. Pinterová a A. Kičková (2020, 187-196). Najnovšie sa postavou Pribinu a jeho miestom v slovenských dejinách v súčasnej školskej praxi zaoberali autorky M. Tihányiová a A. Bocková (2023, 165-193).

<sup>4</sup> Učebné plány revúckeho gymnázia vychádzali zo školskej reformy v roku 1849, ktorá tento spojený vzdelávací predmet zemepis-dejepis ukotvila v školskom vyučovaní (podrobne: Viršinská 2021, 34-38).

od prvého do štvrtého ročníka a zemepisno-dejepisné vyučovanie pre vyššie gymnázia od piateho po ôsmy ročník. V každom ročníku, od najnižšieho po najvyšší, bola pre tento predmet zemepis-dejepis určená dotácia 3 hodiny týždenne. Rozsah vyučovacích hodín sa však v priebehu existencie gymnázia často menil, znižoval aj navyšoval, čo súviselo najmä s personálnymi možnosťami školy (Viršinská 2021, 41).

Zachované rukopisy utvárajú obraz o celkovej výučbe, obsahovej náplni a cieľoch dejepisného vyučovania na revúckom gymnáziu. Dejepis definujú ako „*hodnoverné vypravovanie vážnych a pamätných udalostí, ktoré na vyvinovanie a vzdelávanie ľudského pokolenia vplyvovali, a preto každého rozumného človeka zaujímať majú*“ (LA SNK, f. ASNM, sign. MJ 182, 1-3).<sup>5</sup> Podľa obsahu sa členil na „*dejepis občanský, dejepis vzdelanosti; podľa objemu: životopis, národopis a všeobecný dejepis*“ (LA SNK, f. ASNM, sign. MJ 182, 1-3). Podľa učebných osnov sa pozornosť v dejepisnej výučbe sústredovala na tzv. všeobecný dejepis, „*ktorý sa vzťahuje na celé pokolenie ľudské. On to tieto vypravuje akými cestami, príhodami a činami ľudstvo pod správou najvyššej bytnosti k svojmu určeniu, t. j. ku vždy dokonalejšiemu vzdelaniu svojich duchovných sôl a mravných vloch prichádzalo, trebať i jednotlivé národy a jednotliví ľudia nie raz od toho cieľa poblúdili. A tak všeobecný dejepis predstavuje nám velmi poučný a potešiteľný, ale aj výstražný obraz o vychovávaní ľudského pokolenia skrze Boha*“ (LA SNK, f. ASNM, sign. MJ 182, 1-3). Dejepis sa vyučoval chronologicky, členil sa na obdobie staroveku, stredoveku a novoveku, pričom každé z týchto období sa prezentuje „*zvláštnosťami vo viere, občanskom živote a v mravoch ľudstva*“ (LA SNK, f. ASNM, sign. MJ 55, 4). Dôraz je kladený na výučbu minulosti prostredníctvom historických prameňov, hmotných, ako aj písomných, „*z ktorých známosť dejepisu väzime, sú rozličného druhu: ústne zachované podania, budovy, peniaze, címere atď., zvlášte ale písané a tlačené listiny*“ (LA SNK, f. ASNM, sign. MJ 182, 1-3). Nezastupiteľné miesto v spoznávaní histórie majú pomocné vedy historické, ku ktorým sa podľa revúckych pedagógov zaraďujú: „*zemepis, chronológia (letopočet), philologia (mluvozpysť), epigrafia (nápisoveda), diplomatica (známosť čítania a vykladania listín), numismaticia (peňazoznámostvo), heraldika (címeroveda), sphragistica (známosť pečatí), genealogia (rodoslovie)*“ (LA SNK, f. ASNM, sign. MJ 182, 1-3).

Zameranie na všeobecný dejepis ilustrujú učebné plány pre jednotlivé ročníky obsiahnuté v školských správach. Domáce uhorské dejiny, s akcentom na postavenie slovenského národa v nich, sa vyučovali vždy až v poslednom ročníku nižšieho aj vyššieho gymnázia, to znamenalo, že študenti sa prvýkrát stretli s domácimi dejinami až vo štvrtom ročníku nižšieho gymnázia a v ôsmom ročníku vyššieho gymnázia. Ako je z plánov zrejmé, vo štvrtnej triede sa učivo tematicky rozčleňovalo na obdobie pred príchodom Maďarov, druhá časť niesla názov *Dom Arpádovský*, tretia kapitola približovala dejiny *kráľov z rozličných domov*, štvrtý oddiel sa zameriaval na *kráľov z domu Habsbursko-lotharingského* a posledná časť je venovaná zemepisu Uhorska (Škultéty 1869, 17). Dejepis u študentov štvrtého ročníka vyučoval Mieroslav Kovalevský, pôvodne evanjelický knaz, ktorý prišiel do Revúcej v roku 1867. Zo správy sa rovnako dozvedáme informáciu, že sa vyučovalo podľa rukopisov, keďže v tomto období ešte neexistovala vhodná tlačená učebnica uhorských, resp. slovenských dejín v slovenskom jazyku určená pre slovenské stredné školy.<sup>6</sup> O nutnosti vpracovať vlastné učebné materiály z dejepisu pre študentov svedčí aj zoznam používaných

<sup>5</sup> Literárny archív, Slovenská národná knižnica (ďalej LA SNK), fond Archív Slovenského národného múzea (ďalej f. ASNM), Škultéty, August Horislav: Všeobecný dejepis starého veku. Písal: Ludovít Rizner a Koloman Banšell 1864/5, vypracoval August Horislav Škulthéty, učbár na V. Revúckom gymnasiu, signatúra (ďalej sign.) MJ 182.

<sup>6</sup> Za prvú tlačenú slovenskú učebnicu dejepisu pre slovenské školy (vhodnú aj pre stredné školy) možno považovať *Dejepis všeobecný a zvláštny Uhorska svetský a náboženský dľa rukopisu p. Františka V. Sasinka pre slovenské národné školy* od Andreja Radlinského (1871).

učebníc na revúckom gymnáziu. V zozname akékoľvek učebné texty určené na hodiny dejepisu absentujú (SNA, f. SEGvR, Spisy, škat. 1, kat. č. 36).<sup>7</sup>

Medzi učebnicami sa však nachádzajú *Slovenské čítanky pre nižšie gymnasia* (I. diel 1864, prepracované vydanie 1866, II. diel 1865) od profesora výššeho katolíckeho gymnázia v Banskej Bystrici Emila Černého, ktoror okrem literárnych ukážok zo slovenskej poézie, prózy aj drámy obsahujú úryvky z náučných, resp. vedeckých textov, pričom časť z nich predstavuje ukážky z vtedajších historických prác.<sup>8</sup> Nezachovalo sa síce veľa autentických svedectiev z dobových dokumentov o praktickej realizácii dejepisného vyučovania, avšak možno predpokladať, že s týmito úryvkami sa oboznámili aj študenti na dejepisných hodinách. Ak chceli revúcki učitelia dejepisu zdôrazniť význam histórie a motivovať študentov k zvýšenému záujmu o dejiny, dozaista mohli na svojich hodinách z čítanky využiť text od Fraňa Smetanaya *Užitok z učenia sa dejepisu*, ktorý poukazuje na zmysel dejepisného vyučovania a prezentuje jeho dôležitosť: „*Cím bedlivejšej pozorujeme, čo sa deje a dialo s nami a vôkol nás, tým viacej známok nachádzame na ceste života, dla ktorých spravovať sa máme, abysme došli ciela žiadaneho, tým viacej výstražných tabúl hlásajúcich nám, čeho varovať sa máme, abysme pokute neprepadli. Lákajú-li nás z jednej strany príklady zvodné: hrozia nám naproti z druhej záhubné následky jejich a odstrašujú nás tým istejšej, čím svetlejšej ich nelen rozumom poznávame, ale jakoby očite pred sebou spatrujeme – v dejepise*“ (Černý 1865, 215).

## **Velkomoravská tematika v dejepisnom vyučovaní veľkorevúckeho gymnázia**

Absencia slovenských dejepisných učebníc viedla k tomu, že si revúcki profesori pripravovali vlastné učebné materiály, ktoré následne aj na hodinách dejepisu používali a cez ne prinášali vtedajšie poznatky historickej vedy, čo dokladajú zachované poznámky študentov revúckeho gymnázia (LA SNK, f. RMSS, sign. MSS 214; LA SNK, f. SŠO, sign. 46 CHCHCH 2).<sup>9</sup> Dejiny Uhorska študovali študenti štvrtého a ôsmeho ročníka z rukopisu už spomínaného vyučujúceho M. Kovalevského (LA SNK, f. KM, sign. M 48 D 6).<sup>10</sup> Ten svoj učebný text rozdelil do troch častí, v ktorých dominujú politické dejiny. Históriu Veľkej Moravy zachytáva druhá „doba“ s názvom *Od pádu ríše hunskej do pádu ríše Veľkomoravskej, od r. 454 – 907 po Kr.* (LA SNK, f. KM, sign. M 48 D 6, 18) v podkapitole pomenovanej *Ríša Veľko-Moravská asi od r. 662 – 907. Maroth, Svatoš, Samomír, Samoslav, Hormidor a Mojmír I.*, nachádzajúcej sa na jedenástich rukou písaných stranach (LA SNK, f. KM, sign. M 48 D 6, 26-37). Hoci zo známych prameňov nie je zrejmé, odkiaľ Kovalevský svoje poznatky pre dejepisné poznámky čerpal, samotná štruktúra textu, jeho členenie, ako aj periodizácia svedčia o tom, že sa inšpiroval dielom *Dejiny drievnych národov na území vtedajšieho Uhorska* od Franka Víťazoslava Sasinka (1867), najvýznamnejšieho slovenského historika 19. storočia, autora prvej modernej syntézy slovenských dejín. Zo zachovaného zoznamu učebníc (SNA, f. SEGvR, Spisy, škat. 1, kat. č. 36) a zoznamu gymnaziálnej knižnice (Historická knižnica Prvého slovenského gymnázia) možno dedukovať, že školská knižnica disponovala Sasinkovými dielami,

<sup>7</sup> Slovenský národný archív (ďalej SNA), fond Slovenské evanjelické gymnázium v Revúcej (ďalej f. SEGvR), Spisy, škatuľa (ďalej škat.) 1, katalógové číslo (ďalej kat. č.) 36.

<sup>8</sup> Výučbu slovenského jazyka a slovenskej literatúry na revúckom gymnáziu a rozbor uvedených slovenských čítaniek spracoval vo svojich textoch J. Lomenčík (2016, č. 1, 2016, č. 2).

<sup>9</sup> LA SNK, fond Rukopisy Muzeálnej slovenskej spoločnosti (ďalej f. RMSS), Slávik, Ján: Slovenčina, náboženstvo, Dejepis zo VII. triedy Jána Slávika 1872/73, sign. MSS 214; LA SNK, fond Samuel Štefan Osuský (ďalej f. SŠO), Lehotský, Mieroslav: Školské poznámky z revúckeho gymnázia, sign. 46 CHCHCH 2.

<sup>10</sup> LA SNK, fond Kovalevský Mieroslav (ďalej f. KM), Dejiny Uhorska, sign. M 48 D 6.

a preto mohli revúckym pedagógom poslúžiť ako základný prameň na dejepisné poznámky a vý-učbu uhorských, resp. slovenských dejín.<sup>11</sup>

Kapitolu o Veľkomoravskej ríši datuje Kovalevský medzi roky 662 – 907. Začína Samovou smrťou v roku 662 a na geograficky vyčlenenom priestore v južnej časti bývalej Samovej ríše (zahrňajúc Moravu, Slovensko, hornú Pannóniu, Rakúsko, Štajersko, Krajnu a Korutansko, taktiež aj časť Sliezska, Poľska a Ruska) uvádzá ako vládcov v chronologickom slede: *Marotha, Svatoša, Samomíra, Samoslava a Hormidora*. Panovníka Svatoša považuje za zakladateľa Velehradu, nového panovníckeho sídla pri rieke Morave. Čo je však zaujímavé, na rozdiel od Sasinka a vtedajších poznatkov historickej vedy, Svatoš sa spomína ako zakladateľ nového štátneho útvaru – Veľkej Moravy. Z poznámok sa nedozvedáme, kedy sa tak stalo (LA SNK, f. KM, sign. M 48 D 6, 26-27). Z doposiaľ známych prameňov nie je zrejmé, odkiaľ Kovalevský prevzal túto informáciu. Tu sa možno domnievať, že nesprávne interpretoval a prepísal Sasinkove poznatky. Sasinek totiž vo svojich *Dejinách drievnych národov* nehovorí v súvislosti so Svatošom o vzniku Veľkomoravskej ríše, ale spomína, že počas jeho vlády sa tamojší Slovania začali nazývať Moravanmi podľa rieky Morava, pri ktorej bolo založené nové centrum tejto ríše, spomínaný Velehrad (Sasinek 1867, 158). Súčasná historická veda uvedené mená medzi prvými panovníkmi Veľkomoravskej ríše neuvádza, ich existenciu nepotvrdila.

Ako ďalší vládca tohto územia sa predstavuje Mojmír, ktorý je tu opisovaný ako „*muž ducha v tom veku neobyčajného*“, čo dokladajú udalosti, ktoré sa počas jeho panovania odohrali. Mojmír je v tomto učebnom texte prezentovaný ako múdry vládca, ktorý prijal kresťanskú vieru, vďaka zmluve uzavretej s cisárom Ludovítom sa vyhol bojom s Frankmi (Nemcami) a zabezpečil si mier vo svojej ríši, avšak podrobenej franskému panovníkovi. V rokoch 827 – 829 si Mojmír na svojom území upevnil a rozšíril moc na úkor susedných kniežatstiev a vytvoril základy „onej“ mocnej moravskej ríše, ktorá zažila svoj vrchol v druhej polovici 9. storočia (LA SNK, f. KM, sign. M 48 D 6, 27).

V čase panovania Mojmíra v „moravskej ríši“ vládol nad územím Slovenska Pribina, nitrianske knieža, ktorý bol pre intrígy proti Mojmírovi v roku 830 zbavený vlády nad Nitrianskym kniežatstvom. Následne vďaka zmieru s cisárom Ludovítom, ktorý sa zaslúžil o jeho pokresťanenie, získal vládu nad územím tzv. „Slovenska“ (LA SNK, f. KM, sign. M 48 D 6, 28). Ďalej sa z poznámok dozvedáme, že pre snahu Mojmíra vymaniť sa spod vplyvu Franskej ríše vtrhol v roku 846 východofranský kráľ Ľudovít Nemec na Moravu a na jeho miesto dosadił Mojmírovho syna Rastislava (LA SNK, f. KM, sign. M 48 D 6, 28). Opäťovne je možné všimnúť si Kovalevského nedôslednosť pri spracovaní Sasinkových poznatkov. Sasinek totiž správne označuje Rastislava ako Mojmírovho synovca a nie syna (Sasinek 1867, 160), čo sa zhoduje aj s dnešnými poznatkami historickej vedy.

Výklad ďalej pokračuje vládou Rastislava. Ak sa pre Ludovíta Nemca javil Mojmír „*podozrelijm*“, Rastislav pre jeho ríšu predstavoval už skutočné nebezpečenstvo, pretože jeho jediným cieľom sa stala nezávislosť Veľkej Moravy od Východofranskej ríše. Na dosiahnutie svojho cieľa začal stavať v tom čase nedobytné pevnosti a využil dočasné vojenské angažovanie sa kráľa Ludovíta Nemca proti Čechom a Srbom. Rastislavovi sa podarilo v roku 855 odraziť vojenský vpád Ludovíta na Moravu, čo mu prinieslo slobodu, a na jeho území našli útočisko Ludovítom utlačované a prenasledované kniežatá, medzi ktorými sa spomína napr. Ludovítov syn Ľudovít ml. aj Karolman. Hoci formálne nebola uznaná nezávislosť Veľkej Moravy od Ludovíta Nemca, autor poznámok

<sup>11</sup> Historická knižnica Prvého slovenského gymnázia obsahuje Sasinkove diela: *Dejiny drievnych národov na území vtedajšieho Uhorska* (1867), *Dejiny Kráľovstva Uhorského*. Diel. I., zošit I. (1869), *Dejiny Kráľovstva Uhorského*. Diel. I. (1869), *Archiv starých česko-slovenských listín, písemností a dejepisných pôvodín*. Diel I., zväzok I. (1872).

približuje toto obdobie ako obdobie skutočnej nezávislosti Veľkej Moravy, ku ktorému dopomohli Rastislavove úspešné kroky v zahraničnej politike – nadviazanie spojenectva s bulharským kniežaťom a „*domom carihradským*“ (LA SNK, f. KM, sign. M 48 D 6, 28-29). Opäťovná strata nezávislosti a podrobenie Veľkej Moravy Franskej ríši nastali po tom, ako sa cisárovi Ľudovítovi podarilo odstrhnúť Rastislava od jeho spojencov. V roku 864 sa mu Rastislav vzdal pri hroziacom útoku na svoje pozície na Devíne a oficiálne uznal svoju oddanosť franskému panovníkovi. Po niekoľkých rokoch pokoja sa v roku 869 nanovo rozhoreli boje iniciované Rastislavom proti Ľudovítovi vpádom na jeho územie, na čo východofranský panovník reagoval odvetnou vojenskou výpravou na Veľkú Moravu. Tu sa prvýkrát objavuje v texte Svätopluk ako nitrianske knieža. Útok Frankov proti Morave sa skončil neúspechom napriek tomu, že sa francske vojská dostali až k Velehradu, centru Moravy, ktoré je tu označené za Rastislavovo sídlo. Neúspech Ľudovíta priniesol definitívnu samostatnosť pre Veľkú Moravu (LA SNK, f. KM, sign. M 48 D 6, 29).

Na nasledujúcich stranách sa ako ústredná postava historického vývoja vykresľuje Svätopluk, označovaný za mimoriadne ambiciozného panovníka. Ten, usilujúc sa o veľkomoravský kniežací stolec, neváhal zradiť svojho strýka Rastislava, spojil sa s jeho nepriateľom Karolmanom a zaslúžil sa o jeho zajatie a vydanie francskejmu vládcovi. Autor sice neopomnenul snahu Rastislava zavraždiť Svätopluka, ale jeho skutok vykresľuje de facto ako nevyhnutný krok na svoju záchrana a znemožnenie mu zmocniť sa vlády na Veľkej Morave. Tento sled udalostí umožnil v konečnom dôsledku Karolmanovi „vyšachovať“ z nástupu na veľkomoravský trón Svätopluka a za správcov Veľkej Moravy dosadil východofrancských grófov Engelšalka a Viljama, v texte označených archaickým slovenským termínom „*hrábátá*“ bez uvedenia bližších informácií (LA SNK, f. KM, sign. M 48 D 6, 29).

Výnimočnosť Rastislava ako historickej postavy a jeho výsadné postavenie v dejinách Veľkej Moravy autor podčiarkuje opisom posledných rokov jeho života. Hoci kráľ Ľudovít odsúdil Rastislava na smrť, nakoniec neboli popravený, ale podľa rozkazu francskejho panovníka mu vylúpli oči a uvrhli do nemenovaného nemeckého kláštora. O ďalších osudoch Rastislava rozpráva už len ľudová povest, ktorá hovorí, že „*ho vlastnia dcéra jeho za šuhaja preoblečená vodievala a po rokoch do Velehradu ku Svatoplukovi priviedla, keď odpustiac tomuto jeho vinu - zomrel*“ (LA SNK, f. KM, sign. M 48 D 6, 30). Autor vníma postavu Rastislava vo vysoko pozitívnom zmysle bez negatívnych vlastností. Dokázal totiž úspešne, až do momentu zrady, eliminovať mocenské ambície východofrancského vládcu Ľudovíta Nemca o ovládnutie stredoeurópskeho priestoru. V určitom ohľade možno konštatovať, že ho stavia do pozície martyra, po smrti opradeného legendou, ktorý sa za svoje úsilie o dobudovanie Veľkomoravskej ríše ako nezávislého štátu stal obeťou zrady vlastného, ctižiadostivého príbuzného.

Autor sa na ďalších stranách zaoberá neúspešným nástupom Svätopluka na pozíciu vládca Veľkej Moravy po uväznení Rastislava, pričom túto udalosť označuje ako pomstu voči Rastislavovi za jeho „*nešlachetny*“ čin. Z dôvodu prípravy povstania proti francskej správcom Veľkej Moravy ho v roku 871 obvinil francskejvládca Karolman z „*never*“ a uvrhol ho do väzenia. Obyvatelia Moravy sa proti tomu vzbúrili, vyhnali Nemcov z Moravy a na veľkomoravský prestol dosadili Slavomíra, príbuzného moravských kniežat. Keďže chcel Karolman využiť Svätopluka na porážku odbojných Moravanov a ovládnutie Moravy, nechal ho prepustiť z väzenia a zveril mu vojsko, s ktorým tiahol proti Moravanom. Svätopluk sa nakoniec vďaka druhej zrade voči Karolmanovi a nevídanej porážke Karolmanovho vojska zmocnil ešte v tom istom roku vlády nad Veľkou Moravou („*Slovenskom a terajšou Moravou*“) (LA SNK, f. KM, sign. M 48 D 6, 30).

Podľa autora sa ovládnutie Veľkej Moravy Svätoplukom stalo dôležitým medzínikom v dejinách a otvorilo priestor na ďalšie posilňovanie Svätoplukovej moci aj s pomocou bojovných Čechov. Spojenectvo českého a moravského dvora malo pre samotných Čechov dôležité následky. Svätopluk od začiatku vlády odrážal útoky svojho západného nepriateľa a napokon sa mu podarilo dosiahnuť „*národnú samostatnosť*“ a zbaviť sa závislosti od Frankov. Autor ďalej uvádzá, že Svätoplukovi

k upevneniu moci prispeli najmä zahraničnopolitické okolnosti, keď po smrti kráľa Ľudovíta došlo k rozdeleniu územia jeho nepriateľov a oslabovaniu ich postavenia (LA SNK, f. KM, sign. M 48 D 6, 31). Svätopluk vďaka vojenským víťazstvám a získaním Panónie a Korutánska postupne rozširoval svoju ríšu na juh aj západ. Počas svojho panovania neustále odrážal útoky nepriateľov, medzi ktorými sa prvýkrát objavujú Maďari, ale tých Svätopluk úspešnou taktikou obklúčil a zajal. Až do svojej smrti v roku 894, po 24 rokoch vlády, čelil neustálym víťazstvom, mnohé sám podnikol a následným uzatváraním zmlúv pevné držal moc nad Veľkou Moravou a rozšíril jej územie na všetky svetové strany. Jeho smrťou sa skončilo vrcholné obdobie Veľkomoravskej ríše.

Dopisal v učebnom texte autor nemenoval nijaký konkrétny prameň, až v súvislosti so Svätoplukovou smrťou nájdeme odkaz na dielo byzantského cisára a historiografa Konštantína Porfyrogeneta. Ten približuje ďalšie osudy Veľkej Moravy, keď Svätopluk rozdelil vládu medzi troch synov, pričom najstarší z nich, neskorší Mojmir II., mal nad svojimi dvoma bratmi získať zvrchovanú moc. V texte sa objavuje aj legenda o troch prútoch predstavujúcich svornosť bratov, avšak bez bližšieho vysvetlenia a významu. Rovnako ako aj v prípade Rastislavovej smrti, Kovalevský prostredníctvom povesti spochybnil Svätoplukovu smrť odkazom na dielo českého kronikára Kosmasa. Jeho dielo ukrýva povest o tom, že Svätopluk v bitke s Maďarmi prišiel o oko a následne sa zriekol dovtedajšieho života a žil ako pustovník na nitrianskom vrchu Sobor (pozn. autorky Zobor) (LA SNK, f. KM, sign. M 48 D 6, 33).

Autor v ďalšej časti textu poukázal na rozdielne interpretácie udalostí, ktoré sa odohrali na Veľkej Morave počas posledných rokov jej existencie. Spomína, že podľa diela K. Porfyrogeneta vládli na Veľkej Morave traja synovia, zatiaľ čo Fuldské analýzy uvádzajú v roku 899 na Veľkej Morave už len dvoch vládcov, Mojmíra a Svätopluka. Z toho vyplynula domnieka, že tretí syn Svätoboj zahynul alebo sa stal mníchom. To však nič nezmenilo na fakte, že už rok po Svätoplukovej smrti došlo medzi bratmi k sporom, čo nakoniec Veľkomoravskej ríše prinieslo skazu. Ríšu postupne oslabili Česi, Maďari a nakoniec aj samotní Svätoplukovi synovia, namieriac zbraň proti sebe. Hoci dovedy autor učebnice nepovažoval za dôležité poukázať vo výklade na rozličné interpretácie udalostí vtedajšou historickou vedou a mnohé sporné dejinné momenty predkladal ako nespochybniteľné fakty, v prípade opisu zániku Veľkomoravskej ríše urobil výnimku. M. Kovalevský v závere kapitoly kladie otázky, či Mojmir II. zahynul v bojoch s Maďarmi alebo Poliakmi, kde a kedy zomrel, a to aj napriek tomu, že jeho meno sa vytráca z dejín po bitke pri Bratislave v roku 907. Spochybňuje taktiež, že by sa Veľká Morava rozpadla len pod náporom Maďarov, keď sa odvoláva na českého kronikára Kosmasa, a zdôrazňuje, že po bitke pri Bratislave územie Slovenska a východnej Moravy pripadlo Poliakom, západnú Moravu ovládli Česi a juh Nemci. Maďari získali Panóniu už predtým okolo roku 899 (LA SNK, f. KM, sign. M 48 D 6, 35). Uvedené idey pritom nie sú priamo autorove, ale čerpá ich zo Sasinkovej práce (Sasinek 1867, 177).

Autor učebnice M. Kovalevský sa na nasledujúcich riadkoch zaoberá príčinami pádu Veľkej Moravy, čo možno z jeho strany považovať za netradičný prístup k veľkomoravskej problematike. Zatiaľ sa v texte totiž neobjavili informácie o cirkevných záležitostiach, bez ktorých nie je možné komplexne objasniť dejiny Veľkej Moravy a uvažovať o okolnostiach jej zániku. Aj v 19. storočí historická veda v prípade výskumu dejín Veľkej Moravy neizolovala politické dejiny od dejín cirkevných a za dôležitú súčasť veľkomoravskej histórie považovala círilo-metodskú tematiku. Pri analýze textu tejto podkapitoly však zase badať inšpiráciu autorových záverov v Sasinkovom diele (Sasinek 1867, 246-247). Autor v súlade so Sasinkovými stanoviskami hľadá hlavné príčiny zániku Veľkej Moravy už v mocenskej politike franského panovníka Karola Veľkého a v jeho snahe o podmaňovanie si susedných národov v záujme šírenia osvetky a kresťanstva: „*Aby ale meču svojmu jakéosi ospravedlnenie a posvätenie získal máchal ním pod zásterou osvety a šírenia kresťanstva*“ (LA SNK, f. KM, sign. M 48 D 6, 35; Sasinek 1867, 244). Spolu s christianizáciou prinútil susedné slovanské národy podrobiť sa franskej nadvláde, čo mu uľahčovala ich vzájomná nesvornosť

a rozdrobenosť. Nebezpečenstvo karolovskej franskej politiky si ako prvý uvedomil Mojmír, ktorý šírenie kresťanskej viery využil na zjednotenie slovanských kmeňov v jednom štáte. O vymanenie sa spod vplyvu Franskej ríše sa definitívne usiloval Rastislav, preto sa obrátil na východnú cirkev a „*skrzes slovanskú bohoslužbu i literatúru ľudu svojmu kresťanstvo i vzdelenosť prístupnejšou urobil*“ (LA SNK, f. KM, sign. M 48 D 6, 36; Sasinek 1867, 245). V jeho úsilí pokračoval Svätopluk, ktorý svojimi činmi prekonal svojho predchodcu a dosiahol politickú aj cirkevnú samostatnosť od Franskej ríše. Zatiaľ čo doposiaľ sa autor v celej práci nezaoberal jeho titulmi, tu ho podľa Sasinkovej predlohy nazýva „*výtečným kráľom Veľkomoravy. Nelen česká legenda nábožným ho nazýva, lež Šarlátoodenec líči ho sťa mohutného a strašného susedného národu, ba i samotný Regino pripomína ho sťa najmúdrejšieho medzi svojimi a duchom najobozretnejšieho*“ (LA SNK, f. KM, sign. M 48 D 6, 37; Sasinek 1867, 246), ako tiež spomína Reginonova kronika. V závere podkapitoly autor konštatuje, že napokon politické i cirkevné rozbroje privodili zánik Veľkomoravskej ríše. Až na nasledujúcich stranách autor rozoberá cirkevnú otázku a jej význam v dejinách Veľkej Moravy.

Odlíšnú interpretáciu vzniku Veľkej Moravy ponúkol študentom ďalší z učiteľov dejepisu – Ľudovít Mičátek, skúsený pedagóg, ktorý v školskom roku 1869/1870 zastupoval dejepisára Rudolfa Homolu. Jeho erudíciu a dobrú znalosť dejín dokazujú poznámky jeho študentov, ktoré ponúkajú koncepčnejší prístup k dejinám a štruktúrovanejší výklad. Nie je však známe, od kiaľ informácie o histórii Veľkej Moravy čerpal. Podľa analýzy poznámok Mičátkovho študenta Mieroslava Lehotského sú počiatky Veľkej Moravy bezprostredne späť so zánikom Samovej ríše, keď „*po smrti Samovej utvorilo sa viac krajín pod rozličnými panovníkmi, z nich jedna okolo Dunaja a Karpát, ktorá vzala meno Veľká Morava. – Vlastne spomínajú sa dve Moravie, menšia v Panonii a veľká na stranach rieky Moravy*“ (LA SNK, f. SŠO, sign. 46 CHCHCH 2, zošit 2, 4). Na Morave panoval Morót, ktorý sídlil v Stolnom (pozn. autorky Stoličnom) Belehrade. Po ňom sa ujal moci Svatoš, „*o ktorom sa domnievajú, že zatlačený od Avarov preložil svoje sídlo do vyšnej Moravy a tam postavil druhý Belehrad, a svoju ríšu nazval V. Moravou*“ (LA SNK, f. SŠO, sign. 46 CHCHCH 2, zošit 2, 4). Po Svatošovi nastúpil na veľkomoravský stolec „korutánsky kráľovič“ Samomír, nasledovaný jeho synom Samoslavom, ktorý „*v roku 787 viedol mnohé vojny s Avarmi a spojil sa s Karolom Veľkým proti nim*“ (LA SNK, f. SŠO, sign. 46 CHCHCH 2, zošit 2, 5). Po ňom sa spomína Hormidór a následne vstupuje na scénu slovenských dejín Mojmír. Ten je zobrazený ako panovník, ktorý sa nezapletol do dobových vojenských a politických sporov s Frankmi, Bulharmi či Nemcami, pretože jeho prioritou sa stalo posilnenie vlastnej moci, aby mohol úspešne vzdorovať nemeckému cisárstvu. Počas Mojmírovej vlády panoval v Nitre Pribina. Na rozdiel od vtedajších poznatkov historickej vedy ich autor v poznámkach uviedol ako príslušníkov jedného rodu: „*V samej Morave platil starý zákon stor., že údovia domu panujúceho deliť majú medzi sebou krajinu. Tak aj Pribina z rodu Mojmírovo mal za údel dnešné Slovensko a menoval sa knieža Nitrianskej a bez pochyby domáhal sa pomocou Gerala II. východného grófa moci velkokniežacej a preto bol skrz Mojmíra z vlasti vyhnany*“ (LA SNK, f. SŠO, sign. 46 CHCHCH 2, zošit 2, 6). Opis dejín vlády Rastislava a Svätopluka sa zásadne neodlišuje od vykreslenia ich obrazu v prácach M. Kovalevského, avšak s jedným významným rozdielom. Ľ. Mičátek považoval za dôležité priblížiť cirkevnú problematiku Veľkej Moravy, s dôrazom na cyrilo-metodskú tematiku a politické dejiny.

## Záver

Dejepisné vyučovanie na prvom slovenskom evanjelickom gymnáziu vo Veľkej Revúcej sa stalo dôležitou súčasťou slovenského stredoškolského vzdelávania. Tamojší pedagógovia, mnohí aktívni v národnom aj politickom dianí, sa usilovali aj prostredníctvom výučby historie napĺňať slovenský

národný program. V 60. rokoch 19. storočia k hlavným úlohám dejepisného vyučovania patrilo budovanie národného povedomia aj prostredníctvom spoznávania histórie Slovákov. Veľkomoravskej tematike sa na hodinách dejepisu venoval dostatočný priestor z viacerých dôvodov. V intenciach vtedajšej historickej spisby pedagógovia na gymnáziu vo Veľkej Revúcej poukazovali na úspešné obdobie v slovenských dejinách ešte pred príchodom Maďarov do stredoeurópskeho priestoru, čím vyzdvihovali starobylosť slovenského národa a zdôvodňovali jeho právo na sebaurčenie v mnohonárodnostnej habsburskej ríši. Nadviazali tak na staršie koncepty vyučovania zemepisu-histórie, avšak oproti minulosti s väčším akcentom na národné dejiny, ale stále s prvkami habsburského legitimizmu a krajinského uhorského patriotizmu. Po Rakúsko-uhorskom vyrovnaní naplno vypukol odpor maďarskej vládnucej elity proti akýmkolvek snahám predstaviteľov slovenského národného hnutia o posilňovanie národného povedomia, spojených okrem iného s historickým naratívom Veľkej Moravy. Napriek tomu učitelia na revúckom gymnáziu až do konca jeho existencie poukazovali na význam tejto tradície v slovenských dejinách a vďaka dejepisnej výučbe sprístupňovali jej odkaz mladej nastupujúcej slovenskej inteligencii.

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# SVÄTOPLUK IN CZECH AND CZECH-WRITTEN HISTORIOGRAPHY. A FEW CRITICAL REMARKS PART ONE: UP TO THE 1960s

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**Abstract:** HOMZA, Martin. *Svätopluk in Czech and Czech-written Historiography. A Few Critical Remarks. Part one: Up to the 1960s.* In the 19th-21th centuries, Czech historiography has set the main themes and trends in the research of Svätopluk. This article analyses in detail the first part of the development arc the interpretation of Svätopluk – from his glorification to his downgrading – has undergone within this Central European school of history in the period under review. The vast scope of this subject made it necessary to divide the article into several shorter periods. Among the initial and underlying themes included in the interpretation of Svätopluk up to 1918 is his legitimist perception as the predecessor of the later Bohemian kings, as well as understanding Svätopluk's kingdom as the archetype of the Habsburg monarchy. With the development of Czech political thought around 1914 – 1918, Svätopluk was perceived as the unifier of the Czechs and Moravians and eventually, with the establishment of the first Czechoslovak Republic, of the Slovaks as well. The traditional Czech anti-papal stance has logically resulted in Czech historians failing to pay the necessary attention to the Roman dimension of Svätopluk's politics. Likewise, scholarly perspectives often fall short in emphasising his prevailing pro-Empire policy. Up to the 1960s – with few exceptions (Václav Novotný and František Graus) – Czech historiography focused in just certain issues and topics connected with the person and reign of Svätopluk. In the same spirit, it is obvious that the Czech interpretation of the first of the Moymirids aimed at meeting the current political demands of the Czech elites.

**Key words:** *Svätopluk I, Bořivoj, St. Methodius, Cosmas of Prague, (Pseudo)Christian, tradition, interpretation, legitimism, Central Europe, papacy, rex Sclavorum*

When at the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries, Frankish chronicler Regino of Prüm assessed the circumstances following the death of Svätopluk, king of the Moravian Slavs, he could not have imagined the magnitude of the historiographical conundrum his account of the short and unfortunate reign of Svätopluk I's sons and the following invasions of the Hungarians who "shattered everything from the ground up" would eventually create (Prumensis Reginoni Abbatis 1890, 143).

The extinction of the male line of the central Moymirid dynasty together with the decimation and expulsion of the Moravian political and ecclesiastical elites disrupted the development of the memory of Great Moravia, as Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus would call the most successful political project of the Danube Slavs half a century after its demise. Ever since, the fundamental question that has begged asking is who the history of the 9th-century Moravian Slavs actually belongs to and how it is to be approached. The lack of "memory bearers" and of any "memory" evolution of Great Moravia – and Svätopluk I as its most important ruler – has had interesting and long-lasting consequences, indeed.

The generally accepted consensus is that – from a broader perspective – the history of Great Moravia forms part of the history of Central Europe. It also constitutes an integral part of the first attempt by the elites of the Occident and the papacy to create a universal European Christian Empire (*Imperium Christianum*) ruled by the Carolingians. In fact, the history of Great Moravia has not been a hard nut to crack just recently. It has been a source of trouble since the late 11th century when – in the background of two universalist powers fighting one another: the papacy and the empire – the new Central European dynasties started writing their own dynastic deeds or *gesta*. These narratives aimed at justifying the historical rights and power the relevant lineages had so far managed to obtain. In order to do so, of course, these new dynasties needed to deal with the fact that they were not the first political structures to claim power over the relevant people and territories. In the case of the Přemyslids, they needed to come to terms with the preserved memory of the Moymirids and their foremost representative, Svatopluk I the Great.

This article aims to look at how Czech and Moravian historiography – especially written in Czech – has come to terms with this issue over the last 200 years or so. Due to its limited scope, it cannot be an encyclopaedic register of all those researchers who have approached this topic but, rather, a general exploration of the issue. The vastness of the topic has made it necessary to divide the paper into two parts. The first one focuses preferentially on historians who have studied this topic from the mid 19th up to the late 20th century.

At the outset, it is necessary to point out that I am not the first scholar to attempt a similar task. Lubomíra Havlíková, (Havlíková 2015, 66-70) for example, has already published an article with a related focus which, however, has a rather enumerative character. In his monograph, German historian Stefan Albrecht approached a similar topic – although not strictly focused on Svatopluk – in more detail (Albrecht 2003). His work, however, only covers a selected sample of researchers and constitutes a rather simple overview of scholars and institutions that have dealt with this theme. Other historians such as Dušan Třeštík (1985, 273-301) as well as – more recently – David Kalhous (2016, 71-91) and Robert Antonín (2014, 123-141) have invested more profound thoughts on the place Great Moravia occupies in Czech history.

Before embarking on this intricate journey, let me begin with a few historical and geographic factors that to some extent determined the earliest history of Bohemia in relation to Moravia. The present-day Czech Republic consists of two main – one might say dominant – river systems: the basins of the Elbe and the Morava. These territories are separated by the Bohemian-Moravian Highlands. However, no clear border line existed for a long time. It just ran “through the middle of the forest” and would only consolidate gradually over the 12th-14th centuries (Třeštík 1999, 142). Just to get an idea, Czech archaeologist Ivo Štefan calculated that the journey from Mikulčice to Prague through the forests of the Bohemian-Moravian Highlands would take 9-14 days on foot and 4-7 days on horseback (Štefan 2019, 155-156). The third and considerably smaller river system in today's Czechia is formed by the tributaries of the Oder.

This division gave origin to three distinct regions that in the Middle Ages formed the kingdom that has been historically known as the Czech Lands or the Lands of the Czech Crown, namely Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. Flowing into the North Sea, the Elbe sets Bohemia in the wider historical framework of Polabia – the Elbe valley – and, therefore, in the orbit of German history, whereas the Odra rather takes Silesia into the Polish sphere of influence. A tributary of the Danube, the Morava refers mainly to the Mediterranean culture which is naturally associated with the *Orbis Romanus*. It took numerous whimsical circumstances to merge these three regions together into a unit in a historical process that was far from being as straightforward as it might seem today. Creating a historical construction that would encompass the complexity of this process has been, is and shall remain a demanding task. Connecting these perhaps related though still rather different regions and their peoples constitutes a major ideological challenge, indeed. And the creation of

Czecho-Slovakia in 1918 just made an already bad situation even worse. In fact, to justify the creation of this new country, its creators referred precisely to the Great Moravian Empire in which they saw the first common “polity” of Czechs, Moravians and Slovaks and, therefore, the historical predecessor of Czecho-Slovakia.

Before moving on to the first authors and their concepts, let us have a look at the different sources of Czech provenance that determined the basic scheme Czech scholarly literature used to approach Svätopluk in the Middle Ages. Those familiar with this topic know very well that Czech history in the early middle ages and, therefore, Czech history in general have been interpreted in line with the notions defined by the author of the first Czech dynastic *gesta*, the very first Czech chronicler, Cosmas of Prague. With Solomonic wisdom, Cosmas settled the conundrum Moravia and its king Svätopluk represented by having the first Czech prince, Bořivoj, receive baptism from the hands of St. Methodius at the court of king Svätopluk of Moravia. With a simple literary juxtaposition, Cosmas connected two historical events in one and the same year of 894, namely the baptism of the first Czech prince Bořivoj and the legend that has Svätopluk leaving his active life in Nitra and becoming a monk (Cosmae Pragensis 1923, 32). In other words, the Czechs and their first baptised prince appear on the European history stage at the moment the last notable Moymirid, i.e. Svätopluk, leaves the scene. It is also important to mention that according to the political imagination of Cosmas, the eastern border of the Czech realm reached as far east as the Hron River.

Today, every reasonable reader understands that Cosmas of Prague concealed more of the history of Moravia than he actually disclosed. In the second half of the 12th century, another chronicler, (Pseudo-)Christian, came up with a new way to justify the annexation of Moravia to Bohemia in his *Life and Martyrdom of St. Wenceslas and His Grandmother, St. Ludmila*, in which Svätopluk appears as well. Perhaps the most disputed author of the Czech Middle Ages connected the history of the Přemyslids and the Czech people with the earlier history of the Moymirids of Moravia in a similar way to Cosmas of Prague, namely by having Bořivoj baptised at the court of Svätopluk by St. Methodius himself. Before being baptized, however, Bořivoj had to go through a series of “rituals” intended to prepare him to accept his new religion. In the end, with the sentence “*Thou shall become the master of your masters,*” St. Methodius is said to have – *de facto* – given Prague the right to rule over Moravia (Legenda Christiani 1978, 20). Whether this construction corresponds to the second half of the 10th century – in line with those who want to see Christian as an authentic source – or originated later – as their opponents claim – is bound to be a never-ending debate. For my part, I firmly believe that (Pseudo-)Christian and his chronicle appeared at a later time. One of the reasons for this is precisely the new formulation of the legitimisation theory intended to justify the rule of Prague over Moravia. Although in theory it could have been relevant at the end of the 10th century, the sophisticated form the author who calls himself Christian uses to present it rather points to the late 11th or early 12th century, i.e. to the time when the Přemyslids of Prague needed to assert their power at the expense of the lords of Moravia. In order to prevent Svätopluk from becoming an ideological and political tool of the Moravians, (Pseudo)Christian introduced – for the very first time – the *black Legend of Svätopluk* (Homza 2014, 48-141).

At this point it is necessary to say that the dichotomy of views on Svätopluk I in Czech historiography continues to this day. However, this has not always been the case. In the Middle Ages, Svätopluk was more often than not looked at rather positively. This had to do with the more detailed and elaborated fables that gradually shaped the formula the Czechs would eventually use to legitimize their rights over Moravia and the origin of the power of the Czech crown. This process gradually crystallized into the Czech hagiography works of the 13th and 14th centuries (Graus 1963b, 289-305; Havlik 1976, 13-28) before being codified into a stable norm by the chroniclers of

the times of Emperor Charles IV. To solve the problem of the relationship between Moravia and Bohemia, they came up with historicising constructions able to outweigh any particular concept of Moravian history and, in fact, made it almost impossible for any form of Moravian history to get conceptualized later on. From a Moravian point of view King Svätopluk of Moravia thus became a key figure in the Czech historical and legal narrative of the late Middle Ages. Of course, this would not have been possible without archbishop St. Methodius. But that is a different kettle of fish.

The fable of Svätopluk became known in Latin as *translatio regni*, namely as the transfer of Svätopluk's Kingdom of Moravia or of Svätopluk's crown over to the Czech kingdom. It was most precisely formulated by the imperial and royal chronicler Přibík Pulkava of Radenín and his contemporary, Chronicler Dalimil (Spěváček 1979, 271-72; Vadrna 2014, 230-79). Their definition of the sovereignty of Prague not only over Moravia but also over Silesia and, therefore, over Poland as well – and even over Western Rus' – *de jure* and *de facto* remained in force until the demise of the Czech Kingdom in 1918.

As it is clear from the above, trying to conceptualize Czech, Moravian and even Silesian history into a single unit, especially when taking into account that the relationship of Moravia and Bohemia had for centuries been just some kind of "improvisation" – as Dušan Třeštík aptly described it in one of his essays (1999, 147) – has never been an easy task. On similar older attempts oriented to assert the Přemyslids' claims to the Hungarian throne in the time of Wenceslas II and his son Wenceslas III, as King Ladislav V of Hungary (Bláhová 1993, 165-75). Moreover, the major problem of conceptualizing the inception of Czech history so that it would include Moravia – and Svätopluk with it – is made even more complicated by the fact that Cosmas of Prague has Svätopluk I working and dying in the ancient Slovak city of Nitra. For this takes the Svätopluk issue beyond the historical boundaries of the Czech Lands.

No wonder then that leading intellectuals of the Czech Kingdom never seemed to know how exactly they were supposed to interpret the figure of King Svätopluk of Moravia and his significance in the earliest stage of the history of the Czechs. Before the outset of Czech critical historiography, history was written in the contemporary spirit, i.e. mainly by adding more and more storylines and more and more secondary fables.

This paper does not aim to describe the different layers that form the *Legend of Svätopluk* or interpret the related tales. This does not mean, however, that they were not of great significance at the time they originated. For similar reasons, neither does it take a closer look at the way Czech history perceived Svätopluk in the period between Humanism and the Enlightenment. Likewise, the image of Svätopluk I presented by the fathers of Czech critical history, Gelasius Dobner († 1790) and Josef Dobrovský († 1829) – who wrote mainly in German and Latin – has been left out as well. I have also opted to omit the many particular Moravian attempts to approach Svätopluk in the framework of the Baroque efforts to create a distinct history of Moravia (Pillingová 2014, 183-331). For reasons of space, I cannot include the attempts by two authors writing mostly in German, the Moravian local historian Beda František Dudík († 1890) (1860, 195-286) and Bertold Bretholz († 1936) (1893, 30-63) to create a distinctive Moravian history in the second half of the 19th century. As a matter of fact, they would deserve to be studied in detail in a separate essay. Yet another historical interpretation of Svätopluk that has not been looked at in this article is that of philologist, historian, and ethnographer Pavol Jozef Šafárik († 1861) who was of Slovak origin (Podolan 2014, 407-421). Although his work was also published in Czech, its general Slavic context gives it a completely different character.

The first modern attempt to conceptualize Svätopluk within Czech history was made by František Palacký († 1876). Perhaps the most famous Czech historian of all time, Palacký came from Moravia and studied in Slovakia – Trenčín and Bratislava – as well, two factors that had some

influence in his work. Palacký's first synthesis of Czech history was originally published in German in 1836. However, a revised edition of the *History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia* also appeared in Czech in the revolutionary year of 1848. (Palacký 1848, 150). The theses Palacký defined concerning 9th-century history and Svätopluk I especially, became a kind of (non)binding canon for many – not only – Czech historians for a long time. It even constitutes the starting work that determined the way Czech history is perceived up to the present day. In fact, Palacký's vision of Czech history is characterized by the fact that – perhaps too boldly for his time – it includes the history of the Moravians as well (Havlíková 2015, 66–70). Before the Slovaks were also included in it, though. This concept of history, of course, had some consequences, especially for the further development of the Czech and Moravian nations. It was precisely František Palacký who managed to bridge the visible dichotomy of Czech and Moravian history – containing well nurtured Czech and Moravian patriotism – with the model of a single history of the Czech nation composed of Czechs and Moravians. In order to grant historical support to this opinion, Palacký had Svätopluk marry the sister of the Bohemian prince Bořivoj in 871 adding the following words: "...ever after they would join their arms with the Moravians against their common foes." As a matter of fact, Svätopluk marrying a Bohemian princess is nothing but Palacký's conjecture lacking any support whatsoever in any of the many existing sources.

As Palacký's perception of Svätopluk I to some extent suited that of Slovak historiography, he also influenced the direction historiography in Slovakia and in Slovak would take. In fact, when interpreting the figure of Svätopluk I of the Moymirids, the first modern compiler of Czech history admitted – albeit just as a hypothesis – that Svätopluk began his career in Nitra. In his work, Palacký not only raised Svätopluk above all Great Moravian rulers, but also made him a role model and the predecessor of all the Přemyslids. This way, he continued the letter and spirit of the Czech medieval and Humanistic historiography which – as has already been pointed out – derived the inception of the Czech Kingdom from the royal crown of Svätopluk. Until his death, Palacký remained a royalist, i.e. he never crossed the boundaries of Czech historical legitimism, whose basis had precisely been – for centuries – the mentioned thesis about the transfer of the kingdom (*translatio regni*) from Moravia to Bohemia. He had many reasons to do so. One of them was the fact that this interpretation suited his political stance on the ideal Austro-Slavistic arrangement of the Austrian Empire.<sup>1</sup> This is one of the good reasons why he recognized Svätopluk I as a king. His protestant religious affiliation, however, did not allow Palacký to pay the necessary attention to Svätopluk's papal policy.

In the multinational Habsburg commonwealth of the late 19th and early 20th century, Czech historiography – just like all of the surrounding national historiographies – persistently strove for a distinctive interpretation of its own national history. A priority in this respect was to find a historical explanation to legitimize the Czech political rights over Moravia. Being part of the Habsburg Monarchy, Moravia not only enjoyed the special status of a Margraviate but also some distinct elements of Moravian national awareness. Therefore, Svätopluk I of Moravia was one of its cornerstones.

Another Moravian scholar who – after Palacký – also contributed to overcoming this divergent tendency of Moravia was Václav Novotný († 1932). In fact, Novotný is now considered to be one of the top authorities of Czech medieval studies. Unlike Palacký, he was a professional historian and worked for many years as a professor of Czech history at the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague. He was among the most prominent pupils Jaroslav Goll († 1929) – the founder of Czech historical positivism and rector of the Czech part of Charles University – ever had. Novotný's talent

<sup>1</sup> For criticism of Palacký's concept, see Třeštík 1999, *passim*.

became clearly visible in 1913 when the first volume of his *Czech History* was published in Prague (Novotný 1913).

In this work, Novotný paid quite a lot of attention to Svätopluk. His reflections on Great Moravia (Novotný 1913, 287), however, do not rest on sound historical foundations but rather on the claim by Czech philologist František Pastrnek († 1940), according to which – linguistically – Slovaks, Moravians and Czechs have “*always formed one nation.*” Novotný’s concept of Czech history, therefore, comprised not only Moravia but Slovakia as well, namely its western part which up to some extent fitted into the Czech-speaking area. Like Palacký, Novotný also intensively searched for evidence that would serve to historically and legally justify the connection between Czechs and Moravians. Leaving aside Palacký’s argument that Svätopluk wedded a Bohemian princess, Novotný rather emphasized the baptism of the first Bohemian prince Borivoj, which both Cosmas of Prague and (Pseudo)Christian set at the court of Svätopluk I (Novotný 1913, 337-422). At this point it is necessary to point out once again that this “historical” event is still called into question. Undisputed, however, is Novotný’s assertion that four years before his death, Svätopluk got legal authorisation to annex Bohemia from the East Frankish King Arnulf of Carinthia. Novotný saw the territory of 9th-century Slovakia or of the Nitra Principality as Svätopluk I’s domain (*regnum*). He did not specify its borders, though. As generally known, Nitra is not *explicitly* mentioned as the seat of Svätopluk in any source. However, this was generally accepted until Novotný’s time mainly built on historical tradition whose core was the *Nitra Legend of Svätopluk* as rendered by Cosmas of Prague. Novotný used historical deduction to sort out Svätopluk I’s life and work in Nitra. Wiching or Viching was Svätopluk’s man. The fact that Pope John VIII obliged Svätopluk’s request and ordained Wiching bishop of the Holy Church of Nitra means that Nitra must have been Svätopluk’s seat.<sup>2</sup>

Novotný paid more attention to Svätopluk I’s relations to the structures of the restored Roman Empire and the Roman Papacy than Palacký had before him. This is one of his greatest contributions, indeed. Moreover, Novotný constantly emphasized Svätopluk’s pragmatic approach towards both political and cultural epicentres of the Christian Occident in Europe. In his analysis of Pope Stefan V’s letter to Svätopluk I from 885 – known as *Quia te zelo fidei* – Novotný acknowledged Svätopluk’s royal title without any further thorough comments (Novotný 1913, 396). Likewise, when studying Svätopluk’s relationship to Saint Methodius and to his disciples – headed by Saint Gorazd – Novotný’s approach was, again, rather realistic. In his opinion, for the sake of the unity of the newly established archdiocese – the ideological foundation securing the further existence of his realm – Svätopluk had no choice but to green-light the expulsion of the disciples of St. Methodius from Great Moravia. Interestingly, though, Novotný did not draw any further consequences from this otherwise inspiring idea. For instance, the fact that the supporters of the Latin rite were victorious at the court of Svätopluk I was a decisive factor in making the Western Slavs part of the Western Latin cultural orbit.

Novotný’s sober positivism introduced the historical figure of Svätopluk I into 20th-century Czech written historiography. When doing so, Novotný did not leave out any of the essential

<sup>2</sup> To refresh Novotný’s argument, let us describe it once more. A letter written in the year 900 by the Bavarian bishops complaining about the originally Swabian Benedictine monk Wiching, who had a close relationship with Svätopluk I, reads: “Your predecessor (Pope John VIII) consecrated Viching as a bishop at the request of Svätopluk...” In the previous bull *Industrae tuae* addressed to Svätopluk by Pope John VIII, it says: “We also ordained that priest named Viching whom you sent us (Svätopluk I to Pope John VIII) as the elected bishop of the Holy Church of Nitra...” (“Antecessor vester, Zuentibaldo duce impetrante, Vvichinqum consecravit episcopum” (Marsina 1974, no. 39, pag. 33) and “Ipsum quoque presbiterum nomine Uuichinus, quem nobis direxisti, electum episcopum consecravimus sanctae ecclesiae Nitrensis” (Marsina 1974, no. 30, pag. 24).

features of the historical figure of Svätopluk I. Of course, he did not pay the necessary attention to everything. For example, he completely failed to analyze the tradition of Svätopluk, i.e. the transformation of the historical Svätopluk into a literary figure. Since he actually saw the inhabitants of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia as one nation, it was he who laid the foundations for the later “Czechoslovak” or – to be exact – the Czech interpretation of Svätopluk which can still be perceived among historians writing in Czech practically to this day.<sup>3</sup>

Just a few of medievalists are aware of the consequences the efforts to defend the authenticity of the Old Bohemian, in Latin written *Life and Martyrdom of St. Wenceslas and His Grandmother, St. Ludmila* (hereafter *Christian's Legend*) had for the development of the perception of the earliest Czech history and of Great Moravia and, consequently, of Svätopluk as well. (Dobrovský 1807).<sup>4</sup> As a matter of fact, if (Pseudo)Christian and his legend were to actually date back to the 10th century, Czech medieval historiography – which started, like all the neighboring ones, with its dynastic *gesta* in the first decades of the 12th century – would have in them an “ace” that would secure the Czechs an over 100-year head start in Central Europe and among all of the Slavs. The problem is that there is nothing to support their authenticity. Among other things, precisely due to the fact that it was (Pseudo)Christian who laid the foundations of the *black legend of Svätopluk* in Czech literary tradition. The dark image of Svätopluk as a power-hungry and cruel half-pagan who was to blame for getting rid of his God-fearing uncle and bringing himself and Moravia under the curse of Saint Methodius simply does not correspond to the 10th century. For if that had been the case, how could have four members of this family be named after Svätopluk in the 11th and 12th centuries?

A native of the Czech town of Trutnov, Josef Pekař († 1937) was another of Jaroslav Goll's influential students and worked as a professor of Austrian history at the University of Prague. At the beginning of the 20th century, in his work *The Oldest Czech Chronicle*, Pekař brought (Pseudo)Christian's legend back among the “authentic” Czech sources from the 10th century (Pekař 1906, *passim*).

Nevertheless, Pekař's prolific work is moderate and balanced. So is his high-school textbook *The History of our Empire...* (*Dějiny naší říše...*). Being published on 9 April 1914, i.e. before WWI, this textbook remarkably survived the last years of the monarchy, the First Czechoslovak Republic, the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia during WWII, and even the first post-war years. Although it is not a scholarly work, its influence cannot be undermined. As a matter of fact, this work shaped whole generations of Czech humanities scholars. Pekař devoted roughly three pages of his textbook to Great Moravia, properly putting it in connection with the Carolingian expansion. In it, Pekař's description of Svätopluk is similar to (Pseudo)Christian's, i.e. a bellicose ruler, a “*harsh warrior and voluptuous man*” who – in religious matters – was subject to the Frankish and Wallachian, i.e. Italian, clergy. Pekař has Svätopluk ruling Nitra and even gives him the merit of inviting and receiving the Byzantine theologians and missionaries Saints Constantine the Philosopher and his brother Methodius. In his opinion, Svätopluk's rule was defined by his

<sup>3</sup> If he were to admit that the Czechs, the Moravians and the Nitrians – the Slovaks, are after all only three, albeit very close entities (early medieval gentes), he would have to say that Svätopluk, with the help of his Nitra background, which he does not seem to have completely abandoned, gained his position as the central ruler of the Moymirids in Moravia itself and thanks to the political weight of both these united political units, he negotiated a peace with the Franks, on the basis of which he then began his famous expansion. Its culmination was the *de facto* annexation of Bohemia and the legal recognition of this act by the East Franconian king Arnulf at the meeting in Omutesperch in 890. However, Václav Novotný was miles away from such an interpretation.

<sup>4</sup> Josef Dobrovský evaluated *The Legend of the so-called Christian*, or rather (Pseudo)Christian, with good reason, as a later forgery.

military successes and dispute with St. Methodius which – in accord with (Pseudo)Christian – Pekař claims to have led to St. Methodius cursing Wiching and Svätopluk. Contemporary sources, however, do not mention anything like this. On the contrary, the contemporary work *Life of St. Methodius* mostly speaks highly of Svätopluk. Although Pekař failed to assign any dignitary title to Svätopluk, following the spirit of medieval Czech legendry, he not only had Bořivoj, but also his wife St. Ludmila, baptised by St. Methodius at Svätopluk's court. According to Pekař, Svätopluk conquered Bohemia, and the Czechs – led by Prince Oldřich – subjugated Moravia after the death of the Polish king Boleslav I the Brave in 1025. Curiously, this history textbook does not mention Svätopluk's inclination towards the Roman Curia, something you would expect when taking into account the rest of works by Pekař, in which he processes historical issues with a positivist, realist and legitimist approach (Pekař 1914, 19–22).

Some elements of this legitimist approach which implicitly derives the Czech royal crown from the Moravian crown of King Svätopluk on the basis of an older medieval tradition can also be found in the work of Rudolf Urbánek († 1962). A native of Slané, near Kladno, this historian was also one of Goll's disciples. From among Urbánek's works closest to the topic in question, let us take a closer look at his 1915 study *On the Czech Royal Legendry* (*K české pověsti královské*). The article is remarkable in several respects. Above all, it constitutes the first ever history work written in Czech to pay attention to the significant role the *Legend of Svätopluk* has played in the concept of Czech history. Although Urbánek's education would make you expect him to use a positivist historical method for his work, he clearly declared that he approached the development of Svätopluk's memory traces in the specific literary genre of royal legendry in the Czech popular and scholarly environment. In short, he left aside historical facts and made use of literary fiction. Although he does not explicitly declare this, his work clearly shows that in his research, Urbánek is more of a literary historian. At the outset, Urbánek defined the *Legend of Svätopluk* to be the starting point of this legendry and, therefore, fundamental for earlier Czech literary tradition. In the Czech historical narrative, Urbánek correctly derived this legend from Cosmas' rendering and his version of the *Nitra Legend of Svätopluk*. He did not give it the "Nitra" attribute, though. Urbánek made this legend part of the Czech tradition with the following words: "*The oldest ruler Czech people have preserved in their memory, hoping for his return, was Svätopluk.*" A few lines later, however, Urbánek says that the tradition of the *Legend of Svätopluk* has its roots in Moravia and adds that the wording we know today is a considerably reduced version of the original. Urbánek was also the first one to go one step further and study the way this tradition eventually developed in Czech literature. When doing so, he aptly made use of sources of both hagiographic and secular (chronicle) character. Urbánek also adequately elaborated on the different morphological elements of the overall image of the *Legend of Svätopluk* in the Czech literary tradition.

Subsequently, however, Urbánek goes back to Cosmas' account of Svätopluk known today as *Sicut vulgo dicitur*, i.e. to its lowbrow part, and exactly defined its millenarianist essence: "*So then the people believed that Svätopluk had not died [...] but was hiding somewhere and would be back again.*" Today, this could also be described as the oldest archetype of *rex otiosus*, i.e. the gone (absent) king who shall get back to his people in due time, i.e. at the most appropriate, most difficult moment to become their *rex visibilis*, i.e. the visible king. Like many later researchers writing in Czech, Urbánek completely missed the more practical dimension of the entire *Nitra Legend of Svätopluk* which – I firmly believe – is its highbrow part, known as *Sed revera*, i.e. "as it really happened." Above all, the political program of the Arpáds of Nitra aimed at unifying Nitra and Pannonia, i.e. the original kingdom of Svätopluk. In other words, it was the ideological rationale behind the unification of Cis- and Trans-Danubia.

Rudolf Urbánek also put the folk part of the *Nitra Legend of Svätopluk* in connection with another Moravian legend, namely that of King Ječmínek (Barleyman, form Ječmen = barley).

According to Urbánek, the core of this legend was also the historical figure of Svatopluk (Urbánek 1915, 1-9) This association would certainly deserve some research of its own. For now, however, let me just bring up one of the stories of Svatopluk in the oldest writings of the Kingdom of Hungary. In it, Svatopluk drowns in the Danube after losing the battle with the Old Hungarian hordes, i.e. at the moment the new ruler, Árpád, takes over Pannonia (Homza 2014, from 136). In this respect, the etymology of the personal proper name of this alleged first ruler of Pannonia after Svatopluk, namely Árpád, is worthy of attention. Curiously the name Árpád derives from the Magyar word *árpa* meaning “barley.” Therefore, Árpád would be an equivalent to Ječmínek (Barleyman).

Rudolf Urbánek was one of those who did not accept Christian or his work to date back to the 10th century. With this text, too, he remained outside the dominant line of 20th-century Czech historiography. In terms of its thought structure, this work reminds of those Czech historians who recognized the natural monarchist development in Czech history. The establishment of Czechoslovakia on 28th or 30th October 1918, however, diametrically changed the political order of the Czech lands. A project of the victorious allies, Czechoslovakia was created as a republic. Inevitably then, Palacký, Pekař, but also Urbánek’s traditional and legitimist understanding of Svatopluk as a monarch and a predecessor of the Přemyslids, the Luxembourgs and the Habsburgs on the Czech throne, lost its updating value. In terms of religion, moreover, the new republic presented itself as a secular state with a rather ambivalent approach to the Roman Curia. Being a monarch who derived his authority from the See of Saint Peter in Rome and who submitted himself and his people to the patronage of the Holy See, Svatopluk was no longer a suitable historical figure for the new Czechoslovak Republic to identify with. In addition, whereas this new polity took a negative stand towards Germany, Svatopluk I led a largely conciliatory policy with the East Frankish Empire. The new government in Prague did not try to disguise its Czech-centralist intentions that would eventually lead to Moravia losing its centuries-old political identity. Svatopluk I as a ruler who expanded from Nitra to Moravia and from Moravia to Bohemia – and whose sovereign right over the Bohemian Principality was recognised by Arnulf of Carinthia, the king of East Francia in 890 – could no longer be used for any significant historical purposes. It was a lot easier to thematise Svatopluk I at the summit of his glory, when his power comprised the Moravians, Czechs, as well as the Slovaks and the Ruthenians. In him, politicians could see a historical and legal precedent justifying the very existence of the new republic. As a matter of fact, Svatopluk’s attempt to unify the Slavs – *Regnum Sclavorum* – went beyond this 20th-century concept of Czechoslovakia.

The aforementioned list of paradoxes and potential “landmines” clearly shows that a full-fledged and objective approach to Svatopluk in the first Czechoslovakia became an even bigger problem for Czech-written historiography than it had been in the past. After the admirable achievements of Novotný, this difficulty would eventually lead to the image of Svatopluk I being repeatedly simplified and reduced in Czech historiography as well as to numerous attempts to replace him with his more pro-Slavic and pro-Cyrilo-Methodian uncle Rastislav.

Now, let me break down these tendencies found in the wide span of interpretations of Svatopluk and illustrate them on different specific cases. Perhaps the historian who contributed the most to introducing these views of Svatopluk into the contemporary discourse of medieval literature in Czech was Václav Chaloupecký († 1951). Another native of Eastern Bohemia, Chaloupecký was a pupil of Josef Pekař and did not hide his admiration for František Palacký. He lacked Václav Novotný’s criticism, though (Ducháček 2014, *passim*). Besides Bohemia, Václav Chaloupecký also worked as a professor at the newly created Department of State – i.e. Czechoslovak – History at Comenius University in Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia, where he spent over 15 years (1922–1938) of his life. He never stopped looking at the history of the Slovaks from a Czech perspective, though. Among other things, this showed in his underestimation of the meaning Nitra and the Principality of Nitra had in the career of Svatopluk I.

Like Novotný, Chaloupecký also tried to approach the question of Svätopluk's life and work in Nitra methodologically. Instead, however, he strengthened Novotný's "linguistic" notion of the unity of the Czechs, Moravians and Slovaks, with another "ethnographic" concept. The problem was that a large part of the population of today's Slovakia, especially in its central and eastern parts – not to mention those who after the disintegration of the Kingdom of Hungary remained in the territory of today's Hungary – did not fit such a concept. As a matter of fact, the inhabitants of those areas show no linguistic nor ethnographic closeness with the Moravians, let alone with the Czechs. It did not take Chaloupecký long to find a way out of this nuisance, though. He just needed to specify his original "ethnographic" thesis a bit closer. In his update, Slovaks – who in his own words belonged "*to the group of Czech tribes*" – inhabited only the western part of Slovakia while the rest of the territory remained uninhabited. For this reason, Chaloupecký also had the borders of Nitra – which he otherwise recognized as the core of Svätopluk's dominium (*regnum*) – to reach as far east as the Hron river. He even supported this claim using a "historical" reason. After all, Cosmas of Prague had also defined the borders of Svätopluk's kingdom at the Hron river. Chaloupecký forgot, however, that Cosmas was referring to the eastern borders of the political influence the Czech princes had at the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries, not about the limits of the expansion of the Czech tribe or of the Principality of Nitra.

Chaloupecký summarized these and other ideas in his work *Ancient Slovakia (Staré Slovensko)*. It was published in 1923, that is a remarkably short time after the creation of the 1st Czechoslovak Republic. Although the scholarly qualities of this publication are indisputable, these are obscured by the fact that its main ideological objective was to defend the current political dominance of the Czechs in the area east of the Morava river by purposefully interpreting historical facts. Chaloupecký's work also aimed to present historical reasons that would support Czechoslovakia's southern border with Hungary – due to the lack of historical borders between Slovakia and Hungary – a goal he actually managed to achieve. Unfortunately, this present-day border began to be automatically identified with the border of Svätopluk's dominion (*regnum*) in 869.<sup>5</sup>

The present paper cannot deal with all the details of this book which caused stormy reactions in Slovakia when it appeared. As for the topic in question, the ironic tone Chaloupecký uses to describe the beginnings of the tradition of Svätopluk among Slovaks at the very beginning of his work appears rather puzzling. As a matter of fact, Chaloupecký does not present his opinion on Svätopluk plainly and directly. Instead, in a subtle and cunning way he contextualises a quote by Matej Markovič, a Slovak Lutheran, from 1745, that reads: "*And so it happened that those petty Slovaks finally got their hands on a Slovak king in a Slovak Country.*" (Chaloupecký 1923, 10-11).

Whatever he might have meant by it, it is clear that following the contemporary line of Czech historiography, Chaloupecký recognized Svätopluk's royal title but tried to diminish its significance. For that reason, he did not call the most important of the Moymirids by the title Pope Stefan V uses in his letter to Svätopluk *Quia te zelo fidei*, namely "King of the Slavs," but prefers to refer to him as *Svatopluk, King of Moravia* (*Svatopluk, Král moravský*). That is the very headline he gave one of this articles from 1934. In fact, that article reveals rather clearly that Chaloupecký is projecting the political and economic situation of the new republic – ruled by the Czechs – back into the 9th century, rather than trying to reconstruct the historical Svätopluk (Chaloupecký 1934, 61-68).

<sup>5</sup> Due to the fact that the present-day Slovakia and Hungary formed an indivisible entity at least since the end of the 11th century, naturally there was no precisely established historical border. However, there was at least some vague geographical notion of it. In his work, Václav Chaloupecký argued in favor of the territorial delimitation of the Slovak territory (land), especially against Hungary's post-Trianon historical revisionism and sentimentalism.

These intentions are even more visible in his 1936 paper *The Great Moravian Empire* (*Říše Velkomoravská*). As the article is basically a list of all of Chaloupecký's supporting ideological theses he introduced into historiography, it has no footnotes. In it, however, Chaloupecký writes that the Moravian rulers united "all the lands and tribes of our [Czech] nation into a significant polity." Saints Constantine and Methodius, then: "gave this first national polity its distinct cultural content..." He then sees the Great Moravian idea of "the renaissance of the Great Moravian tradition in the Czechoslovak spirit" revitalized in the politics of Czech rulers Přemysl Otakar II and Charles IV. Moreover, Chaloupecký gives all the merits of the mission of Cyril and Methodius to Prince Rastislav and – in line with (Pseudo)Christian – has the treacherous and devious Svatopluk opposing it and ultimately causing its demise. In spite of being a "supporter" of the authenticity of the *Legend of (Pseudo)Christian*, Chaloupecký did not fail to see positive attributes in Svatopluk. He acknowledged his military talent and fairly accurately captured his balancing act in the politics of the Empire. He also recognised Svatopluk's Nitra origin and royal title. Predictably, however, he failed to pay any attention to the papal context of Svatopluk's policy. As a matter of fact, the real contribution of the analysed articles is the fact that in them, Chaloupecký unveiled the potential purposeful use Svatopluk could be made of in the new political conditions (Chaloupecký 1936, 18-24).

After the mid-1930s, the predominantly pro-empire dimension of Svatopluk's policy was in conflict with the anti-German policy of the first Czechoslovak Republic, a contradiction that proved to be difficult to bridge. As a result, those who would like to have the Great Moravian Empire as the first common polity of Czechs and Slovaks – just like Chaloupecký – tried to compensate this by overstating the meaning of Svatopluk's uncle, Rastislav, mainly in connection with the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition. This resulted in the historiographical – and still generally accepted – stereotype that sees in Prince Rastislav and St. Methodius the righteous and bright figures as opposed to the dark, albeit temporarily successful Svatopluk. It was the latter who ultimately caused the first common polity of Czechs (+ Moravians) and Slovaks to collapse. Further Czech research would show to what extent this stereotype originated in the image (Pseudo)Christian created of Svatopluk.

The first Czech researcher of Great Moravia and Svatopluk who was able to identify and describe this stereotype was František Graus, († 1989), a historian of German-Jewish origin and a native of Brno, the former capital of Moravia. Graus is not a member of Jaroslav Goll's "school" although he also worked as the head of the Department of Czechoslovak History in Prague. At the very beginning of his ideological metamorphosis (Wihoda 2009, 251-261; 2024, 101-114) Graus was a radical Marxist-Stalinist who rejected the traditional Czech positivist historical school around Goll. Its final point is a work dealing with the origin and genesis of the West Slavic nations and the role tradition plays in it: *Die Nationenbildung der Westslawen im Mittelalter*. (Graus 1980). František Graus was one of the first historians writing in Czech who tried to break free from the "Cosmas hoop" of looking at the earliest history of the Czechs. Instead, he tried to create his own revolutionary "non-Cosmas" interpretation based on a Marxist approach. As for his prolific production, Graus undoubtedly remains one of the most influential Czech and European medievalists of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In many respects, this initially inveterate Marxist and structurally oriented medievalist was ahead of his time. He can also be said to have shaped the thinking of the following generation of Czech historians. Take Dušan Třeštík, for instance, a notable historian we will be dealing with in the next part of this article. In fact, Graus also left an indelible mark in Slovakia, especially when it comes to researching social and economic history, especially in the work of Matúš Kučera († 2022). After the 1968 occupation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Graus lectured at different universities abroad, e.g. in Basel, Switzerland. Throughout his professional career, Graus gradually abandoned his Marxist perspective of history, a process

that took place around the first third of the 1960s. At that time, he also began to reflect on and publish articles about the role of tradition in the development of historical communities.

Graus first dealt with Svätopluk I in his 1960 article entitled *Rex-Dux Moravie* in which he studied the evolution of the terms *rex* and *dux* in the history of Great Moravia. In this connection, he said that the prestige of Svätopluk I as a ruler grew in direct proportion to the rise in power of his dominium. This growth in power and fame reflected in the fact that Svätopluk's original domestic title took a semantic shift, namely from "prince" to "king." (Graus 1960, 181-190). In fact, this argumentation fit a later one, which was preferred in Polish (Labuda 1962, 65-68) and Slovak historiographies by, for example, Richard Marsina: "*in the papal written documents, the rank title of Svätopluk had an increasing tendency*" (Marsina 2012, 117).

Graus also dealt with Svätopluk in several other works (for instance *L'empire de Grande Moravie, sa situation dans L'Europe de L'époque et sa structure itérieure*, 1963a) but his article *The Great Moravian Empire in the Czech Medieval Tradition* (*Velkomoravská říše v české středověké tradici*) remains unsurpassed to this day (Graus 1963b, 289-305). In it, Graus brought up the question of historical tradition, which had been taboo in Marxist historiography until then. He studied the continuity and discontinuity of the memory of Great Moravia in Czech medieval literature. At the very beginning of his paper, Graus presented a rather radical thesis according to which the medieval Czech literary tradition did not derive directly from the earlier Moravian ecclesiastical and political tradition which, in his opinion, had disappeared with the very collapse of Moravia. To support this view, Graus first used examples from the ecclesiastical sphere and, later on, justified this conscious negation of an ancient tradition with the logical idea that the Bishopric of Prague, founded in 973, had no interest to build on the earlier Moravian-Pannonian Archbishopric. The discontinuity of the secular and ecclesiastical power between the old Great Moravian and the new Czech elites is still today – with good reason – the mainstay in the Czech approach to the Great Moravian heritage.

In his article, Graus devoted a relatively large space to the tradition of Svätopluk (page 298 on). I need to disagree with his claim that this tradition became part of the Czech medieval literary tradition since (Pseudo)Christian and his *Legend of Saint Wenceslas and his grandmother Saint Ludmila* for the mere fact that Graus was one of those who have this legend dating back to the 10th century. On the other hand, however, I must agree with his assertion that it was (Pseudo)Christian who generated the traditional and still valid Czech schizophrenia when looking at Svätopluk, i.e. the two completely contradictory Czech accounts of this ruler. One of them tells about the dark Svätopluk and his conflict with his pious uncle – who remains unnamed – and, later on, with Saint Methodius as well, which led to the curse of Methodius over Moravia. The second one, conversely, describes Svätopluk as a devout ruler who received the first Czech prince Bořivoj to be baptised by St. Methodius at his court. I also agree with Graus that this duality led the supporters of (Pseudo)Christian to eventually generate two and even three different literary figures of Svätopluk. In fact, the literary contamination that merges two or three different Svätoplucks – Svätopluk I, his son Svätopluk II and the godson of Svätopluk I, Zwentibold of Susteren, the last king of Lotharingia – into one and the same person or intermixes their stories, still needs to be studied separately.

Following the generally accepted order in which the earliest medieval works of Czech provenance originated – according to which (Pseudo)Christian is supposed to have written before Cosmas of Prague – Graus further drew attention to two other different concepts of Svätopluk he identified in the first Czech chronicler. At the same time, however, he added that the issue here is a dichotomy "*although of a somewhat different nature.*" He meant the contrast between the worldly (royal) and spiritual (monastic) life of Svätopluk in the Zobor monastery. In this respect, Graus built directly on Rudolf Urbánek's theses and – like him – in Cosmas' story he not

only identified Cosmas' own account but also another earlier narrative he described as a distinct *Legend of Svätopluk*. What Cosmas did was to adapt this distinct legend to the needs of his time. Like Urbánek, Graus did not identify its Nitra origin, though. Graus was also the first to divide Cosmas' narrative – in a methodologically adequate way – into two sections: Its popular and its scholarly parts. In his opinion, the scholarly one was *Cosmas' own Legend of Svätopluk*.

In connection with the study of Svätopluk in Czech medievalist historiography, Graus can also be attributed another first place. Footnote number 84 of the analysed work (1963b) draws the attention of researchers: "As a certain point of interest, let me point out that *Svätopluk* was also worshiped as a saint in a monastery." Although this topic had often been dealt with in baroque historiography and art – as I have highlighted in another article (Homza 2020, 7–25) – it was forgotten in the positivistic Czech history of Goll's school. Yet one more first place František Graus occupies concerns the fact that he identified and defined the morphology of Cosmas' narrative about Svätopluk. True, he did not call every spade a spade but he was right to include the *Legend of Svätopluk* by Cosmas among the mainstream European heroic narrative of the type *Chanson de geste*.

Finally, footnote 45 of the same paper presents another remarkable consideration on the political particularism of Moravia whose ideological symbol – according to Graus – could also be the personal name Svätopluk, which could be found especially among the Moravian Přemyslids. This issue will be dealt with elsewhere, though.

František Graus' extraordinary and multifaceted influence on contemporary Czech medieval studies is undeniable. In spite of the fact that he came from Moravia and not from the Czech environment, his view of Great Moravia and, thus, also his interpretation of Svätopluk, were never tainted by any kind of Moravian partiality. His works in Czech from the second half of the 1960s are characterized by the complexity of their concept. By accurately placing the topic of Svätopluk in the overall context of the late Carolingian period, Graus took it out of the traditional Czech perception limited by the vision of Cosmas of Prague. At the same time, however, by questioning the independence of the historical Great Moravia from the empire, he also took it out of the updating statist framework that justified the creation and existence of the contemporary Czechoslovakia. This way, Graus gradually began to take Czech history back into the framework of the East Frankish Empire and its political successors, i.e. back into Pekař's earlier concept, too. And this is precisely the line Dušan Třestík would eventually build on, as we are about to see in the next part of this article.

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# SOCIAL REFLECTION OF PROFESSOR FRANC GRIVEC IN TURBULENT TIMES: CHRISTIAN UNITY, SLOVENIAN NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS, SLAVIC SOLIDARITY<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract:** MALMENVAL, Simon. *Social Reflection of Professor Franc Grivec in Turbulent Times: Christian Unity, Slovenian National Consciousness, Slavic Solidarity*. Franc Grivec (1878 – 1963), a pioneer in systematic research of Eastern Christianity in Slovenian higher education, was not a political thinker but a theologian and historian. However, some ecclesiological and historical themes he studied answered the pressing social questions of his time. In Grivec's works, it is possible to identify a certain Christian social vision that opposes both socialism and liberal capitalism. The first core of Grivec's social vision is unity among Christians under the auspices of the Catholic Church, where the thought of the Russian philosopher Vladimir Soloviov (1853 – 1900) is highlighted. The second core is the national consciousness among Slovenians and other Slavs, which acts as a defense mechanism against the socialist revolution. In Grivec's social vision, Russia occupies a negative and at the same time positive starting point for reflection – based on the revolution carried out and at the same time experiences in preventing its spread and a preserved sense of the search for truth. The Slovenian author places the two conceptual cores (Christian unity and national consciousness) within the example of the holy brothers Cyril and Methodius. In this way, he establishes a mythical idea of the medieval period, thus approaching the theory of the “New Middle Ages” of the Russian philosopher Nikolai Berdyaev (1874 – 1948).

**Keywords:** *Franc Grivec, ecclesiastical unity, national consciousness, October Revolution, social engagement in higher education, Vladimir Soloviov, Nikolai Berdyaev*

## Introduction

Franc Grivec (1878 – 1963) was a Catholic priest and long-time professor (1920 – 1963) at the Ljubljana Faculty of Theology. He can be described as the leading Slovenian expert on ecclesiology, Eastern Christian theology and the missionary work of the holy brothers Cyril (died 869) and Methodius (died 885). His scientific approach is characterized by combining philology, historiography and theology. In his teaching and research, he drew connections between the Slovenian historical experience and the wider Slavic world. He also served, three times, as dean (in academic years 1921/1922, 1927/1928, 1933/1934) of the Faculty of Theology, a founding member institution of the University of Ljubljana, which opened in 1919, and was one of its most creative representatives (Malmenvall 2022, 10). It is important to consider that the study of Russian culture was one of the main lines of work of this Slovenian professor, which was present throughout his academic career, from his first publications in the early twentieth century to his final period in the

<sup>1</sup> This article is part of the basic research project “J5-4595 Between Tradition and Modernity: Slovenian Catholic Intellectuals and the National Question in a Transnational Perspective (1848 – 1948)” supported by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency.

early 1960s. Grivec's reception of Russian culture can be divided into three parts. The first covers the history of the East Slavic space, with a special focus on the Russian Orthodox Church. The second part provides an interpretation of the religious and political thinking of notable nineteenth-century men of letters and philosophers, such as Aleksey Khomyakov (1804 – 1860), Fyodor Dostoyevsky (1821 – 1881) and Vladimir Solovyov (1853 – 1900). The third part – while relating to the first two – focuses on the ideational reasons for and consequences of the revolutionary ferment in Russian society at the turn of the nineteenth century (Malmenvall 2022, 12-13).

Grivec shaped Slovenian higher education at a pivotal time in history, i.e., after Slovenia joined a South Slavic as well as mostly non-Catholic country (Malmenvall 2023b, 959). Even though he was foremost a theologian and historian rather than a political thinker, the ecclesiological and historical themes he studied provided answers to the burning social issues of his time, linking the past with the present. Before and during World War II, when Grivec studied Russia and the revolution, Bolshevism in particular drew significant attention and was often perceived as "the Russian threat" in Yugoslav and European intellectual circles. In the teaching and research of the professor in question, it is possible to discern a certain Christian social vision that opposes both socialism and liberal capitalism. In this study, such content is drawn from Grivec's publications on Russian culture. They reflect both an effort for renewed unity among Christians, where the thought of Vladimir Solovyov (1853–1900), a Russian philosopher, is central, and a search for the ideational reasons for the success of the Bolshevik takeover in Russia, where the Slovenian author advocates religious consciousness complemented by national consciousness as a counterbalance to socialism. Among his publications on Russian culture considered in the present study, the popular monograph *Narodna zavest in boljševizem* (*National Consciousness and Bolshevism*) (1944) exhibits the most social engagement. Grivec compiled it based on lectures to the primary- and high-school teachers of Ljubljana in the first half of 1944. Its content can be compared with the monographic discussion by Nikolai Berdyaev (1874 – 1948), a Russian philosopher, titled *The New Middle Ages: Reflections on the Fate of Russia and Europe* (*Новое средневековье: Размышление о судьбе России и Европы*, 1924). This publication by Grivec, coupled with his previous treatise "Boljševiška brezbožnost" ("Bolshevik Godlessness") in *Bogoslovni vestnik* (*Theological Quarterly*, 1925), the scientific journal of the Faculty of Theology in Ljubljana, provides an insight into a notable part of socially engaged thinking that had formed in the Slovenian higher education environment and was linked with other levels of contemporary education (Malmenvall 2023a, 101; 2023b, 959). Despite their theological character, similar claims can be made about at least two other publications: the article "Vladimir Sergejevič Solovjev" ("Vladimir Sergeyevich Solovyov") in *Čas* (*Time*) (1917), a Catholic scientific periodical for social and cultural issues, and the article "Od sv. Tomaža Akvinskega do Vladimira Sergejeviča Solovjeva" ("From St. Thomas Aquinas to Vladimir Sergeyevich Solovjev") in *Zbornik razprav Teološke fakultete v Ljubljani* (*Miscellany of Articles of the Faculty of Theology in Ljubljana*) (1963), the post-war successor to *Bogoslovni vestnik*. This article analyzes those and other works in line with the comparative and contextual approach of intellectual history<sup>2</sup> and historical theology, which provide an interlacement between historiography and a consideration for the theological giving of meaning to reality.

<sup>2</sup> As a special branch of (post)modern historiography and related humanities, intellectual history asserted itself in the second half of the twentieth century; its guiding principles are the study of ideas in correlation with the social-cultural background of a particular period and space and the discursive or linguistic dimension of expressing ideas. Quentin Skinner (1940 –) (Skinner 1969) and John Pocock (1924 – 2023) (Pocock 1987), professors at the University of Cambridge, are considered the founders of intellectual history.

## Russia and Christianity

Positions of Franc Grivec concerning the unity among Christians and revolutionary turmoil in Russia were reflected on the background of the European history of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. It was an era of profound socio-economic and technological change shaped by modern capitalism gaining ground and by the parallel strengthening of secular thought influenced by the Enlightenment. The period in question was also characterized by the establishment of new collective identities. In particular, two multifaceted and occasionally intertwined systems of ideas were consolidated: nationalism and socialism (Malmenvall 2023b, 958–959).<sup>3</sup> The Catholic Church, too, responded to the new social situation, mainly polemically. It formally rejected socialism – as is evidenced, *inter alia*, by papal documents, including a “programmatic” encyclical on workers’ issues, *Rerum novarum* (1891), by Leo XIII (in office: 1879 – 1903); on the other hand, it harbored a more diverse, mostly positive attitude towards national identity.<sup>4</sup> Within Slovenian culture, Franc Grivec, who linked the Slovenian historical experience with the wider Slavic world, actively entered this debate. He conducted his work in a momentous time of Slovenian history, i.e., after joining a South Slavic as well as mostly non-Catholic country and later during the occupation in World War II. His research included ideational reasons for the success of the Bolshevik takeover in Russia, advocating religious consciousness complemented by national identity as a counterbalance to socialism (Malmenvall 2023b, 959).

In the context of Russian culture and the social reflection derived from it, Professor Grivec devoted the most attention to Vladimir Solovyov. He considered him a promoter of united Christianity or synthesis between papal authority and the messianic mission of the Russian nation (Malmenvall 2018, 953–955; 2021, 204). In a similar vein to how Solovyov’s creativity reflected a dialogical openness to Catholicism, which was unusual for Russian high culture at the time, Grivec is characterized by an understanding attitude to Orthodoxy; *inter alia*, he consistently considered sociohistorical and terminological variables in cases of objective dogmatic differences. Even so, he showed loyalty to the official position of the Catholic Church of the time, which did not yet practice ecumenism in the modern sense of the word and advocated the so-called Uniate method, i.e., the return and integration of “eastern schismatics” into the Catholic Church as Christ’s only real spiritual organism on Earth while preserving their liturgical and legal specificities. Grivec built on this position with the idea of the connecting character of the heritage of Saints Cyril and Methodius and of (Catholic) Slavs as intermediaries between the East and West. He built all his research into medieval ecclesiastic and philological questions on this pragmatic unifying foundation (Malmenvall 2018, 953–955; Zajc 2018, 902–904, 913; Trontelj 2019, 48–49, 51–53).

In Grivec’s opinion, the most in-depth works by Vladimir Solovyov are his ecclesiological treatises *The Great Controversy and Christian Politics* (Великий спор и христианская политика, 1883) and *Russia and the Universal Church* (Россия и вселенская Церковь, 1889). For Solovyov, the central intellectual goal was always the same: to find the integrality of knowledge and life as

<sup>3</sup> The emergence of modern national consciousness as a result of economic and technological change in correlation with capitalism (or with opposition to it in the form of socialism) is widely accepted in contemporary historiography. Similar insights are advanced by Anthony Smith (1939–2016) (Smith 2009), a British historian and sociologist and one of the leading experts on studying nationalisms, though he recognizes pre-modern features in the formation of modern nations.

<sup>4</sup> On the philosophical-theological basics of the Catholic social movement during the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century and its version in Slovene lands: Žalec 2022. On the Catholic highlighting of the primacy of religious identity alongside the coexistence of national identity, as exemplified by the life and work of Anton Mahnič (1850 – 1920), the founder of Slovenian political Catholicism and the bishop of the Krk island (1897 – 1920): Maver– Juhart – Osojnik 2021.

an absence of contradictions between faith and reason. In the context of searching for integrality, a special place is given to a desire for the reunion of the Eastern (Orthodox) and Western (Catholic) parts of the same universal Church. The ecumenical significance of his thought is based on the still existing mystical unity between the Eastern and Western parts as shown in the recognition of Jesus Christ as the true God and true human (God-man), the continuation of the common apostolic succession of their hierarchies and the drawing of spiritual strength from the same sacraments (Grivec 1960, 28; Malmenvall 2015, 348-349). In relation to the magisterium of the Church, the Slovenian author highlights, most explicitly in his article “Od sv. Tomaža Akvinskega do Vladimira Sergejeviča Solovjeva,” that Solovyov is part of a wider context of Catholic efforts for doctrinal and legal unification or union of Orthodoxy and Catholicism – from the 1274 Council of Lyon and 1439 Council of Florence up until Pope Leo XIII (1878 – 1903) and Grivec’s time. (Grivec 1960, 20-25) In doing so, he actually declares Solovyov a Catholic thinker that is part of the centuries-long Uniate movement. What is more, this approach contextualizes Grivec’s long-standing study of the Russian thinker, whom he consistently views in the light of his own support to Uniate beliefs and Slavic reciprocity (Malmenvall 2015; 953; 2021, 215). This view reflects a continuity of the author’s optimistic prediction – written as early as 1909 in the article “Vzhodno cerkveno vprašanje” (The Eastern Church Issue) in *Voditelj v bogoslovnih vedah*, the predecessor of *Bogoslovni vestnik* – that Solovyov’s ideas of unification will gain “more and more supporters among the Russian audience.” In his view, this would be aided by the increased interest of recent popes in the Orthodox question – such as that shown by Leo XIII (1878 – 1903) with the encyclical *Grande munus* of 1880 on the importance of Cyril and Methodius, the apostolic constitution *Orientalium dignitas* of 1894 on the Eastern Catholic Churches and the encyclical *Praeclara gratulationis* of the same year on the unification of the Catholic and Eastern Churches (Grivec 1909, 245-250; Malmenvall 2022, 28-29). Official signs of attention devoted to the Christian East also include the decision by Pope Benedict XV (reigned: 1914 – 1922) in 1917 to establish the Pontifical Oriental Institute (Latin: *Pontificum institutum Orientale*) as a higher education institution for educating priests and other individuals working in predominantly Orthodox environments or studying Eastern Christian theology and history.<sup>5</sup>

As explained by the Slovenian researcher, Solovyov does not understand his ecumenic attitude in terms of leaving the Russian Orthodox Church but rather as the unification of both Church parts in the same mystical body of Christ on Earth, led by the bishop of Rome, i.e., the pope, which would actually entail an expansion and reform of the existing Catholic Church (Hondzinskij 2017, 369). Such a reformed society is facilitated not only by the Church hierarchy headed by the pope, but also by a global state led by the Russian emperor, who is to become the secular “arm” of the pope’s spiritual authority. Thus, with Solovyov, the ideal of the universality of the Church translates to the universality of secular authority, which is to help believers freely realize Christian principles in social life, along with the Church (Malmenvall 2021, 208). In this regard, Solovyov also perceives the organization of the existing Catholic Church as a pragmatic foundation of social engagement against ever stronger “anti-Christian forces.” (Hondzinskij 2017, 382, 384). According to Solovyov, in his time, it is the “connective” Russian culture, supposedly characterized both by accepting the “best experiences” of foreign nations and by the preserved faith in God with a sense for seeking out the truth, that is able to establish such a synthesis within a reformed Church (Malmenvall 2021, 208; Hondzinskij 2017, 371; Vasilenko 2004, 78-79).

Grivec notes that a turning point for Russian culture occurred in the fifteenth century when, following the fall of its former Byzantine “teacher,” the Muscovite state assumed the role of the protector of worldwide Orthodoxy and consequently adopted a more rigid stance towards people

<sup>5</sup> An overview study on the establishment of the Pontifical Oriental Institute: Koloevskij 1993.

of other faiths. Then, in the early eighteenth century, following the example of Protestant regional Churches, Peter the Great (reigned: 1682 – 1725) subordinated the Moscow Patriarchate to the state, taking away its independent initiative and “tearing it away from organic development.” (Grivec 1915, 126-127). According to him, even the intellectual ferment of the nineteenth century and the later revolutionary developments took inconstant and extreme forms. Notably, unlike in the West, the Russian socialist movement did not originate in the working class; most revolutionaries were educated people. According to Grivec, the latter took Western atheist ideas “out of the Western cultural context, transplanted them blindly” to the Russian environment and tinged them with a “religious fervor.” (Grivec 1915, 134-136).

As the Slovenian author explains in the article “Boljševiška brezbožnost” (1925), the extremism of Bolsheviks is an integral part of a broader mechanism of Russian cultural history, in which there were “repeated occurrences of the idea of the special Christian mission of the Russian nation” in relation to other lands and peoples, something also discussed by Slavophiles,<sup>6</sup> Dostoyevsky and Solovyov. “In its own way, this idea was expressed a long time ago<sup>7</sup> in the belief that Moscow was the Third Rome.” (Grivec 1925, 108). Notably, in addition to Grivec, but independently, a link between the uncompromisingness of the Bolshevik idea as a substitute for religion and past notions about the special mission of Russia in the salvation of the world is also recognized by the philosopher Nikolai Berdyaev (1874–1948) in his work *The Origin and Meaning of Russian Communism* (*Истоки и смысл русского коммунизма*, 1937) (Berdjaev 1990, 8-11, 18-19, 24-25, 100-101, 117, 125-126, 137-138). Based on what is explained above, it can be surmised that, as believed by the Slovenian professor, a genuine attitude to the truth and the role of religion in society, developed further with the vision of the (re)establishment of unity among Christians, is reflected exactly by the works of Vladimir Solovyov. An opposite to this ardor of the Russian philosopher is found in Bolshevism as a form of false or twisted secular religion.

## Revolution and national consciousness

The monograph titled *Narodna zavest in boljševizem* was compiled based on Grivec’s wartime popular scientific lectures to the primary- and high-school teachers of Ljubljana and published in 1944. He held these lectures between January and April of that year as an activity of the administration of the Province of Ljubljana led by General Leon Rupnik (1880 – 1946) and his commissary of propaganda, Ludovik Puš (1896 – 1889). This is the only instance of Grivec actively engaging in political activities of the Slovene anti-revolutionary forces, who collaborated with the German occupying forces. The lecturers included other reputable names of the cultural-academic world of the time centered around the University of Ljubljana, such as Leonid Pitamic (1885 – 1971), a professor of law, and France Veber (1890 – 1975), a professor of philosophy (Mlakar 2003, 294-295; Malmenvall 2022, 69; 2023b, 962-963).

<sup>6</sup> The term Slavophiles refers to a literary and philosophical circle of intellectuals who argued that the Russian historical path was special vis-à-vis the rest of Europe and praised the “organic” (socially harmonic) character of Russian Orthodoxy. The main representatives of this circle were Aleksey Khomyakov (1804 – 1860), Ivan Kireyevsky (1806 – 1856) and Yuri Samarin (1819 – 1876) (Malmenvall 2022, 31-34). An elucidating overview of the phenomenon of Slavophilia is provided in the following reference work: Walicki 1964.

<sup>7</sup> An overview of the idea of Moscow as the “Third Rome” – the successor to the Byzantine Empire and the protector of Orthodoxy in the “end times” before the Second Coming of Christ – is provided in the following classical study: Stremoukhoff 1953.

Grivec believes the most reliable path to prevent socialist revolutions is harmony between faith – represented by an orderly and established organization such as the Church – and social life. In this vein, he again finds that the success of the Bolsheviks was “to some extent the fault of the Russian Orthodox Church, which was inept at solving life’s issues” and “did not know how to defend the faith in a modern way.” (Grivec 1944, 10). Bolshevism thus threatens especially those nations “whose patriotic consciousness is not rooted in holy religious traditions.” Only a “firmly anchored” Christian and national culture can resist revolution. Grivec affirms: “The only solution for humanity is to return to consistent and active Christianity. Half-heartedness is doomed to servitude and ruin.” (Grivec 1944, 14). In this context, it is worth mentioning that overcoming the polarity or extreme choice between socialism and capitalism was emphasized in the Slovene cultural sphere in the interwar period by Andrej Gosar (1887 – 1970), a professor of sociology (1929 – 1958) at the University of Ljubljana, Technical Faculty.<sup>8</sup>

In the second part of *Narodna zavest in boljševizem*, the author turns towards a more direct discussion of Slovenian cultural history. It is worth noting his view that Slovenians and Russians share a lack of national consciousness and “excessive partisanship,” which allegedly benefits the spread of communism. Grivec substantiates his claims with the thought that Slovenian culture had an opportunity to develop its national consciousness after World War I within the Yugoslav monarchy with the attainment of its own university in 1919 and academy of science in 1937 but failed to seize it (Malmenvall 2023b, 964). The growth of national consciousness was allegedly hindered by two barriers: from within, Slovenians were divided by the issue of autonomy and centralism in the governance arrangements of Yugoslavia, “even the issue of whether Slovenians even constituted a nation;” externally, the unification with Serbs and Croats exacerbated socio-economic issues that “fueled the discontent of the masses and cleared the way for the socialist international.” (Grivec 1944, 20-21).

The author in question is characterized by an orientation towards the early Slovenian as well as shared Slavic history, which he claims enables the development of a single social orientation combining religious and modern national consciousness. This concerns questions about the “contact of Slovenians” with the holy brothers Cyril and Methodius. (Malmenvall 2023b, 966) Building on this, the author draws attention to Russian propaganda literature occurring at the time, which, in its explanations of local and world history, systematically builds an image of centuries-long slavery of the masses under the yoke of the Church, state and capitalism, portraying the Christian faith and Church as allies to oppressors of humanity, whose actions necessitate a rebellion of the oppressed.<sup>9</sup> “Emphasizing the slave past is psychological preparation [...] for the dissemination of Bolshevik ideas.” (Grivec 1944, 27). The Slovenian author concludes it is thus “understandable that the triumphal Russian Bolshevism fatally hit Slavist scientific research” and thus rejected the positive example and nation-building character of the work of Cyril and Methodius (Grivec 1944, 27).

Concerning the early periods of Slovenian history, Grivec considers there is a key linguistic, historical and theological link between the missionary work of Cyril and Methodius and the

<sup>8</sup> He commented on the Catholic social teachings up to that time in an overview monographic study (Gosar 1939). Gosar’s life and work is comprehensively covered in the following edited volume: Gašparič – Veber 2015.

<sup>9</sup> Following the Soviet example, emphasizing the subordination of Slovenian ancestors as farmers and workers in the Middle Ages and early modern period, which was allegedly encouraged by the “oppressive” Church, entered also Slovenian historiography in schools after World War II. Thus, the mentioned conception of (domestic) history shaped the consciousness of multiple generations of the Slovenian population. In this context, a high-school textbook compiled by a college professor of education, Bogdan Binter (1906 – 1967), is a representative example (Binter 1947).

Freising Manuscripts as the earliest written monument in Slovenian as well as the oldest Slavic monument in the Latin script. (Malmenvall 2023b, 967) The Slovenian author continues that it is common knowledge that in Moravia and Pannonia, Cyril and Methodius used Western prayer forms and adapted to the Roman Rite, “without, however, completely suppressing their Eastern Christian mindset.” Thus, if at least sporadic Eastern Christian or originally Slavic forms are attested in the second Freising Manuscript – and according to Grivec, they are<sup>10</sup> – “this is already solid evidence of contact with Saints Cyril and Methodius.” (Grivec 1944, 31). Moreover, the Freising Manuscripts allegedly confirm that contacts with the brothers from Thessaloniki were no “insignificant episode” at the extreme Pannonian edge of Slovenian territory, but rather “stretched deep into its center.” Allegedly, the Freising Manuscripts were first compiled in Carantania, and in terms of content and style, their second sermon was similar to a speech by Methodius preserved in the so-called *Glagolita Clozianus*,<sup>11</sup> one of the earliest miscellanies of Church Slavic literature as a whole (Grivec 1944, 32).

According to Grivec, the acts of Cyril and Methodius raise “another social peculiarity.” Their “brilliant work” stresses the “charity” of Christianity, i.e., the respect of those who are not part of the political elite or who are not yet educated enough to accept the Christian faith. In this context, the Slovenian researcher asserts the Slovenian cultural history features another person considered a “great teacher and educator,” whose personality and achievements “exemplarily amalgamated” national and spiritual values. “He avidly pointed out cherished memories of the ninth century while his heart felt for the lower social classes.” Here, Grivec refers to the theological professor, national awakener, writer and bishop of Lavant/Maribor, Anton Martin Slomšek (1800 – 1862) (Grivec 1944, 33).<sup>12</sup>

Grivec concludes the monograph in question with the reflection that national consciousness is part of the universalist Christian worldview, according to which each nation is equal before God and has an opportunity for coexistence with other nations (Malmenvall 2023b, 969).

“The nation is a large family, a natural group of families. Just as a person has a duty towards their parents and family, so they have a duty to their nation and homeland. The smaller a nation is and the more meager its history is, the more danger is posed to it by ideas that [...] tear down family and nationality. [...] At the same time, such Christian and humane love for one’s nation promotes humane principles for dignified and bearable coexistence between nations.” (Grivec 1944, 34).

## European history and the “New Middle Ages”

The first part of *Narodna zavest in boljševizem*, where Grivec discusses the lines of ideas in Russian culture that contributed to the victory of the October Revolution, is heavily based on the views of the philosopher Nikolai Berdyaev, which Grivec mostly agrees with. Although the Slovenian author does not explicitly refer to Berdyaev’s monographic discussion *The New Middle Ages*, Grivec’s notions of the Slavic Middle Ages, which are to be an example for social life in terms

<sup>10</sup> He summarized his research on the Freising Manuscripts and their link with the missionary work of Cyril and Methodius in a monograph: Grivec 1942.

<sup>11</sup> A reference scholarly edition of the miscellany was prepared by Fran Miklošič (1813 – 1891), a famous Slovenian-Austrian linguist (1860).

<sup>12</sup> In many respects, Grivec’s praise for Slomšek’s achievements in the religious and social spheres matches the previously established positive image of the Lavant bishop in the Slovenian Catholic camp during the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century. (Deželak Trojar 2016)

of values, reflect a similarity to the philosopher's perception of that time as a road to the "New Middle Ages." According to Berdyaev, the course of history is a series of "organic" and "critical" or "sacral" and "secular" periods, with his time being a time of a period shift. In this regard, his current moment defines the end of the modern era and the start of New Middle Ages, i.e., a new type of society and culture (Berdjaev 2002, 222).

The Russian thinker notes that it is impossible to return to what is "temporal and transient" or restore past periods, but it is possible to return to what is "eternal," which is found in the past. He finds deep reactionism in returning to the principles of the modern era, which peaked in the nineteenth century and "are now disintegrating." In particular, the principles of the *passé* modern era include rationalist education, individualism and liberalism with "powerful national monarchies and their imperialist politics" and an industrial capitalistic economic system. The climax of the modern era is the rejection of God, with socialism appearing as the end of this historical path as well as the start of a new one. Berdyaev continues that it is impossible to return to the past Middle Ages after experiencing the modern era, but it is possible for New Middle Ages to start – in a similar vein to how it was impossible to return to past antiquity after experiencing the Middle Ages, but it was possible for Renaissance to appear as a multifaceted synthesis of pagan (ancient) and Christian (medieval) principles (Berdjaev 2002, 227-228). In this regard, the author's call for the New Middle Ages appears as a call for a "spiritual revolution" or new consciousness (Berdjaev 2002, 229). Berdyaev thus conceptualizes a new society reformed by drawing from the "wisdom of the ancients." Such retrospection with the intention of paving a way into the future is a general characteristic of Christian philosophical and theological tradition, which finds the words and deeds of Jesus Christ, where the wisdom of the Hebrew Old Testament is enhanced with an eschatological completion of history, incessantly relevant to all people and all periods (Gilbert 2012, 154).

According to Berdyaev, the decline of the rational and secular social order, accompanied on the other hand by aggravation based on religion-like absolute and revolutionary ideas, marks the beginning of a "new religious period," the New Middle Ages. This does not mean that the religion of the "true God," Jesus Christ, will prevail in terms of numbers in the New Middle Ages, but rather that all layers of life will be marked by religious struggle, "religious polarization." The period of the bitter struggle between the "religion of God" and "religion of the devil," between the principles of Christ and the Antichrist, will no longer be secular but, in a way, holy, even if the "spirit of the Antichrist" wins in terms of numbers. Based on this, Russian socialism, which involves the search for "something eternal," with its "religious drama," is no longer part of the modern era but constitutes the beginning of the New Middle Ages. The Bolshevik revolution has thus brought a secularized form of medieval patterns as Russia has never given up on the dimensions of the holy and almost directly transitioned from the vestiges of the past Middle Ages, from the "old theocracy" of Orthodoxy<sup>13</sup> to the Bolshevik final truth about humankind and society (Berdjaev 2002, 230-231). Indeed, a universal collectivist social order began with the October Revolution. This provides humans with the revelation of the untenability of sustaining themselves with their own strength by relying on values such as rational thought, written law and parliamentary discussion, which deny

<sup>13</sup> The historical weakness of the legal consciousness, institutional autonomy as well as of the creative role of men as individuals in Russian society, which, on the level of ideas, enabled the success of a collectivist system such as Bolshevism, is particularly highlighted by Nikolai Berdyaev and Richard Pipes (1923 – 2018), a Polish American historian of Jewish descent who is one of the leading authorities on Russian revolutionary movements: Malmenvall 2017, 682-684; Berdjaev 1990, 10-16, 99-104; Pipes 1990. Pipes' view is backed by Orlando Figes (Figes 1996), a contemporary British cultural historian, in his breakthrough monographic study of Russian revolutionary violence.

the existence of a single and objective truth (Berdjaev 2002, 233). The clearest expression of the defeat of the modern era and, by extension, of reactionary resistance to the New Middle Ages – both in its socialist and Christian forms – is the capitalist economy, a “child of desire” created in a society that has given up on God and Christian asceticism and turned from “heaven” to the mere satisfaction of earthly needs. In capitalism, a human being is merely a resource for the profit of the owners of commercial facilities, which elevates the economic perception of reality above all spiritual, moral and political efforts. In this regard, according to Berdyaev, socialism, too, is trapped within this “covetous” economic thinking, even if it fights against it with the opposite slogans and deeds (Berdjaev 2002, 237; Gilbert 2012, 148-149).

“Among all nations of the world, the Russian nation is the most all-encompassing, universal by spirit,” claims Berdyaev. The mission of the Russian nation should be to unite the world, to establish a “single Christian cosmos.” In order to accomplish this mission, it should first achieve “robust national individuality.” This is because on its path through history, Russian culture has given in to the “worst” and diametrically opposed temptations: the exclusive internationalism of West-oriented intelligentsia, which aimed to abolish Russia, and the exclusive nationalism aiming for Russia to break away from Europe. Processes aiming to overcome “national isolation” and for universal unity are signs of the modern era ending and the New Middle Ages beginning. The signs of the new historical period include both the socialist universalism and the efforts to join the separate parts of the Christian world (Berdjaev 2002, 242). The New Middle Ages thus overcome the individualism or atomism of the modern era – either “falsely” through socialism or “truly” through the Church or “sobornost” (*соборность*),<sup>14</sup> which leads to unity among Christians. The greatest merit of the spirit of the New Middle Ages is the discovery of humans as beings of community, who belong or yearn to belong to an “organic and hierarchically organized” community, such as the “mystical body of Christ,” i.e., the Church, the ideal form according to Berdyaev. In this regard, socialism, similarly to Christianity, may be “anti-individualistic and hierarchical” but requires individuals to totally subject themselves to political authority and be drowned in the collective, providing a twisted version of community life. According to Berdyaev, modern-era individualism as well as socialist collectivism can be abolished only by the discovery of the redemptive voluntary entry into the (Orthodox) Church, which will enable the establishment of an “organic sobornost,” where a key role will be played by active Christian laypeople (Berdjaev 2002, 248; Gilbert 2012, 146, 159).

Grivec shares a common starting point with the Russian philosopher as the works of both emphasize the decisive importance of their own moments in history, from which they call for reflection on the past that has led to the current situation and for action to create a better future. In this regard, they share opposition to liberalism, socialism and nationalism; they understand them as three ideological and social systems making individuals depersonalized and dependent on political authority, whereas faith and the Church, the bearer of “eternal” values, are barred from or restricted in acting in the public sphere. Grivec and Berdyaev advocate for a society that is based on Christian teachings, coordinated between different classes and grows with the voluntary entry of individuals into the “body” of the Church. In their opinion, such a harmonious society requires the presence of religious principles in public life, i.e., overcoming the modern-era distinction

<sup>14</sup> Berdyaev bases the concept of sobornost on the views of Slavophiles, especially Aleksey Khomyakov, according to whom sobornost refers to a voluntary reception of the heritage of the Church and an amicable connectedness of its members resulting in harmony between the hierarchy and laypeople (Homjakov 1995; Hondzinskij 2017, 172-173, 182-183, 188-189; Malmenvall 2021, 205). For Berdyaev, sobornost is the foundation of a new, “organic” social order that transcends both (Western) individualism and socialist collectivism.

between the religious and secular realities – their goal is to attain a social synthesis deriving from a holistic view of humans as persons involved in the ecclesiastic and political community. Both authors appreciate the Middle Ages, which they identify as an exemplary Christian period that, in the contemporary situation, provides a counterbalance to both internationalism and national “isolation.” They both advocate for loyalty to one’s own national community while respecting other nations, claiming all people are sons of the same Creator. The most important aspect of the Middle Ages according to Grivec and Berdyaev is its prioritization of spiritual over material values, the latter being only results of the spiritual ones. In Grivec’s case, the Middle Ages have an additional value – within Slavic history, they are defined by the work and heritage of Cyril and Methodius, which provides the dimension of connecting the Christian East and West, something also pursued by Berdyaev and even more so by Solovyov, one of the main “protagonists” of Grivec’s publications.

## Conclusion

Franc Grivec (1878 – 1963), a long-time professor at the Faculty of Theology in Ljubljana and pioneer in systematic research of Eastern Christianity in Slovenian higher education, was not a political thinker but a theologian and historian. However, some ecclesiological and historical themes he studied answered the pressing social questions of his time, thus connecting the past with the present. In Grivec’s pedagogical and research work, it is possible to identify a certain Christian social vision that opposes both socialism and liberal capitalism. His views are expressed at the level of principles, as they provide ideational guidelines, not elaborate proposals for improving the actual circumstances. The first core of Grivec’s social vision is unity among Christians under the auspices of the Catholic Church, i.e., the Uniate movement, where the thought of the Russian philosopher Vladimir Solovyov (1853 – 1900) is highlighted. The second core is the national consciousness among Slovenians and other Slavs, which acts as a defense mechanism against the socialist revolution and expresses the equal dignity of every nation before its Creator. In Grivec’s social vision, Russia occupies a negative and at the same time positive starting point for reflection – based on the exclusivity of its Orthodoxy and at the same time a preserved sense of the search for truth, based on the revolution carried out and at the same time experiences in preventing its spread. The Slovenian author places the two conceptual cores (Christian unity and national consciousness) within the example of the holy brothers Cyril and Methodius. In this way, he establishes a mythical idea of the medieval period, thus approaching the theory of the “New Middle Ages” of the Russian philosopher Nikolai Berdyaev (1874 – 1948).

Based on the given explanations, it can be concluded that the published texts of Franc Grivec about Russian themes are not, nor do they strive to be, factually impersonal; in addition to their empirical basis, which familiarizes the Slovene audience with thitherto unknown facts for the first time, they reflect his own views (Malmenvall 2022, 73). Here, a significant finding for Grivec is that the October revolution only changed its object of worship and became a religious sect of sorts trying to destroy the previous “value system” – Christianity. He believes the extremism of Bolsheviks is an integral part of a broader mechanism of Russian cultural history, in which there were repeated occurrences of the idea of a messianic mission, starting with the idea of Moscow as the “Third Rome.” The Bolshevik Revolution only developed this messianic idea of the noble mission of Russia in the opposite direction, flying the flag of godlessness and radical change in the political, social, and economic spheres. Grivec does not portray the Bolshevik regime as some distant happening, allowing for the possibility that a revolution could unfold on Slovenian soil. In such a way, he places his reflection in the context of the Kulturkampf of his time, which, at its core, is a fight between Christianity and secular substitutes for religion (Malmenvall 2022,

76-77). In his writings, the Slovenian author was conscious about the importance of the historical consciousness, which is, according to his belief, the basis for the resilience of the Slovenian and any other society to socialist revolution. In this case, historical consciousness consists of two main dimensions – a national dimension and a religious dimension. Grivec's nexus of identity belongs to the Middle Ages and is concentrated in the work of the "Slavic apostles," Cyril and Methodius. The two missionaries thus act as agents connecting Slovenianness with Slavhood and both with Christianity. It seems that Cyril and Methodius enable such universality to Slovenian national thought by placing it in the Christian religious teachings according to which members of all national and other groups are equal before their Creator, as well as generality by addressing it, due to the temporal distance, with events thought to be acceptable to different strata of the Slovenian society and to the whole Slavic world (Malmenvall 2023b, 970).

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# **PERCEPTION AND RECEPTION OF JÁN CHRYZOSTOM KOREC AS THE SUCCESSOR OF ST. METHOD AND A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CYRILLO-METHODIAN TRADITION AMONG SLOVAKS LIVING ABROAD<sup>1</sup>**

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**Abstract:** ŠURÁB, Marian – JUDÁK, Viliam – KRUPA, Jozef – HLAD, Ľubomír – ZEMANČÍK, Viliam – MATURKANIČ, Patrik. *Perception and Reception of Ján Chryzostom Korec as the Successor of St. Method and a Representative of the Cyrillo-Methodian Tradition Among Slovaks Living Abroad.* The aim of the current study is to present, interpret and apply the results of quantitative research focused on the perception and reception of the prominent representative of the secret Church, bishop, witness and thinker Ján Chryzostom Korec (1924 – 2015) among the communities of foreign Slovaks. Considering the fact that in 1990-2005 Korec was the diocesan bishop of Nitra, i.e. in the place to which history ascribes the designation “Methodius’ Seat”, and at the same time taking into account the fact that all his pastoral efforts have a distinct Cyrillo-Methodian character, the results of the research on the knowledge and reception of his person can be considered relevant also for the field of research on the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition. In the first part, the study focuses on the personality of Bishop Ján Chryzostom Korec as “Methodius’ successor”. At the same time, on the basis of an analysis of his extensive literary output, we prove the thesis that the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition forms the main axis of Korec’s mission as both pastor and thinker. The second part presents the results of the quantitative survey (630 respondents: 59.5% women (N = 375) and 40.5% men (N = 255) conducted from November 2023 to January 2024. These are complemented by a discussion section that shows the comparisons of the research sample according to gender, age and place of residence. The study concludes with a summary of the research applied to practice, offering four concrete suggestions within the context of the Slovak Cardinal and his Cyrillo-Methodian legacy to make the Slovak Cardinal better known to contemporary Slovaks abroad and at home.

**Keywords:** *Ján Chrysostom Korec, Cyril and Methodius, tradition, foreign Slovaks, quantitative research*

## **Ján Chryzostom Korec as “Methodius’ successor”. Elements of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in the life and work of the Bishop of Nitra**

Despite several historical ambiguities related to the mission of the brothers of Thessalonica in Great Moravia, the designations “Methodius’ Seat”, “Methodius’ Nitra” or “Methodius’ Successor” have

<sup>1</sup> This work was supported by grant of the Slovak Research and Development Agency No. APVV22- 0204 *Religiosity and the values of sustainability.*

their historical validity.<sup>2</sup> No doubt the bishop of Nitra, Ján Ch. Korec, was aware of the designation and the commitment associated with it. It is possible to say words almost identical to those that apply to the work of Sts. Cyril and Methodius in Great Moravia about the bishop's pastoral service to the people of God between 1990 and 2005: "The meaning and aim of the work of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, their literary and educational activity, was to involve our ancestors in the new life brought by Christ and which he entrusted to his Church to develop" (Korec 1994, 45). Bishop Korec was aware of the "revolutionary" nature of the missionary enterprise of the Slavic heralds of the gospel, its broad spectrum (reaching the spheres of education, education, culture, politics), but above all the fact that the vital center of their entire mission was the liturgy and religiosity formed by the liturgy, which Korec himself proves in the words: "What a revolution of the spirit it must have been when Constantine and Methodius came to our country, to Great Moravia, to Nitra and to Devín with books translated into our language, and when they gathered the best of our young people and educated them, in an intelligible language, in philosophy, in mathematics, in music, in the knowledge of the Scriptures, its depths and mysteries, and when they then celebrated together with them the 'service-mass' in Slavonic!" (Korec 1994, 44).

The emphasis on the Eucharist and the Eucharistic liturgy as the source and highlight of all his pastoral-missionary activity, covering the whole spectrum of areas and issues (from education to the arts), Korec draws precisely from the Thessalonian missionaries, which is reflected in his words, "The Eternal Light reminds each one of us of the Lord's presence among us. This has been going on for centuries with us. Sts. Cyril and Methodius celebrated the same mystery of the Eucharist as we do, and even celebrated it in the language of the people as we do today" (Korec 1997, 246). The Cyrillo-Methodian emphasis on the Eucharistic liturgy as the source of the spiritual renewal can rightly be seen as an enduring feature of Korec's activity (Korec 1997, 7-8).

The Eucharistic liturgy celebrated countless times in the midst of God's people – from the smallest chapels to large ancient and newly built temples<sup>3</sup> – Korec understood as a source of renewal of the Slovak nation, but not only in the spiritual, but also in the broad evangelizing and social dimension necessary for today (Murgaš et al. 2022, 6185; Králik et al. 2023, 96-106; Jarmoch et al. 2022, 130-142; Jančovič 2023, 528-554).

The direct connection with the evangelizing mission is not only the sacramental-sacrificial character of the Mass and Holy Communion, but also the proclamation of the Word of God, which is an integral part of the Eucharistic liturgy. In the context of the many celebrations of the Eucharistic mystery, many homilies with spiritual-moral content were heard during his fifteen years of ministry in the Diocese of Nitra, and these were in a direct continuity with the Cyril and Methodius tradition of faith, morals and spirituality. They can therefore rightly be regarded as an important contribution to the development of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition and as an update of it. It is not difficult to discern in the homilies of Korec an echo of the preaching of Methodius, who "taught and encouraged to bind oneself to the fear of the Lord, and, controlled and tamed by it, to turn away from every evil as if with a bridle" (Korec 1994, 45). Ján Ch. Korec, like St. Methodius, pointed out moral indiscretions – "marital infidelity, violence, theft, physical harm, and even

<sup>2</sup> The connection of St. Methodius with Nitra and thus the designation „Methodius‘ Nitra“ is based on the encyclical of Pope John VIII *Industriae tuae*, by which the Pope in 880 confirmed Methodius in the rank of Archbishop of Moravia, while for the first time the Bishopric of Nitra and its Bishop Viching – suffragan subordinate to Methodius – are also mentioned. The text says: „We commanded him to obey his archbishop in everything, as the holy canons teach“ (Judák – Liba 2012, 17).

<sup>3</sup> During the spiritual exercises at the Vatican (March 1-7, 1998), describing the powerful work of the Holy Spirit in the local Church, Korec reports that in seven years he consecrated 47 new churches; cf. (Korec 1998, 172).

murder” and spoke of “spreading forgiveness and Christian charity” (Korec 1994, 45). Korec also addressed, as his holy predecessor, rulers – politicians – to be aware in all their actions that injustice in the political-social sphere would be brought before the judgment of God, and thus to act in conformity with divine and human justice in their actions (Korec 1994, 56-59).

Since there is a demonstrable consensus between St. Methodius and Cardinal Korec on what is essential in the evangelizing mission, what is the “heart of the Christian life”, i.e. a consensus that the mystery of the Eucharist – sacrifice and feast – is the foundation of every mission, it is right to postulate a similar consensus in other areas – moral education, education and schooling, science, politics, social issues, family, culture, etc. (Kondrla 2023, 19-32; Murgaš – Petrovič 2020, 261-274; Murgaš et al. 2023, 169-186; Kobylarek 2020, 5-12; Polák 2021, 469-474). In most of the above-mentioned areas that belong to the portfolio of the episcopal ministry, it is possible to recognize a Cyrillo-Methodian feature, as evidenced by a considerable number of studies of this focus (Ďatelinka – Judák 2023, 34-46; Hromják 2023, 65-77; Ivanič 2019, 98-106; Džujko 2022, 151-159).

Thus, it is clear from the above – which is sufficient for the purposes of our research study – that the personality and work of the Bishop of Nitra and Cardinal Korec can be, in a certain sense, considered a faithful “icon” of the legacy of his predecessor – St. Methodius. It is indisputable that the pastoral work of Ján Ch. Korec can be seen as an actualizing presence of the mission of Methodius in the conditions of the 20th and 21st century. The degree of penetration of Korec’s personality into the consciousness of Slovaks abroad (but also at home) says a lot about the vitality, extent and intensity of the Cyril and Methodius legacy within the same sample of the Slovak population. In the following section we will therefore present our research and its results in the Slovak population abroad.

## Objective of the study

The main goal of the study was the presentation, interpretation and application of the results of quantitative research focused on the perception and reception of the person of Ján Chryzostom Korec (1924 – 2015) in the communities of Slovaks abroad.

*Sub-goals (hypotheses) examined using the Pearson chi-square test:*

- Do the answers of women and men differ significantly?
- Do the answers differ significantly according to the age of the respondents?
- Do the answers depend on whether the respondents come from a village, small town or big city?

## Methods

### Research design

The research design of the study was chosen with regard to the target and available measurement methods. We chose a non-experimental research design – a comparative study – and analyzed the results obtained from the measurements using basic descriptive and inferential statistical methods. The research set was obtained through purposive sampling. As the target research groups, we selected Slovaks living abroad. The research took place for three months from November 2023 to January 2024, online, by distributing access data to the research questionnaire.

## Methods of statistical processing

The results were examined through descriptive statistics, contingency tables and a contingency table variability test. The variable independence test assumes that the random variables X and Y are independent, so the values of one variable do not affect the values of the other variable. The dependence between variables can be either one-sided (asymmetric) or mutual (symmetric), where both variables interact with each other. Pearson's chi-square test was used to test the independence of two categorical variables in the PivotTable, regardless of the direction of their dependence. The null hypothesis of this test assumes that both variables are independent of each other. We test this null hypothesis at the determined level of significance  $\alpha$ , that the variables are independent, as opposed to the alternative that there is a dependence between the variables. We write the hypotheses as follows:

$$H_0: n_{ij} = \frac{n_i * n_j}{n}$$

$$H_1: n_{ij} \neq \frac{n_i * n_j}{n},$$

where indicates the frequencies in the PivotTable where  $i = 1, 2, \dots, r$  denotes the categories of the variable X and  $j = 1, 2, \dots, s$  denotes the categories of the variable Y.

The test criterion  $\chi^2$  is defined as:

$$\chi^2 = \sum_{i=1}^r \sum_{j=1}^s \frac{(n_{ij} - n'_{ij})^2}{n'_{ij}}$$

where  $\chi^2 \approx \chi^2 [(r-1)(s-1)]$ . The larger the differences between the categories of the examined variables, the larger the test criterion  $\chi^2$ .

The prerequisite for using this test is that theoretical frequencies where there are less than 5 observations make up less than 20% of the PivotTable fields. Individual categories of variables can be combined to meet this assumption. The data were processed using the statistical program SPSS (version 23) and MS Office Excel.

## Research file

Data were collected from November 2023 to January 2024. A total of 630 respondents were involved, of which 40,5% were men ( $N = 255$ ) and 59,5% were women ( $N = 375$ ).

### Filling language

Answer choices	(N)	(%)
SVK	585	92,8
ENG	15	2,4
ESP	30	4,8
Total	630	100,0

### Gender

Answer choices	(N)	(%)
Man	255	40,5
Women	375	59,5
Total	630	100,0

### Representation of age groups

Answer choices	(N)	(%)
15-25 years	116	18,4
26-40 years	125	19,8
41-60 years	273	43,3
61-74 years	79	12,6
75-90 years	37	5,9
Total	630	100,0

### Religious confession

Answer choices	(N)	(%)
Without religion	92	14,6
Christian	480	76,2
Jewish	11	1,7
Eastern religions and similar ones	10	1,6
Your own faith	32	5,1
Other	5	0,8
Total	630	100,0

### Highest education level

Answer choices	(N)	(%)
Basic education	55	8,7
Secondary education without high school diploma	49	7,8
Secondary education with high school diploma	154	24,4
Higher professional education	33	5,2
University education	270	42,9
Postgraduate education (MBA, BBA, DBA, MSc, LL.M...)	26	4,1
Postgraduate scientific education (PhD., Assoc. Prof., Prof...)	43	6,9
Total	630	100,0

### Place of residence (continent)

Answer choices	(N)	(%)
Europe	527	83,7
Asia	10	1,6
North America	33	5,2
South America	31	4,9
Africa	11	1,7
Australia	18	2,9
Total	630	100,0

### Place of residence (population)

Answer choices	(N)	(%)
Up to 1,000 inhabitants	80	12,7
1,001 to 5,000 inhabitants	125	19,8
5,001 to 20,000 inhabitants	103	16,4
20,001 to 100,000 inhabitants	121	19,2
More than 100,000 inhabitants	201	31,9
Total	630	100,0

## The results

### Measuring instruments

We did not use standardized questionnaires in our research. We created a sociometric questionnaire that also included requirements for basic demographic data. Participants answered four questions. In the following section, we present the data in frequency tables:

- A) Are you familiar with the Slovak Cardinal Ján Chryzostom Korec (1924 – 2015), who significantly contributed to Slovak history as a devoted advocate of St Cyril and St Methodius?

Answer choices	(N)	(%)
Yes	284	45,1
No	346	54,9
Total	630	100,0

- B) How would you describe your perception of the figure of Bishop of Nitra Ján Chryzostom Korec from the perspective of someone residing abroad?

Answer choices	(N)	(%)
Very positively	124	19,7
Rather positively	77	12,2
Neutrally	111	17,6
Rather negatively	6	1,0
Very negatively	4	0,6
I don't know/don't wish to answer	308	48,9
Total	630	100,0

C) Within the historical context, where would you categorise the figure of Ján Chryzostom Korec?

Answer choices	(N)	(%)
Intellectual (philosopher/theologian)	65	10,3
Dissident of the communist regime	37	5,9
Jesuit	11	1,7
Priest/bishop/cardinal	212	33,7
I don't know/don't wish to answer	305	48,4
Total	630	100,0

D) In your opinion, what was the most defining characteristic of Ján Chryzostom Korec's life?

Answer choices	(N)	(%)
Dedication to truth and loyalty to the Catholic Church	199	31,6
Political-religious pursuits	44	7,0
Preservation and restoration of cultural and historical monuments	4	0,6
Literary contributions	10	1,6
I don't know/don't wish to answer	373	59,2
Total	630	100,0

### Dependency results

In this section, statistically significant differences calculated using Pearson chi-square test for independence of variables in the contingency table are presented.

#### A) Comparison by gender

No statistically significant dependence was observed for any of the questions examined (even when all test conditions were met).

#### B) Comparison by age

The figure of the Slovak cardinal Ján Ch. Korec is the most familiar to respondents aged 61-74 (58.2% are familiar with him), but the least familiar to respondents aged 15-25 (only 13.8% are familiar with him) (P-value of the Perason chi-squared test: 0.000). Korec is perceived most positively among respondents aged 75-90, and least among respondents aged 15-25. (P-value of Perason chi-square test: 0.000). There is a trend between age and the proportion of respondents who evaluate Cardinal Korce in a positive way – the older the age group, the more positively they perceive this person.

#### C) Comparison by size of the residence location

Personality of Ján Ch. Korec's personality is most known to respondents who live in cities with 100,000 inhabitants (59.7% know him), and least identified by respondents who live in villages with up to 1,000 inhabitants (only 26.3% know him) (P-value of Perason chi-square test: 0.000).

## Discussion

It is obvious that abroad (especially in Europe) there is a large community of people claiming Slovak ancestry. This is also the conclusion of the data presented, when 83.7% (N = 527) of our respondents indicated their place of residence as European. It was convenient that the age distribution of the participants was diverse and included multiple age groups without age limitation. The results confirmed the fact that Slovaks living abroad claim to be mainly of the Christian faith (76.2%, N = 480). Two thirds of our respondents are university graduates (59.1%, N = 372), which implies a general and balanced view of the questions presented and their answers. In a similar line, we see the size of the environments and their variety of options, with one-third of the respondents (31.9%, N = 201) indicating their place of residence above 100,000 inhabitants. It is from this group that the personality of Cardinal Korec is known to the majority of the respondents (59.7%).

On the basis of the results of the quantitative study, we can state that almost 60 percent perception and reception of the personality of Cardinal Korec in the 61-74 age group (58.2%) leads us to the statement that the historical context of the Cyril and Methodius legacy in the person and work of the Nitra Cardinal, as well as the degree of his recognition and reception in the group of foreign Slovaks, copied the observed percentage values. It is a matter of point of view and interpretation whether the given results give grounds for optimism or, on the contrary, for pessimism. In both cases, however, it is true that the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition – not only in its content, but also in its procedural meaning (tradition as a process of passing on the message from one generation to the next) – should be unbroken and continuous. Therefore, it is desirable that the way/form of the tradition of the Cyril and Methodius content, which is a kind of icon, sacrament, or history-specific variation of the universal evangelical message, should be constantly renewed and adapted to the language of new generations, the heirs of the mission of Cyril and Methodius. Here the possibility for creative interdisciplinary thinking is revealed, as the conclusion of the study shows us in the four directions presented (the revival and development of the Cyril and Methodius awareness among Slovaks not only abroad but also at home). At the same time, we see here an open space for an extended, so far unexplored scholarly research on kerygmatic catechesis in the “mother tongue” of the Church (the relationship between sacramental liturgy and the community of engagement of the believers), especially in the post-revolutionary generation Y/Z (Reimer 2022, 69-87), whose advantage is the perfect orientation in the digital environment (the possibility of online research). Our study declares the willingness of these groups to participate in scientific inquiry in a fairly large proportion (38.7%, N = 241), which we see as a positive development from the perspective of new research.

## Conclusion

From the data gathered, we arrived at a final evaluation of the results, which generated a key question based on the aforementioned objective of our research: *How to effectively present the personality of Ján Chrysostom Korec to Slovaks living abroad, so that the generations after us will not forget the spiritual legacy of a Slovak who made an unforgettable mark on the history of our nation?* We offer to the general public four possible solutions, which we want to be open to further discussions towards tangible goals, i.e. to contribute not only to pastoral-theological research, but also to raise awareness among Slovaks at home and abroad:

1. Introducing the general public to the life and work of Cardinal Ján Chryzostom Korec, based “on the spirituality of Cyril and Methodius”, can be realized through various forms of organized and voluntary activities.

These may include:

*Exhibitions and museums:* Organizing exhibitions on the life and work of Ján Ch. Korec. This can offer the public the opportunity to see historical documents and photographs related to his legacy.

*Memorial Sites:* Identifying and marking places associated with Cardinal Korec, such as memorial sites with information boards or memorials where the public could learn more about his spiritual legacy.

*International symposia and conferences:* Organising conferences or symposia with experts and historians to discuss the impact of Cardinal Korec on domestic and international society.

*Educational events:* Organising educational events in the form of lectures, seminars and workshops where the general public can learn more about Korec's spiritual heritage.

*Publication of books and documents:* Publishing books, brochures and documents dedicated to the personality of Korec.

*Film documentaries and television programmes:* Creation of documentaries or television programmes that would shed light on the life and work of the Slovak Cardinal and would thus be accessible to the general public.

*Internet platforms:* Creation of a website or social media dedicated to the life of Cardinal Korec, where articles, photographs and videos would be shared in order to raise awareness of his lifelong legacy.

*Social (cultural) events:* Incorporate outreach activities on Ján Ch. Korec into cultural events such as festivals, concerts or theatre performances, so that the public can also learn about his legacy through artistic media.

2. Spreading awareness of Korec's spiritual message based on the anthropological-theological principles of the Christian faith, with an emphasis on the young generation (using contemporary tools). In addressing young people, we consider these principles to be relevant:

*Clarity and relevance:* It is important to share the message of faith in a way that is understandable and relevant to young people. This means using contemporary language and examples that are relatable and understandable to them.

*Adaptation of content:* The content of the spiritual message should be adapted to reflect the current issues and challenges that young people are facing. Ideally, it should offer answers and perspectives that will help them find meaning and value in their lives.

*Creative use of technology:* The young generation is digital, so the use of technological tools such as social media, mobile apps, podcasts, videos and interactive websites can be very effective in spreading spiritual messages.

*Interactivity and participation.* Therefore, it is important to create space for their questions, discussions, but also for their creative contribution to the content of the message.

*Sharing spiritual values:* The Christian message should be based on the values of love, solidarity, justice and pro-life (Polák 2020, 523–537; Dobríková et al. 2022, 20–37; Tomiczek et al. 2022, 59–65; Plašienková – Vertanová 2023, 184–196; Vivoda 2023, 237–249). It is important to transmit these values to young people and show them how they can be relevant in today's world.

*A personal approach:* Reaching young people should be personal and authentic. It is important to create a space to share experiences, testimonies and life stories that can be inspiring and encouraging to them.

*Fostering community and fellowship:* Creating a space for young people where they feel accepted and supported is key. This can include organizing meetings, camps, volunteer activities and other events where they can build lasting relationships and grow in their faith with their peers. These principles can help ensure that the spiritual message of Korec is accessible, relevant and inspiring for the young generation in today's digital/economic world (Kobylarek et al. 2022, 7-16; Fiľa 2017, 412-423; Gómez – Antošová 2019, 26-39; Korenková et al. 2020, 9996).

3. Ján Chrysostom Korec was an important figure in the history of the Slovak Catholic Church and society as a whole. His life and work played an important role in shaping the identity and cultural legacy of Slovaks, not only those living in Slovakia, but also those abroad. The application part of his legacy concerns the way his ideas, values and vision carry on in the lives of individuals and communities after his death. Korec was known for his intellectual depth, spiritual leadership and courage during the communist regime.

His message in the context of the Cyrillo-Methodian legacy can also be applied in the following ways:

*Spiritual leadership and moral principles:* Korec was known for his determination to stand by his convictions and resist the totalitarian regime, which can serve as an example for people today who face similar challenges. His moral principles and courage can be an inspiration to anyone facing injustice or oppression.

*Intergenerational dialogue:* the work and legacy of the Slovak Cardinal can serve as a bridge between different generations of Slovaks. His story and legacy can be a source of discussion between older and younger generations about the values, history and culture of Slovakia (Javor 2023, 62-77).

*Promoting democracy and human rights:* Korec was a principled defender of democracy and human rights. His legacy can serve as a reminder of the importance of defending these values in a world where they are under constant threat.

*Support of Slovak culture abroad:* For Slovaks living abroad, Korec's legacy can serve as a reminder of their cultural roots and history. His story can serve as a motivation for the preservation and development of Slovak identity and culture abroad (Lenovský et al. 2023, 150-167; Valčová et al. 2022, 207-215), where the legacy of the Thessaloniki saints Cyril and Methodius is at the centre of attention (Ivanič 2022, 106-126; Kondrla et al. 2022, 149-159; Kondrla – Králik 2016, 90-97; Botek 2023, 201-217).

4. Publishing the final results of the life and work of Slovak Cardinal Korec in foreign journals can be an important way to strengthen his international presence and message in the Cyril and Methodius legacy.

*Scholarly articles and studies:* Academic articles and studies can be published in foreign journals that address the legacy of Methodius' successor. These articles could provide a deeper insight into his contribution to Christian theology in relation to the culture and historical dimension of the Slovak nation.

*Reviews and essays:* Publishing reviews and essays on Cardinal Korec's works can also enhance his international reputation. These texts could evaluate his work from different perspectives and offer valuable interpretations of his ideas and influence for our times (Králík – Torok 2016, 45-53; Pavlíková 2016, 111-119; McAleer 2023, 70-85; Plašienková 2023, 151-157).

*Historical and theological perspectives:* Publications could also include historical and theological perspectives on the period in which Cardinal Korec was active and his influence on the ecclesial and social situation at the time.

*Interviews and profile articles:* Foreign journals could also publish interviews with experts on Cardinal Korec's life or with people who worked directly with him. These interviews could shed light on his personal life, motivations and beliefs touching on contemporary theological and philosophical trends (Plašienková – Bizon 2023, 77-93; Pavlíková – Tavilla 2023, 200-224; Martín et al. 2021, 48-57; Jančovič 2023, 158-171; McAleer 2023, 70-85).

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## RECENZIE / REVIEWS

ÁLVAREZ-PEDROSA, Juan Antonio – SANTOS MARINAS, Enrique. *Las vidas de Constantino-Cirilo y Metodio de Tesalónica. Las tradiciones oriental y occidental [Životy Konštantína-Cyrila a Metoda zo Solúna. Východná a západná tradícia]*. Madrid : Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Nueva Roma, 2022, 285 s. ISBN 978-84-00-11000-0.

V roku 2022 vydala Španielska štátна agentúra na podporu vedeckého výskumu a technologického rozvoja (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas) knihu o živote a misii sv. Cyrila a Metoda. Vyšla v edícii *Nueva Roma. Bibliotheca graeca et latina Aevi Posterioris*, čo samo do istej miery osvetľuje zámer autorov prispieť zvolenou tému k prehľbeniu jestvujúceho filologicko-historického výskumu. Publikácia prináša klúčové texty o živote a misii oboch svätcov, čiže diela zásadné pre kresťanstvo na Veľkej Morave i pre vývin slovanských jazykov. Dôležitosť zväzku stojí na dvoch pilieroch: sústreduje originálne pramene najvýznamnejších diel solúnskych svätcov, ktoré sú evidentne zaujímavé pre bádateľov v danej oblasti poznania, a súčasne slúži ako vvedenie do kultúry a dejín Slovanov, zvlášť v otázke upevňovania kresťanského náboženstva na ich území alebo s ohľadom na stopy svätcov pretrvávajúce až do súčasnosti.

Každý, kto raz prešiel ulicami či námestiami tohto historicko-kultúrneho priestoru, ktorý pars pro toto reprezentuje Slovensko alebo prišiel do kontaktu s tunajšími vzdelávacími centrami, resp. inštitúciami, chápe, že mená Cyril a Metod tu nepredstavujú nejaké fosílie na spôsob dekoratívnych suvenírov, ale že ide o živý fenomén.

Obaja autori zväzku Juan Antonio Álvarez-Pedrosa a Enrique Santos Marinas pôsobia na Univerzitnom inštitúte náboženských štúdií v Madride a sú odborníkmi v oblasti slovanskej i klasickej filológie – v téme preto nie sú žiadnymi nováčikmi. Dokazuje to napokon aj

ich ďalšia spoločná publikácia *Rituals in Slavic Pre-Christian Religion: festivals, banqueting, and divination* (2023). Čitateľ v nej ocení ich vedeckú suverénnosť a zorientovanosť v problematike náboženstva slovanského sveta, kresťanského aj predkresťanského, cez prizmu historiografie a filológie. Vďaka uvedeným znalostiam sa im aj v recenzovanej publikácii – osobitne na prvých tridsiatich stranách poňatých na spôsob autorského predhovoru – darí čitateľom v španielskom jazyku pútavo predstaviť obe významné postavy slovanských dejín vrátane ich životných peripetií v Katolíckej cirkvi 9. storočia či ich prínosu k rozvoju slovanského jazyka tvorbou hlaholíky. Pridanou hodnotou je, že to nerobia cez floskuly, ktoré pomerne často charakterizujú akademický diskurz, ale plynulo a zrozumiteľne, vďaka čomu sa čitatelia prirodzene vnárajú do témy a vytvárajú si jasný obraz o misii svätcov a začínajú tušiť ich osobnosť. Autori korigujú chyby, ktoré stáročia vniesli do historiografie, mýty rúcajú argumentmi a tie podkladajú priebežnými bibliografickými odkazmi. Ich rukopis si však až do konca uchováva aj záujem neoborného čitateľa, resp. takého, ktorý nie je zvyknutý na vedecký text. Prvá, úvodná časť knihy by preto mohla fungovať aj samostatne, je totiž príťažlivým vvedením do života slovanských svätcov.

Hlavný blok knihy pozostáva z pramených textov, ich prekladov a bohatého kritického aparátu, čo potvrzuje, že kniha sa primárne zameriava na odbornú obec. V tejto časti sa sústredujú texty v latinčine, gréctine a staroslovenčine vrátane údajov o ich prekladoch (zahrnuté sú aj texty preložené do španielčiny po prvýkrát). Sú to akési malé okienka do príbehu, ktorý čitateľa zaujal, rozširujú úvodné rozprávania pre tých, čo chcú ešte hlbšie spoznať kroky svätcov a načúvať nielen ich slovám, ale aj súdobým hlasom, teda tým, čo s nimi nejakým spôsobom nažívali, alebo o dobe po-dávajú svedectvo.

Summa summarum, možno konštatovať, že recenzovaná publikácia, ktorej hlavným zámerom bolo zhromaždiť po prvý raz pôvodné pramene diel svätých Cyrila a Metoda, nám ponúka aj čítanie na spôsob pastišu. Umožňuje

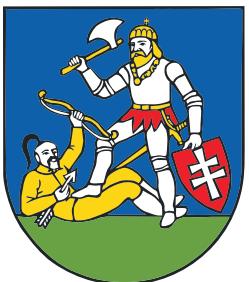
čitateľovi nazriet do rôznych dverí, a tak ho prenáša na rozličné miesta v rôznych obdobiah ich života, poodhaľujúc ich myslenie, krédo, prácu... a napokon aj vieru ako zmysel života a hnaciu silu. A nám, španielskym čitateľom, ktorí, žiaľ, nie sme až takí oboznámení so slovanskými dejinami, dáva možnosť prehliubiť poznanie o tomto území a období a zároveň doplniť časti akéhosi puzzle dejín Katolíckej cirkvi, ktorá zostáva pre mnohých záhadou.

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Cyril and Methodius  
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