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„... IN SUA PROPRIETATE LOCO VOCATO NITRAVA CONSECRAVIT ECCLESIAM.“

K VÝPOVEDNEJ HODNOTE NAJZNÁMEJŠEJ VETY STREDOVEKÝCH SLOVENSKÝCH DEJÍN¹

„... in sua proprietate loco vocato Nitrava conseravit ecclesiam.“
On the Informative Value of the Most Famous Sentence
of Medieval Slovak History

Miroslav Lysý

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Abstract: LYSÝ, Miroslav. „... in sua proprietate loco vocato Nitrava consecravit ecclesiam.“ On the Informative Value of the Most Famous Sentence of Medieval Slovak History. The article deals with the informative value of a sentence from the *The Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* from 871, which is the only source documenting the connection between Pribina and Nitra. The sentence “*Cui quondam Adalrammus archiepiscopus ultra Danubium in sua proprietate loco vocato Nitrava consecravit ecclesiam*” has long raised doubts about its authenticity, as it does not fit into the narrative of the 11th chapter of the source. The study thus addresses three key questions, namely whether this sentence was originally a marginalia, in which manuscript the sentence about Nitrava first appeared, and whether there are reasonable reasons to question the credibility of this sentence.

Based on a very detailed analysis, it is clear that the sentence was indeed originally a marginalia, on which there is, after all, a relatively broad consensus in historiography, including Slovak. The sentence probably first appeared as a marginalia in the original manuscript. As for reasonable reasons to question the credibility of this information, it is very likely that Pribina's Nitra origin was a historical fact.

Keywords: Pribina, Pannonia, *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, Kocel, Moravians, Nitra, medieval history, Central Europe

Dejiny útvaru známeho v historiografii nepresným a mierne zavádzajúcim názvom ako Veľká Morava tvorí súbor osobitne sa vinúcich príbehov. Sú nimi príbehy príslušníkov mojmirovského rodu,² ďalej vzťahy Moravanov a ich bezprostredných a najdôležitejších susedov Bavorov (resp. Franskej ríše ako celku, napr. Fiala 1959, Havlík 1963, Lysý 2014, 149-224). Pozoruhodným príbehom je potom rozprávanie o cyrilometodskej misii³ a súčasne aj rozličné pokusy o rekonštrukciu

¹ Štúdiá vznikla v rámci projektu VEGA 2/0095/25 *Nová monarchia. Spoločnosť v neskorom stredoveku*.

² Spracované napríklad v podobe knihy Kučera 2005.

³ Zhrnutie hoci len najdôležitejšej literatúry osobitne k cyrilometodskej misii presahuje možnosti tohto príspevku. Odcitujme však zo starších prác prinajmenšom Dittrich 1962, Betti 2014.

hospodárstva,⁴ sociálnej štruktúry (Havlík 1978, 67-85. Třeštík 1997, 289-295. Steinhübel 2017, 142-145) či práva (Gábris – Jäger 2016).

Na týchto dejinách je nepochybne zaujímavé, že pramene podrobnejšie zachytávajú informácie o mojmírovskej Morave až zhruba od 60. rokov 9. storočia. „Velkomoravské dejiny“ sú preto v podstate rozprávaním z obdobia zhruba posledného desaťročia vlády kniežata Rastislava (846 – 870) až po začiatok 10. storočia, kedy sa odmlčia Fuldské letopisy (Annales Fuldenses 2019, 67). Obdobie medzi rokom 822, ktoré je prvou písomnou zmienkou o Moravanoch vôbec⁵ a začiatkom 60. rokov tak s námahou rekonštruujeme len na základe niekoľkých málo zachytných bodov.⁶ Najstaršie dejiny mojmírovskej Moravy, tento „vznik Velkej Moravy“, je tak zahalený v informačnej hmle, v ktorej je každú písomnú zmienku možné donekonečna obracať a vykladať.

V tejto súvislosti je aj osobitne užitočné pripomenúť, že dva z troch najdôležitejších údajov k počiatkom dejín mojmírovskej Moravy pochádzajú z mladších prameňov. Údaj o Pribinovi a jeho Nitre poznáme až vďaka Spisu o obrátení Bavorov a Korutáncov (*Conversio*), ktorý vznikol podľa všeobecného konsenzu v roku 871. O ňom bude ešte v tejto štúdii reč. Potom je tu aj údaj o pokrstení Moravanov datovaný do roku 831, ktorý je známy až vďaka neskoršie zaznamenatej pasovskej tradícii⁷ z 13. storočia.

Pribina v prameňoch

Témou tejto štúdie je v prvom rade Pribina a jeho vzťah k Nitre na základe Spisu o obrátení Bavorov a Korutáncov. Tento spis vznikol v roku 871 v Salzburgu (Kos 1936, 102-103) a je jedinečným zdrojom bohatých informácií stredoeurópskych historiografií. Pribina sa tu spomína prvýkrát v 10. kapitole ako *quidam priuuina* (čiže „akýsi Pribina“), ktorého vyhnal knieža Moravanov Mojmir. Autor textu podrobne referuje o Pribinových pohnutých osudoch vo vyhnanstve, najmä potom o dynamicky sa vyvíjajúcom vzťahu k markgrófovi Východnej Marky Ratbodovi, kráľovi Ludovítovi II. Nemcovi, tiež však spomína Pribinovo pokrstenie (*Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 10; *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 1997, 120 a 122). V rámci 11. kapitoly rozoberá Pribinovo pôsobenie v dolnej Panónii, kde získal ako benefícium časť územia okolo rieky Sála. Práve v tejto kapitole sa potom nachádza podozrenie vyvolávajúca veta o tom, že Pribinovi kedysi vysvätil kostol arcibiskup Adalrák v „Nitrave“ (Nitre) (*Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 11; *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 1997, 122-126).

Kapitola 11 je v podstate zhrnutím Pribinovho pôsobenia v jeho novom panstve ako lénnika východofranského kráľa a prameň zdôrazňuje väzby medzi Pribinom (a jeho synom Kocelom)

⁴ Realie arpádovského obdobia spracoval Kučera 1974. Už táto práca v mnohom predznamenal predstavy o hospodárskej nadväznosti mojmírovskeho a arpádovského obdobia našich dejín, a to prinajmenšom z hľadiska hospodárskych štruktúr. Tie boli v základných kontúrach načrtnuté v štúdii Krzemieńska – Třeštík 1979. Konzekventne hospodársky model „Velkej“ Moravy rozvinul Dušan Třeštík v knihe Třeštík 1997, 287-296.

⁵ Zachytenou však súčasným prameňom, porovnaj Annales regni Francorum 822; Annales regni Francorum 1895, 159.

⁶ Osobitne táto skutočnosť vyniká v rámci spracovania prameňov v piatom zväzku zbierky Prameny k dejinám Velké Moravy v chronologickom usporiadaní. MMFH V, 148-178.

⁷ Historia episcoporum Pataviensium et ducum Bavariae 838; Historia episcoporum Pataviensium et ducum Bavariae 1880, 620: „Reinharius archiepiscopus Laureacensis et Pataviensis apostolus Maravorum obiit.“ Notae de episcopis Pataviensis; Notae de episcopis Pataviensis 1880, 623: „Regenharius episcopus Matavorum baptizat omnes Moravos.“ Bernardi Cremifanensis historiae 818 – 838; Bernardi Cremifanensis historiae 1880, 655: „Item Renharius episcopus baptizat omnes Moravos.“ K problému spoľahlivosti týchto prameňov porovnaj Dittrich 1962, 61-65.

a salzburským arcibiskupom Liupramom (836 – 859). V nasledujúcom texte spomína *Conversio* darovanie majetkov Pribinovi od Ľudovíta II. Nemca, a potom sú menované kostoly, ktoré na majetkoch Pribinovho syna Kocela – už po Pribinovej smrti, ktorému je v prameni venovaná náležitá pozornosť – vysvätil opäť salzburský arcibiskup, tentokrát už Adalvin (859 – 873) (*Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 12-13; *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 1997, 122-134).

Faktom je, že ak by sa v texte *Conversia* nenachádzala spomínaná veta o Nitrave, pôvod Pribinu by mohol byť predmetom len viac či menej pravdepodobných špekulácií. V mnohých ohľadoch však potvrdzujú a rozvíjajú informácie z *Conversia* aj dve listiny zachytávajúce majetkové donácie od Ľudovíta II. Nemca (MMFH III, 40-41, 53-55). Práve v jednej z týchto listín je Pribina oslovený jej autorom ako *Briuuinus*⁸ *fidelis dux noster*, čím sa tento lénnik východofranského kráľa stáva nie obyčajným podriadeným, ale – takpovediac – človekom z druhého najvyššieho poschodia latinskej titulatúry franského sveta.⁹ Hoci sa titulu *dux* v prípade Pribinu autor *Conversia* okázalo vyhol, práve úradne vyhotovená listina potvrdzujúca Pribinovo darovanie majetkov kláštora v Nieder-Altaichu poukazuje na jeho „lepší pôvod“.¹⁰ Mohol teda dosť dobre pochádzať z prostredia slovanských kniežat,¹¹ čo nám však samozrejme nemôže dávať automaticky odpoveď na to, či tieto kniežatá boli vedľajšími príbuznými panovníka alebo samostatnými vládcami.¹²

Pribina v historickej pamäti

Úspešne sa Pribina uchytil v historiografii už v rámci spracovania Letopisov od bavorského Johannes Turmaira (Aventina). Čo je nesmierne zaujímavé, je Aventinov Pribina (*Brynno*) označený za moravského kráľíčka (*Moravorum regulus*), autor mu pripísal panovanie nad „mestami“ Nitra, Bratislava a Brno. Kým Brno Aventinus „daroval“ Pribinovi očividne pre pochybnú podobnosť mena osoby a „mesta“, o Bratislave môžeme len váhať, ako sa do týchto konštrukcií dostala. Naopak Nitra („*Nitrava*“) je zjavne prevzatá z *Conversia*. Pre Aventina je Pribina bez najmenších pochyb vládcom Slovanov pochádzajúcim pôvodne zo severnej strany Dunaja (Ioannis Aventini Annales ducum Baioariae IV, X 27; IV, XII 7; IV, XII 13; IV, XIII 20; IV, XIV 6; IV, XIV 43; Ioannis Aventini Annales ducum Baioariae 2019, 388-390, 392-394), avšak – čo je pre nás poučné – Pribina je v tomto rozprávaní postavou pochádzajúcou z moravského politického prostredia. Pôsobí ako Rastislavov „údelný“ knieža, kým Mojmír I. sa v Aventinových konštrukciách nenachádza vôbec.

Tu treba tiež poznamenať, že Pribinovo vykreslenie ako jedného z moravských „kráľíčkov“ potom úspešne aplikovali aj novovekí autori. Na podrobnejší prehľad bádania v tejto štúdii nemáme

⁸ V tvare *Priuuinna* je zachytené jeho meno v Cividalskom evanjeliári. O jeho totožnosti s Pribinom nie sú v historiografii pochybnosti, keďže hneď vedľa je v evanjeliári zachytené meno jeho syna Kocela v tvare *Quocili* (Evangelium de cividale; Evangelium de Cividale 1969, 333).

⁹ Podrobnejšie Vykypěl 2011, 107.

¹⁰ Svet latinskej titulatúry franských prameňov v 9. storočí analyzoval vo svojej štúdii David Kalhous, ktorý si pozorne všimol aj prostredie *duces*. Porovnaj Kalhous 2016, 68-72.

¹¹ Veľkú pomoc nám v tomto prípade poskytujú tituly uvedené pri mene jeho syna Kocela. Podľa Života Konštantína bol Kocel „*КНѦСЪ ПАХОУЄСЬКЪ*“ (Žitije Konstantína 15; Žitije Konstantína 1967, 105). V latinských listinách však Kocel vystupuje ako *comes* (porovnaj MMFH III 51 a 61), ale aj ako *dux* (porovnaj MMFH III, 69). K označeniu *comes* v latinskej terminológii franských prameňov porovnaj Deutinger 2006, 148.

¹² Medzi Slovanmi boli rozšírené tzv. druhostupňové kniežatá, ktorých titulatúra v latinsky písaných prameňoch franskej i inej proveniencie kolísala (*optimates*, *principes*, *primates*, *nobiles viri*). Porovnaj Havlík 1987, 75; Havlík 1978, 65; Třeštík 1997, 288; Steinhübel 2014, 229-232; Lysý 2014a, 127-129; Lysý 2014b, 123-127.

miesto.¹³ Stačí však pripomenúť, že konceptualizácia Pribinu ako vládcu, ktorý mal byť nezávislý od Mojmíra (resp. Moravanov vôbec), pochádza až z obdobia druhej polovice 19. storočia a ako ukázal vo svojej práci M. Harvát, môžeme ju spojiť s prácami českého právneho historika Hermenegilda Jirečka. Ten Pribinu ustanovil na čelo osobitného kniežatstva, ktoré sa súčasťou Moravy stalo až za Mojmíra I. Vykreslenie Pribinu ako samostatného kniežata sa potom postupne podarilo v historiografii rozvinúť najmä po vzniku Československa a príbeh o zjednotení Moravy a Nitrianska sa stal koncepcie po 2. svetovej vojne aktualizáciou štátu Čechov a Slovákov.¹⁴ Tento naratív prevláda v slovenskej historiografii aj dnes.¹⁵

Tento výsledok však nebol jednoznačne uznávaný ani v súdobej českej historiografii, ani u viacerých zahraničných autorov. Ak pre Herwiga Wolframa bol Pribina „Slawenfürst“ z Nitry,¹⁶ Jan Sieklicki skôr uvažoval nad nejakou formou závislosti Pribinu od Mojmíra.¹⁷ Podobné, ak nie väčšie pochybnosti, formuloval aj Dušan Třeštík, jeho názory na Pribinu však v priebehu svojho písania prehodnocoval.¹⁸

Pomerne radikálny odklon od tradičnej slovenskej historiografie tak predstavuje najmä práca mladého slovenského historika Mateja Harváta. Prednosťou jeho interpretácie Pribinu je najmä rozbor jednotlivých rukopisov *Conversia*, na základe čoho mohol autor skonštatovať, že veta o Pribinovej Nitrave je evidentnou glosou. Toto konštatovanie však ešte nepredstavuje radikálny zlom v slovenskej historiografii, pretože podobne pracoval s *Conversiom* aj P. Ratkoš. M. Harvát však pochybuje o dôveryhodnosti vety ako takej, a tým pádom aj o spojení Pribinu a Nitry. Toto spojenie je tak iba záležitosťou glosy pochádzajúcej – ako M. Harvát odhaduje – z druhej polovice 10. storočia. Oblasť Nitrianska (v Harvátovej koncepcii ide o „malé Nitriansko“,¹⁹ teda región medzi Váhom a Hronom) bol včlenený do malej „Veľkej“ Moravy až za Svätopluka (Harvát 2021, 122 a 124).

Keďže pri každej spornej otázke v historiografii musia byť rozhodujúce pramene, nie inak tomu musí byť aj tu. Náš rozbor sa pokúsime spraviť tak, že najskôr sa pozrieme na jednotlivé rukopisy *Conversia* a následne budeme skúmať predmetnú vetu s ohľadom na jej kontext, a to tak v 10. i 11. kapitole prameňa. Ak má byť predmetom tejto štúdie výpovedná hodnota vety o Pribinovej Nitre, musíme sa pokúsiť odpovedať na tieto tri otázky:

- 1) Bola veta pôvodne margináliou?
- 2) V ktorom rukopise sa prvýkrát objavila?
- 3) Existujú dôvody na spochybnenie dôveryhodnosti tejto vety?

¹³ Odkazujeme tak na text, v ktorom je podrobne vyhodnotený Pribina v stredovekej i v novovekej literatúre, a to aj vrátane moderného bádania: Harvát 2021, 70-106; Harvát 2022b, 9-31. Prehľad bádania v stručnejšej podobe spracoval tiež Sieklicki 1962, 118-122. K historiografii nitrianskeho kostolíka Ivanič, 60-69.

¹⁴ Rozličné zákutia a nuansy, v ktorých hral Pribina mimoriadne dôležitú úlohu, spracovali Škvarna – Hudek 2016, 97-121.

¹⁵ Spomedzi všetkých Steinhübel 2017, 111-137.

¹⁶ Wolfram 1987, 276.

¹⁷ Sieklicki 1962, 143-144. Sieklicki 1967, 161-165.

¹⁸ Třeštík 1997, 271. Opatrnejšie ten istý autor v diele Třeštík 2001, 107-135.

¹⁹ Opačný prístup k určeniu hraníc Nitrianska predstavujú práce Jána Steinhübela, porovnaj najmä Steinhübel 2022, 79-81.

Bola veta o Nitrave pôvodne margináliou?

Najjednoduchšia je odpoveď na prvú otázku. Veta o Pribinovej Nitrave je včlenená medzi informáciu o usadení sa jeho a jeho ľudu pri rieke Sále, pokračuje potom spomínaná veta a následne sa dozvedáme o okolnostiach vysvätenia kostola svätej bohorodičky Márie v roku 850. Celá pasáž znie nasledovne:

„Tunc coepit ibi illi habitare et munimen aedificare in quodam nemore et palude Salae fluminis et circumquaque populos congregare ac multum ampliari in terra illa. <Cui quondam Adalrammus archiepiscopus ultra Danubium in sua proprietate loco vocato Nitrava consecravit ecclesiam.> Sed postquam praefatum munimen aedificavit, construxit infra primitus ecclesiam quam Liuprammus archiepiscopus cum in illa regione ministerium sacerdotale potestative exercuit, in illud veniens castrum in honore sanctae dei genitricis Mariae consecravit anno videlicet DCCCL.“²⁰

Že je predmetná veta pôvodne margináliou zapísanou na okraj listu, je vidieť z toho, že nepatrí do narácie tejto časti 11. kapitoly. Štylisticky nenadväzuje na predchádzajúcu vetu, predstavuje časovú vsuvku do obdobia približne dvadsať rokov späť. Napokon, o tom, že je veta pôvodne margináliou, sa zväčša nepochybuje,²¹ a ako margináliu interpretoval túto vetu aj Peter Ratkoš vo svojich dvoch vydaniach *Prameňov k dejinám Veľkej Moravy*.²² Tento záver teda treba pokladať za všeobecne prijímaný a netreba ho spochybňovať.

V ktorom rukopise sa veta o Nitrave prvýkrát objavila?

Skúsme sa preto posunúť k druhej, náročnejšej otázke, ktorou je, v akom rukopise sa prvýkrát takáto marginália objavila. Hneď na úvod treba povedať, že nás čaká nevďačná úloha hľadať odpoveď na otázku v prostredí nezachovaných rukopisov diela. Aby sme na túto otázku zrozumiteľne a pokiaľ možno presvedčivo odpovedali, musíme si preto najprv stručne predstaviť filiáciu rukopisov *Conversia*.

Archetyp *Conversia* sa nám nezachoval, najstarší rukopis prameňa tak predstavuje text zachytený v kódexe Rakúskej národnej knižnice vo Viedni.²³ Tento rukopis označujeme v zhode s Fritzom Lošekom a druhým vydaním *Conversia* Herwiga Wolframa ako rukopis W_1 .²⁴ Vetu o Pribinovej Nitre by sme v tomto rukopise hľadali márne, práve táto časť textu totiž v rukopise W_1 chýba. Pokiaľ sa pozrieme na filiáciu všetkých rukopisov, zistíme, že sa delia do dvoch vetiev

²⁰ *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, c. 12-13; *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 1997, 122 a 124.

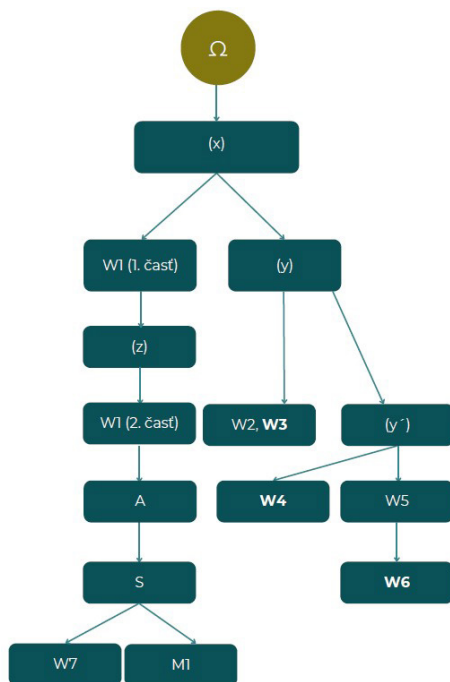
²¹ Pozri Lošekovo vydanie *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, c. 12-13; *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 1997, 122, pozn. č. 130. Pozri tiež Kos 1936, 75. *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 1979, s. 52 a 130. *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 2012, 51, 74 a 76, pozn. č. b. *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 1969; *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, 312 a pozn. č. 4.

²² *Spis o obrátení Bavorov a Korutáncov*; *Spis o obrátení Bavorov a Korutáncov* 1964, 87 a pozn. č. 19. *Spis O obrátení Bavorov a Korutáncov*; *Spis o obrátení Bavorov a Korutáncov* 1968, 82, pozn. č. 19. V neskorších slovenských vydaniach *Conversia* takéto upozornenie však chýba, porovnaj *O obrátení Bavorov a Korutáncov na vieru*; *O obrátení Bavorov a Korutáncov na vieru* 1999, 142. *O obrátení Bavorov a Korutáncov na vieru*; *O obrátení Bavorov a Korutáncov na vieru* 2010, 248. Bez tejto poznámky je tiež zmienka z *Conversia* v CDEN I 2021, 60.

²³ Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. lat. 596.

²⁴ *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 1997, 9.

a rukopis W_1 je najstarším z jednej z nich. Táto vetva nás však nemusí zaujímať, pretože z nej vetu o Nitrave neobsahuje žiaden z rukopisov.²⁵ Navyše, z rukopisu W_1 úplne očividne nevychádzali ostatné rukopisy obsahujúce aj zvyšnú časť textu *Conversia*.²⁶ Zostáva nám teda rukopisná vetva $W_2 - W_6$, z ktorej sa veta o Pribinovej Nitrave nenachádza v rukopise W_2 ²⁷ a v rukopise W_5 .²⁸ Preto našu pozornosť musíme zamerať najmä na vzťah ostatných troch rukopisov (W_3 , W_4 a W_6).



Tab. 1: Filiácia rukopisov *Conversia* podľa F. Loška (s. 16) so zvýraznením rukopisov obsahujúcich zmienku o Nitrave

Ako už bolo povedané vyššie, rukopisy $W_2 - W_6$ neboli opísané z rukopisu W_1 , ale zo staršieho nezachovaného rukopisu. Čaká nás preto takmer nemožná úloha zistiť, v ktorom z nezachovaných rukopisov sa veta o Nitrave prvýkrát objavila ako marginália. Do úvahy prichádza buď archetyp

²⁵ Z tejto vetvy rukopis A obsahuje text od kapitoly 1 po začiatok kapitoly 10. Rukopis S končí predposlednou vetou 9. kapitoly a časti prameňa (bez zmienky o Nitrave) taktiež nachádzame v rukopisoch W_7 a M_1 . *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 1997, 11-14.

²⁶ Textové dôvody sú zhrnuté v *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 1997, 9, 14-15. Pripomeňme tu tiež, že rukopis W_1 obsahuje na začiatku 1. a 2. kapitoly nadpisy (tzv. „*incipit*“), ktoré druhá rukopisná vetva neobsahuje.

²⁷ Rukopis W_2 končí náhle uprostred vety v 10. kapitole. Porovnaj *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 1997, 9-10.

²⁸ Rukopis W_5 obsahuje dva fragmenty *Conversia*, a to od posledných necelých troch viet 5. kapitoly až takmer na záver 8. kapitoly, následne boli štyri listy oddelené. Jeden z týchto listov (fol. 30) je však dnes zviazaný a obsahuje text od približne polovice 11. kapitoly, avšak je to text kapitoly nasledujúci až za našou nitrianskou vsuvkou.

Conversia pochádzajúci s najväčšou pravdepodobnosťou z roku 871, alebo jeho prvé dva odpisy, ktoré sa dnes nezachovali, a to z odpisu „x“ alebo „y“.

Než sa pokúsime odpovedať na otázku, kde sa marginália najpravdepodobnejšie nachádzala, treba si vysvetliť aj jej včlenenie do textu a dôvod, prečo sa nachádzala práve v 11. kapitole. Veta o Nitrave vonkoncom nie je až taká podozrivá, ako by sa mohlo zdať.²⁹ Marginália totiž nepochybne vznikla ako reakcia na vetu v rukopise o tom, ako arcibiskup Liupram Pribinovi vysvätil jeho panónsky kostol v roku 850. Na túto vetu potom logicky nadväzuje pôvodne v marginálii uvedený údaj, že „kedysi“ (*quondam*) Pribinovi vysvätil aj kostol na jeho majetku zvanom Nitrava arcibiskup Adalrád. To, čo by dnešný autor vyriešil poznámkou pod čiarou, musel ten stredoveký vpísať na okraj strany a neskorší prepisovači túto vetu včlenili do textu. Súvis medzi oboma informáciami však existuje: kým údaj o vysvätení kostola Liupramom je dokladom o právomoci Salzburgu nad Pribinovým panónskym územím, údaj o Nitre je len potvrdením starších osobných väzieb Pribinu na Salzburg.

Práve s ohľadom na to, že sa veta nachádza vo všetkých troch zmienených rukopisoch na rovnakom mieste, teda priamo v texte, a nie je táto veta nijako posunutá, hoci by logicky mohla byť umiestnená aj za spomínanú ďalšiu vetu, ukazuje podľa nášho názoru na jediný prijateľný záver, a to ten, že veta nemohla byť margináliou v nezachovanom rukopise „y“, ktorý stojí na začiatku rukopisej vetvy $W_2 - W_6$. Ak pracujeme s jednoduchým predpokladom, že je ďaleko pravdepodobnejšie, ak sa zmena v texte uskutoční jedným autorom, než viacerými autormi nezávisle od seba, potom z toho vyplýva, že sa veta o Nitrave dostala ako marginália buď do archetypu (Ω), alebo do rukopisu „x“.

Ako takéto putovanie marginálie rukopismi mohlo vyzeráť, si môžeme ukázať na príklade záznamu z 13. kapitoly. Text znie nasledovne:

„Ecclesiam vero Ztradach dedicavit in honore sancti Stephani. Item in Weride ecclesia dedicata floret in honore sancti Petri principis apostolorum.“

Ak sa pozrieme na rukopis W_1 ,³⁰ môžeme si všimnúť, že tieto dve vety sú včlenené do hlavného textu len čiastočne, pretože začiatok prvej vety (*Ecclesiam vero*) sa nachádza ešte v rámci prvého riadku a až nasledujúce slová sú napísané v niekoľkých riadkoch na okraji listu. V ostatných rukopisoch (W_3 , W_4 , W_5 a W_6)³¹ sa nachádza v hlavnom texte. Kým prvá veta sedí do skladby kapitoly, druhá veta už štylisticky veľmi nie.³² Nejde len o iný slovesný čas použitý v tejto vete, ale aj o rozdielny podmet.³³ To znamená, že pôvodne bola glosou práve len druhá veta o kostole vo Weride, avšak autor rukopisu W_1 čiastočne zmarginalizoval aj vetu o kostole v Ztradachu.³⁴

²⁹ Na viacerých miestach o „podozrivosti“ vety píše M. Harvát, ktorý súčasne predpokladá, že išlo o „falošný údaj včlenený v 70. rokoch 10. storočia salzburským autorom [...] proti falzám biskupa Pilgrima.“ Harvát 2022a, 131-134 a pozn. č. 147.

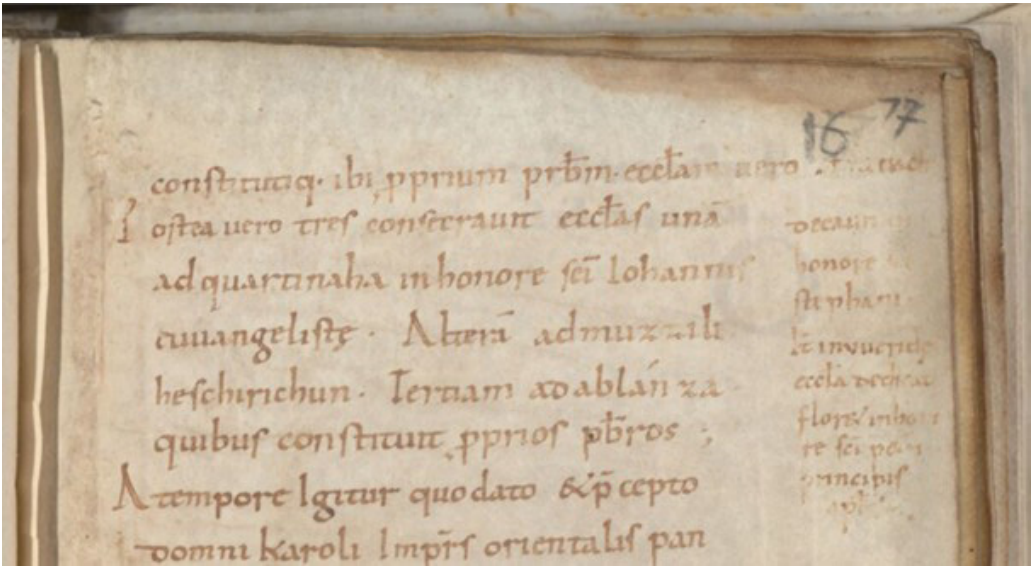
³⁰ Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Vindobonensis 596, fol 2' – 17. Dostupné na internete: https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_2932097 <navštívené 6. 8. 2024>.

³¹ Túto skutočnosť nemôžem odvodiť zo štúdia rukopisov *Conversia*, ale z kritických vydání (Kos, Wolfram, Lošek), ktoré sa v tejto veci zhodujú.

³² Kos 1936, 98.

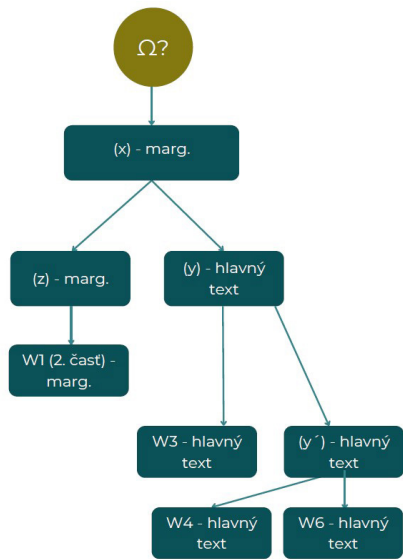
³³ V prvej zmienenej vete je podmetom arcibiskup Adalvin, v ďalšej vete je podmetom „chrám“, ktorý „kvitne“ (florete) a v ďalších vetách sa podmet opäť vracia k arcibiskupovi Adalvinovi. *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 13; *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 1997, 132.

³⁴ Je možné, že pri tejto príležitosti aj pridal do textu tejto vety latinskú časticu *vero*, ktorá sa v ostatných rukopisoch (W_3 , W_4 , W_5 a W_6) nenachádza. *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 13; *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 1997, 132, pozn. t.



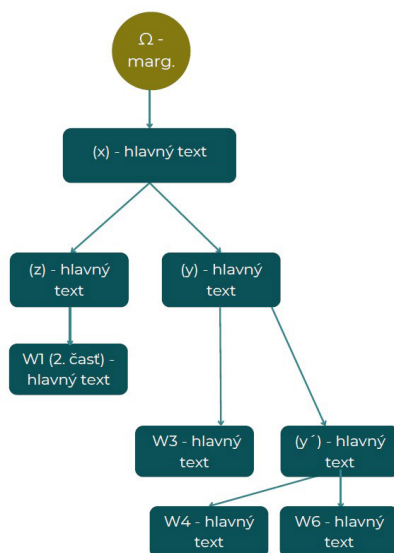
Obr.: Marginálie v 13. kapitole *Conversia* v rukopise W_1

To sa dá vysvetliť najjednoduchšie tým, že autor rukopisu W_1 (resp. jeho druhej časti) pracoval s predlohou, v ktorej bola práve táto druhá veta margináliou a ako margináliu ju nie najpresnejším spôsobom zapracoval do svojho textu. Táto veta sa (ako marginália) akiste nachádzala v nezachovanom rukopise „x“, pri redakcii do strateného rukopisu „y“ však zrejme došlo k jej prepisu do hlavného textu, čím sa dá vysvetliť, prečo rukopisy z druhej vetvy tento text prevzali do hlavného textu, a to bez výnimky.



Tab. 2: Veta o „Weride“ v rukopisoch *Conversia*

Rukopis W_1 vo svojej druhej časti určite obsahoval aj vetu o Nitrave. Pripomeňme si však, že práve táto časť sa nachádzala na dnes stratenom liste tohto rukopisu. Existuje pritom relatívne solídna indícia, že sa v tomto rukopise nachádzala Nitrava priamo v hlavnom texte a nešlo o margináliu.³⁵ Tento istý autor už jednu margináliu pritom zachoval ako margináliu (viď veta o Weride). Ak budeme vychádzať z predpokladu, že jeden autor postupuje pri redakcii staršieho textu metodicky rovnako, je pravdepodobnejšie, že aj predloha druhej časti rukopisu W_1 obsahovala vetu o Nitrave v hlavnom texte. Touto predlohou je hypotetický nezachovaný rukopis „z“. Ten tak alebo onak vychádzal z ďalšieho nezachovaného rukopisu „x“. Pripomeňme si, že z nezachovaného rukopisu „x“ vychádzali obidve rukopisné vetvy *Conversia* a ak platí pravidlo, že zmena v rukopise jednoduchšie nastane u jedného autora než u viacerých autorov súčasne, je pravdepodobnejšie, že sa veta o Nitrave nachádzala v rukopise „x“ v hlavnom texte.³⁶ Z toho potom vyplýva, že zaradenie marginálie do hlavného textu vzniklo redakčnou úpravou z archetypu (Ω) do rukopisu „x“.



Tab. 3: Veta o Nitrave v rukopisoch *Conversia*

Existujú dôvody na spochybnenie dôveryhodnosti vety o Nitrave?

Akokoľvek budeme predpokladať s väčšou alebo menšou pravdepodobnosťou, že sa veta o Nitrave dostala ako marginália už do archetypu *Conversia*, nedáva nám to veľmi presnú odpoveď na otázku, kedy sa tak stalo. Vo všeobecnosti sa predpokladá, že prvá redakcia *Conversia* pochádza z 10. storočia, kedy podľa nášho názoru najpravdepodobnejšie došlo k prerobeniu pôvodnej marginálie na vetu v hlavnom texte. To, pravda, samo o sebe nerieši otázku dôveryhodnosti takéhoto textu.

³⁵ Túto dôležitú indíciu poskytuje dizertačná práca Mateja Harváta, ktorý na základe výpočtu slov v texte chýbajúcich stránok druhej časti rukopisu W_1 prišiel k záveru, že veta o Nitrave sa tu pravdepodobnejšie nachádzala v hlavnom texte, nie na okraji listu. Porovnaj Harvát 2021, 126 a pozn. č. 434.

³⁶ Predpokladajme totiž, že zmena z marginálie na vetu v hlavnom texte prebehla len jedným autorom a nie nezávisle vo viacerých rukopisoch naraz.

Na objasnenie významu vety o Nitrave si preto treba vysvetliť podstatu druhej časti *Conversia* (t. j. približne od 10. kapitoly).

Ak je celý text *Conversia* dielom namiereným proti Metodovmu pokusu prevziať cirkevnú správu nad Panóniou, potom kapitoly 10 – 14 sú dramatickým vyvrcholením textu. Tieto kapitoly neobsahujú totiž iba významné poukazy na to, kde došlo zo strany salzburského arcibiskupa k vysväteniu nejakého dolnopanónskeho kostola, ale predovšetkým sú rozprávaním o vzťahu územia východnej Panónie a tu žijúcich Slovanov a Bavorov k cirkevnej správe, ktorú Karol Veľký po víťazstvách nad Avarmi zveril do rúk Salzburgu. Autor textu sa preto nemal veľmi dôvod venovať pomerom severne od Dunaja. Keďže bol text napísaný v čase súdneho procesu proti Metodovi,³⁷ a teda ešte pred Metodovým príchodom k Svätoplukovi, autora *Conversia* nemohlo príliš zaujímať pôsobenie Metoda na Morave.³⁸ Z tohto dôvodu sa aj v texte *Conversia* dozvedáme len výnimočne o záležitostiach týkajúcich sa územia severne od Dunaja. Výnimkami sú však práve kapitoly 10 a 11. Kým v kapitole 10 sa na vysvetlenie, odkiaľ vlastne ten „akýsi“ Pribina prišiel, uvádza, že bol vyhnaný (*exulatus*) kniežatom Moravanov Mojmirom. Zemepisným určením tu bolo, že Pribina „prišiel cez/nad Dunaj k Ratbodovi“.³⁹ Toto určenie síce môže byť obvyklým štylistickým obratom franských autorov vo vzťahu k Morave (Třeštík 2001, 275), pre nás je však podstatné, že sa veľmi podobný obrat vyskytuje aj v 11. kapitole v marginálii o Nitrave:

„Cui quondam Adalrammus archiepiscopus ultra Danubium in sua proprietate loco vocato Nitrava consecravit ecclesiam.“⁴⁰

Predložka „*ultra*“ je v tomto prípade preložiteľná ako „na druhej strane“,⁴¹ čo jednak veľmi dobre vystihuje zemepisné určenie Nitry z pohľadu pozorovateľa vo Východnej marke (alebo aj v Salzburgu), a jednak tvorí štylisticky podobnú dvojčku k vete z 10. kapitoly. Autor marginálie z 11. kapitoly sa zrejme štylisticky nechal ovplyvniť práve vetou o Pribinovom vyhnaní z 10. kapitoly. Pred sebou mal Pribinu pochádzajúceho zo slovanského sveta nad Dunajom. Nikde mu však neprpisuje moravský pôvod, nezaraďuje ho k moravskej aristokracii.

Jeden z dôležitých dôvodov, prečo sa autor *Conversia* tak obsiahlo venoval Pribinovi, však ležal v skutočnosti u jeho nástupcu, syna Koceľa. Z hľadiska salzburských záujmov bolo totiž nadmieru

³⁷ Stručný rozbor tohto procesu a zapojenie pápeža do neho je publikovaný v tomto drobnom príspevku: Lysý 2019, 95-103.

³⁸ Ponosy na to, že sa Moravia „odtrhli“ od svojej metropolitnej stolice obsahuje až sťažnostný list z roku 900 (MMFH III, 232-244).

³⁹ „In cuius spacio temporis quidam Priwina exulatus a Moimaro duce Maravorum supra Danubium venit ad Ratbodum.“ *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 11; *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 1997, 120.

Pri tejto príležitosti si ale pripomeňme, že text je nesprávne preložený tak v českom vydaní diela (*Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 10; *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 1969, 310), ako aj v tých slovenských (Spis o obrátení Bavorov a Korutáncov 10; Spis o obrátení Bavorov a Korutáncov 1964, 86. Spis O obrátení Bavorov a Korutáncov 10; Spis O obrátení Bavorov a Korutáncov 1968, 82. O obrátení Bavorov a Korutáncov na vieru; O obrátení Bavorov a Korutáncov na vieru 1999, 141. O obrátení Bavorov a Korutáncov na vieru; O obrátení Bavorov a Korutáncov na vieru 2010, 248.) Slovenské i české prekladové vydania *Conversia* prekladajú obrat *supra Danubium* ako prívlastok k Mojmirovmu kniežaciemu titulu (knieža naddunajských Moravanov). Ako veľmi správne podotkol D. Třeštík (Třeštík 2001, 275-276, pozn. č. 29.), v origináli sa nachádza akuzatív (*supra Danubium*) a teda tento obrat vysvetľuje smer úteku Pribinu. Takto prekladajú *Conversio* aj edície s nemeckým prekladom (Lošek, Wolfram).

⁴⁰ *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 11; *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 1997, s. 122.

⁴¹ Marek 2020, 1257-1258.

nepríjemné, že sa tento franský lénnik angažoval v prospech Metoda či slovanského písma, a o ktorom autor Života Metoda napísal, že stál za žiadosťou vysvätiť Metoda za panónskeho biskupa.⁴² Bez toho, že by sa v *Conversiu* priamo premieľala Kocelova „vina“ za pokus o získanie Panónie Metodom, veľmi konzekventne sa tu zdôrazňuje salzburský podiel na vybudovaní cirkevnej správy. Preto sa tu rozoberá Kocelov pôvod od Pribinu, vrátane skutočnosti, že jeho otec našiel u Ratboda útočisko. Tiež sa tu spomína získanie územia od Ludovíta II. a Pribinov krst. Až nadmieru podrobne sa tu potom popisuje vybudovanie Pribinovej pevnosti, stavba kostola panny Márie, či jej vysvätenie arcibiskupom Liupramom v roku 850. Autor zároveň vymenoval osoby, ktoré boli pri vysvätení tohto kostola prítomné. Nie náhodou tento zoznam začína Kocelom a pokračuje neúnavne ďalšími tridsaťjeden menami. Títo všetci mali byť zároveň svedkami rokovania medzi Pribinom a Liupramom, na základe ktorého došlo k odovzdaniu moci nad Pribinovým kostolom salzburskému arcibiskupovi. Z týchto viac než tridsať svedkov bolo bez najmenších pochyb nažive minimálne niekoľko osôb. Tieto o dve desaťročia neskôr v čase spisovania *Conversia*, keď už arcibiskup Liupram nežil, dodali ústne údaje o Pribinovi a Kocelovi pre napísanie prameňa. Bez pochyb veľmi dobre poznali zázemie a pôvod Pribinu a okolnosti ich príchodu, resp. úteku.

Z pohľadu textovej analýzy prameňa i analýzy celkových súvislostí sa zmienka o Pribinovej Nitrave nezdá byť podozrivá len preto, že bola pôvodne margináliou. V hlavnom texte *Conversia* sa nevyskytla zrejme preto, že v čase písania prameňa (871) nebola Nitra pre Salzburg nejako zaujímavá a prioritou bola ochrana záujmov v Dolnej Panónii. Hoci je skutočnosť vysvätenia kostola v Nitre salzburským arcibiskupom Adalrámom nepochybne výnimočnou udalosťou pre územia severne od Dunaja, pripomeňme si, že obdobný, ba ďaleko významnejší proces prebiehal na vlastnom území Moravy. „Krst všetkých Moravanov“ (831, porovnaj pozn. č. 7) je totiž potrebný chápať nielen ako oficiálne sa obrátenie Moravanov ku kresťanstvu, ale aj ako výstavbu kostolov. Táto skutočnosť však v texte *Conversia* nenašla žiadne miesto, pretože pre právne nároky Salzburgu nad Panóniou nemala význam.

Nemusí nás ani natolko prekvapovať skutočnosť, že bol Pribina v čase svätenia kostola v Nitre pohanom. Bavorské meno jeho syna Kocela už dávno zdôvodňovalo predpoklad, že nitriansky kostol zrejme nebol určený priamo Pribinovi, ale azda jeho bavorskej manželke (Rapant 1941, 19; Wolfram 1987, 276). Naopak, je dosť dobrý dôvod predpokladať, že Pribinov syn Kocel, ktorý v roku 850 vystupuje v *Conversiu* ako dospelý,⁴³ bol pokrstený ešte pred Pribinovým vyhnaním. O jeho krste totiž v *Conversiu* nie je ani zmienky, hoci Pribinov krst sa výslovne spomína.⁴⁴ Na zdôraznenie zásluh Salzburgu na Pribinovej rodine by akiste takáto okolnosť spomenutá bola.

Záverom treba zrekapitulovať odpovede na tri položené otázky v úvode tejto štúdie. Konštatujeme teda, že veta o Nitrave v *Conversiu* bola s najväčšou pravdepodobnosťou pôvodne margináliou. Zároveň sa nám javí, že k vytvoreniu tejto marginálie prišlo už do nezachovaného archetypu prameňa, akiste ešte pred vyhotovením prvej kópie textu. Z celkových súvislostí prameňa a toho, čo o rodine Pribinu a Kocela vieme aj z iných zdrojov, sa veta o Nitrave nezdá byť nijako podozrivá a je nadmieru pravdepodobné, že zodpovedala skutočnosti. Pribina tak pochádzal z územia *ultra Danubium*, nikde z *Conversia* nevyplýva jeho moravský pôvod a jeho vyhnaním došlo k spojeniu medzi Moravanmi obývajúcimi územia za Malými a Bielymi Karpatmi a „akýmsi novopokrsteným

⁴² Žitije Mefodija 8; Žitije Mefodija 1967, 150.

⁴³ Narodenie Kocela až po Pribinovom úteku *supra Danubium* predpokladá Illáš 2017, 197. Tiež Harvát 2022a, 136. Autor *Conversia* však spomína, že Kocel sprevádzal svojho otca Pribinu počas jeho pobytu v Bulharsku.

⁴⁴ Ako pripomenul Wolfram 1987, 185.

kmeňom“ (*quandam neophitam gentem*) spomenutým v liste bavorského episkopátu z roku 900.⁴⁵ Hoci o tomto spojení existujú len útržkovité správy, na základe súčasného historického poznania ide o – ako sa domnievame – najpresvedčivejšiu interpretáciu prameňov z 9. storočia.

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⁴⁵ MMFH III, 237; LYSÝ, 2014a, 102-103. Osobitne sa miestu Nitry v mojmirovskej etape moravských dejín venoval Steinhübel 2024, 61-72. S Nitrou veľmi pravdepodobne súvisí aj Svätoplukovo *regnum*, napadnuté Karlomanom v roku 869 a, samozrejme, list *Industrię tuę* z roku 880, v ktorom sa spomína vyslanie nitrianskeho biskupa Wichinga. Sídlo biskupstva v Nitre je bez najmenších pochyb dôkazom významu Nitry v politickej geografii mojmirovskej Moravy. Práve s listom *Industrię tuę* z roku 880 dala do súvisu margináliu o Pribinovi Maddalena Betti. Porovnaj BETTI 2014, 153-154.

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AN EPISTLE FROM EPIPHANIUS OF CYPRUS TO PATRIARCH IGNATIUS AND THE ADHERENCE OF THE CYPRIOT CHURCH TO THE ANTI-PHOTIAN COUNCIL¹

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Abstract: IBÁÑEZ CHACÓN, Álvaro. *An Epistle from Epiphanius of Cyprus to Patriarch Ignatius and the Adherence of the Cypriot Church to the Anti-Photian Council*. The so-called Anti-Photian Collection comprises various documents related to the successive appointments and depositions of Ignatius and Photius as Patriarchs of Constantinople. Among these is a letter from Epiphanius, Archbishop of Cyprus, addressed to Patriarch Ignatius. In this epistle, Epiphanius offers his congratulations on Ignatius's reinstatement to the Patriarchal See. This epistle is not an autograph document but a copy preserved in two manuscripts owned by Cardinal Bessarion, from which all subsequent copies derive. The text follows the typical themes and structure of Byzantine epistolography but it is clearly an *excerptum*. However, since no official documentation from Ignatius's Patriarchate has survived, this letter stands as a unique record of the autocephalous Church of Cyprus' adherence to the decrees of the Eighth Ecumenical Council. Notably, no Cypriot representative was present at the anti-Photian synod, as recorded in the *acta conciliaria*.

Keywords: *Anti-Photian Collection, Photius, Ignatius, Epiphanius of Cyprus, Eighth Ecumenical Council*

Photius of Constantinople (PmbZ 6253, 26667) is undoubtedly the central figure of Byzantine history in the second half of the ninth century. Everything surrounding him has been, is, and will always remain steeped in controversy, primarily due to his conflict with Rome.² The series of appointments and depositions he and his rival Ignatius (PmbZ 2666, 22712) endured shaped the political and religious landscape of the time, directly influencing their respective supporters both within and beyond Byzantine borders.³ Just as Photius's disciples and sympathizers sought to preserve the *monumenta* of his wisdom and teachings,⁴ it is unsurprising that his opponents compiled literary works and documents against him, forming what became known as the Anti-Photian Collection (henceforth AC).⁵ In addition to the Greek versions of documents otherwise known through their Latin translations – such as the *acta* and papal correspondence – this

¹ This study was undertaken as part of the Project PPJIA2020.01 “La colección anti-fociana: documentos inéditos del partido ignaciano”, funded by the University of Granada (Spain).

² The main works on Photius are still Hergenröther (1867-1869) and Dvornik (1948); should be added for the socio-political and religious context, among others Bury (1912), Every (1947), Stiennon (1967), Simenova (1998), Chadwick (2003), Prieto Domínguez (2020).

³ See Grumel (1939), Stephanou (1955), Dvornik, (1973), Konstantelos (1989-1991).

⁴ The most notable *monumentum* is the *Library*, compiled and put together by his circle of disciples; see now Ronconi (2015a) and (2015b).

⁵ A list with the texts can be found in Leonardi – Placanica (2012, lxiv-lxxii); analysis by Dvornik (1948, 216-278); see too Montinaro – Price (2022, 63-68).

compilation preserves key pro-Ignatian testimonies, including the *Life of Ignatius* (BHG 817), attributed to Nicetas David the Paphlagonian (PmbZ 25712),⁶ and the *libellus* (BHG 818c) of Theognostus (PmbZ 8018)⁷. It also contains lesser-known texts, such as excerpts from an encomium of Patriarch Ignatius (BHG 818)⁸ and the epistle that is the subject of this paper.

1. The epistle of Epiphanius to Ignatius: text and transmission

The text of the epistle, like the entire AC, has been preserved through two copies owned by Cardinal Bessarion:⁹

- Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z 167 (*diktyon*: 69638), ff. 47r-47v, s. XIVⁱⁿ. (Mioni 1981, 246-247; Mazzone 2022).
- München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. graec. 436 (*diktyon*: 44884), pp. 39-40, s. XIV (Hardt 1810, 352-354).¹⁰

All other copies derive directly or indirectly from these,¹¹ which explains the absence of significant textual variations beyond minor spelling errors.

The *editio princeps* of the AC was produced by Rader (1604), dedicated to Cardinal Baronio, and based on two codices (Canfora 2004, 7–22). As his base text, he used the apograph München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Graec. 27 (*dyktion*: 44470), a manuscript copied ca. 1550 (Tiftixoglu 2004, 154–170). Later, thanks to M. Welser, he was also able to consult the previously mentioned Cod. Graec. 436.¹²

Since Rader's Graeco-Latin bilingual edition, the AC has been incorporated into all editions of the *acta conciliaria* – except for the recent Leonardi – Placanica edition – introducing textual variants absent from both the manuscripts and the *editio princeps*.¹³ However, Rader was not the first to translate the anti-Photian documents into Latin. In the mid-fourteenth century, Filippo de Bindo Incontri, a Dominican from the Monastery of Pera in Constantinople and Inquisitor of the East,¹⁴ produced an early Latin version with the assistance of Demetrius Cydones (PLP 13876) from a manuscript he discovered in the Monastery of St. Ioannes Prodromos in Petra.¹⁵ The only known copy of this translation, preserved in Firenze, Biblioteca Centrale Nazionale, Conv. Soppr. C.VII.419, ff. 138v–173r, does not contain the complete collection, and it is unclear whether

⁶ The edition by Smithies – Duffy (2013) is not definitive at all, cf. Luzzi (2019).

⁷ There is no modern edition or detailed study apart from Hergenröther (1867, 407-412); however, see Bernardakis (1903, 254-257), Jugie (1918), Dvornik (1960, 25-26), Ronconi (2018, 62-63).

⁸ Attributed to an unknown Michael *synkellos*, cf. Ibáñez Chacón (2021).

⁹ They are listed in the 1468 inventory as nos. 194 and 193, respectively: Labowsky (1979, 165).

¹⁰ Smithies – Duffy (2013, xvii) consider this copy an apograph of the Venetian manuscript. However, Canfora (1998, 270) argues that both manuscripts are independent witnesses to the text.

¹¹ List of manuscripts in Leonard – Placanica (2012, lxvi-lxix).

¹² Bessarion's manuscript was already in Germany, possibly stolen from Venice by Manuel Glynzunos: Sicherl (1956: 51).

¹³ AAVV (1612, 302-468); Labbé – Cossart (1671, 1179-1490); Hardouin (1714, 943-1196); Coleti (1730, 681-994); Mansi (1771, 209-516).

¹⁴ Biographical data in Loenertz (1948); Delacroix-Besnier (2007).

¹⁵ Cydones' correspondence reveals his connection with De Bindo (*Epist.* 31, 32 and 110, in Loenertz, 1956), who may have even been his Latin teacher: Mercati (1931, 514), Delacroix-Besnier (2003).

this selection was made by De Bindo-Cydones or by the copyist of the Florentine manuscript.¹⁶ Additionally, another unpublished Latin translation was produced by Federico Mezio for Cardinal Baronio and survives in two manuscript versions: a complete one in Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, C.31, and a partial one in *ms.* C.29 of the same library (Carlucci 2007, 183–187). This translation was well known to Rader, who frequently cited it (Rader 1604, 125, 204, 402, etc.).

As for the Greek text itself, as is typical with Byzantine epistolary documents, we do not have the autograph but rather a copy made by an anonymous individual, whose identity remains unknown (Grünbart 2004, 352). Some have attributed the AC to Nicetas David the Paphlagonian, biographer of Ignatius,¹⁷ suggesting that he might have copied Epiphanius's letter. However, this is another hypothesis that remains difficult to prove. It is also unclear where the compiler found the original letter, although it is possible that, after being received by Ignatius, it was kept in the archives of the Patriarchal Palace Library,¹⁸ where it would have been read alongside the other documents that comprise the collection. If one accepts the hypothesis that Ignatius moved the patriarchal archive to the Monastery of Stoudios,¹⁹ further research would be necessary to determine how long it was stored there and whether the compiler consulted the Stoudite documents – though this, too, is impossible to confirm. The only certainty is that the epistle was sent to Ignatius after his reinstatement to the Patriarchal See, around 870, which also accounts for its literary and rhetorical characteristics. Below is the text of the epistle.²⁰

Ἐπιστολή Ἐπιφανίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κύπρου πρὸς Ἰγνάτιον τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον αὐτοῦ.

Τολμῶν²¹ ὁ ἀνάξιος καὶ πανευτελὴς τοῦ πανιέρου καὶ ἰσαγγέλου δεσπότου μου δοῦλος γράφω.

Ἦσαντο μὲν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας²² ἀγίας καὶ θεοειδοῦς ψυχῆς, ἱερώτατε, παρὰ τοῦ πειράζοντος πάντας τοὺς κατὰ Θεὸν ζῶντας ἀρχεκάκου δαίμονος²³ οἱ πειρασμοί, ὅτι δὲ δοκιμώτερον καὶ κραταιώτερόν σε ἀνέδειξαν καὶ ὥσπερ²⁴ χρυσὸν ἐν καμίνῳ πυρώσαντες λαμπρότερον καὶ φαιδρότερον κατέστησαν πᾶσιν εὐδελον. ὄντως εἰς²⁵ μάτην ἡγρύπνησεν ὁ φυλάσσων τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ²⁶ στερρότητι πέτρα προσκρούσας· ἰδοὺ οἱ συκοφάνται²⁷ τῆς ἀληθείας παρῆλθον καὶ ὁ φωστὴρ

¹⁶ All the circumstances surrounding its production need to be analysed in detail; see for now Kaeppli (1953); Pomaro (1982, 236).

¹⁷ Since Assemanus (1762, 322–325), followed by Dvornik (1948, 271–278) or Paschalides (1999, 83), but his role in the compilation is now considered secondary: Zuckermann (2020, 442); Montinaro – Price (2022, 66–67).

¹⁸ References to the Patriarchal Palace Library are few and ambiguous; however, see Janin (1950, 174, 372–373); Guiland (1969, 14–27); Lemerle (1971, 96–98); Mango (1975, 30–37), Wilson (1989, 86–87), or Canfora (1995, 25–28).

¹⁹ Suggestion by Afinogenov (2006) accepted by Prieto Domínguez (2020, 167–168).

²⁰ We present our own edition of the text after collating all the manuscripts and consulting the editions of the *acta conciliaria*. In the notes, we highlight the main textual variants, omitting the usual spelling errors unless they alter the meaning of the text, as well as the *loci similes*.

²¹ τολμῶν – δοῦλος *initium sim.* Basil. Cal. *epist.*, cf. Holtzmann (1928, 64).

²² ὑμετέρας] ἡμέρας K^{a.c.}, ἡμετέρας K^{p.c.} K = Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 4708 (*dyktion*: 40184), *an.* 1557; text in ff. 51v–52r.

²³ ἀρχεκάκου δαίμονος: Bas. *hex.* 6.1 (PG 29, 117; CPG 2835); Jo. D. B.J. 32.73 (CPG 8120).

²⁴ ὥσπερ – πυρώσαντες: Bas. *hom.* in Lc. 12:8 (PG 31, 261; CPG 2850).

²⁵ εἰς – φυλάσσω: Ps. 126:1

²⁶ ὑμετέρᾳ] ἡμετέρᾳ R. R = Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1183 (*dyktion*: 67814), s. XVI; text in ff. 8v–9r.

²⁷ οἱ συκοφάνται τῆς ἀληθείας: Epiph. *haer.* 67.7.7 (CPG 3745).

τῆς οἰκουμένης²⁸ αὐθις τὴν ἰδίαν ἀπέλαβε δόξαν· διὸ καὶ συντρέχει καὶ συνευφραίνεται ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποκαταστάσει σου πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη καὶ συνεορτάζουσι τούτοις καὶ αἱ ἄνω δυνάμεις.

Πάνυ δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐφιέμεθα οἱ ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἁμαρτωλοί, οἱ τὴν ἐσχατιὰν ταύτην οἰκοῦντες²⁹, τῆς περὶ σὲ εὐφροσύνης³⁰ κοινωνῆσαι καὶ τῶν πνευματικῶν χαρισμάτων³¹ ἐμφορηθῆναι· ἀλλὰ κεκωλύμεθα φόβῳ καὶ αἰδοῖ, μήπως καὶ προπετείας κριθῶμεν, ἀκελεύστως τοῦτο δράσαντες· ἀνάξιον γὰρ ἡγοῦμεθα ἄνευ τῆς προστάξεως τῶν εὐσεβῶν³² καὶ δικαίων μεγάλων βασιλέων ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας δεσποτικῆς ἀγιοσύνης τοῦτο κατατολμῆσαι.

Πλὴν εἰ καὶ τῷ σώματι οὐ παρέσμεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ συνευφραινόμεθα καὶ συγκοινωνοῦμεν καὶ συνευδοκοῦμεν πᾶσι τοῖς ὑφ' ὑμῶν³³ καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὑμῶν³⁴ συνόδου δεδογμένους καὶ συντάττομεν ταύτην ταῖς ἀγίαις ἐπτά συνόδοις ταῖς παρελθούσαις καὶ τοὺς ταύτην μὴ δεχομένους ἀποβαλλόμεθα.

Therefore, the epistle is an *amtliche Brief*, that is, official correspondence between two prominent figures, which, in some cases, became part of thematic or authorial *corpora* (Hunger 1978, 203). However, since no original documentation from either of the two Ignatian Patriarchates has survived,³⁵ the letter stands as a singular piece of evidence.³⁶ Additionally, like most texts in the AC, Epiphanius's epistle is a shortened version of the original missive, as is evident from the text itself. While it is true that Byzantine epistolography was less formal than its classical counterpart, and that in medieval rhetoric, συντομία (brevity) was one of the central principles,³⁷ the extreme conciseness of the letter, the abrupt transitions between arguments, and the lack of a concluding formula suggest that it is an epitome. Nevertheless, the author of the *excerptum* has preserved certain rhetorical elements from the original epistle.

The *initium* (line 3), for example, is an *amplificatio* of the motif τολμῶν ὁ δοῦλος σου (Hunger 1978, 217), similar in its wording to the *initium* of the epistle of Basilios, Metropolitan of Calabria, to Patriarch Nicolaus III (Grünbart 2020, 333; text in Holtzmann 1928, 64-67).³⁸

The *initium* is followed by an indirect salutation formula, which is also amplified with other common elements,³⁹ maintaining the *Doppeldaktylos* (xxx/xxx),⁴⁰ the typical rhythm in Byzantine epistolography (Grünbart 2005, 62-66). Other forms of salutation in the letter include:

²⁸ ὁ φωστὴρ τῆς οἰκουμένης; Jo. Chrys. *hom.* in Mt. LXVIII (PG 58, 644; CPG 4424); Cyr. Jo. 11.9 (PG 74, 517; CPG 5208); Thdt. *epp. Paul. proem.* 1 (PG 82, 36; CPG 6209); BHG 495 (AASS Nov. III, 305A-B), etc.

²⁹ οἰκοῦντες] οἰκοῦνται Rader (1904, 220).

³⁰ εὐφροσύνης] ἀφροσύνης R^{ac}.

³¹ πνευματικῶν χαρισμάτων: 1Cor. 12:1.

³² τῶν εὐσεβῶν – ἡμῶν: Petr. Sic. Hist. 188.

³³ ὑμῶν] ἡμῶν *omnes codd.*; Rader (1904, 220); Hardouin (1714, 1024).

³⁴ ὑμῶν] ἡμῶν RK

³⁵ At best there are extracts and the Latin translations incorporated in the *acta conciliaria*, cf. Grumel – Darrouzès (1989, nos. 444-455, 528-537b). Unlike other patriarchs, Ignatius was not a writer or theologian, so none of his works have survived (Beck 1959, 603; Prieto Domínguez 2020, 280-282).

³⁶ In fact, it is not listed in Grünbart (2020).

³⁷ For the rhetoric of the Byzantine epistolography see the synthesis of Kotzabassi (2020), with the preceding bibliography.

³⁸ The humility formula is also common in episcopal seals (Laurent 1972, xxxiv).

³⁹ Cf. Grünbart (2005, 316 πανίερος; 276 ισάγγελος; 248-256 δεσπότης).

⁴⁰ Hörandner (1981, 41-46), Valiavitcharska (2013, 63-64).

- Line 4: τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγίας καὶ θεοειδοῦς ψυχῆς, ἱερώτατε – an indirect compound apostrophe with ellipsis of the pronoun, followed by the direct simple apostrophe common in clerical correspondence.⁴¹ This clause also preserves the *Doppeldaktylos*.
- Lines 7 – 8: τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ στερρότητι – an indirect compound apostrophe, again maintaining the *Doppeldaktylos*.⁴²
- Line 15: τῆς ὑμετέρας δεσποτικῆς ἀγιοσύνης – an indirect apostrophe.⁴³

In terms of style, traces of the original χάρις remain, achieved through quotations and references to literary tradition (cf. *loci similes* in the notes). The language adheres to the expected, archaic, and lofty σαφήνεια, without descending into rhetorical excess.

Finally, although the primary purpose of the letter is to congratulate Ignatius on his reinstatement to the Patriarchate and acknowledge his authority,⁴⁴ the autocephalous nature of the Church of Cyprus should not be overlooked (cf. *infra*). Thus, the sender did not owe his position to the Patriarch, and his relationship with him was not governed by the motif of φιλία, which is essential in the epistolary genre as a connecting link between sender and recipient on both an ideological and emotional level.⁴⁵

2. The author of the Epistle: Epiphanius III, Archbishop of Cyprus

Throughout the history of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Cyprus, there have been several homonymous figures, starting with Epiphanius of Salamis (ca. 310 – 403), a renowned theologian and venerated saint on the island.⁴⁶ Consequently, there are three more archbishops who assumed the name Ἐπιφάνιος in various lists.⁴⁷ The author of the letter to Ignatius is Epiphanius III (PmbZ 21700), a largely unknown figure.⁴⁸ There is only one contemporary document that mentions him: a *sigillum*, part of Bryer's collection and edited by him in 1970 before its inclusion in Laurent's *corpus* (1972, 287, no. 2015; see also Metcalf 2004, 369–370, no. 459). Found in Constantinople, it is badly damaged, but its characteristic features can still be read, allowing it to be dated with relative precision:

- Obv.: effigy of the Θεοτόκος embracing a medallion with the image of the Child, framed by the initials ΜΡ ΘΥ (μήτηρ Θεοῦ). From the legend surrounding the seal, only ΘΕΟ[---]ΥΛΩ is legible, corresponding to the humility formula Θεο[τόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δο]ύλῳ.
- Rev.: full legend with the official title of the owner of the seal: + ΕΠΙΦΑ/ΝΙΩ ΑΡΧΙΕ/ ΠΙΣΚΟΠΩ/ ΚΥΠΡΟΥ.

⁴¹ Grünbart (2005, 209 ἀγίος; 270 θειοειδής; 356-360 ψυχή; 275-276 ἱερώτατος).

⁴² Grünbart (2005, 324 στερρότης).

⁴³ Grünbart (2005, 212 ἀγιοσύνη).

⁴⁴ In other words, a distinctly diplomatic undertone, which is sometimes difficult to distinguish from the rhetorical and literary nature of the epistolary document (Beihammer 2020).

⁴⁵ Cf. Tinnefeld (1973), Mullet (2003), Bourboulakis (2020).

⁴⁶ See Delehay (1907, 242-243); Rapp (1991); Englezakis (1995); Paschalides (2012); Jacobs (2016).

⁴⁷ See Cappuyns (1935); Laurent (1948); Gouillard (1967, 11, 274); Papacostas (2002).

⁴⁸ Cf. Le Quien (1740, 1050-1052); Hackett (1901, 258-259); Papaioannou (1927, 72-73); Gouillard (1967, 11, 274); Fedalto (1988, 875-876).

Thanks to the abbreviation of the *nomina sacra* MP ΘΥ and the arrangement of the other elements,⁴⁹ it is possible to ascribe the seal to the so-called “Photian type” (Nesbitt 1995, 55), a style used by the Patriarch in one of his two issues.⁵⁰ Therefore, the Bryer *sigillum* is contemporary to Epiphanius III. Since it was found in Constantinople, Laurent (1972, 287) hypothesized that it was the seal accompanying the letter.

Along with this possible document, it is also worth noting an obscure reference in the *Vita Demetriani* (BHG 495, §10),⁵¹ according to which Eustathius, Bishop of Chytri (PmbZ 21835), ascended to the Archiepiscopal See of Cyprus following the death of the previous archbishop, whose name is not provided. Although Eustathius does not appear in the official records,⁵² and despite the anonymity of his predecessor, it has been believed since Le Quien (1740, 1052) that the unnamed archbishop was Epiphanius III, who died around 885 – 886.

The seal, the hagiographic reference, and the letter from the AC are therefore the only available evidence for situating Epiphanius III within the turbulent context of the second half of the ninth century.

3. The epistle of Epiphanius as evidence of conciliar adherence

As is well known, the Church of Cyprus was officially recognized as an “autocephalous church” at the Third Ecumenical Council of Ephesus (431 AD). According to the Apostolic theory, it was entitled to this status due to its significance as a preaching and founding site of St. Paul and St. Barnabas (Vailhé 1910; Janin 1953). Thus, during the seventh session of the council, through the mediation of the Cypriot representatives – especially Zeno of Kourion –⁵³ the synod validated Cyprus’ ecclesiastical self-determination, freeing it from the influence of the Patriarchate of Antioch. As a result, the Church of Cyprus became the next in the hierarchy following the so-called “Pentarchy”,⁵⁴ which included Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.⁵⁵

Autocephaly ensured the independence of certain dioceses from the primacy imposed by Rome and the other four Patriarchates, leading to conflicts and disputes with newly autocephalous churches, such as the Church of Bulgaria.⁵⁶ However, by the time of the Eighth Ecumenical

⁴⁹ The abbreviation began to be used in representations of the Virgin Mary from the ninth century onwards (Kalavrezou 1990) and its use extended to other objects such as sigillographic production until the mid-tenth century, cf. Nesbitt (1995).

⁵⁰ Specifically, during the second patriarchy (Zacos – Veglery 1986, 7). Nesbitt (1995, 55) notes that it is not possible to determine precisely to which period the iconography belongs. Photius had revived the iconography used by Methodius I, in contrast to that of Ignatius, cf. Cotsonis (2020, 106-107).

⁵¹ The text edited by Delehaye (1910, 298-308) replaces the deficient *editio princeps* by Grégoire (1907, 217-237).

⁵² This is not surprising, given the nature of the records (Laurent 1948, 161-162), and he does appear in the lists of bishops of Chytri contained in the *synodicon* of Cyprus (Cappuyns 1935, 492).

⁵³ Subsequently sanctified, cf. Delehaye (1907, 255), Sauget (1967).

⁵⁴ See Hefele – Leclercq (1869, 386-387); Hackett (1901, 11-23); Vailhé (1910, 8-10); Janin (1953, 794-795). Text of the session in Schwartz (1929, 118-122); extract from the conciliar decision in Abramowski (2006, 111-112); English translation in Tanner (1990, 68-69).

⁵⁵ The literature on the “Pentarchy its organization, and related disputes is extensive. For a comprehensive overview, see the following studies: Peri (1988); Panagiotopoulos (2003); Morini (2012), (2014); Herrin (2013, 239-266).

⁵⁶ Cf. Kyriakos (1902); Dvornik (1979, 27-39); Felmy (1980). It was also possible for dioceses to be independent of their metropolitans. See the comments of Chrysos (1969) on the *notitia episcopatum* attributed to St Epiphanius; text in Darrouzès (1981, 204-213).

Council (the Fourth of Constantinople), the autocephaly of Cyprus was firmly established, and its representatives remained unaffected by the rivalry between Photius and Ignatius. In fact, no member of the Cypriot ecclesiastical hierarchy is known to have been involved in the succession of appointments and depositions that accompanied the rise and fall of both Patriarchs. For this reason, we know little about the position of the Church of Cyprus concerning various synodal decisions imposed by both Ignatius (e.g., the deposition and excommunication of Gregorius Asbestos in 847 – 848 or 852 – 853)⁵⁷ and Photius (notably, the excommunication of Pope Nicolaus I in 867).⁵⁸ These actions were decreed in local synods, which did not require the convocation of other Sees. The anti-Ignatian synod of 861, though, did have a Roman delegation.⁵⁹ However, the papal *apocrisarii* – Rhadoaldus of Porto (PmbZ 6404) and Zacharias of Anagni (PmbZ 8636) – were sent to Constantinople to investigate the case against Ignatius, not to confirm his deposition on behalf of the Roman See (Anastos 1990; Mormino 2015). Similarly, Photius later used certain figures, purportedly ambassadors of the Oriental Patriarchates and anti-papal Roman clergy, to support his intentions to excommunicate the Pope (Sansterre 1973).⁶⁰ Nothing is known about the stance of the Church of Cyprus on these events, and it was not present at the anti-Photian council

Certainly, the Eighth Ecumenical Council was convened with great pomp and canonical rigor, ensuring that all relevant parties, both religious and secular, were represented (Dvornik 1966). As a result, all members of the “Pentarchy” are present in the *subscriptions*:

- For Rome the *apocrisarii* of Pope Hadrian II (PmbZ 22537): Donatus, Bishop of Ostia (PmbZ 1390), Stephen, Bishop of Nepi (PmbZ 27381) and Marinus, Deacon of Rome (PmbZ 4819, 24983).⁶¹
- Ignatius signs as the new Patriarch of Constantinople.
- The Deacon Ioseph (PmbZ 23512) on behalf of Michael, Patriarch of Alexandria (PmbZ 25098).
- Thomas, Metropolitan of Tyrus (PmbZ 28279), representing the then-vacant Patriarchate of Antioch.
- Helias, presbyter and syncellus (PmbZ 21641), representing Patriarch Theodosius of Jerusalem (PmbZ 27887).⁶²

⁵⁷ On Gregorius Asbestos see PmbZ 2480, 22348. His destitution was not welcomed by Rome or the Byzantine clergy, cf. Grumel (1941); Dvornik (1948, 18-38); Stiennon (1967, 15-17, 19-23); Karlin-Hayter (1977); Chadwick (2003, 121-123).

⁵⁸ See Hergenröther (1867, 649-653); Bury (1912, 201-203); Every (1947, 128-129); Dvornik (1948, 119-131); Mango (1958, 299-306); Chadwick (2003, 158-161); Simeonova (1998, 223-246).

⁵⁹ The *acta* were destroyed during the Eighth Ecumenical Council, but an abridged Latin version survives, created by Cardinal Deusdedit in the eleventh century from the copy taken to Rome (see the edition of Wolf von Glanvell 1905, 603-610). The disciplinary canons issued by the synod, however, have been preserved, possibly added by Photius himself to the collection initiated by Ioannes VIII Scholasticus in the sixth century, cf. Lauritzen (2016). For the development of the synod see Hergenröther (1867, 419-438); Hefele – Leclercq (1911, 275-280); Dvornik (1948, 70-90); Stiennon (1967, 35-41); Chadwick (2003, 139-146).

⁶⁰ For a discussion on the different phases of the relationship between Photius and the Oriental Patriarchates, see Signes Codoñer (2013, 106-133).

⁶¹ See too *Liber Pontificalis* (1892, 180), English translation by Davis (1995, 275).

⁶² See the Latin text in Leonardi – Placanica (2012, 356-358), English translation in Montinaro – Price (2022, 428-429). The abridged Greek version –edited by Rader (1604, 358)– and the *Liber Pontificalis* II, 108, 46 (Duchesne 1892, 182) omit the names of the Oriental representatives, but the same list, with some divergences, present Nicetas David, *Life of Ignatius* 61 (Smithies – Duffy 2013, 86-87), and *Synodicon vetus* 162 (Duffy – Parker 1979, 138-141).

The signature of the representative of the Cypriot Church should have been recorded here, after the representatives of the five Sees and before the other participants. However, no one was present to do so. In this context, the epistle of Epiphanius to Ignatius effectively replaces the *subscriptio* of the *acta conciliaria*, serving as an official letter of recognition from the representative of the autocephalous Church of Cyprus to the new Patriarch of Constantinople (Mazzone 2022). This is clearly stated in the epistle itself, where Epiphanius, on behalf of the Cypriot Church, acknowledges the authority of the seven previous ecumenical councils and rejects the dissenters – Photius and his supporters.

As Peri pointed out (1995, 239): “la corrispondenza ufficiale che le Chiese patriarchali intrattenevano tra loro e con la cancelleria imperiale, conservate nei rispettivi archivi, fornisce pertanto, allorchè sussiste, la documentazione più autorevole e diretta per chi voglia approfondire il carattere di tali rapporti”. Thus, by including it in the *Anti-Photian Collection*, the compiler not only completes the picture of conciliar ecumenism, adding the principal autocephalous See to the common agreement of the *subscriptio*es from the representatives of the “Pentarchy”, but also provides a unique and valuable document showcasing the pro-Ignatian position of the Church of Cyprus. However, the sincerity and loyalty of this position over time cannot be fully assured.

4. Conclusion

In summary, the autocephalous Church of Cyprus refrained from intervening in the religious and political conflicts between Constantinople and Rome following the deposition of Ignatius and the appointment of Photius as Patriarch. In fact, no representative was sent to the anti-Photian synod. However, the Church expressed its support for Ignatius’s second appointment through a letter sent by Epiphanius, Archbishop of Cyprus. In doing so, the Cypriot Church affirmed its adherence to the conciliar decision and validated the authority of the synod. For this reason, the epistle was included in the collection of anti-Photian documents.

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FROM CONFLICT TO MARRIAGES. THE RELATIONS OF THE PIASTS OF POLAND AND THE ÁRPÁDS OF HUNGARY IN THE 1130S. PART 1.¹

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Abstract: BARABÁS, Gábor. *From Conflict to Marriages. The Relations of the Piasts of Poland and the Árpáds of Hungary in the 1130s. Part 1.* The research of the relations between certain rulers, territories or peoples can be considered as one of the classic topics of historiography in general and of Medieval Studies as well. The Polish-Hungarian contact in the Middle Ages is no exception, several scientific and popular works have dealt with the relations of the Piasts and Árpáds, and their respective realms. Nevertheless, it is to be underlined that we can only speak indirectly about international relations concerning the High Middle Ages, the personal contacts of the rulers and the dynastic ties established between the ruling families are of great importance when studying the various elements of the relations. This paper focuses on an interesting and controversial episode of the matrimonial history of the Piasts of Poland and the Árpáds of Hungary. In my opinion, despite the poor state of the sources, it can be assumed that King Béla II of Hungary and Duke Bolesław III Wrymouth of Poland in 1135 – 1136, in order to put an end to their hostilities, concluded an agreement on a double marriage between their dynasties. Only one of the two planned matrimonies were realized, yet I believe that the hypothesis formulated in this two-part study can be supported by a thorough analysis of the remaining sources and the political conditions of the 1130s.

Keywords: Poland, Hungary, twelfth century, genealogy, dynastic relations, peace, matrimony

“Answering this question or stirring up a hornet’s nest of the worst nature is about the same” (Wertner 1892, 234).

The study of Polish-Hungarian relations, the centuries of the “friendship”, has a long tradition in Hungarian and Polish historiography, and the medieval period is no exception. From the very beginning, the history of Poland and Hungary was intertwined in many ways (E.g. Kovács 1973; Kristó 2000; Kapronczay 2000; Wyrozumski 2001; Mesterházy 2004). It is important to underline, however, that one must be particularly cautious when dealing with the high Middle Ages in terms of relations between countries, or rather between political entities. The concepts of modern diplomacy are of limited application to the period. The very notion of foreign policy or international relations raises problems,² especially as it is questionable whether we can even speak of states before the late Middle Ages (Sashalmi 2021, 9-10). Prior to the fourteenth century, personal power played a dominant role, and that the relations between rulers were therefore also of a decisive nature in the system of relations between the various territories. In the period under

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² For applying the methods of international relations in medieval Studies see Kozłowski 2020.

study, therefore, we can speak less of foreign policy and more of external relations.³ A fundamental aspect of this dynamic was the marital relations between dynasties and alliances strengthened through kinship ties, which in certain instances aimed at ending serious conflicts. And the proverbial Polish-Hungarian “friendship” was not free of such turbulence.

Regarding the political role of marriages, the Hungarian historian Péter Báling, who has thoroughly researched the early family history of the Árpáds based on the current results of Western scholarship, has recently pointed out the fact again that political considerations were of paramount importance in the context of the kinship relationships that developed, especially since in-laws and godparents were also considered as relatives in the spiritual sense (Báling 2021, 68.). However, as with all alliances, because of the personal nature of power, they were only valid in the lives of the parties involved (Báling 2021, 14; Kozłowski 2009, 86-87). Therefore, the research of the genealogy of the ruling dynasties is indispensable for Medieval Studies.

These dynastic ties, however, are often difficult to grasp and reconstruct in the eleventh – twelfth centuries, and the interpretation of the remaining sources may raise questions that cannot be answered at all or only vaguely. The genealogy of the Piasts and Árpáds⁴ is also full of problematic data that are not easy to interpret, especially in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. It is undisputed that the second wife of the Polish ruler Bolesław I the Brave (Chrobry) (992 – 1025) was of Hungarian origin, who is not known by name and is generally identified as the daughter of the Hungarian ruler, Prince Géza.⁵ A contemporary source, the Bishop of Merseburg, Thietmar, confirms this, but the chronicler provides no further information. It is, however, beyond dispute that the Polish prince's Hungarian wife gave birth to his son Bezprym (Kristó 2000, 5-6; Báling 2021, 87-89; Piastowie 1999, 25; Jasiński 1993, 83, 85-86).

However, the claim that the mother of the first Hungarian king, St. Stephen (1000 – 1038), i.e. the wife of Grand Prince Géza, was the Polish Adelhaid, seems to be highly doubtful (Grzesik 1995; Kristó 2000, 7-9; Báling 2021, 94). The idea that the son of the first Hungarian king, Prince Emery, married the daughter of the Polish duke Mieszko II (1025 – 1034), which can be found in several Polish narrative sources, also belongs to the realm of fiction (Kristó 2000, 11). For the later period, the situation is much clearer thanks to the greater number of sources that have come down to us, as the case of King Béla I of Hungary clearly shows. Having been forced to flee Hungary under the reign of St. Stephen in the 1030s, he found refuge in the court of the Polish duke Mieszko II and married his daughter Richeza. She gave birth to his children, the future kings of Hungary, Géza I and St. Ladislav, and their younger brother Lampert (Kristó 2000, 12). The early twelfth-century “Polish” chronicler, Gallus Anonymus, even stated regarding St. Ladislav, rather exaggeratedly, that “[he] had been raised from childhood in Poland and had almost become a Pole in his ways and life.”⁶

Without going into the details of the relationship between the Hungarian royal family and the Piast rulers of Poland, it is worth mentioning the strong alliance between King Coloman the Learned (1096 – 1116) and Bolesław III Wrymouth (Krzywousty) (1107 – 1138). The Polish prince was related to Prince Álmos, the younger brother of Coloman the Learned, because in

³ Nevertheless, the usages of concepts from the history of diplomacy and the international relations does not seem to be entirely avoidable, as has been pointed out by the authors of relevant works in recent years and decades. See among others Makk 1996, 5; Báling 2021, 25-29; Rudolf 2023, 11.

⁴ Fundamental works in this regard: Wertner 1892; Jasiński 1993; Piastowie; Báling 2021.

⁵ The idea has emerged in the research that the bride came from another Hungarian tribe, not that of the Árpáds. See Báling 2021, 88-89.

⁶ “Qui Wladislauus ab infancia nutritus in Polonia fuerat et quasi moribus et vita Polonus factus fuerat” (Knoll – Schaer 2003, 96-97). For the figure of St. Ladislav in the *Gesta* see: Bagi 2005, 130-167; Bagi 2008, 101-129.

1104 he married Predslava Iziaslavna, a sister of Prince Sviatopolk Iziaslavich of Kiev, (1093 – 1113), meanwhile Bolesław III had been married to Predslava's sister Zbyslava, probably since the previous year (Makk 1991, 7; Báling 2021, 518; Font 2021, 104-105, 128; Piastowie 1999, 78; Jasiński 1993, 188-189). Álmos must have relied on this relationship when in 1106, he sought support from the Polish prince, after failing to obtain help from the German king, Henry V, (1105 – 1125, emperor from 1111). His hopes were not disappointed, as the Hungarian chronicle confirms that he took the castle of Abaújvár with Polish support (Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV. In SRH 1999, cap. 147, 426-427; Bak – Veszprémy 2018, 272-273).⁷

Álmos, however, was unsuccessful in his attempt to vanquish his brother, Coloman the Learned. Consequently, a solemn and symbolic act of submission or self-subjection (*deditio*) was initiated, wherein Álmos acknowledged his subordinate status (Bagi 2020, 172-181). Bolesław III Wrymouth then initiated negotiations with King Coloman the Learned, who, albeit with some hesitations, recognised the similarities in their situations, as the Polish prince was also fighting for power in Poland with his brother, Zbigniew (Dalewski 2008, 77-84). From this point onwards, the two rulers began to cooperate. After Bolesław III drastically ended his own internal conflict by blinding his own brother,⁸ as a form of penance, he took part in a pilgrimage to Hungary in 1113 (Kristó 2000, 15-16; Dalewski 2008, 87, 100; Bagi 2020, 128-129; Báling 2021, 251; Zupka 2016, 156-161). A lasting alliance was thus established between the two rulers, which also meant friendship in arms. This alliance endured until the death of Coloman and the reign of his son King Stephen II (1116 – 1131) persisting until 1127. In that year, the Hungarian ruler attacked the Polish borders in connection with his intervention in the internal conflicts of Kievan Rus' (Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV. In SRH I 1999, cap. 153, 434; Bak – Veszprémy 2018, 282-283; Kristó 2000, 15-16; Font 2021, 131-133; Dalewski 2008, 187).

After the death of Stephen II, who passed away without a male heir in 1131 (Kádár 2017), the branch of Álmos rose to power in the Kingdom of Hungary with the new king, Béla II the Blind (1131 – 1141). In this situation the Polish prince chose to support King Coloman's illegitimate son, Boris, against the new Hungarian ruler. Boris's mother Euphemia Vladimirovna of the Rurik dynasty, second wife of King Coloman, was deposed by the king for adultery, Boris Kolomanovich was born and raised in the Rus' and tried to gain Power in Hungary only after the death of Stephen II,⁹ seeking help in the Byzantine Empire and later by the Polish prince, his alleged father's old ally (Makk 1972, 42; Font 2021, 133-135). In 1132, Boris and Bolesław III led an army into the Kingdom of Hungary, but they were severely defeated at the River Sajó. The Polish ruler then had to face an alliance formed by Béla II and Soběslav I (1125 – 1140), the Bohemian prince, and probably Vladimírko Volodarevich of Zvenigorod. This tense situation lasted until 1135, when Emperor Lothair III (1125/1133 – 1137) forced Bolesław III to acknowledge his submission at the Hoftag in Merseburg, and consequently to withdraw his support from Boris Kolomanovich (Makk 1987, 63-64; Makk 1996, 170-171, 175-176; Kristó 2000, 15-16; Piastowie, 82; Font 2021, 135-136; Zupka 2016, 172-175).

The first third of the twelfth century was, therefore, a relatively turbulent period in Hungarian-Polish relations. This naturally had an impact on the family relations between the Árpáds and the

⁷ See Kristó 2000, 14-15.

⁸ It can be assumed that this act served as an example for King Coloman the Learned when he blinded his brother Álmos and his son, the future King Béla II. See Kristó 2000, 15.

⁹ There is one, although extremely uncertain data in the Hungarian Chronicle-Composition, which could be interpreted as evidence for Boris's activity in Hungary during the reign of King Stephen II, but the identification of Boris with *comes* Bors is highly doubtful. "Led on by vain hope, *ispán* Bors and Ivan were chosen by traitors as king" (Bak – Veszprémy 2018, 294-295). See Kádár 2017, 801-803.

Piasts. Nevertheless, as far as the dynastic relations are concerned, the situation is particularly complex and therefore difficult to assess.

Let us start the analysis with a historiographical data which, at first sight, seems quite clear. The concept emerged in the historiography that in 1108 Prince Bolesław III betrothed one of his daughters, Judith, to King Coloman the Learned's son, the future Stephen II. This statement is based on the report of the fifteenth-century Polish chronicler Jan Długosz, according to whom this marriage was the reason why the territory of Spiš (Hungarian: Szepesség) was given to the Hungarian king as a dowry.¹⁰ The information provided by Długosz is certainly false. Although Bolesław III undoubtedly had a daughter named Judith, she was born not to his first wife Zbyslava, but to his second spouse, Salomea, whom he married in the 1110s (Piastowie 1999, 80, 97-98). It is not impossible that Długosz, who synthesized the results of earlier Polish historiography, based the report of the engagement on the news of the *Kronika Wielkopolska* (Chronicle of Greater Poland) written the late thirteenth, early fourteenth century (EMC 2010, 394), which reveals that the son of the Hungarian king, Coloman the Learned, married Bolesław II's daughter and received the territory of Spiš as a dowry.¹¹ The fact that Bolesław was the contemporary of King Coloman and his son, Stephen II suggests that the relation in the source is definitely questionable, or even completely wrong. As Ryszard Grzesik, among others, has pointed out, the chronicle probably confused a later event with the case of Bolesław III's daughter, namely the engagement of Prince Coloman of Slavonia (Font – Barabás 2019; Homza 2021), the second son of King Andrew II of Hungary (1205 – 1235), to the daughter of the Prince of Cracow, Leszek the White (Biały), Princess Salomea, concluded at the meeting in Spiš in 1214. This is also indicated by the mention of the Principality of Galicia in the text of the chronicle (Font 2021, 177-185, Grzesik 2002, 490-491).

The marriage of Coloman and Salomea at the beginning of the thirteenth century is sufficiently clear (Font 2021, 177-185; Font – Barabás 2019, 21-41), so we need to further examine the life and situation of the Polish princess Judith. Genealogical research places the birth of Judith, whose name is confirmed by other sources, around 1130 precisely on the basis of a Hungarian-related record (Piastowie 1999, 98; Jasiński 1993, 256-257). Several Polish annals, including the earliest ones belonging to the tradition of Lesser Poland (Rocznik Traski and Rocznik Krakowski), contain entries, which state that in 1136 Bolesław III wed his daughter to the son of the Hungarian king.¹² On the basis of this dating, it has become accepted in Polish historiography that Judith was betrothed to the future Hungarian king, Géza II (1141 – 1162) (Piastowie 1999, 98; Jasiński

¹⁰ "Colomannus Hungarie rex filio suo natu maiori Stephano filiam Iuditham, Boleslai Polonorum ducis, desponsat in uxorem, provinciam Szepusiensem, que tunc juris Polonorum fuerat <et pars eius non modica in diocesi Cracoviensi consistebat>, Boleslaus filie in dotem consignat, que ab eo tempore sequestrata a Polonia in proprietatem Hungarorum transiit" (Ioannis Dlugossii IV, 237). Cf. Wertner 1892, 234.

¹¹ "Jste Boleslaus filiam suam de Ruthena genitam Colomanno regis Ungarorum filio matrimonialiter copulavit. Cui nomine dotis castellaniam de Spis quoad viveret possidendam assignavit. Quem Colomanum una cum rege Ungarorum Halliciensibus in regem prefecerat ipsum coronari facientes. Cuius coronacione rex Boleslaus prout erat credulus per regem Ungarorum dolose circumventus castellaniam de Spiss [dedit] et loco eiusdem castellaniam Premisliensem nomine dotalicii filie sue recepit. Hec autem dolositas fecit origo dissensionum inter Polonos et Ungarns prout in sequentibus patebit. Et sic castellania de Spiss a Polonis alienata per Ungarns usque ad presens fraudulenter detenta occupatur" (Kürbis 1970, 39). See Grzesik 2002, 490.

¹² "Boleslaus dat filiam regis filio Ungarorum." (Rocznik Traski. In MPH II 1872, 832); "Boleslaus dat filiam suam regi Ungarie" (Rocznik Krakowski. In MPH II 1872, 832). See Jasiński 1993, 255-256; Grzesik 2002, 491; Grzesik 2003, 7.

1993, 255-257), a view that has also found its way to certain Hungarian works (Kovács 1973, 21; Kapronczay 2000, 14-15), therefore it is worth examining this possibility.

If we give credit to the annals' data, there is not only one person who can be considered as the son of the Hungarian king Béla II. Besides the future king Géza II, the annals' data can also be applied to his younger brothers, the future usurper, Ladislav II (1162 – 1163), or even to their younger brother, another future usurper himself, Stephen IV (1163), as the son of the in the texts otherwise unnamed Hungarian king.¹³ In the case of the former, István Katona had already proposed the idea (Katona 1780, 565-569), but the argument of the eminent eighteenth-century historian was met with the thorough criticism of Mór Wertner, the renowned genealogist of the late nineteenth century (Wertner 1892, 324-331). Without going into all the details, it can be pointed out, in agreement with Wertner, that there is indeed no evidence that the engagement of Prince Géza and his later wife Euphrosyne, the sister of Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev (1146 – 1154) actually took place in the 1130s (Cf. Font 2021, 119-120), i.e. we do not necessarily have to follow Katona and to reject the version that the first-born son of King Béla II was engaged to the daughter of Prince Bolesław III Wrymouth. However as Wertner also points out, only one case is known among the children of Béla II when an engagement took place during the lifetime of the king, namely that of his daughter's, Sofia's (Wertner 1892, 328). In my opinion, however, due to the lack of sources, it cannot be ruled out that other children of Béla II were also engaged, especially since they were all minors in the 1130s and they could therefore, have played a role in dynastic politics.

I do not think we can completely rule out the possible involvement of either prince, especially not on the basis of their later marriages, since even if we accept the engagement preserved in Polish sources (Jasiński 1993, 257), we can be sure that the marriage did not take place in the end. On this basis, the later marriages of the royal brothers,¹⁴ or in the case of Ladislav, the rejection of the Byzantine bride offered to him in the 1150s (Moravcsik 1988, 274; Makk 1978, 20-21), do not provide any definitive proof for a possible earlier engagement.

A further assumption can be made about one of the later usurpers, or with other words counter-kings, although it is not supported by sources. For reasons of temporal proximity, however, it is worth noting that in the spring of 1137, Béla II placed his second son, Ladislav, as prince at the head of newly conquered part of Bosnia, called Rama in Hungarian sources (Makk 1996, 178). As this was during the lifetime of his new ally Bolesław III Wrymouth, the planned marriage of their children may have played a role in this decision. However, this is no more than a mere possibility, which is not supported by any evidence.

Returning to the sources concerning the engagement, the situation is further complicated by the fact that another work, the Annals of Lesser Poland (*Rocznik Małopolski*), refers to the engagement and the name of the bride as early as 1122/1123.¹⁵ However, as we have evidence that the contemporary Hungarian king, Stephen II had no son (Kádár 2017, 787-790), it is likely that the tradition of the later date is closer to the truth. It is worth noting that the engagement is also recorded in the Annals of Lesser Poland by the year 1136,¹⁶ which also confirms the later date. The Annals of Cracow (*Rocznik Krakowski*), like the earliest and most reliable annals, the *Rocznik Traski* (Jasiński 1993, 255), mention the betrothal in 1136, but with an important difference. According to this account, it was not the son of the king of the Hungarians but the ruler of Hungary himself who

¹³ Kazimierz Jasiński based on the work of Oswald Balzer disregards this possibility (Jasiński 1993, 256).

¹⁴ Stephen married the niece of Emperor Manuel Komnenos, Mary in the late 1150s. See Makk 1978, 13.

¹⁵ "Tandem dai filiam nomine Iuditham filio regis Ungarie" (*Rocznik Małopolski*. In MPH III 1878, 152 and also 153). See Grzesik 2003, 7.

¹⁶ "Boleslaus dat filiam regis filio Ungarorum" (*Rocznik Małopolski*. In MPH III 1878, 152).

won the hand of the daughter of Bolesław III.¹⁷ However, since the other manuscript traditions clearly mention the son of the Hungarian ruler, we can assume that the other formulation could be a mistake.

As previously mentioned, it is evident that, if there was an engagement between a son of the Hungarian king Béla II, presumably the future Géza II, or perhaps his brothers Ladislav or Stephen, and the daughter of Bolesław III, Judith at all, it was not followed by an actual marriage.¹⁸ Instead, Géza II proceeded to marry Euphrosyne, the sister of Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev, in 1146 (Font 2021, 119-120). Conversely, Judith entered into matrimony with Otto, the son of Albert the Bear, the future Margrave of Brandenburg (1157 – 1170), in 1148 (Jasiński 1993, 252, 255, 257-258). We can only assume that if an actual marriage had been annulled, it could have appeared in the narrative sources of the period, although this way we would use the *argumentum ex silentio*. In any event, the annulment of the betrothal has been linked by certain Polish scholars to the fact that another marriage, between Mieszko III the Old (Stary) and Elizabeth, had already provided a sufficient basis for Piast-Árpád relations at this time.¹⁹

At last, we need to examine a third, albeit highly tenuous, theory about Judith's engagement. The above-quoted passage from the *Kronika Wielkopolska*, the engagement of the daughter of Bolesław III to the son of the Hungarian king, Coloman, has been interpreted as referring to the alleged son of the monarch, Coloman the Learned, i.e. Prince Boris (Wertner 1892, 259-276). The Hungarian pretender in fact, is actually referred to as Kolomanos in Byzantine sources, presumably using the name to bound himself to his father (Makk 1987, 61; Font 2021, 136). In chapter 30 of the *Kronika Wielkopolska* we can read of King Colomanidis of Galicia,²⁰ a name clearly identified with Boris in the notes by the editor of the critical edition, Brigitta Kürbis.²¹ However, I believe that this is not tenable, as Márta Font has recently also indicated, Boris was never king of Galicia, and based on the narrative we can be fairly certain that the events in question are a projection of those that occurred a century later, namely the royal title of Prince Coloman, son of King Andrew II (Font 2021, 136).

In the case of the engagement-story in chapter 27 of the chronicle, quoted above, the identification with Boris is absent in the latest critical edition.²² However, the 1872 edition does exhibit several discrepancies. For instance, the text employs the possessive form of the name *Colomanus* in reference to Bolesław's daughter thereby alluding to the king himself rather than his son. In contrast, the name of the bride, Judith also appears in the entry.²³ In a note, the editor, Wacław Alexander Maciejowski, clearly identified King Coloman's son as Boris.²⁴ A few lines below, in connection with Coloman's becoming king of Galicia, the version *Colomanidis* is used, not *Colomanus*, as in the 1970 edition, without any critical reference.²⁵ This would also seem to suggest that the chronicler was writing about Boris, but in the most recent critical edition, using the version *Colomanus*, the editor, Kürbis, also argues that the chronological place can be clearly

¹⁷ "Boleslaus dat filiam suam regi Ungarie" (Rocznik Krakowski. In MPH II, 832).

¹⁸ Stephen married Mary Komnena, a Byzantine princess and niece of Emperor Manuel Komnenos in the late 1150s. A few years later, Ladislav turned down the offer of a marriage in Constantinople. See Makk 1978, 13, 20-21.

¹⁹ Jasiński 1993, 256; Piastowie, 98. This possibility will be dealt with in part two of this study.

²⁰ "De expulsione Colomanidis regis Haliciensis" (Kürbis 1970, 46).

²¹ Kürbis 1970, 46, 153.

²² Kürbis 1970, 39.

²³ "Iste Boleslaus filiam suam, de Ruthena genitam, nomine Juditam Colomani, regis Hungarorum filio matrimonialiter copulavit" (Maciejowski 1872, 508).

²⁴ Maciejowski 1872, 508, note 2.

²⁵ „Quem Colomanidem" (Maciejowski 1872, 508).

identified as an anachronism.²⁶ In the light of the evidence presented, while the political landscape of the early 1130s cannot be entirely discounted, we can with great certainty reject the hypothesis that the illegitimate son of King Coloman the Learned, Boris, was engaged to the daughter of Bolesław III, Judith (Wertner 1892, 278). It is no *novum* though, in the current research, there is no mention of Boris's alleged engagement to a Piast princess at all (KMTL 1994, 120-121; Makk 1987; Raffensperger 2012, 90-91; Báling 2021, 506-511; Font 2021, 118-119, 133-137, 140). Especially since we can be sure that around 1130, prior to seeking the support of Bolesław III, he married a relative of Emperor John II of Komnenos in Constantinople, presumably Princess Anna Doukina (Makk 1987, 62; Makk 1996, 174, Báling 2021, 507-508).

This statement does not, however, conclude the analysis of the Piast–Árpád dynastic relations in the period in question. There is, namely, a family tie also from the 1130s, concerning which there is no doubt that it was established, the marriage of Mieszko III the Old and a Hungarian princess, Elizabeth. Nevertheless, this case cannot be called completely clear either. This marriage between the Piasts and the Árpáds will be the topic of the second part of this study.

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²⁶ Kürbis 1970, 151, note 221.

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STREDOVEKÉ OPISY PEČATÍ V PÍSOMNÝCH PRAMEŇOCH UHORSKEJ PROVENIENCIE¹

Medieval Descriptions of Seals in Written Sources of Hungarian Provenance

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Abstract: GLEJTEK, Miroslav. *Medieval Descriptions of Seals in Written Sources of Hungarian Provenance*. During the Middle Ages, the seal became an irreplaceable part of legal documents, especially charters. Attaching the seal to a document, its owner expressed his agreement with its content. At the same time, the seal served as the primary guarantor of its genuineness and authenticity. The importance of the seal for medieval society is evident in its reflection in various written sources of the period. In a thorough sphragistic research, it is impossible to ignore the context in which the seal is mentioned in these written sources. Closely related is also the structure of descriptions of seals in these mentions. The presented study focuses on medieval sources of Hungarian provenance. Attention is paid to information about seals in corroboration and confirmation formulas of charters, royal privileges by which monarchs granted seals, as well as sources of ecclesiastical and secular customary law (statutes of chapters, Tripartitum). Given that this matter has not received extensive attention so far, it is necessary to consider the presented study as an introductory probe into the matter.

Keywords: *seal, matrix, sigillography, Middle Ages, description, written source*

Úvod

Pečati, či už ako nevyhnutnej súčasti písomnosti právnej povahy, alebo ako „nástroju“ so širokým využitím nezávislým od diplomatickej činnosti, venovala stredoveká spoločnosť veľkú pozornosť.² O jej význame nehovorí len množstvo zachovaných odtlačkov pečatidiel do pečatnej látky, ktoré sú súčasťou archívnych dokumentov. Dôležitosť pečatí, ako súčasti dobovej diplomatickej a právnej praxe, podčiarkuje aj široké spektrum písomných prameňov, ktoré sa zaoberali ich používaním v najrôznejších súvislostiach. Štúdium pečatí predstavuje tradičnú oblasť historického bádania a aj v súčasnosti sa teší záujmu odborníkov. Výsledkom moderného sfragistického bádania je aj množstvo nových pozoruhodných poznatkov o stredovekej spoločnosti, pričom nezriedka ide o informácie, ktoré z iných typov prameňov nevieme získať (porovnaj Krejčík 1998a, 309-311; Krejčíková – Krejčík 1989, 5).

Ambíciou každej historickej vednej disciplíny je čo najlepšie porozumenie prameňom, ktoré sú v centre jej záujmu. Podobné je to aj v prípade pečatí, kde nemožno obísť ani to, v akých súvislostiach a akým spôsobom boli v dobových písomnostiach popisované. Práce, ktoré by sa

¹ Štúdia vznikla na Katedre histórie Univerzity Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre v rámci riešenia projektu VEGA č. 1/0305/25 *Duobus dominis servire – Duchovní v štruktúrach svetskej moci a správy neskorostredovekého Uhorského kráľovstva*.

² K používaniu pečatí nezávisle od písaného dokumentu pozri: Glejtek 2022, 11-23.

tejto problematike venovali sú však ojedinelé (napr. Krejčík 1998b; Bruchmann 1954). Výraznejšia pozornosť býva venovaná len koroboračným formulám, ako typickej súčasť listín, predovšetkým v súvislosti s diplomatickou analýzou písomností. Opisy pochádzajúce z koroboračných formuliek bývajú občas tiež súčasťou edícií a korpusov pečatí katalogizačného charakteru (napr. Takács 2012).³ Komplexnejší prehľad a klasifikácia písomných prameňov pojednávajúcich o fyzickej podobe pečatí v bádani zatiaľ absentuje. Do značnej miery je to pochopiteľné, keďže drobné zmienky využiteľné pre takúto analýzu sú roztratené vo veľkom množstve typologicky rôznorodých prameňov. Snahou predloženého príspevku je ilustrovať formou sondy variabilitu opisov pečatí v závislosti od účelu, za ktorým vznikali.

Koroboračné formulky listín

Od počiatkov spisomňovania právnych aktov v Uhorsku v 11. storočí sa do štruktúry textov listín dostala aj koroboračná formuľka. Jej úlohu odráža samotný latinský pojem *corroboracio*, vyjadrujúci posilnenie či upevnenie, v našom prípade listiny a jej obsahu. Toto posilnenie sa uskutočňovalo prostredníctvom osobitného prostriedku, ktorým mohol byť monogram, chirograf, podpis, notársky znak, no a po väčšiu časť stredoveku predovšetkým pečať.⁴ Koroboračné formulky, ktorých súčasťou sa stala aj zmienka o pečati sa začali objavovať v 12. storočí, najskôr v listinách uhorských kráľov. Príklad takejto koroborácie môžeme vidieť v listine kráľa Bela II. z roku 1138, kde môžeme čítať nasledujúci opis:

„... na túto prítomnú listinu sme priložili odtlačok nášho kráľovského obrazu vyznačený notárom Jánom“⁵ (Obr. 1).

V najstarších formulách ešte absentuje neskôr typický pojem *sigillum*, čiže *pečať*.⁶ Namiesto toho sa v nich objavuje slovné spojenie opisujúce výjav na pečati. V tomto prípade *kráľovský obraz*. Kráľovská pečať tak bola priamo stotožnená s obrazom panovníka, ktorý bol na nej stvárňovaný. Pojmy ako napríklad *kráľovská pečať* (*sigillum regium*), alebo *pečať kráľovského majestátu* (*sigillum regie maiestatis*) sa začal používať v polovici 12. storočia za vlády Gejzu II. (Takács 2012, 61). Napriek tomu sa ešte koncom 12. storočia, v čase kedy už bol bežne používaný pojem *kráľovská pečať*, môžeme stretnúť so zmienkou o kráľovskom obraze, ako o tom hovorí listina kráľa Imricha z roku 1197:

³ Faktom ale je, že ani väčšina moderných edícií pečatí koroboračné formulky neuvádza, hoci je ich význam v kontexte použitia pečate na dokumente značný. V tomto kontexte je veľmi podnetná novšia práca: Bolom-Kotari 2024, 123-167. V rámci katalogického spracovania pečatí autorka venoval celú kapitolu práve analýze koroboračných formuliek.

⁴ K rôznym grafickým prvkom ochrany dokumentov pozri Rück 1996.

⁵ „Ne quando hec temporum successu a posterorum memoria elabantur, super chartam presentem nostre regalis imaginis impressionem per Iohannem notarium apposuimus, assignatis“ (CDH II 1829, 113). Edícia pečate: Takács 2012, 88-89, Nr. 11.

⁶ Výraz *sigillum* sa v latinčine používal pre označenie pečatidla, ako aj pečate. V kontexte tejto štúdie ho budeme prekladať ako pečatidlo v situáciách, kedy je zrejmé, že ide o matricu, ktorou mali byť vyhotovované pečate. Ak z kontextu vyplýva, že ide o odtlačok pečatidla do pečatnej látky, budeme hovoriť o pečati.

„Aby teda naša donácia získala neotrastiteľnú pevnosť sily, prikazujeme nech je zverená listine označená pečatou nášho obrazu.“⁷

S rozvojom vydávania diplomatických písomností išlo ruka v ruke rozširovanie ich druhovej škály. To reflektovalo aj rozširovanie druhov pečatidiel, ktorými boli tieto písomnosti pečatené. Názov konkrétneho druhu pečate sa potom prenášal aj do koroboračnej formulky. Kombinácia staršieho pojmu *pečatný obraz*, ale už s uvedením druhu pečatidla sa objavuje koncom 12. storočia napríklad v listinách kráľa Bela III. V bule z roku 1193 sa píše:

„Aby teda táto donačná listina získala večnú pevnosť sily, a to nech nie je nikomu dovolené tej istej donácii čokoľvek vziať alebo zmenšiť, prikazujeme potvrdiť naším obrazom spolu s pritlačenou zlatou bulou.“⁸

Počínajúc 13. storočím, sa zmienky o kráľovskom obraze v koroboráciách kráľovských listín vytrácajú. V staršom období sa ešte stretáme s pojmom *pečať kráľovskej autority* (*sigillum regali auctoritate*) (CDSL I 1971, 136, Nr. 173). V prípade kráľovských aj nekráľovských vydavateľov však napokon prevládlo len slovné spojenie *naša pečať* (*sigillum nostrum*), resp. v prípade, že k dokumentu pripájalo svoje pečate viac osôb či inštitúcií, sú tieto spomenuté explicitne.⁹ Zaujímavé sú situácie kedy majiteľ, najčastejšie panovník, postupne používal viacero typov veľkej pečate. Stávalo sa to najmä z dôvodu poškodenia alebo straty, či odcudzenia pečatidla, keď hrozilo riziko jeho zneužitia. Nová pečať býva označovaná ako *sigillum novum* (Juck 1984, 115, Nr. 136). V niektorých prípadoch je dokonca uvádzané aj to, o ktorý typ v poradí išlo tak, ako to môžeme vidieť v listinách Karola Róberta: *sigillum modernum [...] tercium* (Juck 1984, 128, Nr. 154).

Od 13. storočia koroboračné formulky často prezrádzali presné druhové označenie pečatidla v kancelárii. Jediným používateľom dvojstrannej tzv. mincovej pečate bol v Uhorsku panovník a takáto pečať býva označená ako *duplex sigillum* (CDSL II 1987, 11, Nr. 11). Veľká pečať bola všeobecne označovaná ako *sigillum maius*. U vysokých cirkevných prelátov sa stretávame s výrazom, ktorý odkazuje aj na to, že ich majiteľ bol (arci)biskup (pontifex): *sigillum nostrum pontificale autenticum* (MHEZ V 1992, 110-112, Nr. 99). Tu sa môžeme pristaviť pri pojme autentická pečať (*sigillum autenticum*). Takéto označenie nenáležalo iba pečatiam prelátov. Stretávame sa s ním u ďalších držiteľov pečatí, ktorí mali právo vydávať písomnosti pod tzv. autentickou pečatou a mohli ju používať aj na pečatenie listín, ktorých obsah sa ich priamo netýkal. Išlo spravidla o hlavnú (veľkú) pečať v príslušnej kancelárii a mala najvyššiu hodnovernosť a kredibilitu v spoločnosti (pozri Kumorovitz 1993, 67-69, 79-81). V prípade tajnej pečate, ktorú využívalo širšie spektrum vydavateľov sa stretávame s pojmom *sigillum secretum* (CDH IX/2 1834, 677, Nr. CCCXXXIV). Občas je súčasťou zmienky o tajnej pečati aj informácia o tom, že mala podobu pečatného prsteňa *sigillum anulare secretum* (CDH IX/3 1834, 446, Nr. CCXLIII). Vzácnnejšie používaná stredná pečať bola označovaná ako *sigillum mediocre* (MNL OL DL 7210). No a napokon môžeme spomenúť aj menšiu pečať, označovanú ako *sigillum minus* (CDH X/2 1834, 273, Nr. CLV).

⁷ „Ut igitur nostra donatio inconcussae firmitatis robur obtineat, scripto commendari et imaginis nostre sigillo fecimus insigniri“ (CDSL I 1971, 96-97, Nr. 105). Edícia pečate: Takács 2012, 90-91, Nr. 12.

⁸ „Ut ergo huius donationis pagina perpetue firmitatis robur obtineat, et quod nulli liceat, eidem donationi quidcunque subtrahere, aut minuire; imaginis nostre cum aurea bulla impressione fecimus communiri“ (CDH II 1829, 293). Edícia pečate: Takács 2012, 100-101, Nr. 19.

⁹ Príkladom toho je listina nitrianskeho župana Tomáša, ktorú pečatila aj Ostrihomská kapitula z roku 1208. „Ut ergo predicta omnia firma et inconcussa permaneant, nec prefata ecclesia Nitriensis a quoquam malo hominem super his possit molestari, ea scriptum redigi feci et mei et Strigoniensis capitulli sigilli impressione feci muniri“ (CDEN 2021, 126-129).

Informácie o druhu pečate v koroboračných formulkách môžu byť užitočné z viacerých dôvodov. Druh pečate nebol vždy spomínaný v texte kruhopisu pečate. Tu teda text v listine dáva informáciu o tom, ako bola príslušná pečať nazývaná v kancelárii vydavateľa listiny. V prípade, že sa pečať na listine dodnes nezachovala (čo nie je zriedkavý prípad), môžeme si vytvoriť predstavu o tom, aká pečať bola pôvodne súčasťou dokumentu. Tieto údaje môžu byť cenné aj pri diplomatickej analýze písomnosti a pri prípadnom hodnotení pravosti (hodnovernosti) dokumentu. Nemožno ich však preceňovať. Viaceré príklady z uhorskej diplomatickej praxe hovoria o tom, že názvoslovie nemuselo byť ustálené a aj ten istý druh pečate mohol byť na rôznych dokumentoch nazvaný odlišným spôsobom (Glejtek 2017, 8-9).

Napriek určitej stereotypnosti koroboračných formuliek sa predsa len občas stretáme aj s menej typickými formuláciami. Ako posledný príklad uvádzam formulku, ktorá bola súčasťou listiny dvoch dalmátskych, chorvátskych a slavonských bánov Pavlov z roku 1405, ktorá hovorí, že listina bola chránená:

„... pod privesenou našou veľkou autentickou pečaťou a na ktorej boli po obvode naše mená a obsahujúcou v rytí znak.“¹⁰

V tejto neskorostredovekej formulke môžeme vnímať istú reminiscenciu na najstaršie koroborácie kráľovských listín, ktoré odkazovali na pečatný obraz. V tomto prípade aj s doplnením o informácie, že po obvode sa nachádzal kruhopis s menami majiteľov pečatidla.

Konfirmačné formulky listín

O niečo obsiahnejšie opisy pečatí môžeme sledovať v konfirmačných formulkách. Tie bývali súčasťou odpisov listín vydávaných hodnovernými miestami (tzv. transumptov). Stretávame sa s nimi tiež v konfirmáciách, ktorými panovníci alebo iní vysokí hodnostári potvrdzovali platnosť starších privilégií. Vsuška s údajmi o pečati, ktorá sa nachádzala na odpisovanej listine, mala vyslovene praktickú funkciu. Bolo dôležité, aby bola pôvodná listina považovaná za nespochybniteľne pravú a platnú (Krejčík 1998, 5n). Okrem prepísania pôvodného textu sa teda v novej listine objavuje aj dodatok o tom, v akom fyzickom stave bola pôvodná pečať ako hlavný garant dôveryhodnosti písomnosti. V prípade, že mala byť uznaná za platnú listina s poškodenou pečaťou, znamenalo to značné ťažkosti spojené so skúmaním pravosti dokumentu (Fejérpataky 1885, 71-72).

Príkladom opisu poškodenia pečate, ale aj celej listiny, prináša konfirmácia kráľa Bela IV. z roku 1260, v ktorej na žiadosť pannonskeho opáta Fava potvrdzoval svoje staršie privilegium z roku 1236. V listine sa hovorí:

„... že náš drahý a verný Favus, ctihodný opát kostola sv. Martina na Svätom Pannonskom vrchu, pristúpia k našej prítomnosti, nás požiadal vydať, už predtým od nás získané privilegium, s poškodenou pečaťou a s listinou na niektorých miestach (pôsobením) dažďovej vody pokrytou škvrnami...“¹¹

¹⁰ „... sub pendenti nostro sigillo maiori autentico utrorumque nostrorum nomina circumferencialiter et signa in sculptura continente“ (MNL OL DL 35332).

¹¹ „... quod dilectus et fidelis noster Favus, venerabilis abbas ecclesie sancti Martini de Sacro Monte Pannonie, ad nostram accedendo presenciam privilegium iam dudum a nobis impetratum, confractum in sigillo et in litteris in quibusdam locis per stillicidium maculatam nobis curavit exhibere supplicans...“ (CDSL II 1987, 454, Nr. 651). Edícia pečate: Takács 2012, 122-123, Nr. 32.

Oveľa rozsiahlejší popis pečate môžeme vidieť v listine z roku 1294, ktorou notár Anton spísal zmluvu medzi obyvateľmi troch dalmáckych miest Trogir, Šibenik a Skradin (Chorvátsko). Anton sa v listine odvoláva na iný dokument, ku ktorému uvádza:

„bol spomenutý právny dokument, (ktorý) mal ochranu posilnenú akousi privesenou voskovou pečaťou spomenutej Skradinskej komunity, a táto pečať bola okrúhla, neporušená, nezlomená, a v žiadnej inej svojej časti poškodená, na ktorej však bola vpísaná podobizeň sediacej blahoslavenej Panny Márie a po ľavej boku držiacej v lone a na ramene svojho syna, a dookola vyryté písmená na spomenutej pečati tak hovoria: Pečať Skradinskej komunity...“¹²

Súčasťou opisu bývali aj informácie o pečatnej látke a materiáli, prostredníctvom ktorého bola pečať k listine privesená. Taký prípad predstavuje odpis listiny kráľa Karola Róberta z roku 1322, ktorý urobila Splitská kapitula v roku 1388:

„Na spomenutom privilégii visela jedna pečať na hodvábanej šnúre červenej a nebeskej (modrej) farby, veľká dvojité, celá z bieleho vosku, z jednej strany bol vyrytý obraz kráľa Karola sediaceho na stolci, na tej istej strane sa dali čítať písmená: Karol z Božej milosti Uhorska, Chorvátska atď., z druhej strany tejto pečate bol jeden štít s dvoma vežami a dali sa čítať písmená: Srbska, Haliče, Vladimírska“¹³ (Obr. 2).

Napokon môžeme spomenúť opis pečate, ktorý bol súčasťou listiny krakovského kancelára Ianussa z roku 1355, ktorý potvrdzoval pravosť troch listín kráľa Ľudovíta I.:

„Na povrchu spomenutých pečatí je obraz kráľovského majestátu, sediaceho na stolci, odetého v purpure, korunovaného, v pravej ruke má žezlo a v ľavej ruke zemeguľu s krížom. Písmená po obvode, na začiatku s krížom, sú tieto: Ľudovít, z Božej milosti kráľ Uhorska, Dalmácie, Chorvátska, Rámy, Srbska, Haliče, Vladimírska“¹⁴

V tomto prípade boli listiny pečatené rovnakou pečaťou, takže aj opis je spoločný pre všetky tri dokumenty.

¹² „... erat dictum instrumentum syndicatus cum quodam sigillo dicti communis Scardonensis cereo pendenti roboratum, quod quidem sigillum erat rotundum, integrum, non fractum vel in sui parte aliqua viciatum, iu quo quidem sigillo erat scripta imago Beate Marie Virginis sedentis, et ad sinistrum latus ejus tenentis filium suum in gremio et brachio, et littere circumcirca ad dictum sigillum sculpte sic dicentes: S. communis Scardonensis...“ (CDAC 1864, 114-116, Nr. 71).

¹³ „A prefato autem privilegio pendebat unum sigillum in chordula de serico rubei et coelestis coloris, magnum duplex, in cera alba totum; cuius sigilli a parte una sculpta erat imago regis Caruli, in sua sede sedentis, legebanturque littere a parte ista: Karolus, Dei gracia Vngarie, Croacie etc., ex altera parte dicti sigilli erat unus clypeus, cum duabus turribus, legebanturque littere: Servie, Gallicie, Lodomerie“ (CDH X/1 1834, 749). Za pozornosť stojí popis erbového štítu, v ktorom mali byť zobrazené dve veže. Zvlášť je, že na žiadnom z troch typov Karolovho veľkého pečatidla sa takýto erb nenachádza a v panovníckej heraldike Anjouovcov sa s ním nestretávame. K veľkým pečatiam Karola Róberta pozri: Gárdonyi 1907, 30-57. Edíciu I. typu pečate, ktorý spomína konfirmačná formulka publikuje: Hegedűs 2000, 38, Nr. 18.

¹⁴ „In superficie sigillorum predictorum quedam imago sedentis in sede regie Maiestatis induta purpura, coronata, habens sceptrum in manu dextra, et globum cum cruce, in manu sinistra; littere circumferentiales in cruce premissa sunt iste: Ludovicus Dei gratia rex Hungarie, Dalmatie, Croatie, Rame, Servie, Gallicie, Lodomerie“ (CDH IX/2 1834, 411).

Kráľovské privilégia

Počínajúc 14. storočím sa zachovalo niekoľko kráľovských privilégií, ktorými panovníci udeľovali právo používať pečatidlá rôznym inštitúciám.¹⁵ Vo viacerých prípadoch išlo o kapituly a konventy, ktoré vykonávali funkciu hodnoverných miest. Tieto cirkevné inštitúcie vydávali svoje písomnosti pod autentickou pečaťou, ktorá mala kredibilitu v rámci celej uhorskej spoločnosti. Autentické pečatidlo bolo nielen prostriedkom na pečatenie listín, ale zároveň malo veľký symbolický význam. Napokon práve odobratie pečatidla kapitule či konventu panovníkom znamenalo aj faktický zánik hodnoverného miesta.¹⁶ Tak, ako mohol panovník pečatidlo odobrať, mohol ho hodnovernému miestu aj udeliť. S takýmto prípadmi sa začíname stretávať v 2. polovici 14. storočia v období vlády Ľudovíta I. Udelenie pečatidla sa oficiálne uskutočnilo prostredníctvom kráľovského privilégia, v ktorom bolo pečatidlo aj popísané. V roku 1371 Ľudovít I. vydal privilégium Záhrebskej kapitule, pričom nešlo o prvé pečatidlo, ktoré táto inštitúcia používala. Aj v samotnej listine je niekoľko zmienok o tom, že staršie pečatidlo bolo „rozumne zmenené“. Práve zmena pečatného obrazu na novom typáriu bola jedným zo spôsobov, ako zabrániť zneužitiu starších pečatí pripojený k množstvu listín, ktoré mohol potencionálny falzátor použiť. V privilégiu nechýba ani opis nového pečatidla:

„nové podlhovasté pečatidlo obsahuje vyryté vyobrazenie, na ktorom je obraz preslávnvej Panny s kráľovskou korunou, nesúcou na rukách syna, koruna ktorú tiež nesie na hlave najsvätejší kráľ Štefan a pred touto slávnou Pannou nesie aj jej syn. (Štefan) k nim prichádza zbožne, s ohnutým kolenom a podáva im hmotnú podobu (maketu) kostola. Vyobrazenie obsahuje na okraji tohto nového pečatidla vyrytý viditeľný či označujúci (nápis): Pečať kapituly záhrebského kostola. Samotné staré predchádzajúce pečatidlo, nami správne zmenené, dovoľujeme a súhlasíme (používať) na veky“¹⁷ (Obr. 3).

O niekoľko rokov neskôr v roku 1393 vydal ďalší uhorský kráľ, Žigmund Luxemburský, podobné privilégium premonštrátskemu konventu v Čorni (Csorna, Maďarsko). Ako sa píše v listine, urobil tak „pre dôstojnosť a na počesť svätého Michala Archanjela“, ktorému bol kláštor zasvätený. Panovník privilégium vydal na žiadosť najvyššieho preláta v krajine, ostrihomského arcibiskupa a kráľovského kancelára Jána, prepošta kláštora Štefana a niekoľkých ďalších významných hodnostárov. Pečatidlo je v privilégiu popísané nasledovnými slovami:

„Spomenuté pečatidlo je podlhovastého tvaru, v jeho strede je vyrytý obraz svätého Michala Archanjela, ktorý má pravé koleno zohnuté, v pravej ruke drží kadidelnicu a nad pravým

¹⁵ Výraz *sigillum* sa v latinčine používal tak pre označenie pečatidla, ako aj pečate. V kontexte tejto štúdie budeme tento pojem prekladať ako pečatidlo v situáciách, kedy je zrejmé, že ide o matricu, ktorou mali byť vyhotovované pečate. Ak z kontextu vyplýva, že ide o jeho odtlačok do pečatnej látky, budeme hovoriť o pečati.

¹⁶ Takto postupoval napríklad Ľudovít I., keď sa v rokoch 1351 a 1353 snažil obmedziť činnosť hodnoverných miest, ktoré boli považované za problematické (Kumorovitz 1993, 79).

¹⁷ „... *sigillum novum oblongum, in quo ymago virginis gloriose cum dyademate filium in brachio gestantis, cui idem sanctissimus rex Stephanus coronam in capite baiulans et ante eandem virginem gloriosam filius baiulans, flexis genibus provoluntus, effigiem templi materialis eidem offert, adorando, sculpta expresse continetur, in circumferencia vero eiusdem sigilli novi manifeste id notatur seu declaratur: sigillum capitulli ecclesie zagrabiensis, ipsorum sigillo antiquo previis rationibus per nos permutato duximus annuendo perpetuo concedendum...*“ (Gulin 1998, 103). Edícia pečate: Takács 1992, 99-100, Nr. 59.3, tab. XX.

*krídlom tohto obrazu na obvode je umiestnený orol a štvorhranný štít zobrazujúci náš erb, ako to predstavuje tento voskový odtlačok. Po obvode je nápis: Konvent z Čorne Oslonis.*¹⁸

Zaujímavosťou je, že na toto privilégium sa viaže ešte ďalší dokument. Po zákaze činnosti konventu ako hodnoverného miesta, za vlády Mateja Korvína, obnovil v roku 1495 jeho činnosť nový panovník Vladislav II. Ten vydal nové privilégium s mierne odlišným opisom pečate:

„Samotné pečatidlo a jeho celkové rytie a obraz, v tejto našej listine nariadujeme vytlačiť, s náležitou ozdobou či hviezdou nad hlavou svätého Michala Archanjela. Je treba však opísať totiž podlhovasté pečatidlo, v strede obraz svätého Michala Archanjela, ktorý má pravé koleno dôstojne zohnuté a v pravej ruke kadidelnicu, zároveň zapálenú a nad pravou stranou zobrazeného krídla na okraji je v štvorhrannom štíte orol“¹⁹ (Obr. 4).

Ako môžeme vidieť, rozdielov je v opisoch niekoľko. Prvý spomína znenie kruhopisu, zatiaľ čo v druhom privilégiu sa už znenie textu na okraji pečatného poľa nenachádza. Prvý opis upresňuje aj to, že malý štvorcový štít nesie erb panovníka, no v druhom privilégiu sa táto skutočnosť neuvádza. Druhá listina zas upresňuje, že ide o zapálenú kadidelnicu (*similiem adolenti*) a že Archanjel má koleno dôstojne zohnuté (*reverente reflexum*). V opise pribudol aj ďalší prvok, hviezda nad hlavou Archanjela (*sideris sive stellae supra caput Beati Michaelis*).

Otázkou je, či konvent po roku 1495 používal pôvodné pečatidlo, alebo si nechal vyhotoviť nové. Podľa odtlačkov, ktoré sme mali možnosť porovnať, sa zdá, že ide o rovnaké pečatidlo. Je tu veľká podobnosť v stvárnení niektorých litier, ako aj odevu Archanjela. Na pečati po roku 1495 však pribudla nad hlavou archanjela jasne rozpoznateľná hviezda a k úprave mohlo dôjsť aj v prípade panovníkovho erbu. Nedá sa vylúčiť, že po roku 1495 došlo k prerýtiu časti typária a jeho doplneniu o nový identifikačný prvok, hviezdu. Korešpondovalo by to aj so zistením Jánosa Jerneya, ktorý rekonštruoval pečať z roku 1498 a šesťhrotú hviezdu v publikovanej perokresbe jasne vyznačil. Je však evidentné, že hviezda na pečatiach pripojených k listinám pred rokom 1495 chýba.²⁰

Podrobný opis bol aj súčasťou privilégia, ktorým kráľovná Mária udelila v roku 1383 právo používať pečatidlo kapitule v Trogire (Trogir, Chorvátsko):

„... nové pečatidlo ktoré kapitula a kanonici katedrálneho kostola svätého Vavrinca mučeníka v Trogire získavajú a užívajú na večné časy, na (pečatidle) je nižšie popísaný obraz, to znamená svätého Vavrinca mučeníka, držiaceho v ruke rošt, v odeve Levitov, a dvoch anjelov z pravej a ľavej strany obrazu svätého Vavrinca, so zohnutými kolenami, v rukách nesúcich

¹⁸ „*Sigillum vero predictum, oblongum est, in cuius meditullio sculpta est imago beati Michaelis Archangeli, genu dextrum tenens flexum, habens thuribulum in manu dextra, et supra alam dextram eiusdem imaginis in ordine circumferentiae est posita una aquila et clypeus quadriangularis, denotans arma nostra, prout hec cerae impressio representat, in circumferentiis vero hec est inscriptio: conventus de Chorna Oslonis*“ (CDH X/2 1834, 101, Nr. XL). Edícia pečate: Takács 1992, 54-55, Nr. 13, tab. III.

¹⁹ „*Sigillum ipsius et eiusdem universam sculpturam et figuram his litteris nostris cum adiuncto unius sideris sive stelle supra caput beati Michaelis Archangeli impressi duximus describendum est enim sigillum oblongum, et in eius medio imago eiusdem Beati Michaelis Archangeli habens genu dextrum reverente reflexum, thuribulumque dextra manu comprehensum, similiem adolenti, et supra dextram eius imaginis alam in circumferentia aquilam in clipeo quadrangularem*“ (Jerney 1855, 92; Takács 1992, 54).

²⁰ K dispozícii sme mali veľmi kvalitný odtlačok pečatidla z roku 1433 (MOL DL 12498) a horšie zachované odtlačky z rokov 1510 (MOL DL 356), 1523 (MOL DL 47501) a 1526 (MOL DL 58365). Perokresbu publikoval: Jerney 1855, obr. Nr 69.

*sviece, a nižšie pri jeho nohe obraz jedného biskupa odetého v pontifikáliách, a so zohnutými kolenami, držiaceho v ruke pastiersku palicu...*²¹

Nie všetky opisy pečatidiel obsahujú podrobný opis pečatného obrazu. Medzi také patrí privilegium Mateja Korvína z roku 1462, ktorým udelil benediktínskemu kláštoru v Hronskom Beňadiku ich v poradí tretie pečatidlo. V privilegii sa spomína staršie „*pečatidlo tohože konventu kostola sv. Benedikta vyryté v podobe a obraze sv. Benedikta*“, ktoré po strate nahradilo „*pečatidlo v podobe a v obraze preslávnjej Panny Márie a svätého Benedikta opáta a ďalších okolitých vecí k nemu náležiacich* (kruhopsis)“²² V tomto prípade detailnejší opis pečatného obrazu absentuje. (Obr. 5-6)

Zatiaľ sme hovorili o opisoch pečatí v privilegiách určených pre cirkevné inštitúcie. Privilegiá pre svetských používateľov pečatidiel sa nám zachovali až od 15. storočia. Zaujímavý prameň, či skôr dvojica prameňov, sa viaže k roku 1436, kedy kráľ Žigmund Luxemburský vydal dva dni po sebe, 8. a 9. júla dve privilegiá pre mesto Bratislava s identickým textom, ktorý znie:

*„pečať je oblého alebo okrúhleho tvaru,. Na červenom poli tejto okrúhlej pečate je štvorhranné biele mesto, v dolnej časti akoby od základu postavené, vyzdobené hradbami, ktoré má tri veže týčiace sa vysoko nad múrmi a pokryté červenými strechami, stavby týchto veží sú vytiahnuté do výšky, dve nižšie a tretia, prostredná, prevyšujúca obide veže do výšky aj šírky, má v strede dolnej časti, vo vchode do nej a aj do mesta otvorenú bránu s mrežami šafranovej farby, ktorú (tvoria) na dĺžku tri (čiary) a na šírku päť čiar alebo päť ostrých želiez k nej pripojených. Na samom vrchu každej z týchto troch veží vidno dve gule, zdola pripevnené a hore vyčnievajúce, jedna na jednej strane, druhá na druhej strane. Kruhopsis tejto pečate je takýto: Pečať mesta Bratislavy, tak ako je jasné a viditeľne namalované na majstrovskom vyobrazení alebo umeleckom obraze na začiatku tejto listiny. Zariadili sme, aby táto pečať, ktorú, ako sa hovorí, používali a v súčasnosti používajú oni sami a ich predkovia...“*²³ (Obr. 7).

²¹ „... sigillum novum, quo capitulum, et cnonici memoratae ecclesie cathedralis beati Laurencii martyris de Tragurio perpetuis temporibus potiantur, et utantur, in quo imagines infrascripte, videlicet beati Laurencii martyris, tenens craticulam in manu in habitu levitarum, ac duorum angelorum a dextris et sinistris ipsius imaginis beati Laurencii flexis genibus cereos in manibus gestantes, ac inferius circa pedem ipsius imago unius episcopi induta pontificalibus, et flexis genibus tenens baculum pastorem in manu, sculpte habeantur...“ (CDH X/1 1834, 85, Nr. XXXV). Privilegium analyzoval a pečatidlo publikoval: Gulín 1998, 272-277.

²² „sigillum eiusdem conventus ecclesie sancti Benedicti sub forma et ymagine sancti Benedicti sculptum [...] sigillum sub forma et ymagine gloriosissime virginis Marie ac sancti Benedicti abbatis et aliis circumferenciis ad id aptis eidem conventui sculptum“ MNL OL DL 238492 (19. 12. 1462). Edícia pečate: Takács 1992, 62-63, Nr. 19.2 – 19.3, tab. VI.

²³ „... sigillum in forma circulari seu rotunda, campi rubei, in quo civitas alba quadrangularis a parte inferiori, quasi ex fundamento sursum erecta et certis meniis adornata, habens tres turres, tecturis rubeis supra muros et edificia earundem turrium sursum erectis coopertas, duas scilicet decliniores, et terciam in medio ipsarum supra menia civitatis, in [altum erectam] et ipsas duas turres in altitudine et spissitudine precelentem. In cuius quidem turris a parte inferiori in sui ac pretacte civitatis introitus, porta alba cum cancellis crocei coloris in latitudine tres et in longitudine quinque lineas seu intersticia, quinque ferramentis acutis, eisdem appositis, per medium habenti et desursumque infra pendenti. In supereminenti vero summitate cuiuslibet turris ipsarum trium turrium duo globi rotundi aurei unus in parte una, et alter in parte altera sursum se extendere evidenter apparent. Predicti autem sigilli circumferenciales littere sunt hec: Sigillum civitatis Posoniensis, prout et quemadmodum hic descriptio magisterio seu artificio pictorio in capite seu principio presentis nostre littere, distincte et apparenter est depicta...“ (slovenský preklad: Dvořáková 2001, 281-282, Nr. 120; latinská edícia: Rábik 2015, 202-204).

Súčasťou týchto privilégií sú aj miniatúry zobrazujúce spomínaný výjav a ktoré dodnes vzbudzujú pozornosť, najmä medzi heraldikmi.²⁴ Vyobrazenia aj texty nastrojú otázku, aký artefakt vlastne kráľ Žigmund mestu udelil. Text listín hovorí, že ide o pečať oblého alebo okrúhleho tvaru (*sigillum in forma circulari seu rotunda*). Skutočne, miniatúra na listine má tvar pečate a nielen to. Obsahuje aj kruhopis, hovoriaci o tom, že ide o pečať mesta Bratislavy (*Sigillum civitatis Posoniensis*). Okrem toho text jasne spomína, že ide o pečať, ktorú aktuálne mešťania používali, ale mali ju používať už ich predkovia. Až do tejto chvíle by sme teda mohli hovoriť o oficiálnom udelení pečate, ktorá bola do tej doby už známa a dlhodobo používaná. Zvláštnosťou ale je, že miniatúra obsahuje tinktúry a tie sú jasne spomínané aj v samotnom texte privilegia. Ide o veľmi presný erbový popis (blazón), ktorý bol typický pre erbové listiny, ktorými panovníci šľachticom a neskôr aj mestám a iným inštitúciám udeľovali erby. Napríklad topografická figúra je jasne označovaná ako biele mesto (*civitas alba*), ktoré má štvorhranný tvar (*quadrangularis*). Opis hovorí, že je ozdobené hradbami, že má tri veže s červenou strechou atď. Pri odpovedi na otázku, či teda panovník mešťanom udelil pečatidlo alebo erb, sa zdá, že v podstate zabil dve muchy jednou ranou. Privilegiom mešťanom potvrdil staré pečatidlo, ktoré používali a zároveň im udelil aj erb s korektnými farbami (*tinktúrami*). Heraldici hľadajú dôvody takéhoto zvláštneho postupu v tom, že kráľovská kancelária nemala jasnú predstavu o tom, ako by mal bezchybný mestský erb vyzeráť (Novák 1967, 42; Vrtel 2003, 133). Tým, že použili presnú kópiu mestskej pečate, ale pridali jej aj konkrétne heraldické farby, mešťania dostali čo chceli a zodpovední úradníci v kráľovskej kancelárii neurobili žiadnu fatálnu chybu. Jedinečnosť týchto listín podčiarkuje aj fakt, že už všetky nasledujúce stredoveké armálesy pre mestá obsahujú jednoznačne erby. Znamenie je vždy vsadené do erbového štítu a súčasťou artefaktu nie je text po obvode, typický pre pečate. Z opisov takýchto symbolov zmizlo slovo *sigillum*, ktoré bolo nahradené slovom *arma*, čo nepochybne znamená *erb*.

Zatiaľ čo pre obdobie stredoveku predstavujú bratislavské privilégiá skôr výnimku, v neskoršom období sa viackrát stretávame s prípadom, kedy bol jedným privilegiom udelený erb i pečať. Postupovali tak panovníci v prípade niektorých stolíc a hodnoverných miest (Sokolovský 2010, 87, 115, 157; Glejtek 2015, 73-80).

V roku 1506 povýšil na žiadosť Budinskej kapituly Vladislav II. mesto Senta (Сента, Srbsko) na slobodné kráľovské mesto. Súčasťou privilegia bolo aj udelenie pečate, ktorá je v listine popísaná nasledovne:

„A z našej hojnej milosti tomuto mestčku Senta (pretože po povýšení používame názov mesto) a v ňom v súčasnosti žijúcim všetkým obyvateľom (udeľujeme) okrúhle pečatidlo v ktorom sú dva kľúče ich patróna svätého Petra, na spôsob kríža preložené a dohora vztýčené, a nižšie v jednotlivých častiach po jednej rybe, ktoré sú všeobecne nazývané jesetery, s hlavami (smerujúcimi) k opačným stranám, a vyššie kľúče medzi ktorými vyrastá jeden klas a po obvode text, rozumie sa: Pečať mesta Senta“²⁵ (Obr. 8).

Pri štúdiu tohto privilegia sme opäť svedkami veľmi podrobného opisu jednotlivých symbolov a ich umiestnenia v pečatnom poli, ako v predchádzajúcom prípade. Text má blízko k opisu

²⁴ Bližšie pozri: Buran 2006, 70-74; Kurincová – Mendelová 2022; Novák 1967, 104-107; Vrtel 2003, 133.

²⁵ „Et nihilominus ex habundantiori gracia nostra eidem oppido Zyntha (quod peramplius nomine civitatis utendum intitulumus) et civibus in eo pro tempore commorantibus universis sigillum rotundum in quo due claves eorum patroni sancti petri instar crucis transposite sursumque erecte ac inferius in singulis earum capitulis singuli pisces vulgaliter Kechijge dicti, cum capitibus ad partes transversi, superiusque claves inter easdem spica una pullulans, atque in circumferencia dictiones, videlicet: Sigillum civitatis Zyntha“ (Knauz 1863, 136-137, Nr. X).

súdobých erbov, s ktorými sa stretávame v erbových listinách. Ale napríklad na rozdiel od bratislavského privilegia opis neoznačuje tinktúry figúr. Hoci sa v literatúre často listina uvádza aj ako dokument udeľujúci erb, nazdávam sa, že môžeme hovoriť skôr o opise udeleného pečatidla, než udeleného erbu. Okrem toho, že opis neobsahuje farby, nespomína sa tu ani erb, ani erbový štít. Napriek tomu ide dozaista o prameň stojaci na pomedzí sfragistiky a heraldiky, výrazne ovplyvnený dobovými erbovými listinami (bližšie pozri Dobos 2006, 5-9; Dudás 1887, 193-195, Nr. 4; Kalmár 1896, 275-276). Tie boli počínajúc obdobím vlády Žigmunda Luxemburského udeľované predovšetkým šľachtickým rodom a vo výrazne menšej miere aj mestám (pozri napr. Dvořáková 2014, 204-214).

Štatúty kapitúl

Medzi dôležité pramene stredovekého partikulárneho cirkevného práva v Uhorsku patria štatúty kapitúl. Napriek tomu, že sa ich z obdobia stredoveku zachovalo len niekoľko, ide o dokumenty umožňujúce preniknúť do vnútorného fungovania týchto významných cirkevných inštitúcií.²⁶ Vďaka špecifickému uhorskému vývoju pri nich pôsobili aj spomenuté hodnoverné miesta. Hoci tie patrili do svetskej správy kráľovstva, aj ich činnosť bola v štatútoch reflektovaná. Neodmysliteľnou súčasťou činnosti kancelárií hodnoverných miest bolo vydávanie písomností právnej povahy. Významnú úlohu tu zohrávalo aj používanie pečatidla, keďže pečať bola najvýznamnejším garantom dôveryhodnosti vydávanej písomnosti. Z tohto dôvodu sa štatúty často podrobne venovali manipulácii s pečatidlom a jeho ochrane. Z nášho pohľadu sú osobitne zaujímavé štatúty Varadínskej katedrálnej kapituly sv. Ladislava z roku 1374. Nachádzajú sa tu opisy hneď troch pečatidiel, ktoré kapitula postupne používala:

„Mali sme kedysi jedno pečatidlo okrúhleho tvaru, obsahujúce vyrytý obraz sediacej blahoslavennej Panny Márie, majúcej na hlave korunu, a obraz jej syna neseného na ľavom ramene, v ľavej ruke držiacej laliu a dokola tento text: † Pečať kapituly Varadínskeho kostola. Avšak keďže táto staršie (pečatidlo) bolo vekom znehodnotené, a medzi sviatkom svätého Valentína a dňom v polovici veľkého pôstu roku 1291 boli dané a zhodnovernené iné dve pečatidlá, z ktorých jedno je okrúhle ad privilegiam a druhé podlhovasté ad causas. Okrúhle má v strede polovičný obraz svätého Ladislava, akoby až po pás, majúci na hlave korunu a v pravicí dvojsečnú sekeru, v ľavici v skutku jablko s krížom vzpriameným nahor, dole však tento text: † Veľká pečať kapituly Varadínskeho kostola ad privilegia. Podlhovasté pečatidlo nesie obraz blahoslavennej Panny sediacej na tróne a držiacej chlapčeka postaveného či stojaceho na ľavom kolene a majúceho obraz jablka v pravej ruke, obsahujúca hore nápis v tejto podobe: † Menšia pečať kapituly Varadínskeho kostola ad causas“²⁷ (Obr. 9 – 10).

²⁶ Poznáme štatúty Záhrebskej (1334), Varadínskej (1374) a Ostrihomskej (1397) katedrálnej kapituly a štatúty Varadínskej (1508) a Bratislavskej (1521) kolegiálnej kapituly. Ide o pramene rozdielneho rozsahu a obsahu. Všetky ale obsahujú aj zmienky o kanceláriách a ich fungovaní. Podrobne pozri: Glejtek 2019, 23n.

²⁷ „Habeamus olim unicum sigillum forme oblonge, continens in sculptura imaginem beate Marie virginis sedentem et coronam habentem in capite, et imaginem filii sui in dextro brachio baiulantiem, in manu sinistra tenentem similitudinem lilii et circumferencialiter istas litteras: † S. capituli Waradiensis ecclesie. Sed isto vetustate consumpto data et autenticata fuerunt inter festum sancti Valentini et diem medii XLe anno domini millesimo CC. nonagesimo primo alia duo sigilla, quorum unum est rotundum ad privilegia, aliud vero oblongum ad causas. Rotundum autem habet in medio imaginem sancti regis Ladislai dimidiam, quasi usque ad umbilicum, habentem coronam in capite, et in dextera bipenniis, in sinistra

Tento úryvok je príkladom toho, ako môžu byť štatúty užitočné aj pri rekonštrukcii podoby pečatidla resp. pečate. Zvlášť sa to týka tých prípadov, keď sa pečate na dokumentoch nezachovali, alebo len vo veľmi zlom fyzickom stave. Napríklad o menšom pečatidle, ktoré malo byť používané od roku 1291 vieme len málo. Všetky známe informácie pochádzajú z vyššie uvedeného opisu a rekonštrukcie značne poškodenej pečate, ktorú ešte v roku 1883 publikoval V. Bunyitay (Bunyitay 1883 - 1884, 28-29). Štatúty tiež prinášajú vzácne informácie o tom, dokedy bolo staršie pečatidlo používané, kedy došlo k jeho výmene, ako aj o dôvodoch tejto výmeny.

Zvykové právo (Tripartitum)

Medzi významné počiny v oblasti právnej praxe v Uhorsku na sklonku stredoveku patrilo spísanie zvykového práva so zjednodušeným názvom Tripartitum. Náročnej úlohy sa na popud panovníka Vladislava II. zhostil významný právnik Štefan Werbőczy (1458? – 1541/1542), ktorý na diele pracoval niekoľko rokov, pričom definitívnu podobu získalo v roku 1514 (bližšie pozri Štenpien 2008, 15n). Práca zachytávajúca rôzne aspekty právnych zvyklostí sa venovala aj otázke privilégií uhorských panovníkov. Vo viacerých článkoch určovala aj to, ktoré a za akých podmienok majú byť prijímané ako právoplatné a ktoré nie. Na tomto mieste nebudeme hodnotiť dôvody a kritériá tohto výberu, ani to, do akej miery bol tento výber v súdovej praxi rešpektovaný. Pre nás je dôležité to, že pozornosť je na viacerých miestach sústredená aj na pečať, pod ktorou boli tie-ktoré listiny vydávané. Vo viacerých prípadoch je tam uvedený aj krátky opis pečatného obrazu.

Za právoplatné mali byť uznávané napríklad listiny kráľa Ondreja III. (1290 – 1301), avšak iba tie, ktoré potvrdil jeho nástupca Karol Róbert. Nariadenie upravovalo aj to, ktorou pečaťou mali byť tieto privilégiá potvrdené:

„Ďalej sa listiny kráľa Ondreja III., zvaného Benátsky nedodržiavajú, s výnimkou tých, na ktoré jeho bezprostredný nástupca, pán kráľ Karol, pripojil (odtlačok) pečatného prsteňa vtlačeného do červeného vosku, v ktorom je pri vyobrazení sprava písmeno K, na znamenie potvrdenia boli potvrdené, lebo také dodržíme“²⁸ (Obr. 11).

Zaujímavá zmienka sa vzťahuje aj k tretiemu veľkému pečatidlu Karola Róberta:²⁹

„Ďalej mal kráľ Karol tri pečatidlá, z ktorých prvé dve zneplatnil a privilégiá vydané pod nimi sa nedodržiavajú, pokiaľ ich neskôr neposilnil tretím. A toto tretie možno spoznať podľa toho, že z dvoch strán štítu, v ktorom sa nachádza dvojité kríž, sú v pečatnom poli vyryté dve postavy drakov“³⁰ (Obr. 12).

vero pomum cum cruce desuper erecta; in subscripcione vero istas litteras: † S. maius capituli Waradiensis ecclesie ad privilegia. Oblongum autem habet figuram imaginis beate virginis sedentis in trono, et tenentis puerum, erectum, sive stantem super genu sinistra et habentem figuram pomi in manu dextra, continente in suprascriptione has figuras: † S. minus capituli Waradiensis ecclesie ad causas“ (DRH XIV 2012, 692-693). Edícia pečate: Takács 1992, 93-95, Nr. 55.1 – 55.2, tab. XVIII.

²⁸ „Item littere tertii Andree regis qui Venetus cognominatus est non servantur exceptis illis si que per dominum Carolum regem immediatum suum successorem annulari sigillo suo in cera rubea in qua habetur littera. K. circa imaginem a parte dextra pro signo confirmationis appositio fuissent confirmate. Nam tales observantur“ (DRMH V 2005, 248, Pars II, tit. XIV, §17). K tajným pečatiam pozri: Grün 1902.

²⁹ Edícia III. typu pečate: Hegedűs 2000, 41-42, Nr. 20.

³⁰ „Item rex Carolus tria sigilla habuit quorum duo priora per eundem fuerunt revocata, & privilegia sub illis emanata non servantur nisi per tertium posterius fuissent roborata. Quod quidem tertium sic agnoscitur ut

O tom, ktoré listiny mali byť akceptované, hovorí aj nariadenie vzťahujúce sa k spoločnej pečati Uhorského snemu:

„Dalej listiny všetkých pánov, prelátov, barónov, popredných mužov krajiny a šľachticov Uhorského kráľovstva vydané pod ich pečaťou na ktorej je dvojitý kríž, ako znak uhorského národa, vydané v množstve právnych konaní a tiež (ktoré) sa týkajú vyhlásení a súdnictva, ako aj listiny vydané niektorým z riadnych sudcov krajiny dodržíme“³¹ (Obr. 13).

Naopak, na základe priznania istého Gabriela Zömléniho boli za falošné vyhlásené viaceré listiny, ako napríklad:

„Dalej jedna listina (vydaná) pod tajnou pečaťou kráľa Žigmunda v strede s (jedno)hlavým orlom o slobode dediny Subotica.“³²

„Dalej jedna privilegiálna listina (vydaná) pod cisárskou tajnou pečaťou s dvojhlavým orlom“³³ (Obr. 14).

To je len niekoľko ukážok opisov pečatí tak, ako sa s nimi môžeme stretnúť v spísanom uhorskom zvykovom práve. Išlo o pomerne jednoduché opisy, ktoré ale do našej oblasti záujmu nepochybne patria.

Záver

S opismi pečatí resp. pečatidiel sa stretávame v širokej škále stredovekých písomných prameňov. Rozsah, ako aj štruktúra týchto opisov, bola značne rozdielna. Výrazne závisela od typu prameňa a účelu, za ktorým opis pečate vznikol. Informačne najskromnejšie sú opisy pečatí v koroboračných formulkách listín, ktoré spravidla informovali o majiteľovi pečate, jej druhu a spôsobe pripojenia k dokumentu. O niečo obsiahlejšie boli konfirmačné formulky, ktoré boli súčasťou odpisov a konfirmácií listín. Vzhľadom na potrebu vyhotoviť dôveryhodný odpis dokumentu bolo dôležité nielen ho verne odpísať, ale aj informovať o fyzickej podobe a stave zachovania pečate. Podrobné opisy s detailnou ikonografiou pečatného poľa sa pochopiteľne nachádzali v privilegiách, prostredníctvom ktorých panovníci pečatidlá udeľovali, či už cirkevným inštitúciám, alebo mestám. Podobne detailný opis pečatného poľa môžeme vidieť aj v štatútoch Varadínskej kapituly, ktoré sa venujú hneď trojici pečatidiel. Napokon sa s opisom ikonografie pečatí stretávame aj v zbierke uhorského zvykového práva (Tripartitum), ktorá vznikla na sklonku stredoveku. Opis sa tu zameriaval spravidla len na najvýznamnejšie figúry, ktoré pečatnému poľu dominovali. Čo

ex duabus partibus clipei in area sigilli exsculpti. In quo videlicet clipeo duplicata crux continetur, sunt duae figure draconis“ (DRMH V 2005, 248, Pars II, tit. XIV, §18). Edícia pečate: Hegedűs 2000, 41-42, Nr. 20.

³¹ *„Item littere dominorum prelatorum, baronum procerumque et nobilium regni Hungarie universorum sub eorum sigillo in quo duplicata crux ad instar signeti gentis Hungarice continetur emanate in quantum processus iuridicos, necnon fassiones iudiciaque concernunt, veluti littere unius iudicis ordinarii observantur“* (DRMH V 2005, 256, Pars II, tit. XIV, §35). Edícia pečate: Hegedűs 2000, 58, Nr. 34.

³² *„Item una littera super libertate possessionis Zabathka sub sigillo Sigismundi regis secreto cum medio capite aquile facta“* (DRMH V 2005, 438, Pars II, tit. XIV, §56). Pravdepodobne ide o pečať, ktorej edíciu publikuje: Hegedűs 2000, 54, Nr. 30.

³³ *„Item una littera privilegialis sub sigillo imperialis scilicet secreto cum duobus capitibus aquile“* (DRMH V 2005, 438, Pars II, tit. XIV, §65).

sa týka majiteľov opisovaných pečatí, tu treba povedať, že pramene, v ktorých je venovaná pozornosť samotnému pečatnému obrazu, sa obmedzujú na panovnícke pečate, pečate cirkevných inštitúcií a miest. Je to dané charakterom prameňov domácej proveniencie. Vzhľadom na kvantitu prameňov si predložená štúdia nemôže robiť nároky na úplnosť. Dá sa predpokladať, že ďalšie bádanie zamerané aj na širšie spektrum prameňov prinesie nové objavy, ktoré korpus opisov pečatí rozšíria.

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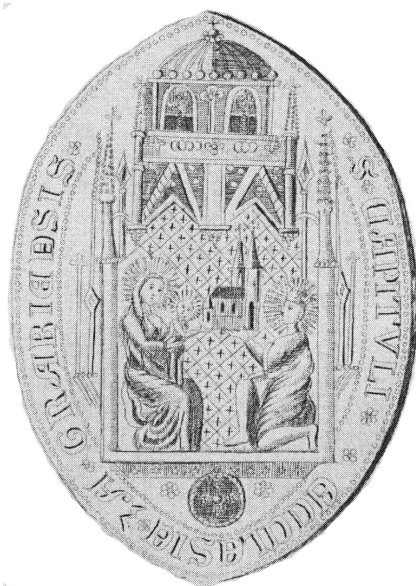
Prílohy / Appendix



Obr. 1. Pečať Belu II. z r. 1137 (Marczali 1911, 117). / Fig. 1. Seal of Belo II from the year 1137 (Marczali 1911, 117).



Obr. 2. Rekonštrukcia I. typu veľkej pečate kráľa Karola Róberta, ktorú používal do r. 1323 (Gárdonyi 1907, 37). / Fig. 2. Reconstruction of the 1st type of the great seal of King Charles I, which he used until 1323 (Gárdonyi 1907, 37).



Obr. 3. Rekonštrukcia III. typu pečate Záhrebskej kapituly udelenej v r. 1371 (Jerney 1855, obr. 65) / **Fig. 3.** Reconstruction of the 3rd type of the seal of the Zagreb Chapter granted in 1371 (Jerney 1855, fig. 65)



Obr. 4. Rekonštrukcia pečate kláštoru v Čorne v podobe ako bola používaná od r. 1495 (Jerney 1855, obr. 69). / **Fig. 4.** Reconstruction of the seal of the monastery in Čorna in the form in which it was used since 1495 (Jerney 1855, fig. 69).



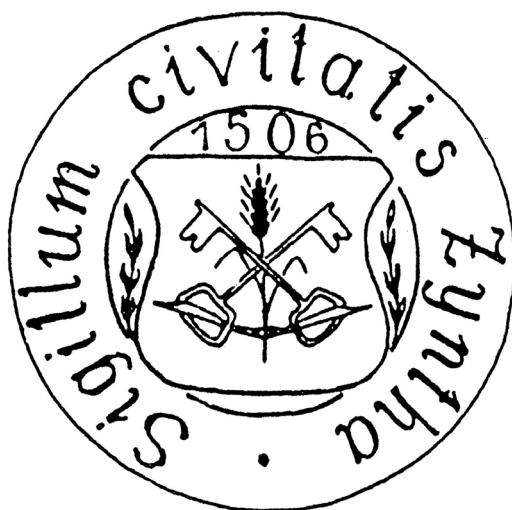
Obr. 5. Rekonštrukcia II. typu pečate kláštora v Hronskom Beňadiku, ktorá bola používaná do 2. pol. 15. storočia (Jerney 1855, obr. 88). / Fig. 5. Reconstruction of the 2nd type of the seal of the monastery in Hronský Beňadik, which was used until the 2nd half of the 15th century (Jerney 1855, fig. 88).



Obr. 6. Rekonštrukcia III. typu pečate kláštora v Hronskom Beňadiku udelenej v r. 1462 (Jerney 1855, obr. 89). / Fig. 6. Reconstruction of the 3rd type of the seal of the monastery in Hronský Beňadik granted in 1462 (Jerney 1855, fig. 89).



Obr. 7. Miniatúra pečate (erbu) mesta Bratislava na privilegii Žigmunda Luxemburského z 8. 7. 1436 (Archív mesta Bratislava, fond: Magistrát mesta Bratislavy, zbierka listín a listov, signatúra 1435). / **Fig. 7.** Miniature of the seal (coat of arms) of the city of Bratislava on the privilege of Sigismund of Luxembourg from 8 July 1436 (Archives of the city of Bratislava, fund: Municipality of Bratislava, collection of charters and letters, signature 1435).



Obr. 8. Rekonštrukcia pečate mesta Senta udelenej v r. 1506 (Dobos 2006, 7). / **Fig. 8.** Reconstruction of the seal of the city of Senta granted in 1506 (Dobos 2006, 7).



Obr. 9. Rekonštrukcia II. typu veľkej pečate Varadínskej kapituly používanej od r. 1291 (Bunyitay 1883 – 1884, 27). / Fig. 9. Reconstruction of the 2nd type of the great seal of the Varadin Chapter used since 1291 (Bunyitay 1883 – 1884, 27).



Obr. 10. Rekonštrukcia menšej pečate Varadínskej kapituly používanej od r. 1291 (Bunyitay 1883 – 1884, 28). / Fig. 10. Reconstruction of the smaller seal of the Varadin Chapter used since 1291 (Bunyitay 1883 – 1884, 28).



Obr. 11. Pečať Karola Róberta na listine z r. 1337, ktorú pravdepodobne spomína Tripartitum (Archív biskupského úradu v Nitre, Fond: Archív Nitrianskej kapituly, Škatuľa 44). / **Fig. 11.** The seal of King Charles I on a charter from 1337, probably mentioned by the Tripartitum (Archives of the Bishop's Office in Nitra, fund: Archives of the Nitra Chapter, box 44).



Obr. 12. Rekonštrukcia III. typu veľkej pečate kráľa Karola Róberta – reverz (Gárdonyi 1907, 54). / **Fig. 12.** Reconstruction of the 3rd type of the great seal of King Charles I – the reverse (Gárdonyi 1907, 54).



Obr. 13. Rekonštrukcia pečate Uhorského snemu z 15. stor. (Pray 1805, tab. XII, fig. 4). / Fig. 13. Reconstruction of the seal of the Diet of Hungary from the 15th century (Pray 1805, table XII, fig. 4).



Obr. 14. Tajná cisárska pečať Žigmunda Luxemburského na listine z r. 1435 (Spišský archív v Levoči, fond: Súkromný archív Spišskej kapituly, scrinium I, fascikel 1). / Fig. 14. The secret imperial seal of Sigismund of Luxembourg on a charter from 1435 (Spiš Archives in Levoča, fund: Private Archives of the Spiš Chapter, scrinium I, folder 1).

A FEW NOTES ON THE ORIGINS OF THE BOSNIAN CHURCH AND ITS CONNECTION TO HERESY

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Abstract: DRUGA, Marek. *A Few Notes on the Origins of the Bosnian Church and its Connection to Heresy*. This study aims to address the much-debated and still unresolved questions regarding the formation of the Bosnian Church and its relationship to heresy. The primary focus is on the extent to which the Bosnian Church can be understood as heretical in the 12th and 13th centuries. Dalmatian sources from the 14th century refer to the Bosnian church (*Bosanska Crkva*) as the Patarenes. In this context, 'Patarenes' is an established term reflecting the perspective of the Western Christian (Roman) Church, which viewed the Bosnian Church as schismatic or heretical. However, while at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries, contemporary sources describe the Patarenes as heretics who settled on the territory of Bosnia after being expelled from Trogir and Split. This paper re-examines historical reports on the Patarenes and explores the question of a direct affinity and continuity between the Patarenes and the Bosnian Church in the 13th century. A broader corpus of sources has been considered, including the narrative value of various accounts concerning the Bosnian Church and heresy, particularly those from Western European authors and documents issued by the Papal Curia. The focus here is on the supposed relationship of the Bosnian Ban, Kulin, and the Bosnian royal court to heresy, further on the reports of contacts between Bosnian heretics and heretics in Dalmatia and northern Italy in the 12th-13th century and finally, on the question of the contact points of the beliefs of these heretics. The thesis argues that Western sources depict Bosnian heretics as part of a unique church environment within a superficially Christianized Bosnian society. The findings of the study challenge the perception of a direct identification or close connection between the Bosnian clergy, the ruler's court, and the Patarenes in Bosnia. However, the paper also questions the existence of a strict dichotomy between the Patarenes in Bosnia as dualists and the Bosnian Church. The final conclusion supports the idea that Bosnian Christianity in this period exhibited significantly greater variability and heterogeneity of Bosnian Christianity than has been assumed in the majority of earlier studies.

Keywords: *Bosnia, Heresy, Papacy, Dualism, Patarenes*

Introduction: On the Question of Religious Conditions in Bosnia until the End of the 12th Century

Very little is known about the cultural and ecclesiastical development in Bosnia up to the end of the 12th century.¹ Important points in the cultural history of early medieval Bosnia² include the gradual dominance of Slavic ethnic groups and the influence of the Byzantine Empire. From the 10th century onward, Bosnia came under the Byzantine rule at least three times: at the beginning

¹ The study was conducted as part of the project VEGA 2/0095/25: *Nová monarchia. Spoločnosť v neskorom stredoveku. (New Monarchy. Society in the Late Middle Ages)*, carried out at the Historical Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences.

² More recent on the territorial definition of medieval Bosnia in summary Ternovác 2017, 251-252.

of the 10th century, during the reign of Basil II in 1014 – 1025, and under Manuel Komnenos in 1165 – 1180. Between the 10th and 12th centuries, Croatia also sought to assert control over Bosnia. Notably, Croatian King Michael II Krešimir in 949 – 969³ and Bulgarian Tsar Samuel (after 980) made significant attempts to extend their influence (for details, see Ćirković 1964, 29-35; Ternovác 2019, 86-88). However, it was only after the conquest of Croatia by the Hungarian King Ladislaus I (1077 – 1095) in 1091 that Western Christian ecclesiastical influences became more pronounced in Bosnia. Hungary and Bosnia established a vassal relationship that persisted during the reigns of both the Hungarian and Bosnian king (*rex Ramae*) Béla II (1131 – 1141) and his son Ladislaus, the nominal prince of Bosnia, (for details, see Pauler 1899, 245-246, 478-479; cf. Gebé 1908, 18-23). This vassal relationship was undoubtedly understood by the papal curia as the duty of the Hungarian king to defend the Catholic faith in Bosnia, as previously evidenced by the concrete actions of the papal curia during the pontificate of Innocent III (in detail Ćirković 1964, 67-68).

While this provides only a brief overview of key developments in early medieval Bosnia, it already highlights the complex and fluctuating conditions in which ecclesiastical structures may have emerged and evolved. Further examination of religious influences in Bosnia and their presumed origins will be noted, leading to the central question: Can Bosnian heresy – or the Patarenes – be considered a widespread phenomenon that permeated a significant portion of Bosnian society, including the court and church, at the turn of the 12th – 13th centuries?⁴

Political Context: The Origins of Papal Policy in Bosnia and the Background of Reports on Bosnian Heresy at the Turn of the 12th – 13th Centuries

The first surviving references to heresy in Bosnia date back to 1199 – 1200. These are widely known facts, so it is sufficient to briefly mention them here. In a letter from 1199, King of Zeta (Duklja) Vukan Nemanjić wrote to Pope Innocent III, describing Bosnia as a territory under the Hungarian king where heresy had taken root, and to which Bosnian Ban Kulin, his family and ten thousand supporters had succumbed.⁵ Innocent III reacted to the situation in Bosnia with a letter to King of Hungary Emeric (1196 – 1204) on 11 October 1200, in which he mentioned the expulsion of

³ Croatia has long been a country on the borders of the Roman Church's interests, challenged by local Church-Slavic traditions, Orthodox influences, and the establishment of the autonomous Bishopric of Nin in the 9th century, which was placed under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchs of Aquileia.

⁴ The complex and ambiguous terminology regarding church structures in Bosnia is concisely summarized by Fine (2007, 17-18). For the purposes of this study, which focuses primarily on the 13th century, the term "church in Bosnia" refers to the representatives of the Bosnian clergy, falling under the – often only theoretical – jurisdiction of the archbishops of Ragusa, and after 1232, under the diocesan jurisdiction of the Catholic Bosnian bishops and archbishops of Kalocsa. The use of the term "Bosnian Patarenes" is even more problematic, as it is an unsystematic designation applied by the representatives of the Catholic Church to heretics in Bosnia. In the context of the 12th and 13th centuries, "Patarenes" refers to members of a dualist sect in Bosnia whose beliefs appear to have been similar to those of the French and Italian Cathars or the Balkan Bogomils. Finally, a distinction is made between the ecclesiastical structures in Bosnia during the 13th century: those that were schismatic in rejecting papal authority and jurisdiction in Bosnia, and the Catholic Church in Bosnia by the term "Bosnian Church" (*Crkva bosanska*).

⁵ „*Demum vero paternitatem vestram nolumus latere, quia heresis non modica in terra regis Ungarie, videlicet Bossina, pullulare videtur in tantum, quod peccatis exigentibus ipse Bacilinus (ban Culinus, see Kukuljević Sakcinski II 1876, 216, no. 283) cum uxore sua et cum sorore sua, que fuit defuncti Miroslau Kmenti, et cum pluribus consanguineis suis seductus plus quam decem milia christianorum in eandem heresim introduxit.*” Smičiklas II 1904, 334, no. 310.

the Patarenos from Split and Trogir by the archbishop of Split, Bernard. The pope further wrote of their acceptance, protection and support by Kulin, who calls them Christians and favours them over Catholics.⁶ In another charter from 21 November 1202, Innocent III entrusted the Cistercian and papal legate John of Casamari with the investigation of ecclesiastical conditions in Bosnia (Smičiklas III 1905, 14-15, no. 11). In the spring of 1203, in the Bosnian area of Bilino Polje, later in Buda, representatives of the Bosnian Church (seven priors) promised not to support heretics and to follow the decrees of the Roman Church (Smičiklas III 1905, 24-25, no. 19). Finally, the letter of the legate John of Casamari addressed to Innocent III in the year 1203 stresses the need for a more efficient administration of the Bosnian episcopate by dividing it into three or four bishoprics and proposes to install a Latin bishop to the vacant episcopal seat in Bosnia (Smičiklas III 1905, 36, no. 32).

The aforementioned information has already been analysed in several studies (f. e. Ćirković 1964, 49-51; Basler 1973, 13-22; Fine 2007, 114-121; cf. conclusion of Czarnecki 2022, 24-25; more works mentioned later in the text), therefore it is practical to only bring to the fore the less reflected question of the credibility of these reports. The first point of contention appears to be the testimony of Vukan Nemanjić. King of Zeta writes about the serious sins and heresy of Kulin, his wife and sister, but from the position of a ruler who was involved in local power relations. In the late 12th century, the ecclesiastical policy of the Nemanjićs, including Vukan, was accompanied by theocratic attempts to gain absolute control over the ecclesiastical institutions in the country. Support for the Orthodox Church had long been dominant in Raška, Zachlunia and Bosnia, i.e. in ecclesiastically and dynastically linked regions, while in Zeta and in the territory of the archbishopric of Bar, ties to the Roman Church prevailed.⁷ These tendencies were intensified by Vukan's efforts to gain support for his own power ambitions from the papal curia and King Emeric. A letter by Vukan to Innocent III from 1199 should probably be seen in this political context. In the struggle for the grand duke's seat in Serbia, which took place in 1199–1202, Vukan presented himself as the defender of orthodox Christianity. Also for this reason, the King of Zeta could portray Kulin and his family, which had at least a theoretical claim to rule in Zachlunia,⁸ as active supporters of the heretics. Vukan's reports could also have been an attempt to initiate papal pressure on Emeric's military intervention in Bosnia. The split between the Hungarian ruler and the Bosnian ban did not occur, but the Pope did call on Emeric for intervention in Bosnia in 1202.⁹

Under these circumstances, reports of Kulin's support of the Patarenos in Bosnia, or even of the Bosnian ban's family's affiliation with the heretics, can hardly be accepted as credible. Vukan's claims are not based on autopsies, and their objectivity is in question due to the political setting. On the contrary, the idea of their tendentiousness is supported by other indications which

⁶ „Accepimus autem, quod cum nuper venerabilis frater noster Spalatensis archiepiscopus Patarenos non paucos de Spalatensi et Traguriensi civitatibus effugasset, nobilis vir Culinus banus Bossinus iniquitati eorum non solum tutum latibulum, sed et presidium contulit manifestum, et perversitati eorundem terram suam et se ipsum exponens ipsos pro catholicis, immo ultra catholicos honoravit, vocans eos autonomas(t) ice christianos.“ Smičiklas II 1904, 351, no. 324.

⁷ On ecclesiastical relations in Bosnia, Serbia and neighbouring regions, see Fine 2007, 102-111.

⁸ After 1202, Petar and Andrija, sons of Miroslav Zavidović of Zachlunia and sister of Ban Kulin, ruled for several years in parts of Miroslav's hereditary domain.

⁹ Especially in the passage: „Si qua vero inveneritis inter eos que sapiant hereticam pravitatem et sane adversentur doctrine, ad viam veritatis secundum fidei regulam reducat. Quod si forsitan monitis et mandatis vestris noluerint acquiescere, vos in eos appellatione remota secundum constitutionem quam edidimus, adversus hereticos procedatis, attentius provisuri, ut deum habentes pre oculis mandatum nostrum cum omni puritate ac sollicitudine studeatis implere. Nos enim sententiam quam canonice protuleritis, ratam habebimus et faciemus, auctore deo inviolabiliter observari.“ Smičiklas III 1905, 15, no. 11.

appear in the papal correspondence. The popes had already made contact with the ban in the 1180s. At the time, Byzantine supremacy in Bosnia and Serbia was collapsing and, as a result, the papal curia attempted to extend its influence beyond the territory of the archdiocese of Bar. In 1180, the papal legate in Dalmatia, Theobald, sent a letter to Culin (*Nobili et potenti viro Culin Bano Bosniae*) requesting two servants, precious furs and a message for the pope (Fejér VII/5 1841, 123). Bosnia's mediated contacts with the papal curia continued during the pontificate of Celestine III (1191 – 1198), and the curia's relationship with the ban slipped into confrontation only around 1200.

It is also important to note that until 1203, the papal curia had only mediated reports on the ecclesiastical situation in Bosnia. Thus, the popes relied only on the information they received from their allies in the region, including the report from Vukan Nemanjić. The uncertainty of the popes on the situation in Bosnia is indicated by references to the Bosnian Patarenes (Smičiklas II, 351, no. 324), but elsewhere to the Cathars (*qui de dampnata Catharorum heresi sunt vehementer suspecti*; Smičiklas III 1905, 14, no. 11) or heretics without further identification. Then it was appeals to King Emeric to investigate reports of the Bosnian Ban's support of heresy and finally, the sending of a legate to the territory of Bosnia. Only the charters of 1203 are based on the direct experience of John of Casamari, which is evident – in comparison with the references from 1199 to 1202 – from the more specific content of these charters when referring to the Bosnian Church (Smičiklas III 1905, 36, no. 32; Smičiklas III 1905, 36-37, no. 33; Šanjek 2003, 84-85, no. 6).

The limited but valuable information from the papal documents suggests a pragmatically motivated alignment by Kulin with the papal curia, the Great Prince (*Veliki Župan*) of Zachumlja Miroslav Zavidović and the Hungarian royal court.¹⁰ At present, we can no longer determine with certainty the relationship of the papal-oriented ban, his family and the court to the Patarenes coming to Bosnia from Dalmatia. The possibility of Kulin's eventual succumbing to heresy, however, calls into question the impracticality of such a connection and the dangers it would inevitably entail for the ban. The suspicion of supporting heretics had already led to an investigation of ecclesiastical conditions in Bosnia by the papal legate John of Casamari, and to an oath-taking act of 1203, in which leading representatives of the Bosnian Church pledged obedience to the Roman Curia.¹¹

The Oath of Bilino Polje: Motives and Actors

The text of an often-quoted oath from Bilino Polje is interesting here, especially the document's testimonial value in relation to the activities of the papal legate John of Casamari in Bosnia and to the actors of the oath themselves – apparently leading representatives of the Bosnian church.¹² In the Bilino Polje charter, these *priores* or *fratres* pledge – on behalf of Bosnian Christians (*Christiani*) – obedience to the decrees of the popes and declare that they will not follow the heresy.

¹⁰ On the ecclesiastical policy of Ban Kulin in contemporary and later sources in more detail see Fine 2007, 109-111; Ćirković 1964, 45-49.

¹¹ The context of Innocent III's letter of 1202 also shows that the presence of the legate in Bosnia and the investigation of his own relationship to the Christian Church was requested by Kulin himself. Upon the arrival of John of Casamari, the Bosnian ban distanced himself from the heretics in Bosnia, taking a solemn vow of obedience to the Roman Church. At the same time, he sent his son and other messengers with the legate to Hungary, so that the oath might also be sworn to before the Hungarian king and prelates.

¹² The oath was issued in Bosnia in the presence of Ban Kulin, Archdeacon of Ragusa and Legate John of Casamari, then renewed in Hungary on the Csepel-Sziget before Hungarian King Emeric, Archbishop of Kalocsa John and Bishop of Pécs Kalán.

Next in the charter is a detailed description of the individual articles of the oath. Bosnian delegates renounce the schism of which they have been accused and accept the Roman Church as the mother of the entire ecclesial community.¹³ In places of common gatherings of the brothers, they undertake to establish oratories for prayers, sung according to the schedule of the canonical hours. Churches are to have altars and crucifixes and, according to the custom of the Roman Church, the books of the New and Old Testaments are to be read in them during Mass. Priests will be ordained for various places and will celebrate Mass, hear confessions and grant absolutions on Sundays and feast days. In the future, graveyards are to be established at churches.¹⁴

Other regulations concern the cult, organisation and external markings of Bosnian church representatives. The Bosnian delegates undertake to celebrate the Eucharist seven times a year – Christmas, Easter, the Pentecost, the feasts of the Apostles Peter and Paul, the Nativity and Assumption of the Virgin Mary, and All Saints Day. The fasts instituted by the Roman Church must be followed, and previous fasting customs have to be observed as well (*que maiores nostri provide preceperunt custodiemus*). Particular emphasis is placed on the separation of male and female bedrooms and dining rooms, and it is also forbidden for a man and a woman to be in a room together in such a way as to arouse suspicion. In the future, married men or married women are not to be admitted to convents unless they enter the church together.¹⁵ The feasts of all the saints, whose veneration is ordered by papal decrees, are to be celebrated in the Church. It is forbidden to provide hospitality or shelter to “Manichaeans” or any heretics.¹⁶ The priestly (monastic) status is to be distinguished from the laity in manner of life and dress – habits and vestments are not to be coloured and are to cover the whole figure to the ankles. Members of the Bosnian church will also not call each other “Christians” – so as not to affect other Christians – but brothers. The last decree concerns the election of the superior (*praelatus*); after the death of the “magister”, the new “prelate” is elected as a consensus between the leading representatives of the Church (*priores*) and the convent, but with full respect for possible reservations and a final decision of the pope.¹⁷

Articles concerning the future faith and cult of the Bosnian priores or fratres of Bilino Polje are fundamentally different from later reports of Bosnian heresy. Therefore, some historians doubt that heretics appeared in Bilino Polje at all and see them rather as representatives of an independent

¹³ „In primis abrenuntiamus scismati, quo ducimur infamati, et Romanam ecclesiam matrem nostram caput totius ecclesiastice unitatis recognoscimus.“ Smičiklas III 1905, 24, no. 19.

¹⁴ „... in omnibus locis nostris, ubi fratrum conventus commoratur, oratoria habebimus, in quibus fratres de nocte ad matutinas et diebus ad horas cantandas publice simul conveniemus. In omnibus autem ecclesiis habebimus altaria et cruces, libros vero tam novi quam veteris testamenti, sicut facit ecclesia romana, legemus. Per singula loca nostra habebimus sacerdotes, qui dominicis et festivis diebus ad minus missas secundum ordinem ecclesiasticum debeant celebrare, confessiones audire et penitentias tribuere. Cemeteria habebimus iuxta oratoria, in quibus fratres sepeliantur et adventantes, si casu ibi obierint.“ Smičiklas III 1905, 24–25, no. 19.

¹⁵ „Femine vero que de nostra erunt religione, a viris separate erunt tam in dormitoriis quam refectoriis et nullus fratrum solus cum sola confabulabitur, unde possit sinistra suspicio suboriri. Neque de cetero recipiemus aliquem vel aliquam coniugatam, nisi mutuo consensu, continentia promissa, ambo pariter convertantur.“ Smičiklas III 1905, 25, no. 19.

¹⁶ „Festivitates autem sanctorum a sanctis patribus ordinatas celebrabimus, et nullum deinceps ex certa scientia manicheum vel alium hereticum“ Smičiklas III 1905, 25, no. 19.

¹⁷ „Nos autem de cetero non Christianos, sicut hactenus, sed fratres nos nominabimus, ne singularitate nominis aliis Christianis iniuria inferatur. Mortuo vero magistro, de hinc usque in perpetuum priores cum consilio fratrum deum timentium eligent prelatum a romano tantum pontifice confirmandum, et si quid aliud ecclesia romana addere vel minuere voluerit, cum devotione recipiemus et observabimus.“ Smičiklas III 1905, 25, no. 19.

Orthodox church (in the broader context of the overall view of the Bosnian Church cf. Šidak 1955, 11-40), schismatics or inconsistent Christians (more recent, e.g. Lorenz 2015, 37-40; Ternovác 2019, 92-94; in a rigorous argumentation questioning the involvement of Bosnian heretics in Bilino Polje especially Fine 2007, 116-121). The present study will return to this question; at this point it is sufficient to outline the probable background of the origin of the charter from Bilino Polje and its diction.

The text of the oath of Bilino Polje had clearly been written as a result of the papal legate's investigation and personal experience of the ecclesiastical situation in Bosnia. This is an important finding that shows the exceptionality of the preserved testimony; the charter is not a schematized and general record, typical of most contemporary documents of the papal office, but a response to the actual conditions and state of the church in Bosnia. In the charter we find allusions to the monastic character of ecclesiastical communities or brotherhoods, apparently originating in the influence of eastern monasticism yet mediated by the neighbouring Balkan regions.¹⁸ However, the language of the charter also seems to reflect a lack of knowledge of the cult of the Roman Church, the superficiality of local Christianity, the absence of clergy or the legate's experience with the religious fallacies. The oath from Bilino Polje can thus be seen as the first clue indicating the existence of a specific ecclesiastical environment or religious syncretism of Eastern Christian, Patarene and Bogomil elements or beliefs in Bosnia.

In identifying heretical fallacies typical for dualistic doctrines, it is useful to further consider other reports on the beliefs and organization of Slavonic, Dalmatian or Italian heretics in the 12th – 13th century, as well as statements on the contacts and links of these heretics to other areas.

Slavonia, Bosnia and the Cathars in Lombardy: On the Question of their Contacts in the 13th Century

The question of the genesis of Bosnian heresy and the origin of the Bosnian Patarenes is not answered unequivocally, even in contemporary historiography.¹⁹ The problem here is the dearth of sources, their late origins and the contradictory and inaccurate nature of the extant data. The crucial question remains, therefore, of what is the narrative value and credibility of the reports on the Bosnian Church and its contacts with communities of heretics in other lands. The following text will briefly introduce these reports, then analyse and outline possible solutions.

A corpus of important information about the Cathar communities in Lombardy has been preserved from the 13th century. A large number of studies have dealt with these sources in detail, though mostly in the context of the genesis of the Italian Cathars. These are substantial reports on the Lombard heresy, but it should be stressed that several accounts on the Cathars have inestimable value in relation to the links between heretics in Lombardy and the Balkan region.

As part of a detailed description of the disputes and schism among the Italian Cathars, *De heresi catharorum in Lombardia* (1190 – 1215) mentions Caloian and Nicholas, who were elected bishops

¹⁸ See other links to Fine's conclusions.

¹⁹ On the genesis of the term Patarenes, see a brief summary Dujčev 1958, 318-319; more recent cf. Paolini 2013, 117-138. On the relationship between the Bosnian Church and the Bogomils from more recent works at least, see especially: Dragoljović 1987; Šanjek 1999, 285-294 (cf. Šanjek 1972, 131-181); Lambert 1994, 29-50; Fine 2007, 30-37; Culianu 2008, 280-281; Lorenz 2015, 46-48. In the case of the question of links between the so-called Patarenes in Bosnia, Dalmatia or northern Italy and other communities of heretics, it is a fact that a lasting methodological and conceptual issue is the definition of the categories of heretics themselves. On the problems of typology of heretical directions in wider context, see the more recent study by Zbíral 2013, 163-190.

by the Cathars of Mantua and Vicenza, and who received ordination in Slavonia.²⁰ Words on these “rebellious bishops” against the original Bishop Garattus, who received ordination from Bulgaria, also appear elsewhere in the text. In connection with the question of the origins of the Bosnian heresy, the reference to Slavonia is interesting. This medieval term referred – in a broader context – to the area between the Ilova, Sava, Drava and Danube rivers. However, the presence of heretics in Slavonia, headed by a heretic bishop, is mentioned by Anselm of Alessandria in *Tractatus de hereticis* from the 13th century with Bosnia („*Sclauonia, scilicet de terra que dicitur Bosnia*“, Šanjek 2003, 136; cf. Czarnecki 2008, 111-138, mainly 119-121; Czarnecki 2022, 14-16). Anselm writes that heresy spread here through Bosnian merchants after they returned from Constantinople, began to preach and elected a bishop, called the Bishop of Bosnia or Slavonia. *De heresi catharorum in Lombardia* also contains material on the common beliefs and mythological elements of the faith of the Cathars, who recognized Garattus, consecrated in Bulgaria, and Caloian, consecrated in Slavonia (Dondaine 1949, 308), as their bishops.

To the aforementioned sources may be added the records of the Cathar council in Saint-Félix-de-Caraman (now Saint-Félix-Lauragais) in south-western France from 1167 (on them in detail, e.g. Hamilton 1997, 23-53; Zbíral 2006, 19-40; Dalarun 2012, 535-548), in which Pop Niketas mentions the “Cathar” churches in Byzantium, Druguntia, Melnik in Macedonia, Bulgaria and Dalmatia, and the reports of the papal legate in Burgundy, Cardinal Conrad of Urach, in 1223. Conrad writes about a “Cathar” antipope in the territory of the Bulgarians (according to other interpretations, of Bosnia, cf. Culianu 2008, 278; Šanjek 2003, 86-87), in Croatia and Dalmatia, and in regions inhabited by the nation of the Hungarians, who installed Bishop Bartholomew of Carcassonne, plus other bishops in the vicinity of the southern French Agen (Devic – Vaisette III 1737, 332-333; cf. Devic – Vaisette VIII 1879, col. 765-766, no. 225).

Information on the eastern connections of the Italian Cathars can be analysed and interpreted on multiple levels. The first challenge lies in terminological difficulties, particularly with terms such as Cathars, Patarenes, Cathar bishops, and antipope – concepts that older historiography scarcely recognised. Reports from Western Christian authors from 1167 to 1223 mention “Cathar” churches in both the Balkans and Byzantium, and a “Cathar” pope in Bulgaria or Bosnia. From the point of view of contemporary historians, this is a confusing and incorrect designation for Eastern heretics. However, mentions of contemporary informants only show the vagueness, and often also the contextual irrelevance, of the use of the schematized term “Cathars” in the 12th-13th centuries. Cathar groups in Lombardy and elsewhere were internally heterogeneous, rival factions that often rejected the teachings and cult of related heretical communities. From this point of view, the term “Cathars” in the 13th century only simplifies, replaces and deforms the image of the sectarians, whose branches are described in detail and named accurately by the author of *De heresi catharorum in Lombardia*. The above observation is important because such variability and deviations of belief are rarely considered in the case of heretics in Bosnia. However, the term “Bosnian Patarenes” may be as schematizing category as the “Cathars” for the region of Lombardy.

A second important aspect of the data on Bosnian or Slavonian heretics is the question of the reliability of these reports in terms of the authors’ knowledge and intentions. In anti-heretical writings, the imagination and distortion of the image of heretics plays a crucial role (in detail, Zbíral 2013, 215-219; in the broader context of the emergence of anti-heretical literature, f.e. Zbíral 2010, 163-190). However, *De heresi catharorum in Lombardia* cannot be defined as polemical literature; on the contrary, it is a detailed and descriptive work by an informed author – according to some

²⁰ „*Caloianus episcopus unius partis hereticorum, qui habent ordinem suum de Sclavania [...] Nicola de Vicencia, episcopus de Sclavania.*“ Dondaine 1949, 308; Šanjek 2003, 126-128. Cf. Drakopoulos, 2010, 161-163.

historians of the former Cathar – whose ambition is to capture the genesis of the organization of the heretics and the characteristic features of their theological system (in detail, Zbíral 2013, 220-221). It cannot be ruled out that the description of the hierarchy and filiation of the branches of the Cathars may also be based on simplified or misinterpreted data here. However, the core of the treatise – including references to the ordination of “Cathar” bishops in Slavonia, Bulgaria and unlocalized Drugunthia (Dondaine 1949, 306-312; cf. Hamilton 1973, 115-124; Dujčev 1964, 215-221) – is very likely authentic. Also, the reports of Conrad of Urach on the Bulgarian antipope seem to be less credible, but here again, only the cardinal’s ideas of the Cathar organization and hierarchy as the mirror image of the Roman Church can be distorted (cf. data on the organisation and hierarchy of the Italian Cathars in Raynerius Sacconi O. P. *Summa de Catharis et leonistis seu pauperibus de Lugduno*, Šanjek 1974, 47-51). On the other hand, Conrad’s testimony on the continuing contacts between Eastern and Western “Cathars” sounds plausible, and confirms and complements the reports from *De heresi catharorum in Lombardia* and *Summa de Catharis*.²¹

Several credible theories can be deduced from the recurrent reports of contacts between Lombard and Eastern (Balkan) heretics. At the turn of the 12th-13th centuries, in Bulgaria, Slavonia (Croatia or Bosnia) and probably in other areas in the Balkan region, there were seats of heretical bishops as authorities who also had the power to consecrate the leaders of communities in Italy.²² *De heresi catharorum in Lombardia* also suggests that not only the Lombard, but also the eastern “Cathar” churches may have acted as competing fractions. In the treatise, for example, it is said that Pope Nicetas questions the Bulgarian ordination of the Lombard bishop Mark, while Petracius “from overseas” (France) and his companions attack the ordination of Nicetas and his predecessor, the sin-tainted bishop Simon in Drugunthia (Dondaine 1949, 306; cf. Obolensky 1983, 489-500). Although criticism of the lack of spiritual purity of bishops led the rigorous communities of the Lombard Cathars to doubt and schism, according to *De heresi catharorum in Lombardia*, the representatives of the divided factions were still turning to the East in the consecration of bishops. The authority of Eastern bishops to ordain bishops in Lombardy does not appear to have been challenged by the French Cathar bishop, who also mediated disputes among the Lombard groups. A bishop from beyond the Alps – whether from northern France or the Languedoc – advised fellow believers in Italy to nominate a new episcopal candidate, one who was to be consecrated once again in Bulgaria (Dondaine 1949, 308).

All these reports indicate that communities of dualistic heretics or Patarenes in Dalmatia or Bosnia were formed in the second half of the 12th century at the latest. Even if not all the reports on Slavonia cited in the study are accurate, they do complement each other and show that there were already important heretical centres in the 12th century that maintained contacts with the Cathar movement in northern Italy. The heretics from Split and Trogir certainly did not settle in Bosnia by chance, nor were they likely the first to introduce dualistic ideas there. It is highly probable that they arrived because an established community of heretics was already present.²³

²¹ However, it cannot be ruled out that the Slavonian and Bulgarian ordination of some of the Italian bishops referred only to origin and tradition, or otherwise, the term “ordination of bishops from Bulgaria or Slavonia” may have been understood to refer to the ordination by local bishops in Italy whose predecessors had received their episcopal dignity directly in Bulgaria or Slavonia. The context of the above-mentioned reports does indeed point to the persistence of direct links, even in the 13th century, but we are still dealing here with authors who described these links as outside observers.

²² It should be borne in mind that the term “bishop” may have a Catholic connotation, and that it does not necessarily correspond to the terminology of the heretics (Patarenes) in Slavonia, Dalmatia or Bosnia.

²³ We have also noted that the rise of heresy and the public activity of heretics under Ban Kulin was not prevented by the archbishops of Ragusa and their Bosnian suffragans, which could only have increased the interest of the exiled heretics in the territory of Bosnia.

Dualism and the Emergence of the Bosnian Church in the First Half of the 13th Century: On Problems of Contemporary Interpretation

On the basis of the letter from Bilino Polje and the letters of John of Casamari, it can be concluded that the official church in Bosna at the beginning of the 13th century cannot be considered heretical (Patarene). At the head of the ecclesiastical structures were Bosnian bishops, who at that time fell under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the archbishops of Ragusa.²⁴ The oath from Bilino Polje demands that the envoys or leaders of the Bosnian church renounce any association with the Patarenes or “Manichaeans”. However, the charter mainly deals with deviations from Catholic customs – especially fasting traditions, different customs in the establishment of cemeteries, burials and liturgy. The emphasis on the separation of women’s and men’s circles points to rather freely organized religious communities. The efforts of John of Casamari to increase the number of priests, and indeed the entire legate’s activity in Bosnia, can also be seen as an unsuccessful attempt to create a functional ecclesiastical organization.

Further information on the ecclesiastical situation in Bosnia have been preserved only from the 1230s. In 1232, Archbishop Ugrinus of Kalocsa wrote to Pope Gregory IX about reports that the Bosnian bishop supposedly did not know Latin, did not observe Catholic customs, did not celebrate Mass and did not speak out against or even protect heretics (see the charter of Gregorius IX. in Wenzel I 1860, 298-299; Smičklas III 1905, 361-362, no. 315; cf. Fine 2007, 137-138). In 1234 – 1235 and 1238 – 1270, the Dominicans John of Wildeshausen and Ponsa became bishops of Bosnia, and apparently tried to administer his province until the Mongol invasion from Ban Brdo near Sarajevo.²⁵ Reports of the military interventions of the Slavonic Duke Coloman in Bosnia and Gregory IX’s calls for action against heretics show that in the 1230s, missionary and military pressure against heretics intensified there (in a detailed summary Fine 2007, 138-141). The letters of Gregory IX and later reports on the Dominicans’ activities in Bosnia also document missionary failures and the persistence of complicated ecclesiastical conditions.

A significant part of historiography associates the 1230s with a turning point in the ecclesiastical development in Bosnia, i.e. the supposed emergence of the heretical Bosnian Church (Šanjek, Fine, Ćirković, Šidak and others). The growing interest of the popes, especially Gregory IX, as well as the Slavonian Duke, Coloman, and Archbishop Ugrinus of Kalocsa, towards Bosnia led to an increased onslaught of Bosnian “Christians” into Dominican missions and the Inquisition, and in 1235, also into the military intervention of Coloman. An important impulse for the emergence of the heretical Bosnian Church may also have been the support of foreign clergy (Dominicans) in filling the position of Bosnian bishops – from 1234 at the latest, bishops in Bosnia were of German and Hungarian origin. All these aspects were intended to lead (according to Fine 2007, 150, between 1234-1252; cf. Ćirković 1964, 552-554) to the emergence of an organized heretical counter-church in Bosnia, headed by “bishops” (*djed*) and leaders of communities with lower ecclesiastical ranks (*gost*, *starac*).²⁶ According to Fine, this schismatic Bosnian Church had a structure more typical for the monastic communities of Eastern Christianity and operated alongside heretics with dualistic ideas. Ćirković, on the other hand, assumed that religious dualism also asserted itself within the Bosnian Church. Both interpretations are based on the premise that this schismatic or dualistic-heretical Bosnian Church was created on the foundations of the former church structures in Bosnia, whose representatives can also be found in Bilino Polje.

²⁴ In detail recently with references to the literature, Ternovácz 2016, 217-219.

²⁵ On several aspects of Dominican missionary enthusiasm, in the context Bishop John of Wildeshausen’s action, shedding light a recent study Hunčaga 2021; cf. Hunčaga 2023.

²⁶ On the organization and hierarchy of the Bosnian heretics in detail, also Šanjek 1972, 153-159.

At their core, these are argumentatively persuasive theses, though they also have their weaknesses. However, these uncertainties simply show the unstable ground of conclusions, or any attempt to interpret in detail phenomena so poorly reflected in the sources, such as the initial phase of the formation of the organized Bosnian Church. For example, Fine accepts reports from 14th-century sources on the organization and hierarchy of the Bosnian Church (religious communities, ecclesiastical dignities in the succession of *djed*, *gost*, *starac*), and due to missing information from the second half of the 13th century, he suggests the creation of the Bosnian Church before 1252. At the same time, Fine rejects the dualistic elements in the beliefs of Bosnian “Christians“, which means that he places less weight on the narrative value of 14th-15th century sources when assessing the older beliefs of Bosnian heretics in the 13th century.

The dualism of the Bosnian Church is indicated by a Venetian copy of a manuscript from the 14th century (Codices manuscripti Latini Bibliothecae Nanianae, 12-13), as well an excerpt from the work of the Franciscan vicar in Bosnia, Jacob de Marchia, from 1435-38, (*Dialogus contra manichaeos in Bosna*, Šanjek 2003, 286-289) and reports of the Dominican cardinal, Juan de Torquemada, from 1461 (Šanjek 2003, 294-306; cf. edition Lopez Martinez – Proaño Gil 1958, 37-132). These sources contain quite detailed information about the beliefs of the “Christians” in Bosnia, i.e. according to Western authors, also the representatives of the Bosnian Church. Bosnian heretics believe in two gods, in the creation of the material world by Lucifer, in his ascension to the heavens and a battle with the good God, in the removal of the fallen angels from heaven and their imprisonment in human bodies from which they are gradually purified. They further question the human nature of Christ and Mary, the Ascension of the Lord, the activities of John the Baptist, the Old Testament, the prophets and the Laws of Moses as the work of the devil (in detail, f.e. Culianu 2008, 277-281; cf. Thomas 2003, 113-131). Even references to the cult of Bosnian Christians and their relationship to the Roman Church and the sacraments is rather reminiscent of the ideas of dualistic heretics. Bosnian “Christians”, according to the Franciscan and Order’s vicar in Bosnia, Bartholomew of Auvergne (*Dubia ecclesiastica*, 1373-1375), and some later sources from the 15th century, replace baptism by water with baptism by book and question the sacraments, including marriage. Jacob de Marchia attributes the denial of transubstantiation and the spiritual meaning of the Eucharist to them, and the rejection of oaths and Old Testament books (Šanjek 2003, 288).

Several of the references mentioned - particularly the rejection of oaths, the belief in the angelic origin of Mary, the apparent body of Christ or the apparent resurrection, and the damnation of John the Baptist – echo earlier accounts found in the *De heresi catharorum in Lombardia* (*De heresi catharorum* in edition Dondaine 1949, 306-312; Czech translation, Zbíral 2013, 222-246) and in the *Summa de catharis* by Rainer Sacconi from the year 1250 (Šanjek 1974, 30-60; also Dondaine (ed.) 1939, 64-78; Czech translation, Zbíral 2014, 63-86; cf. Fine 2007, 62-69; Lorenz 2015, 31-33). However, variations of the above accusations are also repeated with regard to the French Cathars and Bogomils.

Doubts about the accuracy of some of the information regarding the Bosnian Church and heresy are certainly justified. The findings and reports from Christian authors are clearly schematized in several instances and influenced by broader generalizations about dualistic sects. However, the question arises as to whether this represents an over-simplification of contemporary historians’ understanding of the contrast between the schismatic Bosnian Church and the Patarenes, or whether it mistakenly treats the religious phenomena in Bosnia as two clearly distinguishable categories. The Bosnian envoys in Bilino Polje probably did not believe in religious dualism; otherwise, it is hard to imagine that the legate John of Casamari would not have

included a renunciation of dualistic ideas in the act of an oath.²⁷ The oath, however, emphasizes the severance of previous contacts with the “Manichaeans”. At the same time, the Bosnian envoys define themselves in relation to the surrounding Christians, since, as later Bosnian heretics from 14th century, they regard themselves uniquely as *Krstjani*. Also, the emphasis on future readings not only from the New Testament, but also from the Old is conspicuous here.²⁸ These references indicate the ecclesiastical environment within which a syncretism of religious ideas and traditions of Orthodox communities and dualistic sectarians already existed in the 12th century. Therefore, the Bosnian Church may have consisted of a rather heterogeneous mix of schismatics as well as of Patarene preachers and their followers, even in the 13th century. These groups were already viewed by the Catholic Church as heretics from a dogmatic point of view. In the reports of inquisitors, legates and other Christian authors, the distinction between heretics and schismatics is blurred, but this image of the Bosnian heresy, formed by distant and biased Western literati, was probably more complex in reality, as in the case of the Cathars and other uncoordinated sectarians.²⁹

So it seems that the theory of the formation of an organized Bosnian Church before the middle of the 13th century cannot be regarded as entirely convincing. The process of creating a community of Bosnian “Christians” and the Church may have happened over a longer term, and its origins may go back as far as the 12th century. From the years 1167 and 1223, we have reports about the heretical church and its bishop or anti-pope in Dalmatia, Drugonthia, Bulgaria and Bosnia. At the same time, in Bilino Polje, foremen or representatives (*priores*) of Bosnian “Christians” (*krstjani*) appear. In light of these findings, it can also be concluded that the hierarchical structures of both the schismatic and the Patarene communities were more like a living organism, gradually developing as part of the decades-long process that led to the genesis of the Bosnian Church.

Although it is probably inaccurate to refer to the period from the 1230s to the 1250s as the emergence of the Bosnian Church, it should be noted that during these years, favourable conditions may have been established for the further strengthening of the authority and position of its leaders. As several historians have already written, the Catholicising pressure on Bosnia in the 1230s must have caused resistance from the Bosnian clergy.³⁰ The failure of the first phase of the Inquisition and missionary efforts was compounded by the Mongol invasion and the inability to effectively administer the vast, rural and forested regions of Bosnia over the long term. The absence of a physical presence of Bosnian (Catholic) bishops after 1250 may have contributed to the further isolation, separatism, and schismatic character of the Bosnian Church. Meanwhile, dualistic tendencies continued to spread and gain momentum throughout the 13th century.³¹

²⁷ According to the Christian Church, this was one of the most perverse fallacies, since dualism proclaimed the creation of the world by the devil or the invalidity of Christological doctrines.

²⁸ Interesting insights into the relationship of Bosnian heretics to biblical texts have been provided by Šanjek 1972, 168-173; Culianu 2008, 279-282.

²⁹ Thus, the apparent uniformity of the reports on Bosnian heresy may simply be a consequence of their low number and the poor awareness of the critics.

³⁰ As an important contemporary analogy, we may point to the situation in another territory on the periphery of Hungarian influence in Galicia (Halych) in the years 1205-1235, where the Hungarian kings similarly sought to assert their power through Catholicization. After the departure of most of the Hungarian army, the local Catholic elites there were repeatedly attacked and overthrown by the local boyars and their supporters, and this struggle was presented as a fight of Orthodoxy against the Catholic usurpers.

³¹ It should be emphasized that the considerations about the nature of the Bosnian church in this study relate primarily to conditions up to the middle of the 13th century. Numerous studies bring many other conclusions and observations to later periods as well. More recent works are mainly cited by

Conclusion

Several assumptions can be drawn from the 13th-14th century sources on heresy and ecclesiastical structures in Bosnia in the 13th century. The reports of Rayner Sacconi, the anonymous author of *De heresi catharorum in Lombardia*, Conrad of Urach and Anselm of Alessandria on the dualistic heresy in Dalmatia, Slavonia or Bosnia are not nearly as accurate, reliable or detailed as contemporary data on the North Italian Cathars. However, they complement each other and indicate that there were already religious communities in Bosnia in the 12th century, which maintained contacts with related sects of the Cathars in Lombardy. Reports by Christian authors on the episcopal ordinations of "Cathars" in Bulgaria (who were, in fact, Bogomils) and Slavonia suggest that the emergence of Balkan centres of heretics with dualistic ideas preceded the establishment of Cathar branches in Lombardy. Therefore, the arrival of the Patarenes from Dalmatia cannot be seen as the first wave of dualistic heretics migrating into Bosnia.³² The most likely possibility here is the existence of older Bogomil imports, reaching Bosnia mainly from the territory of Bulgaria, Serbia or neighbouring regions throughout the 12th century. Thus, the intensity of heretical influences in Bosnia may have been amplified by occasional movements, such as the case of the Dalmatian Patarenes of 1199, but also by the long-term migration of heretical preachers and their followers from the Balkan regions to the east of Bosnia.

In parallel with radical, dualistic religious communities, ecclesiastical structures were forming in Bosnia whose leaders interacted with papal legates and the Catholic milieu. The oath of Bilino Polje from 1203 already indicates that the Bosnian bans, bishops and clergy tended to cooperate with the Roman Church, Hungarian rulers and the episcopate for pragmatic reasons. From the 1230s onwards, the Curia intensified its efforts to assert direct papal influence in Bosnia through legates, archbishops of Kalocsa, Dominican missions and support for the military campaigns of the Hungarian Kings or Slavonian Duke Koloman. In an environment with strong Orthodox and dualist influences, the Bosnian Dominican bishops also failed to assert their authority. The inherently violent and unsuccessful Catholicizing tendencies of the 1230s may have been an important aspect that deepened the schismatic character of the Bosnian Church.

Older ideas on the dualistic nature of Bosnian "Bogomilism" and the Church are supplemented in more recent historiography by notions about schismatics and dualistic heretics in Bosnia as two distinct religious currents. However, attempting to define the ecclesiastical situation in Bosnia as a simple dichotomy between the Bosnian Church – rejecting papal authority and primacy – and the dualists fails to fully capture the complexity and intricacy of the religious landscape in Bosnia. The Oath of Bilino Polje, records of Bosnian heresy from the 1220s and 1230s, and later reports of the heretical nature of the Bosnian Church from the 14th-15th century point rather to the long-term formation of ecclesiastical communities in Bosnia. The genesis of the Bosnian Church may have been fundamentally influenced by Eastern Christianity, the isolation of the local ecclesiastical environment, the primarily folk (rural) character of Bosnian religion and the coexistence of a schismatic church and a radical dualistic heresy. Although such an assumption may challenge some older ideas about the clearly definable spiritual nature of the Bosnian Church (whether Bogomil/dualistic or schismatic), I find this approach to be much more realistic and closer to the actual ecclesiastical situation in Bosnia during the 13th century.

a comprehensive study by Dautović, 2015, 127-160. Cf. also collection of studies *Fenomen 'krstjani' u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni i Humu*. 2005 (Šanjek, ed.).

³² Apart from the previously mentioned Ćirković, similar thesis appears to follow from conclusions of the study by Czarnecki 2022, 24.

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MOUNT ATHOS AND THE BOGOMIL-HESYCHASTIC CONTROVERSY¹

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Abstract: ANGELOVSKA-PANOVA, Maja. *Mount Athos and the Bogomil-Hesychastic Controversy*. Since 10th Century Mount Athos continuously represented a center of Orthodoxy that impacted not only on a Byzantine religious life, but also on politics, society and arts. In 14th century the practice of Hesychia was dominant. It was a kind of monasticism, mainly concentrated on the intensive contemplation that usually resulted with hypostatic union with God. At the same time under the influence of some heterodox propaganda, the Massalian as well as Bogomil tendencies penetrated, claiming to experience the essence of God, but also rejecting the sacraments of the official Christianity in respect of its institutional meaning. The controversy intensified when Barlaam of Calabria criticized Hesychasm as heretical, leading to a series of theological debates. Ultimately, Palamas' teachings were upheld by the Palamite Councils (1341 – 1351), affirming Hesychasm as Orthodox doctrine, while the Bogomils were condemned. This conflict shaped Byzantine spirituality and solidified Hesychasm's influence in Orthodox monasticism, particularly on Mount Athos.

Keywords: *Mount Athos, Bogomilism, Hesychasm, monasticism, asceticism*

The beginnings of monastic life on Mount Athos, according to the Byzantine historian Joseph Genesisius, who lived and worked in the mid-10th century, can be traced back to the 9th century, specifically to the Church Council held in Constantinople in 843. Among those present at the Council were monks from Mount Athos, and the Council's purpose was to abolish iconoclasm and restore iconophilism (Angelopoulos 1997, 28; Atanasov 2007, 6).

However, when discussing the establishment of a standardized form of monastic life, the contribution of St. Athanasius of Athos, originally from Trebizond, must be acknowledged. In search of a radical spiritual endeavor and deeper contemplation, he arrived on Mount Athos in 957. Soon after, with the support of the reigning Byzantine Emperor Nikephoros Phokas (963 – 969), he began constructing the Great Lavra, located in the southeastern part of the peninsula.

The first monastic constitution or typikon is chronologically linked to the early years of the reign of Byzantine Emperor John Tzimiskes (969 – 976), specifically between 970 and 972. The typikon, written on goatskin, contained 28 rules that governed the lives of monks within the monastic communities. It was signed by 58 individuals, including 42 abbots (Monah Sava Hilandarec 1989, 30-31). This document, now preserved in the archive of the Protaton in Karyes, serves as a foundational model for later typika, which underwent modifications and additions based on the evolving needs of the monks and their superiors.

The 10th century was marked by a significant rise in the number of Athonite monasteries. This period saw the establishment of the Great Lavra (961), Georgian Iviron Monastery (979/980),

¹ The short version titled "When the Hesychast meets Bogomils: Mount Athos's Spiritual Controversy" was presented at the 24th International Congress of Byzantine Studies, held from August 22 to 27, 2022, in Venice and Padua, Italy.

the Greek Vatopedi Monastery (before 985), and the Zograf Monastery (traditionally believed to have been founded in 919 by Macedonian monks - brothers Moses, Aaron, and John Selima, who are associated with Ohrid). Other notable monasteries were founded later, including the Serbian Hilandar Monastery (1198).

In the early phase of monastic development on Mount Athos, the cenobitic type (Talbot 2009, 262; Angelovska-Panova 2010, 38)² of monasticism prevailed, based on a centralized communal lifestyle in the form of brotherhoods. However, starting from the 14th century, with the rise of Hesychasm, the anchoritic or hermitic form of monastic life became increasingly prominent. This type of monasticism emphasized complete isolation and constant contemplation.

Apart from these two main types of monasticism, Mount Athos was also home to 12 sketes (small monastic communities), which were administratively governed by one of the Athonite monasteries (Atanasov 2007, 7). In this context, it is interesting to note that the primacy of cenobitic monasticism was also characteristic of medieval Macedonia. Chronologically, the main proponents of this type of monasticism were the brothers Cyril and Methodius, followed by their disciples Clement and Naum of Ohrid. From the late 11th and early 12th centuries, anchoritic monasticism also gained prominence in Macedonia, with desert-dwelling monks such as John of Rila, Joachim of Osogovo, Prohor of Pčinja, and Gavril of Lesnovo, who are identified in literature as spiritual brothers.

This represents a reversed chronological order, especially when compared to the development of monastic life in Egypt, Asia Minor, Palestine, and Syria, where eremitism first emerged and was later followed by the dominance of cenobitic monasticism with the creation of the Typikon of Pachomius (290 – 345) (Angelovska-Panova 2014, 117-118).

Regardless of their primary spiritual and religious function, the monasteries of Mount Athos also served as significant scriptorial centers, housing extensive libraries and collections of ancient manuscripts. During his visit to Mount Athos between 1844 and 1845, the Russian Slavist and traveler Viktor Grigorovich noted that Athonite libraries contained approximately 13,000 printed books, 2,800 Greek manuscripts, and 455 Slavic manuscripts. In the following period, this literary wealth continued to expand (Panov 1999, 109-110).

Until Mount Athos was granted autonomous territorial status within the Greek state in 1924, it had, for most of its long history, belonged to the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires.

The period between the 13th and 14th centuries was particularly dynamic politically, as Mount Athos experienced frequent changes in rulers. From 1204 to 1222, it was under the jurisdiction of the Kingdom of Thessalonica, later falling under the rule of the Despotate of Epirus and the Latin Empire. It then came under the control of the Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Asen II and, for a few decades (1345 – 1371), was part of the Serbian medieval state (Atanasov 2007, 8).

The 14th century is of particular interest, as it was a period of crisis affecting several key aspects of Byzantine society: political instability, divisions within the church, and growing dissatisfaction among the people, fueled by the moral and ethical decadence of both state and ecclesiastical authorities. These challenges inevitably impacted Mount Athos, a stronghold of Orthodoxy. A key issue in this discussion is the significance of Hesychasm, the spread of Bogomil-Massilian

² Life in the cenobitic manner implied constant improvement and organization of communal work, regardless of whether it involved manual labor or social work. The challenge of this type of monasticism is associated with the fact that, theoretically, it represents a replacement of biological families with spiritual ones. It is no coincidence that monks referred to each other as brothers, while their superiors – who were responsible for introducing them to the catechesis of Christian theology and managing the community in a practical sense – were seen as spiritual guides. See: (Talbot 2009, 262; Angelovska-Panova 2010, 38).

tendencies, and the interaction between these two spiritual movements of different religious origins.

Etymologically, the term Hesychasm is derived from the Greek word “ἥσυχία” (Latin: *silentium*), meaning “peace,” “quiet,” “silence,” or “serenity.” In patristic vocabulary, it refers to “prayerful silence” or “stillness.” Defined as a *terminus technicus*, Hesychasm implies an ascetic practice aimed at achieving spiritual harmony and hypostatic union with God.

The emergence of Hesychasm and its practices on Mount Athos is largely attributed to Gregory of Sinai, who prepared several prayer manuals for Athonite monks. These manuals serve as evidence of the spread of Hesychasm on the Holy Mountain. In one of his treatises, *On Stillness and the Two Methods of Prayer*, Gregory provides detailed instructions on Hesychastic prayer techniques.

Special emphasis was placed on breathing techniques during the recitation of the Jesus Prayer. Breath control involved sitting with the chin resting on the chest while directing the eyes toward the center of the abdomen, specifically the navel. Additionally, monks preferred dimly lit environments to maintain focus on the prayer and avoid distractions (Strezova 2014, 16).

Gregory of Sinai introduced a tripartite system of spiritual effort, culminating in the realization of the Divine Logos, which represents the ultimate goal of contemplation – attaining union with God (*theosis*)³ (Balfour 1981, 647-651).

In this sense, Hesychasm, as a synonym for spiritual peace and silence, is far more than mere tranquility in a monk’s physical surroundings. The practice of *hesychia* did not imply passivity; on the contrary, it represented a continuous struggle for spiritual existence, requiring immense psycho-physical discipline. Consequently, Mount Athos provided an exceptional environment for the revival of the mystical monastic traditions of Egypt, Cappadocia, Sinai, and Palestine – crystallized in Hesychasm and championed by Gregory Palamas (1296 – 1395). As an already established Byzantine theologian, Gregory Palamas elevated Hesychastic principles to their highest theological and philosophical level.

A distinctive feature of Hesychasm from the 14th century onward, as suggested by Marius Dorobantu, is “*the preference for the Jesus Prayer as a standard practice designed to facilitate spiritual transformation and the articulation of the experience of contemplating divine light within the bold theology of divine uncreated energies.*” In this sense, Hesychasm can be more broadly defined as “*a spiritual system, essentially contemplative in orientation, which regards human perfection as consisting in union with God by means of prayer or perpetual prayerfulness*” (Adnès 1968, 384; Dorobantu 2022, 5).

Parallel to Hesychasm, the 14th century also witnessed the resurgence of Bogomilism, which became particularly pronounced during the reign of Stefan Dušan (1331 – 1355), when most of Macedonia was incorporated into the Serbian state. Following his successful conquests, Stefan Dušan aspired to seize Constantinople itself, aiming to replace Byzantium’s political, spiritual, and cultural dominance. In this sense, the Macedonian ecclesiastical and cultural tradition provided a solid foundation for realizing these ambitions (Velev 1996, 17-18).

It is no coincidence that Stefan Dušan proclaimed himself emperor in Skopje on April 1, 1346, in the presence of the Serbian Patriarch, the Archbishop of Ohrid, and the Patriarch of Trnovo (Velev 1996, 18). To consolidate his rule and strengthen the feudal social structures – equating the newly conquered territories with a powerful empire modeled on Byzantium – Stefan Dušan promoted the famous *Zakonik* (Law Code) at the Council held in Skopje in May 1349. This Code represented a synthesis of Byzantine legal traditions and customary law, including provisions

³ It comes about a transformative process whose aim is likeness to or union with God. More about the meaning of the term see: Goran 2019, 8.

for punishing, branding, and exiling “heretics who live among Christians” (Zakonik cara Stefana Dushana 1975, 184).

The intensified activity of the Bogomils in the first half of the 14th century is also evidenced by an anathema from the *Kratovo Prayer Book*, preserved in a manuscript copy from 1526. This anathema condemns “those who associate with, eat, or drink with Armenians, Paulicians, Patarenes, and Bogomils” (Dragojlovich – Antich 1978, 99).

One of the most significant sources on the 14th century – and, in that regard, on the existence of Massilian-Bogomil tendencies on Mount Athos – is *The Life of Theodosius of Trnovo*, written by the Patriarch of Constantinople, Callistus. This work was likely composed in the final months of Callistus’s life, most probably during the winter of 1363 – 1364 (Rigo – Scarpa 2018, 481). At that time, Mount Athos was under Serbian control, as confirmed by historical records mentioning several Serbian *protoi* and referencing not only Hilandar but also other monasteries, including the Great Lavra (Rigo 2004, 14).

Regarding the reliability and broader context of Bogomilism, *The Life of Theodosius of Trnovo* can be compared to *The Sermon of Presbyter Cosmas* (Angelovska-Panova 2022, 307).

According to *The Life of Theodosius of Tarnovo*, Callistus describes a certain Irina, a nun from Thessaloniki: “Living in Thessaloniki, she passed as if living in purity, but secretly and clandestinely, she was a perpetrator of all kinds of impurities and wickedness. When the monks discovered what kind of woman she was, many of them began to meet where she lived. She, being completely impure, mastered the entire Messalian heresy, which she secretly taught to all those who visited her in their godlessness. As the heresy became widespread, many monks were affected by the delusion, and when they went in separate groups to Mount Athos, they insulted the monasteries there with poverty and begging” (Kiselkov 1926, 14; Hamilton – Hamilton – Stoyanov 1998, 283).

The penetration of Bogomilism into Mount Athos from Thessaloniki is entirely plausible, especially given that the city served as the primary communication link between the monastic community and the outside world. The dispersion of Bogomilism from its core in Macedonia through Thessaloniki, as Dimitri Obolensky once stated, “was undoubtedly facilitated by the natural route of the Vardar River, the main artery connecting Macedonia with Byzantium” (Obolensky 1948, 255).

Besides the nun Irina, *The Life of Theodosius of Trnovo* also mentions Lazar and a certain Cyril, nicknamed Bosota. Accusations of moral corruption were a common feature of hagiographic literature when describing heretics. Thus, Lazar was accused of madness, while Cyril was said to have manifested his heretical beliefs by “blaspheming the holy icons... trampling on the sanctuary and the cross of life... [and] teaching men and women to renounce their lawful marriage” (Hamilton – Hamilton – Stoyanov 1998, 283).

A priest named Stefan, a follower of Cyril and Bosota, is also mentioned in the context of heretical activities. After the Council of Trnovo, held in 1360 and led by Theodosius: “Lazar, realizing his mistake, repented until the end of his life. The impious Bosota and his like-minded Stefan remained hardened. For this reason, seeing their false wisdom, the Emperor ordered their faces to be branded with hot iron and permanently exiled them from his lands” (Hamilton – Hamilton – Stoyanov 1998, 285).

The Life of Theodosius of Trnovo also recounts another case of heresy: “From Constantinople to Tarnovo came a monk named Theodore, supposedly to heal [the people]. However, as soon as he began his work, he started sowing the weeds of lawlessness. The weed was the blasphemy of the dishonorable Akindynos and Barlaam. Not only that: he deceived the people with magic and charm. He did all this not only among the simple folk but even more so among prominent and well-known individuals. In the beginning, he created so much evil that most of the city leaned towards the abyss.

He taught them to bow before an oak tree to receive healing from it, and because of this, many sacrificed sheep and lambs there, believing in the deception" (Petkov 2008, 296).

Similar information appears in the works of Gregory Akindynos (c. 1300 – 1349), a Macedonian Slav from Prilep who received his philosophical and theological education in Thessaloniki under the leading scholars of the time: Thomas Megister, Bernard Barlaam, and Gregory Palamas, whom he would later accuse of heresy. In a letter from 1345, Akindynos accused Palamas of visiting, along with his friend Isidore, the nun Irina – one of the most notorious heretics in Thessaloniki (Loos 1974, 330-331; Dragojlovich 1980, 21).

The accusation against Irina for preaching Messalian heresy stems from the fact that, in the 14th century, sources often conflated Messalianism and Bogomilism. By this time, authentic Messalianism – originally a 4th-century heretical movement from Asia Minor – had largely disappeared. What remained were traces of its influence, which found indirect expression in Bogomilism (Angelovska-Panova 2004, 103).

There is a strong basis to assume that Irina was one of the "perfect" Bogomils, particularly since Bogomil ideology promoted gender equality and the possibility for women to cultivate their intellectual potential and preach – a practice that was never institutionalized within Orthodox or Catholic Christianity (Angelovska-Panova 2004, 103).

The information from *The Life of Theodosius of Trnovo* largely aligns with the account of the Byzantine historian Nikephoros Gregoras. Gregoras states: *"Now let me begin by expounding on the Messalians and the Bogomils, who at that time were settled near Mount Athos. Indeed, I think that Mount Athos is worthy of wonder, for it is ... endowed with a moderate climate and adorned with abundant and diverse vegetation, and thus, so to speak, it easily creates a pleasant feeling among visitors and immediately delivers satisfaction and delight"* (Greek sources about Bulgarian history 1983, 183).

At the outset, Gregoras highlights the natural splendor of Mount Athos, noting that its environment offers "great opportunities for the monks who live there, leading a peaceful life, to send winged prayers to God, as the mountain provides great possibilities for those who wish to taste heavenly life on earth" (Greek sources about Bulgarian history 1983, 184). This elaborate description of Mount Athos is likely tendentious, serving a specific rhetorical or political purpose within the theological and political climate of the time (Pavlovič 2015, 310).

Of particular relevance to our topic is Gregoras's mention of: *"the icon painters Moses, Isaac, David, and Job, as well as all those whose language, thoughts, and deeds are completely corrupt, but who, in a dishonest manner, attempted to diminish the hidden folly and impiety of their own souls by associating themselves with the names of distinguished and virtuous men..."* (Greek sources about Bulgarian history 1983, 183).

Despite condemning them as heretics, Gregoras acknowledges that: *"they could not endlessly deceive the pure and sincere eyes of the God-loving men who lived there only for God."* He further states that "once they were exposed, some were subjected to the punishments they deserved, while others were banished... There were even those who secretly fled and headed for the cities of Thessaloniki and Beroea" (Greek sources about Bulgarian history 1983, 184).

In Chapter 29, when discussing the power struggle over the patriarchal throne between Kallistos and Philotheos Kokkinos, Gregoras mentions: *"Niphon, whom the monks there called by the nickname Scorpion, and who was recently accused of the Massalian and Bogomil heresy, though still secretly and without witnesses."* Notably, Gregoras accuses Kallistos of associating with Niphon and asserts that *"both shared the same beliefs,"* though he does not specify what those beliefs were (Greek sources about Bulgarian history, 1983, 192).

Gregoras also strongly criticizes Palamas, claiming that he: *"honors only empty names"* and associates him with: *"such images and shadows as are spoken of by followers of the Platonic school..."*

and their later adherents – the Bogomils, Manicheans, and Massalians” (Greek sources about Bulgarian history 1983, 192).

In general, historical sources do not engage in theological or dogmatic discussions concerning Bogomilism. Instead, they primarily document the presence of Massalian-Bogomil tendencies spread by specific figures.

This raises an important dilemma: how and for what purpose did Bogomils establish a presence on Mount Athos? Moreover, to what extent can interactions between Hesychasts and Bogomils be identified, given that Hesychasm is a mystical branch of Orthodoxy, whereas Bogomilism is a dualistic doctrine – or, more popularly, a heresy?

Although Bogomilism existed on Mount Athos for only three years, the duration is secondary to the significance of its penetration into the very heart of Orthodox monasticism.

One plausible explanation is that monks were influenced by the outside world, particularly during their travels to Thessaloniki and its surrounding regions for practical necessities, such as procuring supplies for personal use and for the monastic community. An illustrative case is the aforementioned nun Irina, whose preaching contributed – albeit without engaging in deep theological discussions – to the spread of heretical tendencies among monks.

Another plausible assumption is that, in the political climate of the early Ottoman conquests in the Balkans, a significant number of monks sought refuge on Mount Athos. Among them were likely adherents of Bogomilism who adopted a monastic guise as a means of self-protection – particularly since their beliefs and activities had long subjected them to persecution. It is no coincidence that Nikephoros Gregoras himself highlights Mount Athos’s natural advantages, describing it as a place that “*abounds in nature’s qualities*,” which undoubtedly provided a sense of security and a semblance of normalcy (Greek sources about Bulgarian history, 1983, 183).

From a methodological standpoint, one theoretical and practical observation is the contemplative asceticism that both movements shared.

The prayer practices of the Hesychasts exhibit striking similarities to the spiritual exercises of the Massalians and Bogomils, who viewed prayer as an existential means of attaining a sinless life (Angelovska-Panova 2004, 104). Both traditions believed that through prayerful asceticism, they could perceive divine light and, in doing so, achieve immortality and eternal life even before the universal resurrection. This is corroborated by the writings of Euthymios Zigabenos, a high-ranking church official during the reign of Alexios I Komnenos (1081 – 1118), who noted that the Bogomils “*did not die, but as if in sleep, they shed their earthly and bodily covering and clothed themselves in the immortal and divine garment of Christ*” (Euthymios Zigabenos 1865, coll.1317; Dragojlovich 1980, 25).

For Hesychasts, as for the Bogomils, death was understood as a “mysterious” separation of soul and body, in which the body lost its vital force while the soul continued to exist as an incorporeal being. The notion of the soul’s immortality among both groups had more philosophical and anthropological significance than purely religious implications. This belief formed the foundation of their broader philosophy of salvation.

In this context, the presence of Massalian-Bogomil tendencies likely influenced certain branches of Hesychasm (Strezova 2014, 234)⁴ that leaned toward a conditionally heretical understanding of ecstasy, omphalopsychism, prayerful asceticism, and divine energy as the ultimate form of hypostatic union with God.

⁴ The rationalist-Hesychast disputes began in the 1340s at the initiative of the Calabrian monk Barlaam, who published a polemical treatise against the Athonite Hesychasts, accusing them of the Messalian heresy. Gregory Palamas stood in defense of the Hesychasts. Palamite theology is based on the distinction between the essence and energies of the uncreated God.

At the same time, the Bogomils, having developed a recognizable religious-ideological platform, adopted a strategy of self-defense by emphasizing the philosophical dimensions of their teachings. By aligning themselves with the Byzantine intellectual elite and engaging in the exegesis of theological and metaphysical questions, they sought to legitimize their beliefs. Hesychasm, as a mystical movement within Orthodox monasticism, provided a convenient and relatively safe channel for the transmission of Bogomil ideas (Angelovska-Panova 2019, 91).

Given this mutual interaction, both Bogomilism and that branch of Hesychasm that intersected with heretical elements functioned not merely as spiritual movements but also as expressions of intellectual thought. This undoubtedly contributed to the religious and philosophical diversity of Mount Athos until Hesychasm ultimately became fully integrated into Orthodox monasticism.

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THE ASSUMPTION OF MARY INTO HEAVEN ACCORDING TO SAINT BONAVENTURE

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Abstract: SALVADOR-GONZÁLEZ, José María. *The Assumption of Mary into Heaven According to Saint Bonaventure*. With this article we aim to shed light on the various, specific arguments with which the prestigious 13th century Franciscan theologian Saint Bonaventure of Bagnoregio (c. 1217/21 – 1274) – known as the Seraphic Doctor (*Doctor Seraphicus*) –, defended the belief in the immediate resurrection and assumption of Mary, body and soul, into heaven. As a necessary doctrinal foundation for his position in this regard, we will first present a summary of the biblical, apocryphal, patristic and theological antecedents on which the Christian belief in the bodily Assumption of Mary into heaven is based. We will then proceed by following step by step the complex reasoning of Saint Bonaventure to justify his defense of the assumptionist thesis. The results of our study will show the originality of the arguments through which this influential Franciscan thinker defended the belief in the bodily Assumption of Mary and her sublime exaltation as enthroned Queen of Heaven. Indeed, St. Bonaventure's arguments (along with those of his prestigious colleagues at the Franciscan Theological School) in favor of belief in the bodily Assumption of Mary into heaven contributed greatly to the official definition of the dogma of the Assumption in 1950 by Pope Pius XII.

Keywords: *Mariology, Christian tradition, resurrection, heavenly exaltation, celestial Queenship*

1. Textual background of the belief in Mary's Assumption into heaven

Although there are several articles dealing with St. Bonaventure's theology on the Assumption of Mary, we have not wanted to confront them here for two essential reasons: first, because the limited length of the article would not allow it; second, and above all, because our intention is to study the primary sources directly, namely, the original writings of the Master of Bagnoregio. Therefore, we have concentrated on exposing the general logical structure, and on thoroughly analyzing each of the arguments with which the Seraphic Doctor defends his position on the matter. It is precisely this focus on the Bonaventurian primary sources that underlies the originality of our article.

As those who have studied the subject of the Assumption of Mary into heaven point out (Jugie 1944; Bover 1947; Malo 1948; Longpré 1948; Laurentin 1967; Duggan 1989; Mimouni 1995; Calvo Moralejo – Cecchin 2001; Shoemaker 2002; Perrella – De Fiores 2009; Fehlner 2011), this belief has numerous biblical, apocryphal and patristic antecedents, which we will summarize below.

1.1. Biblical antecedents of Mary's Assumption

The Fathers and theologians thought that several passages of the Old and New Testament foretell the bodily assumption of Mary into heaven (Serra 2006, 147-151; De Fiores 2006, 84-85). These biblical passages are:

1) God's sentence after the original sin "I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between your offspring and hers; he will strike your head, and you will strike his heel" (Gn 3,15. *Bible online*: New Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition. NRSVCE), that was interpreted with a Mariological approach by almost all the Fathers of the Eastern and Western Churches.

2) The command "Honor your father and your mother" (Ex 20,12. NRSVCE), which they apply in the sense that Christ could not fail to honor his mother, exalting her in body and soul to heaven.

3) The announcement "I will glorify where my feet rest" (Is 60,13. NRSVCE), which they understand in the sense that the body of the Virgin is the tabernacle where God placed his feet.

4) The verses of the Psalms "at your right hand stands the queen in gold of Ophir" (Ps 45,9. NRSVCE) and "The princess is decked in her chamber with gold-woven robes; in many-colored robes she is led to the king [...] as they enter the palace of the king" (Ps 45,14-16. NRSVCE), that they see as figures of the exaltation of Mary by God when she is assumed into heaven.

5) The verse "Rise up, O Lord, and go to your resting place, you and the ark of your might" (Ps 132,8. NRSVCE), which is interpreted by the Fathers and theologians with a similar Assumptionist sense: they see the Ark of the Covenant, made of incorruptible wood, as a prefiguration of Mary's body, incorruptible after death.

6) The passage from the Song of Solomon mentioning a woman "What is that coming up from the wilderness, like a column of smoke, perfumed with myrrh and frankincense, with all the fragrant powders of the merchant?" (Song 3:6. NRSVCE), that is understood by the Fathers and theologians as a figure of Mary in her bodily Assumption into heaven.

7) The greeting of the Archangel Gabriel to the Virgin at the Annunciation "Greetings, favored one! The Lord is with you" (Luke 1:28. NRSVCE), which is related by the masters of Christian doctrine as an announcement of the exaltation of Mary in her assumption.

8) With a similar assumptionist projection, the Church Fathers and theologians interpret the Visitation of Mary to her cousin Elizabeth and the song of the Magnificat (Luke 1:41-55).

9) The passages from the Apocalypse: "A great portent appeared in heaven: a woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars" (Rev 12:1. NRSVCE) and "the woman was given the two wings of the great eagle, so that she could fly from the serpent into the wilderness, to her place where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time" (Rev 12:14. NRSVCE), that have always been interpreted by the Fathers and theologians as a prefiguration of Mary in her bodily assumption into heaven.

Almost all the Church Fathers maintained that Mary died naturally, like other mortals, although no canonical text documents Mary's death or its specific circumstances. Given the scarcity of New Testament texts on the life of the Virgin Mary, from early times of our era, some anonymous legends describing alleged details of Mary's death, burial, and even bodily assumption into heaven began to spread orally among Christian communities, especially in the East. These oral legends were transcribed from approximately the 4th century in various apocryphal writings of diverse linguistic origin, known as Assumptionist apocrypha (Santos Otero 2006). José María Bover (1947, 155-196) mentions such apocrypha, diversifying them according to types and linguistic groups, and analyzing their historical value and theological interest.

Among the Assumptionist apocrypha, the following stand out: *Transitus B. Mariae auctore Pseudo-Melitone* (4th century), *Iohannis apostoli liber de dormitione sanctae Deiparae*, dating back to the 4th century or before (Otero 2006, 576-600), *Transitus W or Adsumptio sanctae Mariae* (Bover 1947, 179-196), *The Book of John, Archbishop of Tessaaloniki*, c. 7th century (Santos Otero 2006, 576-600), and *Transitus B. Mariae auctore Pseudo-Iosepho ab Arimathea*, late recasting of the preceding apocryphal text (Santos Otero 2006, 640-653). These apocrypha affirm, each in its own way, the imaginary circumstances of the death, burial, and bodily assumption of the Virgin

into heaven, as we have explained in other articles (Salvador-González 2011, 237-268; 2012, 1-40; 2017a, 139-168; 2017b, 185-230; 2020, 276-291).

1.2. Patristic and theological background of the Assumptionist belief

Apart from the Assumptionist apocrypha, from the first centuries of the Christian era several Eastern and Western Church Fathers affirmed the natural death of Mary, many of them going so far as to defend her almost immediate bodily assumption into heaven (Meo 1986, 151-161). In defense of the belief in Mary's Assumption into heaven, numerous testimonies from Fathers and theologians of the Greek-Eastern and Latin-Western Churches are documented between the 4th and 13th centuries (Bover 1947, 98-196; Longpré 1948, 203-230; Sesboüé 1998, 513-528).

Without attempting to catalogue the complete list of these Church Fathers, we mention here the most important defenders of the assumption of the Virgin Mary into heaven. In the Greek-Eastern Churches, the following Fathers stand out: St. Ephrem the Syrian (306-373) maintains in two sermons the belief in Mary's natural death (Bover 1947, 23, 101-102, 127-132, 358-360). Timothy of Jerusalem, in a text datable to the end of the 4th century or beginning of the 5th, is the first documented author to mention the assumption of Mary body and soul into heaven (Bover 1947, 98-99; Meo 1986, 151).

St. Gregory of Nazianzus (330 – 389/90) and St. Gregory of Nyssa (335 – c. 395) reflect along similar lines. Saint Epiphanius of Salamis (310/15 – 403), even if hesitating a lot to affirm something certain about the earthly end of the Virgin, speaks of the assumption of the Virgin in two texts, which Bover (1947, 99-101, 119-125) presents as proof that this saint is a precursor of the assumptionist doctrine. Severian of Gabala (c. 380 – c. 408) adheres to this belief in a treatise on creation (Bover 1947, 23). Other Eastern Church Fathers who promoted the assumption of Mary are Timothy of Jerusalem (4th – 5th centuries), Saint Cyril of Alexandria (c. 370/73 – 444), Hesychius of Jerusalem († 450), Chrysippus of Jerusalem (c. 409 – 479), Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (5th – 6th centuries) and Jacob of Sarugh (451 – 521), who affirms it in a hymn in Syriac (Bover 1947, 23).

Already in the 7th-8th centuries, all the Eastern Church Fathers who deal with Mary's death subscribe to the certainty of her bodily assumption into heaven. Among such defenders of the Marian assumption, the following stand out:

Saint Modestus of Jerusalem († 634) would be the first explicit defender of Mary's bodily assumption into heaven (Bover 1947, 105; Meo 1986, 152), if he is the author of the *Encomium in dormitionem* attributed to him (Modestus Hierosolymitanus. PG 86, 3288-3293). John of Thessalonica († 639) recounts *in extenso* the supposed circumstances of the death, burial and assumption of Mary in *De Dormitione B. Virginis* (Casas Otero 2006, 605-639). St. Germanus of Constantinople (635 – 732/33) defends her bodily assumption in three homilies on the Dormition of the Virgin (Germanus Constantinopolitanus. PG 98, 340-357). St. Andrew of Crete (650 – 740) is one of the main defenders of Mary's assumption in three homilies on the Dormition of the Virgin (Andreas Cretensis. PG 97, 1045-1110).

In addition to St. Cosmas the Melodist († 743), Theodore Studita (758/59 – 826) stands out (Bover 1947, 108; Meo 1986, 152), who wrote a sermon on the transit of the Virgin and her immediate assumption into Paradise (Theodorus Studita. PG 99, 719-729). Also, Saint John Damascene (c. 675/76 – 749) in three homilies on the Virgin's Dormition proclaims her bodily assumption into heaven (Joannis Damascenus. PG 96, 700-721; PG 96, 740-753; PG 96, 753-761).

Other Eastern Church Fathers who subscribed to the doctrine of Mary's bodily assumption are St. Epiphanius the Monk (8th – 9th centuries), St. Joseph the Hymnographer (816 – 886), George

of Nicomedia († 880), Symeon Metaphrastes († 970), John the Geometer († 1005), John of Eucaia († 1054) and Michael Glykas († 1190) (Bover 1947, 108-110; Meo 1986, 152).

Among the Latin Church Fathers and theologians who defended the assumptionist belief, St. Ambrose of Milan (339/40 – 397) and St. Augustine of Hippo (354 – 430) stand out (Bover 1947, 23-24; Meo 1986, 152). In the 6th century, St. Gregory of Tours (538 – 594) was the first Western theologian to defend the bodily assumption of Mary into heaven (Gregorius Turonensis. PL 71, 708). In turn, St. Venantius Fortunatus (530 – 610) subtly suggested the Marian assumption in a poem (Bover 1947, 102-103). In the 7th and 8th centuries, St. Isidore of Seville (c. 560 – 636) and St. Bede the Venerable (673 – 735) were distinguished as supporters of Mary's assumption. From the 9th century onwards, numerous Western Church Fathers and theologians sustained the assumption of Mary body and soul into heaven (Bover 1947, 112-113; Meo 1986, 152). Among them we can mention Saint Fulbert of Chartres (960 – 1028), Saint Peter Damian (1007 – 1072), Saint Anselm of Canterbury (1033/34 – 1109), Peter Abelard (1079 – 1142), Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (1090 – 1153), Hugh of Saint-Victor (1096 – 1141), Saint Amadeus of Lausanne (1110 – 1159), Richard of Saint-Victor (1110 – 1173), Philip of Harveng (1110 – 1183), Peter of Celle (c. 1115 – 1183), Saint Martin of Leon (1130 – 1203), Peter of Blois (1135 – 1203), William of Auvergne (1180 – 1249) and Vincent of Beauvais (c. 1190 – 1256). The 13th century was the medieval period of greatest impetus in favor of Mary's bodily assumption into heaven, thanks above all to the contributions of the theologians of the Franciscan School.

After this summary of the background to the doctrine of Mary's assumption into heaven (Bover 1947; Malo 1948), we will now present the opinion on the matter conveyed by St. Bonaventure of Bagnoregio (c. 1217/21 – 1274), one of the Franciscan masters of the 13th century who most distinguished himself in the defense of the assumptionist thesis. Along with him, his 13th century Franciscan colleagues Saint Anthony of Padua, Jean de la Rochelle, Alexander of Hales, Conrad of Saxony, Bartolomeo da Bologna, Matteo d'Acquasparta, Servasanto da Faenza, William of Ware and John Duns Scotus also distinguished themselves as defenders of this belief, whose opinions on the subject we will present in another article.

2. St. Bonaventure's arguments in favor of the assumptionist belief

St. Bonaventure accepts the belief that Mary died before being assumed into heaven. In several passages of his third book of *Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, he affirms that the Virgin necessarily had to die and suffer,¹ for two essential reasons. First, because it was not fitting that Mary should be immortal, when her son Christ was mortal and died.² Secondly, because Mary's death and passibility were a consequence of the guilt of original sin, with which she was contaminated when she was conceived. On the contrary, Christ's death and passibility did not derive from original sin, from which he was exempt, but from the express will of God the Father, who did not exempt him from dying to redeem humanity.³

¹ “Virgo habuit necessitatem moriendi et patiendi” (Bonaventura de Bagnoregio, Sent III, d. 16, art. 1, q. 3; Q III, 350a).

² “3. Ad illud quod obiicitur, quod potuit mori: dicendum, quod non est simile, pro eo quod non fuit decens, Filium Dei habere matrem immortalem, cum ipse esset mortalis” (Bonaventura de Bagnoregio, Sent III, d.3, p. 1, art. 2, q. 3; Q III, 78b).

³ “4. Ad illud quod obiicitur, quod Christus in passibilitate assimilabatur Matri; dicendum, quod etsi aliquo modo assimilaretur ei, nihilominus tamen in modo et causa reperitur differentia. Nam Virgo passibilitatem habet pro reatu peccati originalis ex necessitate contracto; Christus vero passibilitatem

Furthermore, St. Bonaventure states in his fifth sermon on the Virgin's birth that just as, in living and conceiving, Mary did not disintegrate with the corruption of concupiscence, so in dying she did not decompose with the pain of being devoured by worms and turning into ashes; because this privilege was most suitable for the incorrupt viscera of her virginal womb.⁴

St. Bonaventure, who devoted four sermons to the Assumption, did not think it necessary to make any explicit declaration or argument to prove Mary's resurrection: he takes it as undeniable, as an indispensable condition for Mary's bodily Assumption into heaven, a thesis that the Seraphic Doctor resolutely defends in these four sermons.

Furthermore, St. Bonaventure proposes as an essential reason for Mary's bodily Assumption her "perfect happiness," in the sense that, for Mary's happiness to be perfect in her assumption, it is necessary that not only her soul be glorified, but also her body. In his opinion, the sentence in the Song of Solomon about the woman who comes up from the desert, dripping with delight and leaning on her beloved, signifies the special mode of Mary's perfection in heaven, which is only possible if she is also perfect in her body.⁵

The Seraphic Doctor reinforces his reasoning by insisting that being supported by her beloved, pouring out delights, which expresses the fullness of happiness and the glorification of the Virgin in heaven, would not be a full happiness if it were not for her entire person; and, as the person of Mary is not only her soul, but the union of her soul and her body, such a fullness of happiness demands that it also affect her body, through the assumption of the Virgin in body and soul into heaven.⁶

St. Bonaventure addresses this theme on several occasions and in various ways. In his first sermon on the Assumption he says that Mary, when assumed into heaven, has subjected the hierarchies of angels and men; for which reason she is designated as "bitter sea," because she purges; as "illuminator," because she illuminates; and as "Lady," because she perfects; therefore, she is elevated above the purgative, illuminating and perfecting angelic hierarchy, and above the human hierarchy which must be purged, illuminated and perfected.⁷ In another passage of this

habuit absque aliquo reatu in ipso reperto, ex sola dispensatione divina" (Bonaventura de Balneoregio, Sent III, d. 15, art. 1, q. 1; Q III, 335b).

⁴ "Sed gloriosa Virgo Maria, sicut vivendo et concipiendo non putruit per corruptelam concupiscentiae actualis; sic moriendo et exspirando non putruit per poenam incinerationis et vermis; et hoc quidem convenientissimum erat integerrimis et incorruptis visceribus uteri virginalis" (Bonaventura de Balneoregio, De Nativitate Mariae. Sermo V; Q IX, 715).

⁵ "Ponit ergo beata Virgo specialem perfectionis modum in caelesti civitate; unde hierarchiam perficiendum praecellit; et ob hoc clamant in Canticis: *Quae est ista quae ascendit de deserto, deliciis affluens, innixa super dilectum suum?* Et hinc constare potest, quod corporaliter ibi est; [...] patet, (quod) hic modus perfectionis ibi non esset, nisi corporaliter ibi esset" (Bonaventura de Balneoregio, De Assumptione B. Virginis Mariae (15 Augusti). Sermo I: Q IX, 690a).

⁶ "Item, hoc colligitur sic: Cum enim dicitur *innixa super dilectum suum et deliciis affluens* propter consummatam eius beatitudinem; et beatitudo non esset consummata, nisi personaliter ibi esset, et persona non sit anima, sed coniunctum: patet, quod secundum coniunctum, id est corpus et animam, ibi est; alioquin consummatam non haberet fruitionem" (Bonaventura de Balneoregio, De Assumptione B. Virginis Mariae (15 Augusti). Sermo I: Q IX, 690a).

⁷ "Hunc autem actum beata Virgo habet in subiectas sibi hierarchias Angelorum et hominum; unde congrue appellatur Maria *amarum mare*, quia purgat; *illuminatrix*, quia illuminat; *Domina*, quia perficit et consummat. Est igitur elevata super hierarchiam *angelicam* purgantem, illuminantem, perficientem, et super hierarchiam *humanam* purgandam, illuminandam, perficiendam" (Bonaventura de Balneoregio, De Assumptione B. Virginis Mariae (15 Augusti). Sermo I: Q IX, 689b).

sermon he goes on to point out that Mary, by being assumed into heaven, is elevated above the perfecting hierarchy, that is, above the angels, whose desire is the perfection of the heavenly city.⁸

In the second sermon on the Assumption, Bonaventure says that the phrase from the Book of Wisdom which refers to being more beautiful than the sun and superior to the stars prefigures the Virgin Mary: in fact, being assumed into heaven as glorious Empress, she is exalted by God above all the inhabitants of heaven and is excellently distinguished as a noble Lady by her perfect beauty, her super-excellent nobility and the clarity of her wisdom.⁹

The Seraphic Doctor explains this assertion, clarifying that Mary is distinguished as to her perfect beauty, because she is designated as more beautiful than the sun; she is distinguished as to her excellent nobility, because she is placed above all the stars, that is, the saints; and she is distinguished as to the clarity of her wisdom, because Mary is designated as enlightened more appropriately than the other creatures.¹⁰

The Master of Bagnoregio then insists on proclaiming the super-excellence of the Virgin in her Assumption, when, interpreting the well-known question of the Song of Solomon “Who is that coming up from the wilderness, leaning upon her beloved?” (Song 8:5. NRSVCE), he emphasizes that Mary has become more noble than all the saints as regards the influx of delights, with which she distills delights on all the saints, not only as regards her soul, but as regards her body also, glorified when her soul is assumed into heaven.¹¹

The Seraphic Doctor then goes on to proclaim the exaltation of the Virgin in heaven, pointing out that she is noble by the excellence of her dignity above all the saints, for, as Mother of the heavenly Emperor, she is the noblest of all creatures and has been deservedly placed on a sublime throne at the right hand of her Son.¹²

Finally, in his third sermon on the Assumption, St. Bonaventure insists on the honors which the Virgin receives at her Assumption, beginning with the principal honor, which is that of being

⁸ “Est etiam elevata super hierarchiam *perficientem*; [...] id est. angelicorum spirituum, quorum desiderium est perfectio civitatis caelestis” (Bonaventura de Balneoregio, De Assumptione B. Virginis Mariae (15 Augusti). Sermo I: Q IX, 690a).

⁹ “Est enim haec speciosior sole et super omnem dispositionem stellarum, luci comparata, invenitur prior, Sapientiae septimo. In verbis istis Imperatrix gloriosa, super choros supernorum civium sublimata commendatur a Spiritu sancto quantum ad assumptionem suam commendatione perfecta; commendatur autem quantum ad tria, quae aliquam nobilem dominam excellentissime commendabilem reddunt, quae quidem sunt *perfecta speciositas, superexcellens nobilitas et sapientiae claritas*” (Bonaventura de Balneoregio, De Assumptione B. Virginis Mariae. Sermo II; Q IX, 691a).

¹⁰ “Quantum ad perfectam *speciositatem* commendatur hic, cum sole *speciosior* nuncupatur; quantum ad excellentem *nobililatem*, cum stellis omnibus, id est universis Sanctis, sublimius et altius collocatur; sed quantum ad sapientiae *claritatem*, cum *luci* aeternae sapientiae *comparata*, propius omnibus creaturis dicitur illustrata” (Bonaventura de Balneoregio, De Assumptione B. Virginis Mariae. Sermo II; Q IX, 691a).

¹¹ “Super omnes igitur Sanctos dicitur esse facta nobilior et sublimis quantum ad *deliciarum affluentiam*, quibus super omnes Sanctos singulariter affluebat; propter quod admirantes Angeli in sua assumptione dicebant: *Quae est ista quae ascendit de deserto, deliciis affluens, innixa super dilectum suum?* Canticorum octavo. Istis *deliciis* super Sanctorum collegium affluebat non solum quantum ad animam, verum etiam quantum ad corpus proprium, quod pie glorificatum in assumptione animae esse creditur et probatur” (Ibid., 692a).

¹² “Super omnes Sanctos nihilominus facta est nobilis quantum ad *dignitatis* sive generis *excellentiam*; ipsa enim genere et dignitate, cum sit Mater Imperatoris altissimi, est omnium creaturarum nobilissima; et idcirco super omnem creaturam et ad dexteram Filii sui fuit non immerito exaltata et in solio sublimissimo collocata; quod optime tertii Regum secundo fuit praefiguratum” (Ibid.).

preceded by the Supreme King of Heaven and by a solemn procession of the entire heavenly cohort. He expresses it that way:

The angels fly ahead to see their Lady; the patriarchs leap down to see their daughter; the apostles flock to see their teacher; the martyrs hasten to see their exhorter; the married and the widowed run to see their companion and sister; the nuns gather to see their prelate and abbess.¹³

Furthermore, St. Bonaventure maintains in his third sermon on the Assumption that the Mother of God was solemnly exalted at her assumption with these four honors: a magnificent exit to meet her, because the King went out to meet his mother; a sweet reception, because he adored her and embraced her; a worthy enthronement, because they placed the throne of the King's mother; an immediate approach, because she sat at his right hand.¹⁴

Explaining these ideas, the Seraphic Doctor says that the Creator granted Mary, when she was assumed into heaven, an honorary reception that surpassed in excellence that of other creatures. In fact, the whole Trinity came to receive the Virgin with joy and glory, recognizing her as the spouse of chaste love, the royal hall of the holy residence, the office of the admirable operation.¹⁵

The theologian of Bagnoregio explains this assertion by pointing out that God the Father recognized Mary as the house of his majesty, God the Son recognized her as the beginning of his humanity and his humility, and the Holy Spirit recognized her as the sanctuary of his goodness, in which the charisms of graces were fully founded, in whose universal granary he gathered the wheat of the gifts so that they would reach the poor in times of need. Moreover, the biblical phrase "The king rose to meet her, and bowed down to her" (1 Kings 2:19. NRSVCE) must be applied to Christ, because, leaving his throne, he moved the entire structure of the celestial empire to give a gift to his mother.¹⁶

¹³ "I. Primus ergo honor est *obviatio summi Regis*. Omnino enim credendum est et nullatenus dubitandum, quin hodie solemnī processione obvium sit Virgini ascendenti non solum a Rege, verum etiam a tota *curia caelesti*. — Praevolant Angeli videre dominam suam; desiliunt Patriarchae videre filiam suam; occurrunt Apostoli videre magistrā suam; accelerant Martyres videre exhortatricem suam; irruunt maritatae et viduae aspicere sociam et sororem suam; confluunt consorores videre praelatam et abbatissam suam" (Bonaventura de Balneoregio, De Assumptione B. Virginis Mariae. Sermo III; Q IX, 693b).

¹⁴ "Quatuor honores describuntur in verbis propositis, quibus hodie Mater Dei, Maria, in sua assumptione fuit solemniter honorata; et hi sunt: magnifica *obviatio*, quia *surrexit rex in occursum matris*; dulcissima atque blandissima *receptio*, quia *adoravit eam*; littera Iosephi dicit: *et amplexatus est eam*; dignissima *in-thronizatio*, ibi: *positusque est thronus matri regis*; immediata *locatio* sive propinquatio, ibi: *et sedit ad dexteram eius*" (Bonaventura de Balneoregio, De Assumptione B. Virginis Mariae. Sermo III; Q IX, 693b).

¹⁵ "Verum quidquid reverentiae ipsae conferant creaturae, nihil est comparatione superexcellētis honoris, quem confert ei Creator. Occurrit enim tota Trinitas, etsi non motu locali, tamen influenza favorabili, laetitia principali et gloria deiformi. Tota siquidem beata Trinitas te cognovit, Maria, *sponsam* castae dilectionis, *aulam* sanctae inhabitationis, *officinam* mirae operationis" (Bonaventura de Balneoregio, De Assumptione B. Virginis Mariae. Sermo III; Q IX, 693b-694a).

¹⁶ "Cognovit beatam Mariam Pater domum suae maiestatis; [...] recognovit Filius principium suae humanitatis sive humilitatis; recognovit Spiritus sanctus sacrarium suae bonitatis, in quo plenissime et absque mensura charismata condidit gratiarum, in quo scilicet *horreo* publico et universali congregavit frumenta donorum, ut tempore necessitatis ad pauperes pervenirent; [...] Sed de Christo, Filio eius, proprie intelligitur quod dicitur: *Surrexit rex in occursum matris*. Exsiliens enim de solio suo, totam imperii machinam in Matris obsequium movit" (Bonaventura de Balneoregio, De Assumptione B. Virginis Mariae. Sermo III; Q IX, 694a).

In another passage of this sermon, St. Bonaventure insists that the third honor reserved by God to the Virgin when entering heaven is her worthy enthronement on the throne that he prepared for her.¹⁷ He then explains that the fourth honor granted by God to Mary by placing her at the right hand of the King is due to three essential reasons. The first is the immediacy of love from heart to heart, in the sense that, there being no separation between the heart of Mary and that of God, there should be no separation between both thrones, that of God the Son and that of his Mother.¹⁸ The second reason is to frequently intercede for sinners, because it is not convenient for the intercessor and the reconciler to sit at a distance, but that they should come closer laterally, and even coincide from ear to ear.¹⁹ As a third reason for the royal glorification of Mary at the side of Christ, the Seraphic Doctor alleges that of patriarchy, according to this explanation: by patriarchal hierarchy Adam, among men, and Eve, among women, were destined to sit at the right hand of God; but that hierarchy was transferred to Christ and Mary, because, just as Adam and Eve were the destroyers of mankind, Christ and Mary were its restorers.²⁰

3. Conclusions

St. Bonaventure accepts the common belief that Mary died before her assumption into heaven for two reasons: because it was not fitting that Mary should be immortal, when her son Christ died; also, because Mary's death was a consequence of the guilt of original sin, with which she was contaminated at her conception.

Bonaventure adds that, just as Mary did not decay with the corruption of concupiscence while living and conceiving, so she did not disintegrate and turn into ashes when dying, since this privilege was most fitting for her incorrupt virginal womb. He did not think necessary to make any explicit declaration or any argument for it. Although he does not prove it with arguments, our author takes the resurrection of Mary to be undeniable, since it is an indispensable condition for her bodily assumption into heaven.

The Seraphic Doctor proposes as the essential reason for Mary's bodily Assumption into heaven her perfect happiness, in the sense that, for Mary's happiness to be perfect in her assumption, it is necessary that not only her soul be glorified, but also her body.

¹⁷ "III. *Positus est thronus matri eius*. Hic est tertius honor dignissimae *intronizationis*. Et cum *thronus* sit aeternae regalis celsitudinis, nihil aliud est dicere: *Positus est thronus*, quam: *rex accepit uxorem et voluit esse reginam*, et merito" (Bonaventura de Balneoregio, De Assumptione B. Virginis Mariae. Sermo III; Q IX, 694b).

¹⁸ "IV. *Et sedit ad dexteram eius*. Hic est quartus honor: *immediata locatio circa Regem*. Et sunt ad hoc tres rationes: prima est *immediatio amoris* cordis ad cor. Sicut enim nihil fuit medium inter cor Virginis et Deum, ita nihil medium inter thronum et thronum" (Bonaventura de Balneoregio, De Assumptione B. Virginis Mariae. Sermo III; Q IX, 695a).

¹⁹ "Secunda ratio est *frequenter interpellandi* pro peccatoribus. Habentem enim interpellatricis et reconciliatricis officium non oportet longe sedere, sed prope assistere et quasi lateraliter appropinquare, immo auriculariter cohaerere, ne forte contra suos commendatores crudelis dictetur sententia, et si dictata fuerit, irritetur" (Bonaventura de Balneoregio, De Assumptione B. Virginis Mariae. Sermo III; Q IX, 695a).

²⁰ "Tertia ratio est, quia *patriarchatus*, quem habuisset Adam in numero virorum et Eva in numero feminarum, ut sederet ad dexteram Dei, id est in *potioribus bonis*, translatus est ad Christum et Mariam, Matrem eius, quia, sicut illi fuerunt peremptores humani generis, ita isti fuerunt reparatores" (Bonaventura de Balneoregio, De Assumptione B. Virginis Mariae. Sermo III; Q IX, 695a).

St. Bonaventure states that, by being assumed into heaven as glorious Empress, Mary is exalted by God above all the inhabitants of heaven and is made to stand out as a noble Lady by her perfect beauty, her super-excellent nobility and the clarity of her wisdom.

Finally, the Master of Bagnoregio assures that the Mother of God was solemnly exalted in her assumption through four honors: a magnificent exit to meet her by her Son the King; a sweet reception, because He embraced her; a worthy enthronement, because they placed the throne of the King's mother next to his; an immediate approach, because she sat at the right hand of her divine Son.

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VZÁJOMNÉ VZŤAHY A SPORY O KONVENTY MEDZI FRANTIŠKÁNSKÝMI KONVENTUÁLMI A OBSERVANTMI V STREDOVEKOM UHORSKU

Mutual Relations and Disputes Over Convents Between Franciscan Conventuals and Observants in Medieval Hungary

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Abstrakt: HUŤKA, Miroslav. *Mutual Relations and Disputes Over Convents Between Franciscan Conventuals and Observants in Medieval Hungary*. In Hungary, from the 15th century onwards, both Franciscan observances, the older Conventuals and the stricter Observants, were active. This paper will discuss the ways of resolving the conflicts between these two parts of the Franciscan Order, still outwardly united at that time. The disputes were resolved at the local, provincial, and even at the highest level. The Observances communicated with each other through letters, provincial chapters, but also through the intervention of the Pope or the Minister General of the Order. The temporal delimitation of the issue under study will be approximately for the period of the 15th century until 1517, when the official division of the Order into Minorites and Franciscans took place. The disputes naturally did not cease, as two provinces were established on the territory of Hungary, which territorially overlapped each other.

Keywords: *medieval Hungary, Franciscans, Conventuals, Observants, Convents*

Františkánska rehoľa bola a stále je integrálnou súčasťou našej spoločnosti. V každom historickom období prekonávala iné problémy a reagovala na stále sa meniace vonkajšie, ale aj vnútorné okolnosti. V období stredoveku medzi vnútorné výzvy patrili aj vzájomné vzťahy medzi jednotlivými františkánskymi observanciami. Je len málo reholí, ktoré prekonali taký dynamický vývoj, akou boli nasledovníci sv. Františka z Assisi. V našom príspevku sa budeme zaoberať témou, ktorá priamo ovplyvňovala vnútorné vzťahy uhorských bratov. Týmto problémom bolo preberanie, resp. odoberanie kláštorov františkánskym konventuálom prísnejšou vetvou rehole – observantmi, vtedy ešte jednotnej františkánskej rehole. Táto problematika bola v minulosti parciálne riešená zahraničnými autormi, ktorí explikovali niektoré čiastkové témy, ako napríklad Ján Karácsonyi (1923, 32-60) alebo Mária-Magdaléna de Cevins (2008, 56-62). Budeme sa zaoberať najmä otázkami, aký bol hlavný argument v komunikácii pri odoberaní kláštorov konventuálom a aká bola realita celého procesu. Zároveň sa pokúsime nájsť odpoveď na otázku, aký bol podiel jednotlivých osobností, či už svetských alebo cirkevných na celom procese transferov konventov.

Šírenie františkánskeho observantného hnutia v Uhorsku

Už veľmi krátko po smrti sv. Františka vypukli medzi jeho nasledovníkmi spory o interpretáciu jeho odkazu a dedičstva. Najmä pod vplyvom Joachima da Fiore sa do rehole dostali eschatologické

vízie, ktoré viedli ku vzniku tzv. hnutia duchovných františkánov – spirituálov, ktorej zástupcovia ako napr. Peter Ján Olivi, Umbeto z Casela alebo Angelo Clareno boli v opozícii voči konformnejším františkánom, tzv. konventuálom (Hlaváček 2005, 107). Opozícia voči „ostatným“ bratom viedla aj k vzniku radikálnych myšlienok, ktoré sa naplno prejavili v hnutí tzv. fraticellov. Hlavným predmetom sporov bola problematika interpretácie chudoby a jej zachovávaní. Začali sa objavovať pomerne extrémne teórie o tzv. absolútnej chudobe Ježiša Krista na jednej strane, až po pomerne voľné chápanie vlastníctva majetku na strane druhej (Marek 2018, 107). Chudoba, ktorá pre sv. Františka predstavovala len jeden z viacerých spôsobov zachovávaní evanjelia sa postupne stala cieľom života niektorých členov rehole. Navyše skupiny sa radikalizovali a akékoľvek snahy po reforme rehoľného života boli na pokraji rozkolu. Niekde medzi týmito extrémnymi polohami sa nachádzali skupiny bratov, ktorí chceli žiť radikálnejšiu formu rehoľného života, no zároveň odmietali opustiť rehoľu františkánov. Medzi rokmi 1334, kedy brat Ján z Valle (†1351) spolu so svojimi štyrmi spolubratmi získal licenciu na život v samote kláštora sv. Bartolomeja v Brogliane až po rok 1368, kedy Pavol Trinci (†1380) znovu obnovil konvent v Brogliane, začalo pomaly vznikať observantné františkánske hnutie (Hlaváček 2005, 19-21). Rehoľa navonok zachovávala jednotu a observanti sa od konventuálov ničím podstatným nelíšili, až na to, že na nohách nosili dreβάky, ich odev bol užší a rovnako ako konventuáli všade vystupovali proti fraticellom. Na druhej strane ich charakteristickým znakom bolo to, že odmietali pápežské privilégiá, koncesie a žili prísnejším spôsobom života, a to aj vo vzťahu k majetku. Ešte počas života Pavla Trinciho sa observanti začali šíriť aj mimo Itáliu, najmä do Svätej ríše rímskej, ale aj do Bosny.

Balkán sa stal jedným z centier misijnej činnosti mendikantov už veľmi skoro. Bolo to spôsobené jednak pravoslávnu orientáciou miestnej kresťanov, ale aj pôsobením bogomilov. No spočiatku ani dominikáni, ani františkáni, ktorí misijnú činnosť prevzali v roku 1291, nemali v tomto regióne väčší úspech (Hunčaga – Huťka 2022, 199-200). Až projekt generálneho ministra františkánov Gerarda Odonisa (†1349) sa ukázal ako výborný nápad. Po roku 1329 prišiel s myšlienkou, aby sa v Bosne vytvorili malé pustovne, kde mali žiť v prísnej chudobe skupinky horlivých bratov, ktorí ovládali miestny jazyk (Cevins 2008, 32-33). Následne v roku 1339 bol zriadený samostatný bosniansky vikariát, ktorého predstavený podliehal priamo generálnemu ministrovi rehole. Vývoj v Bosne bol následne taký dynamický, že už v roku 1347 bratia prekročili Sávu a na uhorskom území založili prvý kláštor bosnianskeho vikariátu v Ďakove. Takýchto kláštorov bolo v priebehu niekoľkých desaťročí už 25 alebo 26 (okolo roku 1430), a to v závislosti od toho, ako sa uhorským panovníkom, najmä Ľudovítovi I. Veľkému, darilo prenikať na Balkán (napr. do Bosny, Bulharska alebo ďalej). Vikariát prijal prísnejšiu františkánsku observanciu niekedy medzi rokmi 1368 – 1372 za vikára Bartolomeja z Alverna (†1407). Najmä spočiatku bol vikariát priamo napojený na územie Talie (Cevins 2008, 35). Z množstva kláštorov, ktoré si bosniansky vikariát v Uhorsku vybudoval vyčnieva najmä kláštor Chery (Sacošu Turcesc alebo Cseri – *Cherienses*) z roku 1366, nakoľko zo začiatku práve podľa tohto kláštora v celom Uhorsku všetci bratia observanti boli pomenovaní ako bratia Cheri (Blasius de Zalka. *Cronica Fratrum Minorum*; Zalka 1984, 234).¹

Kláštory observantov však v Uhorsku nevznikali len z iniciatívy bosnianskych bratov, ale aj z iniciatívy uhorských svetských osobností, napr. panovníka (Žigmund Luxemburský založil v roku 1425 kláštor vo Višegráde) alebo šľachty (Ján z Marótu založil pred rokom 1452 kláštor v Gyule alebo Pipo Spano v Ozore v roku 1418) (Kaizer 1930, 4).

¹ „*Ecce Minorum Observantiae de Hungaria vera obedientia in eorum exordio: taceant ergo illi, et ora obturentur eorum, qui dicunt, quod quidam fratres contra suorum praelatorum voluntatem Locum de Chery ex proprio eapite acdificassent, et inde Minores Observantiae de Hungaria Cherienses nominarentur. Stephanus Vicarius Frater Bartholomaciis de Alverna Anno Domini MCCCCLXVIII.*“

K ďalšej vlne zakladania nových observantných kláštorov v Uhorsku došlo koncom tridsiatych rokov 15. storočia. Medzi rokmi 1436 – 1440 dostali bosnianski vikári z dôvodu expanzie osmanských Turkov od pápeža povolenie na vybudovanie niekoľkých nových konventov v Uhorsku s odôvodnením, že Osmani v Bosne údajne zničili až 16 kláštorov (MNL OL DF 275480; MNL OL DL 65881; MNL OL DF 275485; MNL OL DL 65887; Kaizer 1930, 5-6; Fekete-Nagy 1990, 103, 106; Lukcsics 1938, 155, 190) Z tohto počtu však s určitosťou vieme len o založení troch konventov (Nagybánya – Baia Mare ROM, Tata a možno Kölyüd – Kolut SRB) (Cevins 2008, 37-39). Tento proces napokon vyústil do vzniku samostatného uhorského vikariátu observantov, ktorý sa odčlenil od pôvodného bosnianskeho. Jeho vznik bol však veľmi komplikovaný a neobišiel sa bez vzájomných konfliktov medzi uhorskými konventuálmi a observantmi. Navyše v prvej polovici 15. storočia začalo postupne dochádzať k nárastu napätia medzi observantnými bratmi bosnianskeho vikariátu, ktorí žili na Balkáne a v Uhorskom kráľovstve. Pomerne zlú stopu vo vikariáte zanechal Jakub z Marchie (†1476), ktorý sa svojím nekompromisným postojom dostal do sporu najmä s bratmi v Bosne z dôvodu, že bratia postupne opúšťali prísnosť observancie. Jakub z Marchie ako bosnianský vikár veľmi radikálne riešil problémy a aj napriek tomu, že ho generálny minister rehole Viliam z Casale (1430 – 1442) nabádal k zdržanlivosti, sa mu nepodarilo situáciu zvládnuť. Tento problém však Jakub zrejme nemal pri uhorských bratoch (Cevins 2008, 38).

Vzájomné vzťahy medzi uhorskými a bosnianskymi observantmi komplikovali aj snahy uhorských konventuálov získať kontrolu nad voľbou bosnianskeho observantného vikára, čo sa im konečným rozhodnutím pápeža o voľbe z roku 1446 nepodarilo (Cevins 2008, 35-36).² Navyše observantní bratia z Uhorska zrejme vyvíjali tlak na rozdelenie bosnianskeho vikariátu, pretože ešte v roku 1437 pápež Eugen IV. deklaroval bulou *Ad ea ex debito*, že nedovolí rozdelenie bosnianskeho vikariátu. O sedem rokov však už bolo všetko inak, pápež ustúpil a 29. januára 1444 bulou *Sacrae Religionis* rozdelil bosnianský vikariát na bosnianský a uhorský a vymenoval Fabiána Kenyeresu za prvého uhorského observantného vikára (Kaizer 1930, 6). Toto delenie však vydržalo len veľmi krátko.³ Údajne na návrh Jána Kapistránskeho (†1456) pápež svoje rozhodnutie odvolal z obavy, že uhorskí konventuáli sa budú pokúšať „ovládnúť“ observantný vikariát. Samostatný uhorský vikariát však napokon predsa len vznikol, a to už o štyri roky – v roku 1448 (Cevins 2008, 40).

Transfery uhorských konventov

Ako však uhorskí františkánski konventuáli prijali nových, prísnejších bratov? Vzťahy medzi obooma františkánskymi observanciami boli v stredovekom Uhorsku eufemisticky povedané mimoriadne zložitú. Šírenie prísnejšej františkánskej rehole observantov v Uhorsku sa intenzívnejšie kryje s prvou polovicou 15. storočia a pokračovalo aj v jeho druhej polovici. Práve toto obdobie je spojené so zvýšeným tlakom zo strany uhorskej šľachty, panovníka a observantov voči františkánskym konventuálom. Z iniciatívy najmä svetských osobností začali prichádzať o svoje, často dvestoročné kláštory, ktoré sa stávali súčasťou spočiatku bosnianskeho a po roku 1448 už uhorského vikariátu františkánskych observantov.

K prvej vlne prevodu konventov došlo po roku 1443, teda ešte pred vznikom samostatného uhorského vikariátu. Konventuáli boli vyzvaní pápežským legátom Juliánom Caesarinim, aby opustili štyri kláštory: v Budíne, v Pešti, v Segedíne a v Târgu Mureș a odovzdali ich observantom

² Pápež Eugen IV. dňa 3. júla 1446 potvrdil voľbu observantného vikára pričom deklaroval, že voľba podlieha schváleniu generálnym ministrom rehole.

³ Zdá sa, že pápež svoje rozhodnutie odvolal už o päť dní.

(Kaizer 1930, 6).⁴ Napokon sa konventuálom podarilo uchrániť svoj konvent v Segedíne, no o zvyšné tri prišli a k tomuto prevodu dal napokon svoj súhlas aj pápež Eugen IV (Karácsonyi 1923, 58).

Nevieme presne, kto stál za touto prvou vlnou prevodov kláštorov, zdá sa však, že to nebola osobná iniciatíva pápežského legáta, ale to je len hypotéza, ktorá vychádza z nasledujúcich udalostí. Už o pár rokov sa totiž do procesu prevodov bezpečne vložili svetské osobnosti (uhorskí baróni) na čele s gubernátorom Jánom Huňadym. Počas snemu uhorskej šľachty predstúpili v Budíne 25. júna 1448 pred kardinálom: Juana Carvajala – pápežského legáta a Dionýza zo Seče – ostrihomského arcibiskupa gubernátor spolu s uhorskými barónmi a obvinili konventuálov z rôznych prehrškov. Po údajnom vyšetrovaní bolo bratom nariadené, aby opustili ďalších sedem kláštorov: Ostrihom, Debrecín, Satu Mare, Jäger, Veľký Varadín, Lipova (Lippa) a Čanád. Z týchto konventov sa bratom konventuálom podarilo viaceré uchrániť (v Debrecíne, v Satu Mare, v Jágri a v Lipove), no niektoré nie (Ostrihom, Čanád) (Karácsonyi 1923, 59-60). Hlavne, strata ostrihomského konventu bola veľmi bolestivá. Išlo totiž o miesto posledného odpočinku uhorského kráľa Bela IV. a jeho rodiny (Viedenská maľovaná kronika 2016, 259-260).

Následne v roku 1451 prišli zásluhou Mikuláša Ujlakyho o ďalší kláštor – v Iloku (Cevins 2008, 57). V roku 1454 sa síce uskutočnila pomerne radikálna reforma rehoľného života konventuálov na kapitule v Jágri pod vedením provinciálneho ministra Fabiána z Igalu, no aj napriek tomu stratili v roku 1466 (1468) kláštor v Sečanoch. Po prevode tohto kláštora začal provinciál Fabián z Igalu niekoľkoročný zápas o navrátenie tohto kláštora. Celá problematika sa mala vyriešiť v roku 1474, kedy pápež Sixtus IV. vydal bulu *Dum sigulos*, ktorou zakázal svetským osobám vyhnáť konventuálov z ich kláštorov a odovzdať ich observantom (Holzapfer 2010, 92; Cevins 2008, 57).

Posledný veľký útok na kláštory konventuálov sa však aj napriek tomu uskutočnil v roku 1490. Kráľ Matej niekoľkokrát (minimálne 2x) naliehal na pápeža prostredníctvom legáta Angela Pecchinoliho, aby mu povolil reformovať konventuálne kláštory. Keď napokon pápež 2. marca 1490 povolenie vydal, list už nestihol prísť do Uhorska včas, nakoľko kráľ 6. apríla 1490 umrel a zámer sa tak nezrealizoval. Mali sa reformovať (čo vlastne znamenalo odovzdať observantom) kláštory v Šoprone, v Rábe, v Bratislave, v Eisenstadte, znovu v Debrecíne a v Jágri ako aj kláštor klarisiek v Starom Budíne (Kalous 2021, 252-253). No ako sme už spomenuli, k tejto transakcii už nedošlo. K posledným zrealizovaným transferom patria konventy v Blatnom Potoku, v Jászberény a v Gyöngyösy.

Príčiny prevodov konventov

Ako však boli tieto prevody prezentované? Aké dôvody na zmenu observancie sa využívali? Ako sa prezentovali jednotlivé stanoviská? Je potrebné si uvedomiť, že zástancovia františkánskej observantnej reformy sa často uspokojili len so všeobecným tvrdením, ako napr., že bratia konventuáli žijú polutovaniahodným spôsobom, alebo že bratia konventuáli sa vzdialili od sv. Františka. Žiaľ, zväčša bližšie nešpecifikujú, čo mali pod týmito tvrdeniami na mysli (Cevins 2008, 103). Išlo tak len o povrchné konštatovanie bez väčšej výpovednej hodnoty. No ojedinele sa objavujú aj konkrétnejšie informácie, ako napr., že bratia na jednej strane opustili františkánsku požiadavku chudoby, rozpredávajú liturgický majetok a na strane druhej čiastočného alebo úplného opustenia svojich záväzkov vo veciach *officium divinum*, teda, že zanedbávajú bohoslužby, nestarajú sa o budovy, ktoré chátrajú a podobne. Keď to zhrnieme, môžeme konštatovať, že konventuáli boli obvinení z troch prehrškov, a to, že vlastnia majetok v súkromnom vlastníctve, že bratia žijú

⁴ K prevodu konventov v Budíne a Pešti dal svoj súhlas legát Julián Caesariny 20. februára 1444.

v blahobyte a že zanedbávajú svoje liturgické povinnosti (Cevins 2008, 104). Je zaujímavé, že už v roku 1422 sa legát pápeža Martina V. v Uhorsku sťažoval na konventuálov v Debrecíne, že bratia vlastnia veľmi drahé liturgické predmety (Cevins 2008, 104). Čo to však znamená? Konkrétnejší bol pápežský legát Julián Caesariny v roku 1444, ktorý vyjadril svoje rozhorčenie nad tým, ako bratia konventuáli žili v konventoch v Budíne a v Pešti. Pohoršilo ho najmä to, že bratia žili v rozpore so svojím povolaním a regulou sv. Františka, vlastnili súkromný majetok, venovali sa svetským pôžitkom a zanedbávali svoje liturgické povinnosti na zdesenie veriacich (Cevins 2008, 104). Podobných priamych svedectiev je však pomerne málo. Viac podrobností sa dozvedáme aj z prevodu konventov v roku 1448.

Pápežský legát (*Latere Legátus*) kardinál Juan Carvajal nariadil 25. júna 1448 vyšetrovanie, ktoré mal vykonať kardinál, ostrihomský arcibiskup Dionýz zo Seče. V listine sa spomína, že bol k tomu vyzvaný Jánom Huňadym, prelátmi, barónmi, inými šľachticmi a snemom uhorskej šľachty. Následne bol uvedený zoznam františkánskych konventov, ktorých sa to týka: Ostrihom, Lipova (Lippa), Čanáď, Debrecín, Satu Mare, Jáger a Veľký Varadín (Teleki 1853, 233-234; Kósa 1797, 110).⁵ Listina ďalej pokračuje výpočtom klenotov a cenností, ktoré boli v konventoch uchované ako dary dobrodinco, najmä kráľov a šľachticov (klenoty, zdobené rúcha, liturgické nádoby zo zlata a striebra ozdobené drahými kameňmi atď.). Až následne sa spomínajú problémy v observancii. Bratia konventuáli údajne dlhšiu dobu žili bez dodržiavania disciplíny, neslúžili bohoslužby, zanedbávali konventné objekty, ktorým hrozilo zrušenie a všetky klenoty, uchovávané v konventoch boli roztratené alebo predávané. V dôsledku týchto prehreškov veriaci prestávali františkánov nasledovať, podporovať ich almužnami a odvracali sa od nich (Teleki, 1853, 234).⁶ Preto baróni žiadajú rýchlu nápravu, aby konventy neboli zničené a klenoty rozpredané. V konventoch sa totiž modlia veriaci a mnohí šľachtici sa v nich nechávali pochovať, a preto by nemali byť zmarené modlitby veriacich. V prípade, že sa tieto obvinenia potvrdia, mala sa uskutočniť náprava a bratia mali opustiť svoje konventy, ktoré mali byť následne odovzdané observantom.

Je nepochybné, že informácie, ktoré listina obsahuje boli pápežskému legátovi sprostredkované uhorskými barónmi, pravdepodobne samotným Jánom Huňadym, a to ešte pred konkrétnym vyšetrovaním. Zároveň ide o zhrnutie najdôležitejších výhrad voči životu bratov konventuálov v danej dobe. Nie je známe, ako dopadlo vyšetrovanie, no konventuáli museli napokon opustiť najmä konvent v Ostrihome a prenechať ho prísnejšej vetve observantných františkánov. Je až príliš jednoduché vyvodiť záver, že k spomenutým prehreškom dochádzalo najmä v ostrihomskom konvente, ktorého sa prevod dotkol. To však môže byť zavádzajúce. Konventuálom sa totiž podarilo väčšinu konventov, v ktorých bolo nariadené vyšetrovanie na istú dobu uchrániť. Príčin môže byť viacero. Napríklad, obvinenia sa nemuseli potvrdiť a bratia si z toho dôvodu svoje konventy uchránili. Ďalším dôvodom môže byť aj možnosť, že nie všade sa toto vyšetrovanie uskutočnilo. Jednak vizitovať sedem kláštorov je dosť náročné a zároveň zemepánom Debrecínu a Satu Mare

⁵ „Joannis de Hunyad Incliti Regni Hungarie Gubernatoris, ac Prelatorum, Baronum ceterorumque Procerum et Regnicolarum dicti Regni, petitio continebat [...]“. Obsah listiny publikovaný J. Telekim je prepisom z kroniky Eugena Kósu. Prepis však nie je kompletný (dôkladný?)! Vo výpočte kláštorov chýbajú konventy v Lipove (v Lippe) a v Čanáde.

⁶ „Tamen, propter dissolutam et inordinatam vitam fratrum dicti ordinis, in ipsis domibus, et conuentibus, pro tempore sine obseruancia et Regulari vite disciplina degentium, cultus diuinus in eis imminutus extitit, ipseque domus, et Conuentus, in suis structuris, et edificijs ruinam minantur, ac omnia, res, et bona hujusmodi, ad cultum diuinum ut premittitur deputata, fere distracta, alienata, et per ipsos fratres vendita, et ad alienas manus deducta reperiuntur, in maximum ipsarum domorum ac Conuentuum preiudicium, damnum, atque grauamen, perniciosumque exemplum plurimorum, quodque propterea Christi fidelium Eleemosinarum largitio, erga fratres ipsos in dies tepescit, et se ab ipsis retrahentes, modicam, aut nullam ad eos habent deuocionem.“

bol srbský despota Juraj Brankovič, ktorý ako pravoslávny kresťan nemusel rešpektovať autoritu ostrihomského arcibiskupa (Karácsonyi 1923, 60). To môže byť aj hlavný dôvod, prečo sa konventuálom podarilo svoje konventy v tých mestách uchrániť, a to aj napriek tomu, že ku prehreškam mohlo dochádzať. Toto tvrdenie však celkom neobstoí, nakoľko zemepánom Lipova bol práve Ján Huňady, iniciátor týchto prevodov, a aj tento konvent sa konventuálom podarilo uchrániť. Teda nie všetky konventy, kde sa uskutočnila možná vizitácia prešli napokon do rúk observantov, ale konkrétny dôvod, prečo tomu tak bolo, nepoznáme.

Ďalšie podrobnejšie svedectvo ponúkol v roku 1448 Ladislav z Pavloviec (Palóci), ako svetský patrón kláštora v Blatnom Potoku. Spomína, že bratia z kláštora vraj premrhali liturgické predmety, ktoré im darovali fundátori a bratia údajne prestávali slúžiť bohoslužby. Navyše v kláštore vraj žili len jeden alebo dvaja rehoľníci, ktorí boli často mimo konvent a ten bol úplne prázdny (Karácsonyi 1923, 58).

Vyhnanie konventuálov z ich Kláštora Panny Márie v Iloku v roku 1451, ktoré potvrdil aj pápež Mikuláš V. bolo zasa ospravedlnené pomerne všeobecným konštatovaním o škandalóznom živote bratov. K tomuto záveru dospelo vyšetrovanie, na základe ktorého svoju žiadosť priamo pápežovi predniesol sedmohradský vojvoda a zemepán Iloku Mikuláš Ujlaky spolu s obyvateľmi mesta (Lukcsics 1938, 297-298; Waddingo 1735a, 233).⁷ Pápež ešte v tom istom roku poveril novým prešetrením týchto obvinení kardinála, ostrihomského arcibiskupa Dionýza zo Seče, ktorý ho vykonal a aj napriek snahám uhorského provinciálneho ministra Pavla z Vöröcsöka, bábcskeho kustóda Fabiána a ilockého gvardiána Juraja prevod ešte pred koncom roka 1451 napokon aj zrealizoval (Karácsonyi 1923, 60). Nemožno však jednoznačne tvrdiť, že sa tak stalo vďaka tomu, že sa podarilo dokázať pochybenie bratov v ilockom kláštore, no vylúčiť sa to celkom nedá. Zdá sa, že obidva konventy sa tak napokon dostali do rúk observantov zásluhou alebo z vôle zemepánov (patrónov).

Problémy s observanciou však asi existovali, čo potvrdzuje aj reforma konštitúcií uhorských konventuálov prijatá na provinciálnej kapitule v Jágri 28. apríla 1454, ktorú presadil uhorský provinciál Fabián z Igalu.

Čo však bolo jej obsahom a aké bolo poradie riešenia nedostatkov? Jej hlavnými bodmi, podľa poradia, bolo: utuženie komunitného života (spoločná modlitba, pravidelné spovede bratov), prísnejšie pravidlá pri jedení (počet jedál, spôsoby jedenia, pôsty), spôsoby obliekania bratov (Danišovič 1944, 191-226; Magyar 1971, 71-122).⁸ Len jeden jediný bod, a to desiaty, sa venoval majetku, teda jednému z troch hlavných obvinení konventuálov! Z tejto desiatej hlavy sa môžeme dozvedieť, že zrejme naozaj dochádzalo k ojedinelým priestupkom proti chudobe. Dokonca pravdepodobne niektorí jednotlivci vlastnili majetok aj súkromne (rodinné veci, kone a oblečenie?), ba medzi bratmi dochádzalo aj ku krádežiam (ale čoho?). Bratom sa prikázalo, aby boli mimoriadne opatrní a nič nevlastnili, ba nesmeli sa ani dotknúť peňazí. Na tento účel mali mať konventy laických bratov (prokurátorov), ktorí mali s peniazmi narábať so súhlasom gvardiánov alebo kustódov (Danišovič 1944, 219-220).⁹ Na druhej strane sa nič nedozvedáme o predpisoch,

⁷ „*Nicolaus papa V. ad supplicationem nobilis Nicolai de Wilak waywodae Transilvani et loci Wylak, Quinqueecclesiensis diocesis, domini et patroni mandat, ut fratres Minorum de claustris Baeate Mariae de dicto loco Wylak amoveantur, postquam illi propter vitam scandalosam a patrono praedicto et populo dicti oppidi sunt expulsi, et ut loco eorundem alios regulares observantiae fratres dicti ordinis subrogentur.*“ S komentárom, no k nesprávnemu roku publikoval aj Luca Waddingo.

⁸ Stanislav L. Danišovič publikoval konštitúcie v celom znení a na základe tejto edície potom spracoval text aj Arnold Magyar OFM.

⁹ „*Cum regula dicat, quod fratres nihil sibi appropriant, et propter violationem huius modi pene omnes conventus sunt destructi, et aliqui fratres non solum appropriant, sed etiam aliena rapiunt et furantur, volens ergo vias talis defectus precludere, ex mandato prenotati capituli generalis precipio omnibus fratribus*

ktoré by zlepšovali disciplínu v otázke slúženia obradov. Rovnako tak reformná konštitúcia nič nehovorí o zákaze predaja cenných liturgických predmetov. Ak je možné z tejto reformy konventuálov vyvodit' nejaký záver, tak len taký, že iba jeden bod z trinástich sa týkal problémov, ktoré boli konventuálom kladené za vinu pri prevode kláštorov!

No príčina problému, ktorá súvisí s vyššie uvedenou verejnou mienkou môže byť oveľa zložitejšia. Predovšetkým sa zdá závažným nízky počet bratov (nie len konventuálov) v kláštoroch v 15. storočí, čo je všeobecne známa vec. To, že v konvente v Blatnom Potoku mohol byť len jeden alebo dvaja bratia nemusel byť výmysel. No málo bratov znamená aj menej almužien zo žobrania, a tým pádom aj nedostatok prostriedkov na živobytie. Predaj predmetov z drahých kovov sa tak zdá byť ako logické riešenie problému obživy bratov. Cena však bola vysoká – zhoršenie verejnej mienky, na ktorej boli prostredníctvom žobrania bratia bytostne závislí. Zároveň už od 13. storočia františkáni dostávali menšie majetkové donácie (polia, lúky, vinice, mlyny etc.). Nič sa na tom nezmenilo ani v 14. storočí a ani v nasledujúcom období. No tento majetok zväčša nestačil na živobytie bratov, a tak museli stále aktívne vystupovať, najmä prostredníctvom žobrania. Problém vlastníctva majetku je v tom, že od roku 1322, kedy pápež Ján XXII. vydal bulu *Ad Conditores* sa pri františkánoch zmenilo chápanie jeho vlastníctva, resp. vzťah k predmetom. Dovtedy bol majetok „v prenájme“ bratov v konvente. Drahé liturgické predmety františkáni nevlastnili, len ich používali. Boli naďalej v majetku donátora, no nachádzali sa v konvente františkánov akoby v úschove (prenájme). Po vydaní buly Jána XXII. bol už majetok chápaný ako kolektívne vlastníctvo rehole kláštora. Je otázne, či túto zmenu vzťahu „zaregistrovali“ aj veriaci. Napríklad nitriansky biskup Anton zo Šankoviec na jar roku 1492 zhabal miestnym františkánom mlyn a nevrátil ho ani po zdĺhavom vyšetrovaní (MNL OL DL 50597; Hlavačková 2010, 34). Spor sa ťahal až do roku 1502 – 1505. Len ťažko možno predpokladať, že tak biskup urobil z nedbanlivosti alebo ziskuchtivosti. Podobný prípad sa odohral v Sedmohradsku. Mestská rada sedmohradského mesta Bistrica v roku 1530 františkánom odmietla prispieť na opravu mlyna, ktorý bol poškodený pri obliehaní mesta s lakonickým odôvodnením, že predsa podľa ich reguly nemajú vlastniť žiadny majetok (Karácsonyi 192391-92). Táto udalosť sa však už odohrala v atmosfére šíriacej sa reformácie, no podobne mohol zmýšľať aj Anton zo Šankoviec a iní. Objektívne však treba skonštatovať, že františkáni v duchu buly pápeža Jána XXII. *Ad Conditores* z 8. decembra 1322 mali kolektívne vlastníctvo rehole a mohli s majetkom voľne disponovať (Sbaralea 1898, 233-235; Hunčaga – Huťka 2022, 228-229). Zrejme s touto možnosťou nerátal ani Ján Huňady alebo Mikuláš Ujlaky, ktorí konventuálov obviňovali z toho, že premrhali majetok a nie, že sa prehrešili proti evanjeliovej chudobe alebo inými slovami, že bratia konventuáli „zabudli“, že vzácne liturgické predmety nepatrili im (Cevins 2008, 106).

Zároveň nedostatok prostriedkov znamenal aj zanedbávanie starostlivosti o opravy objektov, ktoré potom chátrali. Nízky počet bratov zároveň znamenal aj nedostatočné slúženie obradov (pravidelných zádušných omší a iných) a problémy v liturgickej praxi. Preto v reholi vôbec nemuselo ísť o uvoľnenie mravov, ale len o jednoduchý nedostatok ľudí, personálu na napĺňanie svojho poslania. Túto hypotézu potvrdzujú nasledujúce udalosti.

huius provincie, quod nullus frater presumat habere aliquid in proprio, ut puta [equos] et alias vestes per maxime, summpere caveant a tactu et retentione denariorum et aliarum rerum. Quicumque vero reinceps inventus fuerit tractare pecuniam manibus suis pro se vel te nere, graviter puniatur et non absolvatur nisi per ministrum. Preterea quilibet conventus vel locus habeat procuratorem laicum, ad cuius manus omnes elemosine pecuniarie deveniant et expendantur ab eodem, prout apparet custodi vel guardiano [...].“

Prevod konventu v Sečanoch

Ďalšie pokusy o prevody konventov sa uskutočnili v roku 1466. Majiteľka Debrecína, Alžbeta Szilágiová, matka kráľa Mateja Korvína, sa opäť pokúsila o prevod miestneho konventu františkánov. Požiadala pápeža Pavla II. o pomoc, ktorý následne poveril varadínskeho biskupa vyšetrovaním. Miestnych konventuálov mal prinútiť dodržiavať prísne rehoľné pravidlá a mal im zakázať predaj cenných predmetov (Karácsonyi 1923, 156; Érdújhely 1896, 615; Waddingo 1735b, 391, 393).¹⁰ Nevedno, ako dopadlo vyšetrovanie, no konvent aj naďalej zostal v rukách konventuálov. Teda zdá sa, že Alžbeta obvinila konventuálov a požiadala o prevod konventu. Pápež však v tomto prípade reagoval zdržanlivo a nariadil varadínskemu biskupovi vyšetrovanie alebo lepšie len ich mal donútiť prísnejšie dodržiavať rehoľné predpisy.

Zaujímavějšíe sú však okolnosti a spôsob komunikácie okolo odobratia konventuálneho kláštora v Sečanoch z tohto istého roka. Dôvodom je najmä skutočnosť, že o tomto prípade sa zachovalo oveľa viac informácií a udalosti sa dajú rekonštruovať na základe správy zachytenej v kronike Eugena Kósu a vďaka listine pápeža Pavla II. z roku 1469. Na úvod chceme skonštatovať, že pápež reagoval odlišne ako v prípade Debrecína.

Asi palatín Michal Ország z Gutu sa niekedy pred 2. januárom 1466 sťažoval, podobne ako Alžbeta Szilágiová, priamo pápežovi Pavlovi II., že františkánski konventuáli v Sečanoch nedodržiavajú rehoľné predpisy a požiadal, aby boli nahradení observantmi. Rovnako zrejme pripomenul, že konvent je skoro prázdny.¹¹ Pápež na základe týchto obvinení bez ďalšieho vyšetrovania v tento deň vydal nariadenie, ktorým poveril Jána, opáta benediktínskeho kláštora v Tereske, a Alberta, premonštrátskeho prepošta zo Bzovíku, prevodom konventu do rúk observantov (Érdújhely 1896, 623; Kósa 1797, 126).¹² Prečo bol postup pápeža odlišný od prípadu v Debrecíne, nie je známe. Možno spoločenské postavenie palatína bolo dostatočnou zárukou pravdivosti obvinení, pápež im uveril a nariadil priamo prevod konventu. To je však len hypotéza.

Bratia observanti na čele s vikárom Valentínom Szigedym, kustódom Klementom, ostrihomským gvardiánom Gregorom a bratom Jánom z Vasváru designovaným gvardiánom v Sečanoch obsadili konvent proti vôli konventuálov. Pri tomto akte im boli nápomocní aj zemepán Sečian, palatín Michal Ország z Gutu, a jeho syn Ján spolu s akýmsi Jánom *de Lapossrev* (Kósa 1797, 126),¹³ ktorí boli pripravení použiť silu v prípade, že by konventuáli odmietli kláštor opustiť. Provinciálny minister konventuálov Fabián z Igalu sa napriek tomu rozhodol vzdorovať a okamžite poslal do konventu niekoľko bratov. K prevodu napokon v roku 1467 aj tak došlo a zrejme nie bez násilí, nakoľko opát Ján a prepošt Albert asi pristúpili aj k trestu exkomunikácie, čo vyvolalo ďalšie nezhody (Cevins 2008, 105). Fabián z Igalu sa odvolal k panovníkovi, no kráľ Matej proces zrejme zámerne zdržoval a neustále odkladal súdne jednanie, údajne pre vojnu v Čechách (Kósa 1797, 127). Nasledovalo odvolanie k predstavenému rehole. Observanti ešte pred generálnou kapitulou zvolali kapitolu uhorského vikariátu, kde sa dohodli, že sa kláštora dobrovoľne vzdajú. Spor sa napokon riešil na generálnej kapitule františkánov v roku 1469 v Benátkach, kde sa Valentín Szigedy, vikár uhorských observantov, v záujme zachovanie mieru a pokoja medzi bratmi verejne zaviazal, že observanti konvent v Sečanoch vrátia konventuálom, na čo zložil aj prísahu. Stále však bolo neznáme stanovisko pápeža Pavla II., ktorý už v roku 1466 rozhodol o prevode konventu a vydal

¹⁰ V práci Érdújhelyho sa však konvent označuje ako „Brezen“. Nevedno, či ide o nesprávne čítanie listiny alebo o iný problém. Podobne o tom píše aj Luca Waddingo, ktorý zrejme na základe rovnakej listiny označuje konvent ako Brezen.

¹¹ Túto informáciu môžeme dedukovať z neskoršej pápežskej listiny.

¹² Mená opáta a prepošta sa spomínajú len v kronike Eugena Kósu.

¹³ „*Magnificum Michaelum Országh Palatinum dicti Regni Hungariae ac Joannem Filium ejusdem, nec non alterum Joannem de Lapossrev praefatam Strigoniensis Dioecesis: [...]*“

na to aj potrebnú listinu (Érdűhely 1896, 623). Na prekvapenie, pápež Pavol II. napokon svoje rozhodnutie zmenil. Vraj v záujme zachovania mieru a pokoja medzi bratmi akceptoval dohodu a svoje predchádzajúce rozhodnutie uvedené vo svojej listine (alebo dokonca listinách) obchádzal len nejasnými formuláciami typu: „o ktorých (listinách) sa hovorí, že vyšli od nás“ alebo že „ak nejaké (listiny) existujú“. Časť observantov však napriek tomu zrejme nesúhlasila a vyjadrovala svoje pochybnosti nad vzájomnou dohodou, s odvolaním sa na predchádzajúce rozhodnutie pápeža, nakoľko sa v pápežovej listine uvádza, že: „keď [...] niektorí tvrdia, že spomínaný vikár nemôže dodržať svoj sľub (o vrátení konventu) [...] pre isté listiny, o ktorých sa hovorí, že vyšli od nás [...]“ (Theiner 1860, 411-412).¹⁴ Pápež zároveň poveril ostrihomského a kaločského arcibiskupa, že ak to uznajú za vhodné a provinciál o to požiada, majú dohodu o spätnom prevode kláštora zrealizovať (Theiner 1860, 412).

Konvent Panny Márie v Sečanoch sa však aj napriek tomu už do rúk konventuálov nikdy nevrátil. Držbu kláštora v rukách observantov definitívne spečatil pápež Alexander IV. ktorý ju v roku 1492 potvrdil (Kósa 1797, 144-146; Karácsonyi 1924, 177).¹⁵

Observantom asi nemožno uprieť dobrú vôľu ani snahu o zmierenie s konventuálmi. Dôležitejšie však, ako vôľa pápeža, bolo pravdepodobne želanie zemepána Michala Országa z Gutu alebo jeho syna Jána, ktorý s touto dohodou asi nesúhlasili. Konvent tak aj napriek kvetnatým rečiam z pápežského rozhodnutia o pokoji a mieri medzi bratmi zostal v rukách observantov až do dobytia Sečian Turkami. Treba však priznať, že rozhodnutie pápeža nebolo jednoznačné. Navyše v rovnakom roku 1466 stratili konventuáli aj konvent v Gyöngyösy opäť zásluhou zemepána Michala a Jána Országa z Gutu (Karácsonyi 1924, 59-60) a napokon aj napriek vydaniu buly *Dum singulos* pápežom Sixtom IV. z roku 1474 krátko pred rokom 1480 stratili aj konventu v Jászberény, čo bola posledná akvizícia observantov od svojich spolubratov v Uhorsku (Cevins 2008, 57; Karácsonyi 1924, 83). Tento konvent však nie je celkom dobrým príkladom, nakoľko k jeho prevodu, resp. obsadeniu observantmi došlo zásluhou tvrdohlavosti kráľa Mateja Korvína, ktorý trval na tom, že novopostavený objekt bude v rukách observantov (Cevins 2008, 106). Otázkou však stále zostáva, prečo sa prevod nepodaril v Debrecíne?

Konvent klarisiek v Starom Budíne

Zaujímavým príkladom sporu o konventy medzi konventuálmi a observantmi bolo riešenie otázky okolo konventu klarisiek v Starom Budíne. Nad týmto kláštorm vykonávali dohľad uhorskí konventuáli. Niekedy pred rokom 1480 požiadala predstavená kláštora klarisiek provinciálneho ministra konventuálov Benedikta z Ostrihomu o uvoľnenie pravidiel prísnej klauzúry. Veriaci muži aj ženy mohli dostať povolenie navštíviť konvent, no nemohli sa zdržať cez noc. Observantní bratia to prijali s pobúrením a údajne z kazateľníc začali vyhlasovať, že vrah provinciál nemôže takéto povolenie udeliť a ktokoľvek, kto vstúpi do kláštora klarisiek, je exkomunikovaný (Karácsonyi 1923, 71). Benedikt z Ostrihomu sa obrátil na pápežského legáta, kardinála a jágorského biskupa Gabriela Rangonyho, ktorý mu ešte v ten istý rok 25. júla vydal príslušné osvedčenie. Pápežský legát konštatoval, že kláštor klarisiek síce má klauzúru, no musel byť udržiavaný v neporušenom stave, ďalej, že Benedikt mal príslušné pápežské oprávnenie vydať takéto rozhodnutie. Prísna klauzúra bola nateraz zrušená a opátka menovaného kláštora dostala osobitnú milosť v oprávnených dôvodoch, ako dôkaz dobrej povesti a za dobré správanie povoliť vstúpiť do klauzúry osobám

¹⁴ „Cum autem, sicut eadem petitio subiungebat, ab aliquibus asseratur, dictum vicarium promissionem suam huiusmodi observare non posse propter quasdam litteras, que a nobis emanasse dicuntur,“

¹⁵ Celé znenie buly pápeža Alexandra VI. aj so zoznamom konventov publikoval vo svojom rukopise len Eugen Kósa.

obojakého pohlavia bez toho, aby tam prenocovali. Ďalej pápežský legát pomerne anonymne opisuje správanie observantov. „A keď niektorí z kláštorňých bratov, ako sa tvrdí, pred ľudom niekoľkokrát, v rozpore s (legátovým) tvrdením, verejne hlásali, že ten, kto hoci aj s opätíkným povolením vstúpi do klauzúry spomínaného kláštora je exkomunikovaný.“ Na záver kardinál nariadil obidvom františkánskym observanciám svätú poslušnosť (Batthyany 1827, 544-545).¹⁶ Tento spor zrejme zanechal nepríjemnú „pachut“ na vzájomných vzťahoch, nakoľko o niekoľko rokov sa konvent klarisie opäť dostal do stredu vzájomného sporu.

Tentokrát sa hralo s „vyššou kartou“ a kráľ Matej Korvín 18. septembra 1489 požiadal pápeža, aby zveril starostlivosť o klarisky v Starom Budíne observantom. Prostredníctvom pápežského legáta Angela Pechinolliho kráľ obvinil konventuálov, že žijú nečestným spôsobom. Legát ďalej uvádza, že na želanie kráľa navštívil v sprievode biskupov (žiaľ, nevedno akých) kláštor klarisie v Starom Budíne. V konvente sa oboznámil s mnohými problémami a ako píše: „našiel som mnohých, ktorí neboli čestní ani vhodní pre rehoľu a kláštor“, ďalej prijal dobrovoľnú abdikáciu matky predstavenej, ktorá už bola vo vysokom veku a navrhol sestrám, aby si zvolili novú, ktorú potvrdil panovník, jeho manželka aj on sám. Kráľ sa následne nahneval a odobral sestrám všetok majetok, ktorý nemali mať pri sebe. Sestry boli pod správou konventuálov, ktorí, ako sa legát údajne dozvedel z faktov, „žili zle a hanebné“. Kráľ ďalej vyjadril pochybnosti o tom, že títo bratia budú v budúcnosti dôstojne spravovať konvent a prosil pápeža, aby kláštor klarisie mohli spravovať observanti, na čo veľmi naliehala aj kráľovná (Lukcsics 1902, 312-313). Pápež následne listom z 1. marca 1490 vyhovel aj tejto žiadosti kráľa Mateja Korvína. Navrhol, aby legát zvolal sestry a, ak s tým budú súhlasiť, zveril ich pod správu observantom (Kalous 2021, 253-254; Lukcsics 1902, 316).

Prax preberania konventov mala byť ukončená v roku 1492, kedy došlo opäť k potvrdeniu pravidiel, že observanti nesmú prebrať konventuálny kláštor, a to ani keď by bol prázdny (Cevins 2008, 59). Prevody konventov sa síce skončili, no neskončil sa zápas konventuálov o svoje stratené objekty. Po smrti Mateja Korvína, veľkého ochrancu observantov, sa konventuáli pokúsili získať späť kláštory stratené v roku 1444, najmä konvent v Budíne. Na tento účel v roku 1492 získali bulu pápeža Inocenta VIII. (1484 – 1492), ktorá reštituovala ich konventy stratené v roku 1444 – 1467. Observanti sa však nevzdali. Ich prokurátorom v uhorskom kráľovstve bol totiž od roku 1491 vtedy ešte len rábsky biskup Tomáš Bakóc, kráľovský kancelár, ktorý sa postaral aj o získanie podpory zo strany kráľa Vladislava II. Jagelovského. To napokon viedlo k tomu, že nový pápež Alexander VI. (1492 – 1503) rozhodnutie svojho predchodcu prehodnotil, ešte v tom istom roku reštitúciu konventov zrušil, potvrdil observantom vlastníctvo konventov menovite: Budín, Pešť, Ostrihom, Ilok, Sečany, Blatný Potok, Marosvásárhely) a nariadil biskupom v Jágri a vo Vacove, aby chránili uhorských observantov (Karácsonyi 1923, 352-353; Kósa 1797, 143-146; Waddingo 1736, 20).

No spory medzi oboma františkánskymi observanciami pokračovali ďalej, čoho dôkazom je niekoľko ustanovení spoločných provinciálnych kapitúl, ktoré sa v nasledujúcom období uskutočnili. Týkali sa hlavne modusu vivendi. Dochádzalo totiž k množstvu problémov vo vzájomných vzťahoch, ako vzájomné prestupy bratov alebo vymedzenie hraníc žobrania a podobne, čo bolo dohodnuté na provinciálnej kapitule v roku 1495 alebo na provinciálnej kapitule v Starom Budíne v roku 1497 (Cevins 2008, 56; Karácsonyi 1923, 74-76).

¹⁶ „Cumque per nonnullos dicti Monasterii Fratres, ut asseritur, coram populo pluries contra dictum, assertum indultum, praedicatum publice extitit, excommunicatos fuisse omnes utriusque sexus, qui etiam de licentia Abbatissae praefati, dicti Monasterii clausuram intraverint, similesque poenas incursuros, quos imposterum contigerit intrare, declarando.“

Záver

Komunikácia medzi jednotlivými františkánskymi observanciami vo vzájomných konfliktoch bola vedená vo viacerých rovinách. Na tej najnižšej sa realizovala často prostredníctvom verejného kázania, v ktorom bolo poukazované na chyby alebo myslené chyby opačnej skupiny. Neboli to však len útoky zo strany observantov. Aj konventuáli využívali každú príležitosť. Napríklad v roku 1514 po vypuknutí sedliackeho povstania v Uhorsku, do ktorého boli zapojení observanti sa ich vikár Blažej z Désu obrátil listom na svojich spolubratov s tým, aby boli opatrní a obozretní lebo očakáva útoky konventuálov (Szűcs 1972, 258-259).¹⁷ Tieto ataky sa zrejme rovnako diali z kazateľnice. Nedá sa celkom generalizovať, že františkánske observancie využívali verejné kázne ako komunikačný kanál na poukazovanie na chyby opačnej skupiny. Vzájomné útoky sa však postupne množili a naberali na intenzite. Zmier medzi oboma stranami uzavretý v roku 1495 obsahoval 5 bodov a jedným z nich bol záväzok, že observanti nebudú útočiť na konventuálov slovom ani skutkom a to ani z kazateľnice a ak budú o nich hovoriť, tak ich budú len chváliť. Naproti tomu konventuáli sa zaviazali, že nebudú podporovať hnutie za zjednotenie oboch observancií (Karácsonyi 1923, 74). Teda zdá sa, že konventuáli reagovali na útoky observantov podporou skupín hlásajúcich zjednotenie františkánov.

Na strednej úrovni kráľovskej alebo provinčnej sa spor prejavoval najmä tým, že observanti dokázali presvedčiť elity o tom, že len oni sú praví nasledovníci sv. Františka. Vidno to napr. na veľkej podpore, ktorú im preukazovali „baróni“, Ján Huňady alebo jeho syn, kráľ Matej Korvín. Toto stanovisko bolo napokon definitívne potvrdené v bule pápeža Leva X. zo 6. decembra 1517 *Licet alias*, kde sa píše, že len observanti a reformovaní františkáni sú praví a nespochybniteľní nasledovníci sv. Františka (Franco – Dalmazzo 1860, 711-712).¹⁸ Tu treba asi tiež zdôrazniť, že pokiaľ sa v Uhorsku neobjavili observanti, boli konventuáli vnímaní ako dokonalí františkáni, nakoľko majetky vlastnili už od 13. storočia. Až v konfrontácii s observantmi pred koncom prvej polovice 15. storočia sa ukázala aj iná cesta a konventuáli stratili predchádzajúcu prestíž. Rovnako však treba pripustiť, že už mohlo ísť aj o prejavy postupujúcej zmeny v náboženskom myslení, ktoré so sebou prinášala nová zbožnosť (*devotio moderna*).

Na najvyššej úrovni sa zdá, že pápež volil v komunikácii s uhorskými františkánskymi observanciami zmierlivý postoj. Pre udržanie pokoja neváhal ustúpiť a zmeniť svoje predchádzajúce stanoviská. Na druhej strane bol ochotný ustupovať aj panovníkovi Matejovi Korvínovi, ktorý mal jasnú predstavu o tom, ako mali žiť skutoční františkáni. Treba však objektívne skonštatovať, že pápež sa pri ústupkoch jeho požiadavkám veľmi neponáhľal a pokúšal sa zdržovať čas.

Dôležitým argumentom pri vzájomných sporoch bola aj kritika reformátorov, ktorí niekedy vyčítali konventuálovi, že vlastnili vzácne liturgické predmety (napr. mimoriadne drahé liturgické rúcha, zlatý a strieborný riad zdobený drahými kameňmi a perlami), no tendenčnosť týchto tvrdení dokazuje skutočnosť, že rovnako vzácne liturgické predmety vlastnili aj observanti. V ich prípade to však nebol problém. Napr. v roku 1571 z vyšetrovania liptovskej stolice vyplynulo, že konvent (pôvodne observantný) v Okoličnom vlastnil: „kalichy, kazuly vykladané zlatom a drahými kameňmi, pozlátené strieborné lampy, monštrancie, kríže, oltárne závesy a niekoľko drahých ozdôb,“ ktoré údajne kedysi konventu daroval kráľ Matej Korvín (Maljáth 1879, 350-351). Teda „Huňadyovci“, ktorí vyčítali konventuálovi bohatstvo neváhali observantné kláštory obdarúvať rovnako cennými predmetmi. Čo sa teda skrývalo za útokom na konventuálne kláštory?

¹⁷ „Denique tuam hortor paternitatem, nihilominus tibi committo, uti si quid adversi aliunde, maxime fratrum conventualium contra sacram nostri ordinis familiam suboriri contigerit, extunc iuxta tue providencie industriam módis omnibus te opponere velis et debeas, concitataque disturbia sedare procures.“

¹⁸ „Quodque ipsi fratres de Observantia et reformati veri et indubitati fratres Ordinis Beate Francisci et eius Regulae observatores semper fuerint, [...]“

Predovšetkým ide zrejme o to, že problémom ani tak nebolo samotné vlastníctvo klenotov, čo sa však v prameňoch konventuálov jednoznačne vyčíta, ale skôr skutočnosť, že tieto predmety sa predávali. Je dôležité si uvedomiť, že pravdepodobne verejné povedomie bolo postavené na tom, že konventuáli tieto vzácne liturgické predmety nevlastnia, len ich majú v „úschove“ a stále sú vo vlastníctve pôvodných majiteľov. Teda vo vedomí vtedajšej spoločnosti mohol byť predaj týchto vzácných predmetov protiprávny, nakoľko neboli majetkom rehole, ale pôvodných vlastníkov. To však zrejme nie je pravda. Ako sme už spomenuli, kolektívne vlastníctvo rehole františkánov zaručovala bola pápeža Jána XXII. z roku 1322, o ktorej už bola reč.

Pri transfere konventov treba brať do úvahy aj skutočnosť, že do roku 1444 observanti nemali svoje domy vo veľkých uhorských mestách. Stavať nový konvent napr. v aglomerácii Budína bolo zrejme náročné. Veď len konventuáli mali v tomto priestore štyri konventy (Budín, Pešť, Zajačí ostrov a Starý Budín). Je preto hypotézou, že možno začali vyvíjať tlak na získanie lukratívnych destinácií prostredníctvom šľachty a pápeža. Z tohoto zámeru ich však jednoznačne obviniť nemôžeme, nakoľko neexistujú dôkazy, no táto možnosť sa nepochybne podsúva. Treba tiež priznať, že proces transferov konventov sa v tomto období uskutočňoval aj v iných krajinách. Aj napriek skutočnosti, že observanti získali konventy vo veľkých uhorských mestách od konventuálov si stále udržali prevažne vidiecky alebo polovidiecky charakter (Cevins 2008, 51-54).

Postupné zmiernenie tlaku na prevody konventov mohlo mať viacero príčin. Predovšetkým observanti získali lukratívne destinácie, a kde sa im to nepodarilo, postavili si vlastný konvent. Mestá ako Veľký Varadín alebo Segedín tak mali dva konventy jednej rehole rozdelené na dve observancie, čo generovalo nové typy konfliktov (Hunčaga – Huťka 2022, 207). K zmierneniu tlaku na konventuálov, či už zo strany uhorskej šľachty alebo observantov, mohla prispieť aj reforma Fabiána Igalyho, ktorá pravdepodobne viedla k zlepšeniu rehoľnej disciplíny, čím observanti stratili časť argumentov.

Vzájomné vzťahy medzi dvomi františkánskymi observanciami sa začali upokojsť až po roku 1517, kedy pápež Lev X. definitívne rozdelil rehoľu františkánov na dve vetvy. Aj napriek tomu konflikty medzi observantami a konventuálmi pretrvávali, no šírenie reformácie, vojna o uhorský trón po roku 1526 a osmanská expanzia definitívne zmenili situáciu a spory sa stratili spolu s postupným miznutím jednotlivých konventov v 16. storočí.

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ETHICAL ISSUES OF THE SLOVAK NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN THE 19TH CENTURY

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Abstract: GLUCHMAN, Vasil. *Ethical Issues of the Slovak National Movement in the 19th Century*. The author examines the definitions of the terms ethnicity, nation, and nationalism in the context of the development of the Slovak national movement of the 19th century. He concludes that, according to Anthony D. Smith's typology, the Slovaks were an ethnic community striving to achieve an equal position with other nations and ethnicities in Hungary. According to the author, this effort had a clearly positive ethical and moral dimension aimed at the growth, development, and cultivation of the Slovak ethnicity. He documents this in the work of Ján Kollár, although he admits that Kollár also makes negative statements about other nations, especially Magyars and Germans, whom he accused of trying to eliminate the Slavs.

Keywords: Slovaks, ethnic group, national movement, patriotism, ethics, morality

Introduction

In literature dedicated to the creation of nations and formation of nationalism, diverse answers can be found to such questions as what an ethnic group is, what a nation is, how a nation originates, how nationalism came to exist, and what to understand by nationalism, especially in the context of the 19th century. The greatest differences are found among definitions of the term 'nationalism'. While Miroslav Hroch and Marek Waldenberg understand nationalism as a manifestation of national ideology expressed by placing one's own nation above other nations, while possibly using force when pursuing their goals and intentions (Hroch 2007; 2022; Waldenberg 2000), in Western literature, nationalism is usually defined as any activity connected to a nation or national life (Breuilly 1999; Gellner 1997; Hobsbawm 2000; Kohn 1965; Maxwell 2008; Smith 1991). This means the term 'nationalism' can be understood in a narrower as well as broader sense. Hroch, rightfully, points to the fact that a broader understanding of the term 'nationalism' complicates mutual understanding and discussion.¹

With regard to the creation of nations, Anthony D. Smith claims that the essence of the myth of nationalism² is the idea that nations exist timelessly and all that is necessary is to wake them from a long sleep. In his view, an ethnic group is a type of cultural collectivism emphasising the role of collective memory and myth of descent, which can be identified on the basis of several attributes, among which are, for instance, religion, traditions, language, or institutions. He differentiates between ethnic categories and ethnic communities. An ethnic category is formed by a population who to (at least some) external observers appears as a distinct historical and cultural

¹ Although it is not the aim of my paper to address this issue, I incline towards Hroch's and Waldenberg's opinion, which is why, when presenting my views in the paper, I work with the narrower understanding of nationalism, while I preserve the broader conception when presenting the opinions of Western authors.

² In my perception, these are myths of the national movement and national ideology.

group. Such a group can, however, have a low level of self-awareness and only a foggy idea of its own collectivism. As an example, he uses the Slovak population of the Carpathian valleys prior to 1850 in spite of the fact that they shared a dialect and religion (Smith 1991, 20-21). Regarding an ethnic community, he defined six attributes for its identification: 1) a collective name, 2) a common myth of descent, 3) shared collective memory, 4) distinctive cultural attributes, 5) an association with a specific 'fatherland', and 6) a sense of solidarity with significant parts of the population. An ethnic community should be distinguished from a race as a social group, in which unique hereditary biological features are assumed, which, allegedly, also determine its mental abilities (Smith 1991, 21).

In my view, in the case of Slovaks, it has never been true they shared a religion, unless Christianity in general is meant, while it was also not true they shared a dialect, as, a good while ago, Ján Kollár in the foreword to a collection of folk poetry, stated Slovaks used seven dialects (Kollár 1988, 15-17). Apart from this, Slovaks in the 1840s had a standard, codified, language, which means one cannot merely speak of dialects and overlook the existence of a literary language. On the other hand, it was certainly true that, in the given era, the Slovak ethnic group had scant ethnic awareness and the issue of identity was equally problematic. In spite of that, I believe it could be said that Slovaks met at least four, possibly five, criteria for being recognised as an ethnic community; they were not merely an ethnic category as defined by Smith's terminology.

I think, following Smith's criteria of ethnic community, Slovaks had a collective name, as the term 'Slovaks' is to be found in a certain form as early as the Middle Ages (since the 14th or 15th century). Equally, in the given period, a common myth existed about the association of Slovaks and Great Moravians or, even before that, Nitrans, as keenly discussed in the literary works of Ján Hollý and Jozef Miloslav Hurban (Hollý 1985; Hurban 1983). I believe that Slovak folk culture was a clear distinctive feature of Slovaks and other ethnic groups in the given region in the 19th century, as well as before.

Concerning the territory, if Smith defines it as a 'fatherland', I believe it is possible to historically support a continuous settlement on the territory that was originally the Duchy of Nitra and, later, the East part of Great Moravia. This territory spread approximately from the Morava and Tisza Rivers, i.e. in the East-West direction, with the Tatras providing the Northern and the Danube River the Southern border, by Slavic and, later Slovak, inhabitants. These were not, however, exclusively Slavic or Slovak settlements, albeit the Slovak ethnic group formed a clear majority, following the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries, German colonisation began. This was followed by Vlach-Ruthenian colonisation (between the 14th and 17th centuries) and, during the Turkish occupation in the southern parts of Hungary, especially Hungarian aristocracy from the south of Hungary moved to the North. This significantly changed the ethnic composition of the population in the areas of Upper Hungary, but the Slavic ethnic group still formed the majority of the population, which subsisted mainly on agriculture and shepherding (Teich – Kováč – Brown 2011).

As the ethnic awareness of the Slovak people was poor, so was the solidarity with other parts of the population, a negative role also being played by complex geographical and climatic conditions in the areas inhabited by the Slovak ethnic group – these were surrounded by hills dividing the population of individual regions or, oftentimes, even individual settlements. As a result, the population of the Eastern counties was extremely scarcely represented in the Slovak national movement and rarely participated in Slovak national life (Hroch 1985; Hučko 1974), which is, for instance, evidenced by the pre-1918 history and activity of the Slovak National Party, in which the East barely participated (Podrimavský 1983). Another disadvantage of the Slovak ethnic group was poor development of the towns, which could have been significant centres of political, administrative, social as well as cultural life. This was evidenced by Turčiansky Svätý Martin becoming the centre of the Slovak national movement and life in the 1860s. This small

town of 3,000 inhabitants single-handedly managed to support Slovak national activities, despite strong opposition from the Magyar governmental bodies and the state institutions. Unlike A. D. Smith, I do not believe that the Slovak ethnic group in the mid-19th century was merely an ethnic category but an almost fully developed ethnic community.

According to Smith, when identifying an ethnic community, it is not really a common descent that is key, but rather a common myth of descent. When defining who we are, what is important is the idea of where we came from. According to this author, shared collective memory can also be a myth, as, for a great number of pre-modern populations, the borderline between myth and history was rather unclear if not non-existent. He claims that the borderline between the two is not very clear at present either. Links to a specific territory or place can have an equally mythical and subjective character. In order to identify an ethnic community, this subjective relationship is even more important than true land ownership; it is often a sacred place, the land of our ancestors, which makes it our fatherland. It is these sacred places that attract the members of an ethnic community ('ethnie'), or inspire them, possibly, from a distance. An ethnic community is not definitely primordial (Smith 1991, 22-23). Above, I mentioned my views regarding the aspects that are key to the definition of an ethnic community and to what extent, in my opinion, they related to the Slovak ethnic group. Further claims by the same author support my stance even more in that the Slovak ethnic group almost entirely met the criteria necessary to be classed as an ethnic community, i.e. within the scope of Smith's term 'ethnie'. This also concerns what I merely deduced from his understanding of fatherland, as the Slovak ethnic group had one that its predecessors inhabited since, at least, the times of Samo's Empire, the Principality of Nitra and, later, Great Moravia.

In the context of Smith's ideas regarding an ethnic community as a developmental stage prior to the formation of a nation, he provided the following definition: "[A] nation... is a *named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members*. By definition the nation is a community of common myths and memories, as is an *ethnic*. It is also a territorial community. But whereas in the case of *ethnies* the link with a territory may be only historical and symbolic, in the case of the nation it is physical and actual: nations possess territories. In other words, nations always require ethnic 'elements'. These may, of course, be reworked; they often are. But nations are inconceivable without some common myths and memories of a territorial home" (Smith 1991, 40). When I analyse it point by point, factor by factor, it follows that, by a nation, Smith, de facto, understands a state nation, as he considers the existence of shared economy, laws, rights, and duties as a criterion. The above factors are, more or less, the same as for an ethnic group, but mass culture is directed at a form of institutionalisation, which was, in the 19th century and especially in multi-ethnic empires such as the Habsburg monarchy (with Hungary as part of it), only possible at the level of a state nation and not very likely at the level of an ethnic group or ethnic community. The territorial demarcation of Hungary was also problematic, as, in the case of the Slovak ethnic group, the territory primarily covered hilly areas of Northern Hungary. The Slovak ethnic group also inhabited large areas of the Lower land, such as that surrounding Békéscaba, in the region of the Serbian Vojvodina, i.e. area surrounding Novi Sad, Romanian Banat and, in many other places in Hungary including Pest.

Language as a cultural, humanizing and ethical element of the Slovak ethnic group

On the other hand, in the context of defining the content of the term 'nation', what Benedict Anderson considers important are the ideas that preceded it and were connected to written language, which was to provide an exclusive approach to the ontological truth. Another was the idea that human society is organised around superior centres, such as rulers acting on divine authority. The third was the idea that the origin of the world and people is, actually, the same. However, the fast, albeit uneven, development within Western Europe and the other parts of the continent caused the destruction of such understanding of the relationship between cosmology in the form of God's ruling the world and history. That is why a new way started to be searched for which could meaningfully join these and the nation would offer the answer that would provide responses to existing questions and doubts (Anderson 2006, 36). On the one hand, the author's claims are right; on the other, one cannot fully agree with them. It was establishing the Slovak ethnic group and the shaping of its ethnic and national awareness, identity and ideology that was based on religion, the natural right which God gave equally to all people. Therefore, Slovak patriots, including Ján Kollár, Ľudovít Štúr, and others, requested equal rights and position of Slovaks within Hungary and the Habsburg monarchy (Dupkala 2024; Kollár 1831; 1844; Štúr 1986a; 1986b; Hodža 1847).

In John Breuilly's view, language only gained its significance when it became an important institutional component of law, politics, and economy. For instance, in the language policy of Emperor Joseph II, replacing Latin with German activated Magyar pressure to introduce the Magyar language. Nevertheless, the author states that supporting the use of mother tongue in primary education, which started to be enforced during Joseph II's reign, increased the interest in Slavic languages on the one hand and concerns in Magyars on the other. Therefore, in his view, language is not only important from the viewpoint of national culture and memory, but also as an instrument of political, legal, and education systems. Breuilly claims that, if language is restricted to the first area, then its significance is truly small (Breuilly 1999, 152). Hroch wrote, in a similar context, about language as a means of communication and its importance within the education system that significantly entered the process of shaping a nation, i.e. transforming an ethnic group into a nation, as, according to him, it was important to what extent the mother tongue was used for the education of the ethnic group. He believed that what was decisive for the development of an ethnic group and a national movement was whether the mother tongue was not only used in primary but also secondary education, as thanks to this, the ethnic intelligentsia was more broadly educated in its own mother tongue. Introducing the mother tongue in education at secondary-school level provided conditions for the language of the ethnic group to also fulfil the communication role in the legal, political, and economic sphere. To preserve the existence of an ethnic group, language was also important at the level of primary education, as it aided in retaining the historic and cultural memory of the ethnic group in question; it, however, did not create conditions for its further development, including its institutionalisation (Hroch 2009, 121). That was why the establishment of three Slovak secondary comprehensive schools was vital for the Slovak ethnic group. This increased the number of people who completed general secondary education in their own mother tongue and also enhanced the shaping of ethnic awareness.

New age nations are not, in Marek Waldenberg's view, an artificial creation and nor do they 'wake up'. At most, one could admit that a certain ethnic group that was not yet a nation, even though it already carried the seed of nation-forming activity, 'has fallen asleep'. As he sees it, every nation-forming process has two forms: spontaneous and intentional, whose ratio changes in the course of space and time (Waldenberg 2000, 27). I believe that, for the Slovak national

movement, especially for its initial phases, the term 'ethnic' awakening would be more apt since, as many authors have stated, the Slovak ethnic group not only lacked political awareness but also consciousness.

National movements, nationalism and patriotism

Gale Stokes claims that freedom and unity were the fundamental promises of 19th century nationalism³ and the sources of its influence over individuals who were able to make it operable, i.e. use it for their own good. In his view, for political leaders, nationalism has two roles: on the one hand, it legitimises their authority; on the other, it mobilises public support for them and their policies. The essence of the legitimacy of 19th century politicians was the claim they represented the nation (Stokes 1974, 539-540). In the general context of European nationalism, it was certainly true that freedom and unity were the main slogans of 19th century nationalism. I believe one could agree with the above claim also in the context of the Slovak national movement, as it was freedom, i.e. national freedom from the viewpoint of acquiring equal rights and position in Hungary, compared to the ruling Magyar nation, which means it concerned national liberation. Other claims by the same author can also be accepted in the context of the Slovak national movement, as Phase B (following Hroch's typology) was mainly focused on legitimising the authority of political leaders and mobilising public support, i.e., in Hroch's terminology, national agitation with the aim of extending the social base of the national movement and making it a mass movement (Hroch 1985, 98).

One could also agree with the view that political leaders represented the nation, although, as it seems to have been based on a study of 'apocryphal' sources, the actual process of crystallisation of the Slovak national movement and its representation was not as unified, clear, and direct as the idea of it, according to which Ľudovít Štúr, Jozef Miloslav Hurban, and Michal Miloslav Hodža were to stand at its forefront on the grounds of their activities, while others only were of marginal importance (Pichler 2011). Not to mention that, prior to the armed procession of Slovak volunteer forces against the Magyar Revolution at the side of Vienna, a major conflict arose in the Slovak national movement between Kollár's and Štúr's followers (Gluchman 2023a; 2023b; Hodža 1848; Hurban 1983; Kollár 1846; Štúr 1986a). Then, during the actual revolution, the opinions on the political, or military, advancement also varied (Winkler 1982, 189), not to mention the conflicts in the periods to come, such as following Štúr's premature death. They continued in the 1860s and 1870s and culminated in the second half of the 1890s with an open declaration of the 'Voice' (Hlas) group against the conservatism of the Martin centre (Podrimavský 1983). The entire process of preparing political leaders for the Slovak national movement was much more complex than is usually admitted; however, one could agree with the author in that these leaders gained legitimacy by means of the national movement, or public opinion. Nevertheless, while the political immaturity of the Slovak ethnic group was mentioned on multiple occasions, the political leaders gained legitimacy by a rather small part of the ethnic group, represented by nationally aware intelligentsia, and, later, by nationally aware small businessmen or craftsmen.

According to John Breuilly, nationalist thoughts, i.e. national ideology, can be utilised in three ways: coordination, mobilisation, and legitimisation. In coordination, nationalist ideas are utilised to enforce shared interests while mobilisation serves to gain support for the political movement among large groups, and legitimisation is tasked with justifying the goals of a political movement towards the state as well as external factors, such as foreign countries and their public opinion.

³ In my view, this stands for a national movement and 19th century national ideologies.

The author claims that, in the Habsburg monarchy, the roles of coordination and mobilisation were important, while legitimisation was not very widespread. The feudal system of the Habsburg monarchy where privileged groups had local power, gave Magyars an institutional base on which their national movement was built. It led to Magyar aristocrats feeling more as the leaders of a nation endangered by the state and Germans than the dynasty's privileged collaborators. According to Breuilly, the events of 1848 caused radicalisation and a sway towards nationalist opposition. On the other hand, this ignited a nationalist movement of inferior ethnic groups which, however, did not have a sufficiently developed structure of elites and they were often peasant movements led by the church and intelligentsia (Breuilly 1999, 166-167).

In my view, the above roles that the author mentions significantly (although not completely) correspond with Hroch's three phases characterising the development of national movements of small nations. Following Hroch's conception, coordination and mobilisation can be included in Phase B, which Hroch named the 'phase of national agitation'. I would include legitimisation in the shaping of national ideology which was, apart from other things, tasked with explaining the goals of the national movement in relation to foreign countries, in which the Slovak national movement was rather inactive and, thus, for a long time, misunderstood. While Magyars travelled Europe and presented their liberal ideas in the best possible light, thanks to which they gained affection and support from liberal and left-wing European circles; Slovaks had neither enough means nor did they make enough effort to gain significant support for their interests abroad. Even though they published several brochures in German, mainly issued in Germany (Čaplovič 1842; Chalupka 1841; Štúr 1843), it was still insufficient to speak to Europe and convince it about their fight for rights being justified, or expose the true face of Magyar politics. These were among the reasons why the Slovak national movement was considered, for instance by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, a reactionary force fighting against the progressive Hungarian Revolution (Marx – Engels 2010). Marx and Engels, of course, did not have enough information regarding the behaviour of Magyars towards non-Magyar nations and ethnic groups, which, logically and necessarily, resulted in these nations and ethnic groups standing up against Magyars and on the side of Vienna which, very skilfully and tactically used the radicalism of Magyar liberalists towards non-Magyar nations and ethnic groups for its profit. Moreover, as usual, they only fulfilled very few of their promises made in the times of danger on the part of Hungarian Revolution.

The model of nationalist ideology in the narrower sense must, in Marek Waldenberg's view, include the following features: national egotism is justified and necessary; good of one's own nation is the highest value; relationships between nations are not based on justice but power, ethical principles used at the level of an individual do not apply here; territorial expansion is commonplace; there is a hierarchy among nations and one's own nation is at its top (Waldenberg 2000, 42). On the other hand, he also mentions differences between nationalist ideologies, such as the view of the good of mankind, as some claim these are only empty words, while others consider it a real and main value that is not contradictory to the interests of a nation. Similarly, such ideologies might differ in the opinion on how to achieve the interests of one's own nation (by means of fight or cooperation). There might also be a difference in whether ethics has its place in international politics and, thus, whether politics is to be subordinate to ethics. The author believes patriotism, in contrast to nationalism, does not reject individualism and is a universalistic ideology (Waldenberg 2000, 44).

In the context of the above definition, I believe it is somewhat possible to differentiate in its narrower definition between xenophobic nationalism and humanistic patriotism. The former is typical, to a significant extent, of large nations that saw an opportunity to prove their task in the history of mankind by means of national egotism placing the interests, needs, and good of one's own nation over those of other nations; equally to the idea that only force is truly important

and decisive to realise national interests, which, almost explicitly, negates the recognition of ethical principles and values at the level of international politics. This, more or less naturally, results in territorial aggression as a means of increasing one's importance and international prestige in the history of mankind, in order to present the superiority of one's own nation over all others. I believe Napoleonic France, Nazi Germany, fascist Italy, or imperial Japan are good examples of the above practice. Austro-Hungary can also be partially included in this framework, due to its goals regarding international politics which resulted in the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1908) and aggressive politics directed at declaring war on Serbia, with the subsequent start of World War I (1914). It can similarly be related to pre-revolutionary Czarist Russia, which also had its imperial power-related ambitions towards Japan, the Ottoman Empire and other countries.

The latter, humanistic, form of patriotism can be represented by, for instance, Kollár's conception of nation, including its forced or defensive national egotism resulting from the need to protect the Slovak ethnic group and Slavic nation, including the requirements for their equal position and rights within the Habsburg monarchy and, especially, Hungary. It is definitely possible to agree with the opinion that the good of one's own nation (in his understanding, the Slavic nation with the Slovak ethnic group being part of it) was the highest value, especially in a situation when an ethnic group and the entire Slavic nation within the monarchy and the country were doubted, marginalised, and ostracised. Through his sermons on good characteristic features of the Slavic nation which were, according to a great number of authors, abstracted from an idealised form of the Slovak ethnic group, he wished to evidence a moral prevalence over those who humiliated the Slavic nation and overlooked it, while also denied it equal rights and position in the monarchy and Hungary (Kollár 1831). In his treatises, Kollár pointed out that the relationships between nations in his era were not based on justice but rather power and an abuse of the position for the benefit of national egotism of the governing nations and their priority position at the expense of the justified needs and interests of the Slavic nation and the Slovak ethnic group.

Unlike the supporters of xenophobic nationalism, Kollár called for the enforcement of ethics and morality in relationships among nations referring to the rights of man as a citizen in the context of granting all citizens of the country, regardless their ethnic background, equal rights in all areas in the same way as the members of the ruling nations. This also concerned education, religion, and public, or state, administration in order for them to get education in their own mother tongue and use it in public and political life, which he considered a natural right of every man and every group of citizens, including the members of non-Magyar nations and ethnic groups living in Hungary. His requirement for equality and equal rights, or same treatment, was not only legitimate but also ethical and moral in correspondence with the philosophical and ethical views of the Enlightenment and Herder's philosophy of nation of which Kollár, in various forms, declared his direct or indirect support (Krištof 2022; Martinkovič 2022).

From this it logically resulted that, in Kollár's case, an agreement with territorial expansion was not an option; on the contrary, he often reproached it, mainly based on historical knowledge regarding Slavic tribes that were subjected to violence and expansion on the part of Germans, which led to their almost entire elimination in Lusatia and Pomerania. He accepted a certain historical hierarchy of nations, based on the concept that some nations had played a leading role in history, from the Greeks and Romans to the Western nations of Europe, which, however, in his view, were on the decline. Following Herder, he defined his own conception of Slavic reciprocity, according to which Slavs were to, in the future, lead mankind in the pursuit of humanity, based on their moral features that, in his view, designated them for this role (Kollár 2008, 112).

In fulfilling this role, Slavs were to follow the goals of humanity, i.e. in a humane way and, especially, by means of cooperation with other nations for whom they were to be a bright example on the way to humanity. The good of one's own nation and its ethnic groups was part of the

universal good of mankind. However, Kollár believed that, for this task to be met, they need to be united, stop any infighting, as it is the only way to fulfil their historical mission (Kollár 2008, 85-87). Cultural and literary reciprocity as a form of cooperation, and getting to know and exchange the products of literature was to be the first step. In spite of the fact Kollár claimed his conception of Slavic reciprocity to be apolitical, it aroused great disconcertion on both sides, i.e. on the part of some Slavic ethnic groups and, possibly, even greater turmoil among Germans and Magyars who considered it as dangerous Pan-Slavism, which could seriously jeopardise their Pan-Germanic intentions (*Drang nach Osten*), as well as Magyarisation. This led to Kollár, as well as others who supported the idea of Slavic reciprocity, being accused of Pan-Slavism; however, on the other hand, it also increased their activity in the form of even greater national, or ethnic, intolerance towards Slavic nations and ethnic groups.

On the other hand, it must be admitted there were some aggressive elements in Kollár, expressing certain ethnic groups; however, more hostile expressions can be found regarding Germans for the injustices and suffering they caused Slavic tribes in the past (Kollár 1862, 132, 259, 297-298). In the same author, negative statements addressed to Magyars can also be found, but these are mainly aimed at specific manifestations of injustice towards the Slovak ethnic group or, more generally, the Slavic nation that he experienced with his own eyes as a pastor of the Slovak Lutheran parish in Pest (Kollár 1831; 1844). In his case, these were expressions regarding the fight for cultural and linguistic rights for the Slovak ethnic group and Slavic nation rather than political statements resulting from his perception of nation.

Conclusion

It is, therefore, definitely possible to claim that the 19th century Slovak national movement, in all its forms and phases, played a positive role in the shaping of ethnic and national awareness of the Slovak ethnic group, forming an ethnic and national identity as well as constituting national ideology. This was primarily based on the humanist ideas of the Enlightenment mainly expressed in Herder's views regarding Slavs and their future, as well as following his thoughts of mankind's direction towards humanity. It was these ethical and moral ideals that became the basis of Kollár's conception of nation and Slavic reciprocity, which were then, with some necessary era-related modifications, followed by Štúr's adherents as well as other Slovak patriots, striving to enforce them not only in the cultural, linguistic, and religious, but also political and social life of the Slovak ethnic group in the second half of the 19th century. With regard to objective external circumstances, as well as subjective drawbacks, they did not always succeed but what they managed was to preserve the Slovak ethnic group and, albeit with significant problems, establish it politically in the first decades of the 20th century as a modern European nation in the shared country of Czechs and Slovaks.

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BETWEEN NATURALISM, MACHIAVELLIANISM AND (DE)MYTHIZATION: THE IMAGE OF SVÄTOPLUK IN JÉGÉ'S NOVEL SVÄTOPLUK

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Abstract: VAŠŠ, Martin. *Between Naturalism, Machiavellianism and (De)Mythization: The Image of Svätopluk in Jégé's Novel Svätopluk*. The article examines the image of Svätopluk in the novel *Svätopluk* (1928) by L. N. Jégé, using the techniques of textual, historical and literary-historical analysis, as well as interpretation and comparison. In examining the image of Svätopluk, emphasis is placed on the methods of construction and instrumentation of this image, taking into consideration extra-literary goals, within which we devote special attention to the author's instrumentalisation of historical facts and analyse the author's conception of the novel in relation to his political views and his understanding of the concept of Slovak and Czechoslovak history. In analysing literary-historical factors, we reflect on the influences of naturalism and the intertextual connection to the concept of the *The Prince* by Niccolò Machiavelli. Jégé's image of Svätopluk is conceptually multilayered, ambiguous and ambivalent, which is manifested, based on our findings, in the oscillation between three basic aspects – the naturalistic, Machiavellian and (de)mythization aspects. Within the naturalistic aspect, Jégé demonstrates the formative influence of the environment on the individual through the figure of Svätopluk. Within the Machiavellian aspect, he constructs Svätopluk as a Machiavellian ruler and reformer of his era. Finally, within the mythization aspect, he searches for parallels between the first Czechoslovak Republic and Great Moravia and monumentalises the figure of Svätopluk in opposition to the figure of Rastislav, while simultaneously demythicizing Svätopluk through naturalistically conditioned regressions.

Keywords: *Svätopluk, image, L. N. Jégé, Great Moravia, Slovak novel, naturalism, Machiavellianism, mythization, demythization*

In the Slovak literary context, the tradition of the historical genre is above all associated with Romantic prose, which was determined by a national-constructivist-didactic function, which had a tendency to use historical figures to discuss problematic aspects within the national mentality. In the context of the emergence of the literary realist generation in the 1880s, it is symptomatic that this generation did not cultivate historical genres in prose at all and that such genres occurred only in the poetic epics, dramas and ballads of Pavol Országh Hviezdoslav (Mráz 1959, 34). The realist author Martin Kukučín also grasped historical topics in a similar way, when he thematised sections of national history to show examples of collective failure that could have been avoided, by which he also wanted to point out other possibilities for the development of the national presence. According to René Bílik (2008, 99-100), Jégé's historical prose represents a completely different case in this regard, in view of his primary focus on the individual in the context of the influence of the (historical) environment on his formation and in the process of his journey through life.

Jégé is thus not a "common" author of historical prose, and in some respects his realistic approach is even weakened, despite his programmatic efforts at realism. Vladimír Petrík (1956, 9-10) thinks that Jégé, paradoxically, best found himself as an author in his historical prose,

whose value he saw not so much in extensive knowledge of historical facts or the fidelity of the historical reality depicted, but in a convincing knowledge of the person he portrayed in a given work. As a result, his prose with historical themes seems much more convincing and vivid than the historical novels of any other Slovak author. Aside from a series of historical short stories published in the collections *Wieniawski Legenda* (1922) and *Z dávných časov* (1927), Jégé also published two historical novels, *Adam Šangala* (1923) and *Svätopluk* (1928), which is the object of our textual analyses and within which we will note how Jégé constructed and instrumentalised the image of Svätopluk (as well as Great Moravia) not only in his depiction in the text and historical understanding, but also in relation to his efforts to historically instrumentalise this significant historical figure in relation to the political reality at the time of the creation of the given work. Therefore, we have no intention to conduct a detailed and exhaustive historical analysis of factual errors and anachronisms in the work, but, on the contrary, to attempt to grasp the key aspects of Jégé's construction¹ of the image of Svätopluk.²

L. N. Jégé welcomed the founding of Czechoslovakia because, among other things, he saw in it the realisation of historical rights and a more just socio-political reality compared to Austria-Hungary. From his student days, he had a close relationship with the Czech nation and culture, which in the first Czechoslovak Republic was manifested by his inclination towards political and intellectual elites based on Czechoslovak statehood and Czechoslovak national unity.³ These facts need to be mentioned and emphasised for a better understanding of the choice of *Svätopluk* as a subject for a historical novel, which by coincidence was issued in the year of the tenth anniversary of the founding of Czechoslovakia. Jégé's entry into the field of historical prose itself in the new state-legal reality after 1918, when there was no significant need to return to historical literary genres, is also deserving of a more thorough explanation.

Aside from the above-mentioned enthusiasm for the new socio-political reality after 1918, Jégé's broad-mindedness not only in literature, but also in history and philosophy, needs to be pointed out. Namely, thanks to his knowledge of history, he could experience it as a living reality that also intervened into the present in a broad-spectrum way. The awareness of this relationship

¹ For the issue of constructing historical narratives and the phenomenon of historical imagination, see the central work of the narrative-constructivist approach *Metahistory* (White, 2011).

² L. N. Jégé also worked as a doctor after the founding of Czechoslovakia in 1918 and, in contrast to the period before the First World War, he performed public work with great enthusiasm, especially in the health sector. He welcomed the establishment of Czechoslovakia with joy, because he saw it as the liberation of the Slovak nation. Jégé's activism after the founding of the Czechoslovak Republic found its expression in the publication of critical articles in which he came to terms with the recent past and reflected on the future of Slovak society in the new political and legal conditions of the Czecho-Slovak state. He published most of his articles in *Národné noviny*, *Slovenský denník*, *Naša Orava*, *Národný denník* and *Slovenské pohľady*. Unlike the autonomists, however, Jégé cultivated and outwardly declared his own highly positive relationship towards the Czech nation. Although he was not completely passive in political activity – in the 1920 elections he ran for the Slovak National and Peasant Party and in 1925 for the Czechoslovak People's Party; he was not elected in either case. However, in his public activities he was mostly limited to the Orava region (Gregorec 1957, 52-54, 71). He was criticised by his contemporaries and reviewers for various anachronisms in the novel *Svätopluk*. Let us at least mention the critical observations of Jégé's friend Štefan Krčmery: "A historian, when he reads this book, can legitimately ask himself all sorts of questions. Is it possible to talk about the burning of corpses or the killing of brides and their giving away to family members in Great Moravia under Rastislav? Is it possible to imagine Rastislav and his surroundings as so pagan, with the rule of Grubica, when Rastislav's predecessor, Mojmir, was already a Christian and Pribina built a brick Christian church in Nitra? Is it possible to speak of governors in the land of Svätopluk?" (Krčmery 1959, 60).

³ Compare: Mráz 1959, 27-29.

sparked in him the urge to take the past as a literary material that would be updated through literary processing and could thus influence the thinking of his contemporaries. Another motivation was the discovery that historical subjects turned out to be the most suitable and pliable article for his compositional methods.

Jégé's choice of Svätopluk as the main character of a historical novel was not accidental; it was closely related to his views and beliefs regarding the issue of Slovak and, in a broader sense, Czechoslovak history. His concept (or rather, idea) of Slovak history was based on the belief that Slovaks were ahistorical due to the long-term (negative) influence of Hungary, which led him to lean towards the concept of Czechoslovak history: *"Slovakia does not have a history itself, only one shared with Hungary. And that is not ours at all; nothing is recorded in it about us as Slovaks. We begin to live, as such, in the 18th century. Matthew Csák of Trenčín and Pongráč of Liptovský Mikuláš are figures who have been dragged into Slovak history by the hair. But that is easy to help with this. Having no history of our own, let us cling body and soul to the history of Bohemia"* (Jégé 1983, 52). It is in this context that Jégé's choice of the figure of Svätopluk, who suited him in that he had considerable potential to fulfil several national-didactic and national-myth-forming functions, needs to be perceived.⁴

First of all, it was to help fill the "empty" Slovak history and assist in fulfilling the definitional tools of "Slovakness"⁵ in the process of his creation in the dynamic new conditions of the Czecho-Slovak state: *"The figures of Rastislav and Svätopluk stand like Memnon's statues in the desert in our empty history. I wanted to do our nation a kind of service by depicting a great ancestor, and I could not choose another great, guaranteed Slovak figure than Svätopluk"* (Jégé 1983, 139). In his correspondence, he argued in this context that Slovaks must have some image of the past, and it would be awful if they were to remain without a past. Jégé thus intended with his novel to contribute to the formation and, in particular, the reinforcing of Slovak historical consciousness, and in doing so to pursue political and social goals. The mentioned authorial intention was almost absent in Jégé's first works of historical prose and was manifested more fully in his later historical works, where it reached its peak in the novel *Svätopluk*.⁶

The figure of Svätopluk also had significance in Jégé's thinking about the past, because his rule was also associated with the control of the Czech lands, thus creating a welcome analogy with the existing newly founded Czecho-Slovak state.⁷ Namely, in the deep ideological substructure

⁴ Svätopluk was the son of Rastislav's brother, who was traditionally called Svätomír. Historian Martin Homza specifies further: *"He entered history as Rastislav's co-ruler (prince of the Nitra Principality – in the contemporary sense, a king) before 869, when his Nitra Principality was ravaged by the Frankish army of Carloman, son of the East Frankish king Louis (the German). This mention is found in the Annales Fuldenses, where he is mentioned as Rastislav's nephew. The same annals refer to Svätopluk's territory as a kingdom... There is no doubt that his kingdom was spread over Slovakia with a possible centre in Bratislava or Nitra... In 871 he became the sovereign ruler of Great Moravia"* (Homza 2013, 15).

⁵ In the contemporary context of searching for a definitional framework for defining everything that is Slovak (or "Slovakness"). Contemporary Slovak art played a large role in this regard. The use of the term "Slovak myth" was also common in this context. For more information, see: *Slovenský mýtus* (Hrabušický 2006).

⁶ Petřík 1956, 14. In the opinion of Kornel Földváry (1959, 168), it is specifically the introduction of an extra-literary intention that harms this work, because it means that Jégé can no longer fully apply his naturalistic analytical method.

⁷ This analogy was often used not only by historians who sought to build a concept of Czechoslovak history (Václav Chaloupecký, Albert Pražák, Kamil Krofta), but also by many politicians who promoted the concept of Czechoslovak national unity. In this context, we must not forget that Jégé was in systematic and friendly correspondence with the leading Czechoslovak historian Albert Pražák, whom we will mention later in relation to the origin of the novel *Svätopluk*.

of his work, Jégé effectively polemicised with Slovak and Slovak-Czech disunion, which he could see in the political life of the young Czechoslovak Republic. Therefore, we can here identify an analogy between the effort to preserve the unity of the Czecho-Slovak state and Svätöpluk's effort to preserve (in the case of the novel, to secure) the unity of Great Moravia. Thus, we find here an additional motive for why Jégé's *Svätöpluk* not only was, but also "had to" be anachronistic in the retroactive application of the optics of the then current Czecho-Slovak statehood.⁸

Nearly all relevant experts on Jégé's work agree that Jégé transferred his views of his time to the characters in the novel *Svätöpluk* and had a tendency through history to debate his own present.⁹ Therefore, we cannot attribute the anachronistic elements of Jégé's *Svätöpluk* only to gaps in the author's historical knowledge, but also to the very concept of this work, which was written to speak to the present and his contemporaries through the past. On the other hand, Jégé's friend and supporter Štefan Krčméry (1959, 56) justified the anachronisms by the author's need to support the "inner truth" of his plot, which was also related to the effort to manifest Jégé's deterministic conception of a life philosophy based on emphasising the formative influence of the environment on the individual.

However, in the case of Jégé's *Svätöpluk*, the relationship between the individual and the environment also operates in reverse, which could be explained by a certain split between Jégé's naturalistic determinism and the mentioned extra-literary goals present in this work. In this context, Vladimír Petřík (1956, 22) noted that in the novel *Svätöpluk*, Jégé sometimes transferred the conditions of the public life of his time to the times of Great Moravia in a mechanical way. However, in the framework of this mentioned approach, Jégé did not apply a straight-line schematism, because he wanted to critically debate the present with images from the past of Great Moravia.¹⁰

Czech literary historian Albert Pražák, with whom Jégé was in correspondence even while working on *Svätöpluk*, described this novel as only "seemingly apolitical", because in his view, Jégé wanted, through this novel, to project serious reminders to his contemporaries. In Pražák's view, the novel had a clearly national focus, because Svätöpluk's battle with the Franks (then Germans) in Jégé's work seemed analogous to the national struggle of Czechs and Slovaks with Germans and Hungarians, while the "internal political" struggle at the court of the Great Moravian rulers evoked the disputes between Czechs and Slovaks, or even Slovaks among themselves. Pražák (1959, 81, 83-84) thus confirmed the hidden political message of Jégé's *Svätöpluk*, which he thought was constructed on the basis of Czechoslovak national and state unity.

By selecting and by reflecting the character of Svätöpluk in literature, Jégé also supported the then current conception of Czechoslovak history, as evidenced by the manuscript introduction to this novel, in which he labelled Svätöpluk as the greatest figure in Czechoslovak history: "My aim was to draw attention to the great figure of Svätöpluk, of whom there is none greater in Czechoslovak history" (Jégé 1973, 750). In this context, Jégé's conceptual originality in choosing the character of Svätöpluk should be highlighted. At the time, Czechoslovak historiographical discourse - particularly among proponents of the idea that Great Moravia represented the first common

⁸ Ján Gregorec (1957, 84), in his monograph on the work of L. N. Jégé, did not find anachronisms in the depiction of the historical period in his historical prose, but he acknowledged that they can be observed in the depiction of the psychological makeup of the characters and in this context he mentioned the character of Svätöpluk.

⁹ The mentioned features of Jégé's work in relation to the anachronism of the characters in his historical works and their polemical nature were convincingly grasped and justified by Kornel Földvári (1959, 166) in his study *Jégého historické polemiky [Jégé's Historical Polemics]*.

¹⁰ Andrej Mráz also points out this fact (1959, 36-37).

state of Czechs and Slovaks (a view championed in Slovakia primarily by Václav Chaloupecký) - tended to portray Svätopluk's uncle, Rastislav, as the more significant ruler. In this regard, Martin Homza (2024, 108) states that this created a historiographical stereotype within contemporary Czechoslovak historiography, which presented Rastislav and St. Methodius as bright figures and portrayed Svätopluk only as a "temporarily successful" ruler, whose actions ultimately contributed to the collapse of the first state unit of Czechs and Slovaks.

Therefore, with Jégé's choice of Svätopluk as the main character of a historical novel and the considerable degree of mythization attached, the possibility comes to the fore that by choosing Svätopluk (since in the novel he appears as a prince of the Nitra fief), Jégé was actually trying to emphasise the Slovak rather than the Czechoslovak historical aspect. Regarding the mythization of Svätopluk in Jégé's work, the following comments of Štefan Krčméry are pertinent, as he compares Jégé's Svätopluk to the mythical figure of Jánošík: *"In the fermenting events of 9th-century Central Europe, the figure of Svätopluk stands like some fantastic cliff. The waters swell and ebb around him... He is invulnerable, like Jánošík from the legends, until fate touches a magic string on his belt"* (Krčméry 1959, 62). The common frame of reference in this case is the combination of mythization and its deconstruction through the naturalistically conditioned weakening of the mythified hero.

In this context, Ján Gregorec (1957, 131) emphasised that Jégé's novel above all pursued national-didactic goals. The mentioned goals, however, were far from identical with the idealising and mythologising goals of Slovak romantic historical prose. In contrast, Alexander Matuška, in the framework of Jégé's polemicising approach to the past, pointed to the author's effort to show the "inner truth" of that past (and in this way prove Jégé's main naturalistic thesis that man does not change in principle in the course of history) through the destruction of the accretions of legends and idealisation – that is, to demystify it and show that the past also had an equally ruthless face as the author's present.¹¹ One can thus see how the complexity and certain ambiguity of Jégé's thinking about the past is reflected in his authorial approach to the novel *Svätopluk*.

We must remember that Jégé was motivated to write not only this novel, but also other texts with historical themes, by the intellectuals and writers close to him, Štefan Krčméry and Albert Pražák, which is also confirmed by Jégé's correspondence, while Pavol Országh Hviezdoslav, with whom he was in contact, may have also had a certain influence on him in this regard.¹² The novel *Svätopluk* was preceded by the novella *Horymír* (1926), in which, on the encouragement of the Slavacist and Bohemianist František Trávníček, he processed the Czech legend about Prince Horymír.¹³

¹¹ Kornel Földvári (1959, 157) refers in more detail to this method of Matuška's interpretative approach.

¹² In a letter to Štefan Krčméry dated 5 April 1924, Jégé wrote regarding his encouragement to write the historical novel *Adam Šangala*: "... And I can tell you that I am very, very grateful to you, because after all, apart from your enemy Pražák, you are the only one who encourages me a little, so that I not only keep pumping into myself, but also pump something out... Dear Števkó, if Šangala is really worthy of something – and sometimes I myself think that perhaps he is – then it is only thanks to you that he lives again. I would have never started that work without your encouragement" (1983, 209-210). Štefan Krčméry also acted as a fundamental driving force in motivating playwright Ivan Stodola to write his historical drama *Kráľ Svätopluk*. In his published memoirs, Stodola recalls their meeting, which motivated him to write the historical drama *King Svätopluk*, thus: "After a Martin premiere, I met Štefan Krčméry. In the conversation, he suggested that we really needed a drama from our history and suggested using themes from the history of the Great Moravian Empire. Well, I studied history, especially the period of Svätopluk, whose character I borrowed for writing my play" (Stodola 1965, 192).

¹³ Jégé was not satisfied as an author with the novella *Horymír* and would not have revised it into its final form if he had not received support from Štefan Krčméry. Correspondence with Štefan Krčméry shows that Jégé planned, if this novella were received positively, to continue with another historical prose work

This was followed by the laborious and frequently interrupted (for almost two years) work on the novel *Svātopluk*, in the scope of which he wanted to portray this Great Moravian monarch as a great personality who was driven by national interests and, to an even greater extent, by hatred of his enemies and the desire to humiliate them – that is, he also tried to point out his great flaws. Jégé decided that it would be easier for him to write a novel in the form of individual images from Svātopluk's life; therefore, he gave up the idea of a large continuous novel: "*I changed my mind. I will write images from his life that characterise him the most and give some kind of plot of the whole. This is much easier than writing a continuous novel, also because there are tedious gaps that I can peek through. I am thinking a bit of Gobineau's figurative dialogues from the Renaissance. Well, I will see how it turns out*" (1983, 283). Jégé in the end fragmented the plot of his novel into eight scenes, which are set one after the other based on respecting the chronology.

It is evident that in forming his conception of Svātopluk he sought inspiration in Renaissance models and characters as well as characters from Frankish history.¹⁴ He was also interested in a heroic concept of Svātopluk, but not in the form of romantic idealisation. In this context, however, in line with Štefan Krčméry's judgments, it would be more pertinent to speak of a Machiavellian concept of Svātopluk, but also in the same breath of a naturalistic concept of Svātopluk. Jégé, in the margins of criticism of his concept of portraying Svātopluk, stated the following in the article *Fatum libelli* in 1934: "*I wanted to portray a man of great goals, not looking at any moral principles, because that's how all those great rulers were – and that's how they are today*" (Jégé 1983, 141).

Ján Števček (1989, 260), following on Štefan Krčméry's original observation, demonstrates with specific examples the intertextual connection between Machiavelli's political-philosophical treatise *The Prince* and Jégé's novel *Svātopluk*, which he therefore rightly calls an "epic study of political Machiavellianism" or a Machiavellian novel.¹⁵ One of the fundamental ideas of Machiavelli's work is the idea that Italy must become a nation-state and that the situation needs to be resolved by force if necessary, i.e., all means must be used to achieve a noble goal. Svātopluk is also concerned with the nation-state of the Slavs and the unification of the voivodeships into a whole. Machiavelli also acknowledges the necessity of cruelty after seizing power and that his prince should focus mainly on military power and not on pleasure. Machiavelli states in the 14th chapter of *The Prince*: "*A ruler must have no other goal, no other concern, no better ability than to wage war and know the rules of the military art and army leadership... And in contrast, we see that rulers who thought more about comfort than about weapons lost their power. Therefore, he who neglects the military art will lose power, but he who devotes himself to it will gain power.*" (2024, 61)

Throughout the entire novel, Jégé's Svātopluk focuses mainly on military matters, even though partially on pleasure, too (a passionate affair with Jarlava), which at the end of the novel – as a kind of Machiavellian (but also naturalistic) memento – costs him his life.¹⁶ It is specifically in

that would draw on a Slovak theme (1983, 222). Jégé opens the novella *Horymír* as follows: "*The event that I will talk about took place in Bohemia a thousand years ago, during the reign of Prince Kresomysl*" (1943, 97). However, he wrote the novella *Horymír* for young people.

¹⁴ L. N. Jégé stated in this context: "*I wanted to paint a large figure (and a person with human feelings). Whether I succeeded and to what extent, I really don't know*" (1983, 251).

¹⁵ According to the findings of Ján Števček (1989, 601), L. N. Jégé most likely read the Czech edition of Machiavelli's *The Prince* from 1900.

¹⁶ In this context, Ján Števček (1989, 265) points to the fact that Svātopluk tries to give priority to politics over eroticism in his relationship with Jarlava and therefore refuses to physically remove her fiancé Holeš because he needed him politically. L. N. Jégé justified the creation of the fictional character of Jarlava by saying that he needed a female character to enliven the character of Svātopluk and the entire plot: "*With her, I introduced a tragic element into his life, which makes people closer to our feelings and moderates our judgment of their mistakes, because they, too, were only controlled by feelings, imperfect*

his relationship with Jaroslava that Svätopluk does not behave like an ideal Machiavellian ruler, because he trusts her so much that he betrays the strictest military secrets of his state to her, and she subsequently reveals them to the Franks. Even though Svätopluk kills her with his own hands after discovering this betrayal, this does not change the fact that the Frankish court already knows about his military reforms: *"It also weighed heavily on his soul that Jaroslava had revealed everything and in detail to his worst enemies"* (Jégé 2005, 125). We can find additional analogies between Machiavelli's *The Prince* and the character of Svätopluk in the relationship between the ruler and his subjects, in which the ruler is supposed to behave like an actor and always feign feelings based solely on the current requirements.

At first glance, it may seem surprising in this context that in terms of the period of the novel Jégé chose to depict the development of the character of Svätopluk approximately in the period 860 – 871, i.e., the period of Svätopluk's youth and the time of his maturation as a statesman. To the question of why he chose this particular period, Jégé's own conception of Svätopluk as a reformer offers us an explanation. In this case, Jégé, as a novelist, is not so much interested in consequences in the form of historical acts, but more in the causes and motivations for his acts and later successes. Therefore, he chose as the focus of the novel the "non-historical" period in Svätopluk's life, the period of his youth, formation and growth. This also opened up wide possibilities for him to develop his own insights and ideas (including fabrications) about this significant figure in Slovak history and to shape his character based on his own preferences.¹⁷

In this way, he could contrast him with Prince Rastislav, who, contrary to historical reality, appears in the novel as a negative, weak, sickly and indecisive figure. Jégé's Rastislav is unable to prevent the plundering of Germanic forces and opens the door to his court to the German clergy.¹⁸ In contrast to him Svätopluk appears as a patriot, soldier and strategist: *"And no matter what, there is no land for me except Great Moravia"* (Jégé 2005, 38). Jégé also monumentalises and idealises Svätopluk's character consistently in opposition to that of Rastislav through descriptions of their physical appearance.¹⁹ Jégé thus adds greatness to Svätopluk's character, in line with his authorial intention, but idealises him in line with naturalistic postulates.²⁰

It is useful to compare the time frame of Jégé's *Svätopluk* with that of the historical drama *King Svätopluk* by playwright Ivan Stodola, which was published only a little later in 1931. Stodola chose Svätopluk's last days in a completely opposite way, and his entire authorial concept is in opposition

people" (1983, 145). Oskár Čepan stated in evaluating the function of female characters in Jégé's works: *"The emotional life of Jégé's hero is regulated by women... She is the closest companion, but also an alien element that forces the external world into the inner life of a person as an isolated personality"* (1959, 249).

¹⁷ Vladimír Petrík aptly notes in this regard: *"Against the backdrop of a dark and bloody era, Svätopluk grows into a heroic figure whom we do not admire or love, but whom we understand and comprehend well"* (1956, 24).

¹⁸ *"– And Rastic suffers! He presses the bandit Germans on us, saying they are teaching us a new faith"* (Jégé 2005, 47).

¹⁹ Jégé's physical description of Rastislav was the antithesis of Svätopluk's appearance: *"In the sprawling, low, wooden hall of Devin Castle, a man of about fifty years of age, of medium height, was pacing anxiously, limping on his left leg, which he could not bend well at the knee. His sparse, greying, whitish hair fell in curls on his shoulders, and he was nervously pulling at his greying beard with a wrinkled hand"* (2005, 5). He contrasted this with a description of the young Svätopluk: *"A young, athletic man of above-average height, with limbs so large and strong that he gave the impression of a much larger man than he really was, leaned against a thick oak column of one of the arches. His features were sharp, his chin strong, his nose straight, too large, his lips full, almost always pursed, his eyes mostly peering out of the corners, as with people who do not want to reveal their thoughts; he had a small dark chestnut moustache and short-cropped hair. In his large, veined hands he held a straight, broad sword as if he were about to draw it from its scabbard..."* (2005, 5).

²⁰ Compare: Ladislav Nádaši-Jégé (Trylčová 1966, 7).

to Jégé's conception of Svātopluk. Although Stodola's Svātopluk is, like Jégé's, domineering, cruel and still quite gifted militarily, he is at the same time sick, mentally torn and depressed. Stodola wanted to point out in his drama the causes of the demise of Great Moravia, which he saw in the betrayal, disobedience and disputes of Svātopluk's sons.²¹ We can also find a common denominator in these two works, however, which is Svātopluk's efforts to control and build a unified state in order to effectively defend against the onslaught of the Franks (then Germans), which represents a mythization element with a reference to the still forming founding myth of the first Czechoslovak Republic.

Jégé emphasises in his novel the building of the Great Moravian state (or empire), which is also an analogous situation to the building (or founding ethos/myth) of the First Czechoslovak Republic. The stabilising factor of Svātopluk's state, in Jégé's view, is the Christian religion combined with administrative and military reforms: *"Such a great spirit as Svātopluk, according to the results of his life's work, had to have seen that he would only be able to maintain himself if he raised his nation, through faith, administratively and militarily, not only to such a high level as his most dangerous rivals, but, also taking into account their disproportionately greater power, to an even higher one"* (Jégé 1983, p. 145).

Thus, in his novel Jégé presents Svātopluk as a ruler-reformer who has his leader's gaze fixed on the future and finds the necessary initiatives for his reforms in line with Jégé's authorial Machiavellian concept in the Byzantine Empire as a great power alternative to the East Frankish Empire: *"The focus of Svātopluk's efforts and later also his activities was to reform the Slavic empire, to reform its military forces, administration, internal organisation, etc. and to give it a solid political structure. Only in this did he see the possibility of saving the Slavs and their successful resistance to German pressure. Only for this reason did Svātopluk go to Byzantium, where he learned and enriched himself with new knowledge of a more advanced culture and a more perfect state system"* (Petřík 1956, 23).

Therefore Jégé, in line with his creative intentions, had Svātopluk in the second scene of the novel sent with a message to Emperor Michael III, despite the fact that there were no references in the sources to the historical Svātopluk ever being present in the Byzantine Empire.²² In this part of the novel, Jégé was not so much concerned with matters related to the arrival of missionaries to

²¹ Stodola's Svātopluk addressed his sons thus as he was dying: *"Unhappy, scattered descendants! Are you calling the enemy against you? Do you know what awaits you? You will enslave our tribes and not a single scrap of my empire will remain. The centuries will curse you! They will tear the country apart! What you sow, others will take away from you! Your speech will be the speech of servitude! You will work and someone else will pick the fruit! They will tell you that you are eating foreign bread! They will build castles against you from your own bloody calluses!"* (2005, 443) It is evident that Stodola's work focused on the figure of Svātopluk was also intended as a response to the current state-legal reality of the Czech-Slovak state and meant to look for analogies between Great Moravia and the first Czechoslovak Republic. Stodola also incorporated into the above quote the myth, then supported by the Czechoslovak historiography, of the thousand-year enslavement of the Slovak nation after the demise of Great Moravia. In connection with Stodola's Svātopluk, Kornel Földvári (1959, 158) states that, compared to Jégé's Svātopluk, he is a romantic, hesitant and indecisive weakling and that conceptually he returns deeply to the idea of romantic historical drama. Zuzana Kákošová evaluates Stodola's *Svātopluk* as the best-known and most significant historical drama of the first half of the 20th century with the theme of Great Moravia (2013, 76).

²² Historian Lubomír E. Havlík (1994, 30) emphasises that Svātopluk's name is found next to Rastislav's when the Moravians sent a message to Constantinople around 862, which we have recorded in the fifth chapter of the *Life of Methodius*, but he considers it uncertain whether Svātopluk participated in this message and asks whether Svātopluk's name was not attributed by the authors of the mentioned legend out of respect for the great ruler at the time when the legend originated, i.e., at the height of Svātopluk's power. Historian Matúš Kučera (2010, 45-46) concluded that Rastislav and Svātopluk agreed on the need to

Great Moravia as with Svätopluk's acquisition of new administrative-legal and military-technical knowledge, which he was later to apply in the Principality of Nitra (or Great Moravia) as a way to make his country more capable of confronting German expansion: "*Svätopluk had already been in Byzantium for two years and had learned not only about Christianity, but also about other aspects of this empire. He saw with amazement, later with great understanding, that the Byzantines considered every step permissible to achieve a goal... The longer he thought about the possibilities of defending against the Germans, the more convinced he and his comrades were that he must have at least several corps of trained troops according to the Byzantine model*" (Jégé 2005, 33, 46). Thus, Svätopluk, in line with Jégé's Machiavellian inspiration, was to undergo training in Machiavellian practices in Byzantium from the world's leading figures of the time.

By incorporating relatively extensive descriptions of the Byzantine environment, Jégé was also able to utilise his extensive knowledge of the history of the Byzantine Empire, thanks to which the descriptions of its environment sound much more rounded and colourful compared to the descriptions of the Great Moravian environment.²³ However, it is rather likely that Jégé wanted to depict the contrast between the ideal – the Byzantine Empire – and the country that was to rise to the said ideal, i.e., Great Moravia. Work on the novel was demanding for Jégé due to his lack of knowledge about Svätopluk and his time, even though he later mentioned that he had no intention of creating an "archaeological scholarly work", but "only" a novel: "*A novel contrived, perhaps ninety-nine percent of which is plucked out of thin air, simply put together on the basis of a compilation*" (Jégé 1983, 141).

At the same time, this fully corresponds to Jégé's own ideas and a multi-layered concept of Svätopluk.²⁴ As we have already indicated, his Svätopluk is not at all a prototype of the mythical hero from the epic of Ján Hollý, and certainly not some kind of spiritualised symbol from Hviezdoslav's poem. Although on the one hand, we can say that Jégé's Svätopluk has a noble goal – to help the community of Slavic tribes achieve unity and political stability – on the other, the means he chooses are tyrannical and violent; so, in terms of the application of cruelty, he may even

establish their own "national" church, thanks to which the influence of the Bavarian church centres, and thus the East Franconian Empire, would be eliminated.

²³ Jégé succeeded in capturing the character of Byzantine Emperor Michael III quite realistically, depicting him as an irresponsible, frivolous man, which is also confirmed by the nickname "The Drunkard" that was assigned to him and which is pointed out by the historian Matúš Kučera (2010, 48). Ján Gregorec, in association with a certain exaggeration and descriptions connected with the second scene of the novel, centred on Svätopluk's fictional stay in the Byzantine Empire, points out that Jégé had a greater number of sources and a thorough knowledge of Byzantium history thanks to the fact that even before the outbreak of the First World War he was preparing to write a novel set in the Byzantine environment (1957, 135). In contrast, in relation to the Great Moravian environment, Jégé often suffered from a deficit of resources, as evidenced by his requests in a letter to his son Mikuláš dated 10 April 1927, for the acquisition of any literature on Devín so that his imagination would have something to grab hold of (1983, 285).

²⁴ In this context, Vladimír Petrík (1956, 22) noted that the character of Svätopluk contained a synthesis of the positive and negative qualities of the heroic pair of knights Donč and Matthias Csák of Trenčín, in that Svätopluk possesses the rationality and insight of one and the cruelty and brutality of the other. In Jégé's words (1983, 142), for the purposes of conceiving the novel Svätopluk, he studied these sources: "*To familiarise myself with the cultural environment of my novel, I read Niederle's Antiquities; to familiarise myself with history, I studied several more extensive histories of the Middle Ages, and to acquire the foundations of thought and emotion, I toiled over the Nibelunglied, the Gudrunlied, Simrock's Kleines Heldenbuch, as well as various literary histories and rather extensive excerpts from the most famous epics of world literature. I had long been familiar with Greek and Roman literature in considerable detail from excellent English translations. I have read the Iliad and the Odyssey several times.*"

surpass Machiavelli's Prince: "*The Slavs must be united, and they will be! You must obey, or you will go to hell!*" (Jégé 2005, 49).

Svätopluk's cruel methods, in line with Jégé's naturalistic and Machiavellian concept, are dictated by circumstances and the period, and in this understanding he is compelled to accrue the means to be successful in implementing his plans. On the other hand, Jégé only wants to put him in the conceptual framework of the rulers of that time. Svätopluk's cruelty in the novel is manifested in most cases when the lords resist his reforms and innovations and instead cling to traditional views and customs. In Svätopluk's decision-making, the rule "the end justifies the means" is always at the forefront, which can also be shown by Svätopluk's betrayal of his Uncle Rastislav and his refusal to fight against the Germans (Jégé 2005, 107). Even Svätopluk's support for Christianity as the new state religion of Great Moravia is dictated as having a purpose: "*Svätopluk is right; we must convert to Christianity. The Germans have killed all the pagans, including our own, and we will not have peace from them either if we do not accept Christianity*" (Jégé 2005, 17). Jégé's Svätopluk appears to be a person who shows no interest in religion – be it pagan or Christian religion: "*Svätopluk knew Christian teachings, but he looked at them just as indifferently as he looked at pagan teachings and fables*" (Jégé 2005, 13). Svätopluk applies the Machiavellian principle of subterfuge/deceit/betrayal as a political method of Renaissance governance throughout the entire plot of the novel and applies it to the characters of Kroza, Kojat, and his Uncle Rastislav. Jégé thus conceptualises Svätopluk essentially as a cunning, Renaissance ruler.

Jégé in this context, in line with his naturalistic conception of man, is able to suddenly reveal Svätopluk's real motives for his actions, driven more by a thirst for domination than love for his own family, even though he "humanises" Svätopluk's character through corrosive reproaches: "*His heart gnawed at him that it was not love for his family that led him, but power. Why did he not obey the noble Slavomír? Would he not be tormented by the images of how terribly the great prince Rastislav, whose hand had so often caressed his youthful head, had perished through his sin*" (Jégé 2005, 122). The author lets Svätopluk question his conscience even when in Frankish captivity, but in the end, thanks to his Machiavellian skills of subterfuge, he is permitted to defeat the Franks before Devín, thereby creating all the prerequisites for him to be able to seize the leadership of Great Moravia and turn it into a powerful empire and become a terror to the Franks: "*The Battle of Devín took place in the year 870. Svätopluk governed his empire until 894 and expanded its borders from the middle Oder almost to the Adriatic. He was a glorious, powerful ruler before whom the Germans trembled. When the news of his death spread throughout their country in the year 894, all the bells rang out with joy and the people sang hymns of gratitude that God had called away their most dangerous enemy*" (Jégé 2005, 137).

In the novel's epilogue, which is set in the year of Svätopluk's historical death (894), Jégé has Svätopluk perish through the betrayal of Jaroslava's already adult son in order to avenge his mother's death, which can be interpreted as the ending of the novel through an ethical reminder: "*He saw that his own deed was killing him: he was suffocated by the blood that gushed out of Jaroslava's breasts. But then a great brightness appeared above the darkness, illuminating all his endless lands. From the brightness emerged the figure of Methodius, who flew towards him at great speed. When Methodius was nearby, he grabbed his splendid cloak and exclaimed: 'I have disobeyed you; I have sinned against the holy truth, and therefore, even with the best of intentions, I have only brought misfortune upon my people and myself! Holy apostle, pray for us! Methodius', the holy apostle, raised his hands and made a broad gesture with them: it seemed to him that he was blessing him and his empire, which was disappearing in the clouds of the distance*" (Jégé 2005, 138).

Thus, at the end of the novel, as he is dying, Svätopluk experiences a sudden spiritual transformation and regret for his actions, with the figure of St. Methodius unexpectedly becoming the mediator of the eventual forgiveness of his deeds. This is unexpected, because St. Methodius

is given absolutely minimal and marginal attention in the novel and has almost no influence on the course of the plot (Vančo 2023, 137). However, the epilogue can also be read, according to Ján Marták (1959, 98) or Ján Menšík (1959, 104-105), in the context of Jégé's naturalistic emphasis on human inclinations, on which the fate of the empire can also turn, which could be described as a naturalistic relic with an ethical subtext.²⁵

Conclusion

On the basis of an analysis of the methods of construction and instrumentation of the image of Svätopluk in Jégé's novel *Svätopluk* (1928), we have come to the following conclusions. First of all, Jégé's image of Svätopluk is, from a conceptual point of view, multi-layered, ambiguous, ambivalent and cannot be described as homogeneous after all. The author deals with historical facts freely, in line with his own authorial conception and with his own understanding of the meaning of Czechoslovak and Slovak history, where he does not fully take a clearly defined position, although the choice of Svätopluk is dominated by a more Slovak than a Czechoslovak factor, which also correlates with the author's contemporary statements. Jégé's image of Svätopluk in some respects achieves a significant degree of ambiguity and ambivalence, which is expressed primarily in the oscillation between the three basic aspects that we have identified and through which, in our view, Jégé illuminates his Svätopluk: through the naturalistic, Machiavellian and (de)mythization concept. In the scope of applying naturalistic determinism, Jégé primarily strives to demonstrate in the figure of Svätopluk the formative influence of the environment on the individual, which can also be seen to a large extent in the case of intertextual connection to Niccolò Machiavelli's concept of the Prince, within which Jégé strives to construct and conceptualise his Svätopluk as a Machiavellian ruler and reformer of his time. Within the mythization of the figure of Svätopluk, the most striking level is the search for parallels between the first Czechoslovak Republic and Great Moravia in terms of accentuating the founding myth of the state as well as monumentalising the figure of Svätopluk in contrast to the figure of Rastislav. One cannot speak only of mythization, however, but also of demythization of the figure of Svätopluk through a naturalistically conditioned weakening of the image of the mythicized hero-ruler, when he systematically points out his failings.

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²⁵ The study is a publication output of the project VEGA 1/0456/24 *Slovak Intellectual in the First Half of the 20th Century in the Mirror of the Times*.

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THE METHOD OF MISSIONARY ACTIVITY OF SAINTS CYRIL AND METHODIUS

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Abstract: ADAM, Anton. *The Method of Missionary Activity of Saints Cyril and Methodius*. From the beginning of human existence, individuals have developed their abilities to achieve a specific goal. A conscious and purposeful approach to the realization of intentional activities is characterized as a method. Achieving a goal requires the proper arrangement of all elements and resources, aimed at intellectually comprehending objectives that are realized through practical action. For this reason, activities aimed at achieving a goal must be clearly defined, and subsequent actions by individuals or specific interest groups must be carried out based on established norms and principles. A scientific abstract method is concretized through practical outcomes, which are characterized by human activity. The general characterization of a method is also updated in the ecclesiastical and canonical context. This implies a specific requirement for a method in relation to missionary activity, which in this paper focuses on the methodological guidance and actions in proclaiming the Good News by the Thessalonian brothers, Saints Cyril and Methodius.

Keywords: *mission, Church, Byzantium, Gospel, alphabet, language*

Introduction

The term mission is semantically connected with the Latin term *missio*, which expresses the original purpose of consistently spreading the Christian faith, primarily through the proclamation of the Good News – the Gospel, as well as through other missionary activities (Maturkanič et al. 2023a, 20-32; Ivanič et al. 2023, 15-30). The term mission refers to its Christian origin; however, its meaning acquires a broader dimension and begins with the emergence of monotheistic religions, which are not limited to the members of a particular nation or society but extend to the entire human community. Monotheistic religion focuses attention on one God, who accepts every person; thus, it is ready to receive anyone who approaches with an open heart. In theological terms, we can speak of two aspects that are essential in accepting this reality. On one hand, we speak of the relationship between God and man, emphasizing the truth of the relationship in which God's dominant interest lies in humanity (Plašienková – Vertanová 2023, 184-196; Tvrdon et al. 2022, 221-230). This attitude can be expressed by the formulation of love, which loves freely and necessarily (Roubalová 2021, 148-159; Guttesen 2024, 8-28), because God, as the highest and perfect Being, can only love. The love of God is the very essence of His existence. On the other hand, we emphasize the personal free decision of the human being, who freely, through an act of will, opens themselves to or approaches God (Masan et al. 2021, 9-14; Zdechovský – Fialová 2023, 54). The same principle of God's love, which rejects no one, is highlighted in this case in the personalistic orientation of a human being as a created entity toward their Creator (Pavlíková – Tavilla 2023, 105-115; Králík 2015, 183-189). Thus defined, the life path of a person represents and more closely specifies the individual's affiliation to a monotheistic religion, which expresses spiritual belonging not based on birth or origin but on the principle of personal human initiative

to cultivate a relationship with God in the free direction of life practice. Religious practice in the life of an individual profoundly affects the entire community, as there is mutual interaction within this relationship (Kondrla 2016, 117-128; Presi 2024, 153-168). The doctrinal content of religion requires reflection on participation in the very life of the community and its rituals, while also demanding individual acceptance of theological teachings and moral principles (Kondrla – Török 2017, 79-86).

Missionary Calling in the Light of Spreading the Good News of Jesus Christ

It is evident that the requirement for missions arises from the very structural content of a specific religious direction. Christianity, from its beginning, has been not only a monotheistic religion but also a missionary one. This derives from Jesus' teaching, which was accepted by the apostles: "Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to all creation" (Mk 16:15). Thus began the first Christian mission, as presented in the Acts of the Apostles, initially directed towards Jewish communities in the eastern Mediterranean and later, thanks to the apostle Paul, extending to the Gentiles (cf. Acts 9:15; 13:46). For Christ's followers, spreading the faith is a mission that fulfills the authenticity of a personal relationship with God, whom they proclaim not only to individuals but also to entire nations. Saint Paul clearly declares in the First Letter to the Corinthians: "For if I preach the Gospel, I have nothing to boast about; for necessity is laid upon me, and woe is me if I do not preach the Gospel" (1 Cor 9:16; cf. Gal 3:23-25).

The attitude expressed by the apostle to the nations demonstrates the manner in which the mission begun by Jesus Christ – through His incarnation in the womb of the Virgin Mary and completed by His sacrifice on the cross – is carried out. When reflecting on the mission, that is, the mission of the Son of God in this visible world, aimed at bringing sinful humanity back to the fullness of God's love, it is necessary to emphasize that missionary proclamation is vital for receiving the spiritual fruits of Christ's resurrection (Maturkanič 2023b, 58-72). Above, we highlighted the attitude of the apostle Saint Paul, who unequivocally considers the proclamation of the Gospel to be his mission. When witnessing the questioning of Jesus' deeds, he reiterates his mission and again speaks of the importance of the proclaimed truth: "For I delivered to you as of first importance what I also received [...]. If we proclaim that Christ has been raised from the dead, how can some of you say that there is no resurrection of the dead? If there is no resurrection of the dead, then Christ has not been raised. But if Christ has not been raised, then our proclamation is in vain, and your faith is in vain" (1 Cor 15:3-14). The mission of proclamation is inseparably connected to the truth of proclaiming Jesus Christ and His redemptive works. It is evident that the absolute beginning of the Christian mission was the proclamation of the resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth. In Christ, God's plan for the salvation of humanity for eternal fellowship with God is fulfilled (Plašienková 2023, 151-157). The disciples received their commission from their Lord, accepted the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and entered history as the first heralds of the new hope of the risen Lord.

Over the centuries, missionary activity has spread throughout the world. Many circumstances contributed to the dissemination of the Good News of Jesus Christ, both within the Church itself and in society. The history of the Church represents a wide spectrum of circumstances that influenced the proclamation of faith. The spread of faith often caused challenges; at times, resistant attitudes toward evangelization emerged, and to this day, there is ongoing discussion about the methods used to Christianize certain countries, nations, or indigenous tribes. Undoubtedly, such issues require a clear stance from the authority that has real influence over the missionary expressions and operations of the Church (Krupa et al. 2023b, 283-293). It is essential to emphasize, however,

that whatever we seek to evaluate from the past in the present time, we cannot be correct in such inquiries without considering the historical, religious, and social context of the era being subjected to modern human examination (Murgaš et al. 2023, 169-186; Fiľa et al. 2024, 231-241). It is important to understand the starting points and objectives that accompany this missionary area within the life of Christian religion and specifically in the work of the Church.

The Mission of Saints Cyril and Methodius

Our focus is on the missionary work of the Slavic apostles Saints Cyril and Methodius, and for this reason, we primarily concentrate on the area of Europe (Maturkanič et al. 2022, 161-176). It is a historical fact that the influence of monastic missionary activity is evident in Eastern and Northern Europe, bringing Christianity to a large part of Europe and also to North Africa as early as the early Middle Ages. In this context, reference is made to the spread of Christianity by the successors of the Hiberno-Scottish mission of Irish monks (Columbanus, Gall/Havel, Boniface...) (Ivanič 2020, 662; Kožiak 2004, 103-124) as well as to the mission of Saints Cyril and Methodius. The Thessalonian brothers are an example of authentic missionary activity in proclaiming the Good News, and their influence extends to the social and cultural life of their time. Their significance is evidenced by the fact that Pope Saint John Paul II declared them “co-patrons of Europe” on December 31, 1980 (John Paul II 1980), alongside Saint Benedict. In the apostolic letter *Egregiae Virtutis*, we read: “It seemed to Us that the protection of all Europe would be better emphasized if we added to the great work of the holy Western patriarch (Saint Benedict) the particular merits of the two holy brothers, Saints Cyril and Methodius” (John Paul II 1980).

When Pope John Paul II speaks of the merits of the co-patrons of Europe, he highlights their exceptional influence on the development of spirituality, culture, philosophy, theology, and history not only during their lifetime but also with historical relevance to the present (Judák et al. 2023, 218-234). For this reason, the apostles of the Slavs interest not only the Christian world but also Slavic scholars, linguists, historians, and many others.

The primary mission of the Thessalonian brothers Saints Cyril and Methodius was to proclaim Christ among the Slavs. This undeniable reality required further initiatives not only to ensure the success of their mission but also to bring and leave abundant fruits for future generations. When considering the mission of the Thessalonian brothers, it is important to highlight the relationship between faith and religion. Theological dictionaries strictly define faith in its intersection with sacramental economy. The document of the International Theological Commission, *The Reciprocity Between Faith and Sacraments in the Sacramental Economy*, openly points to the growing trend of separating faith from the sacraments. Faith is not a private matter of the individual, practiced according to personal judgments and intentions; faith as a theological virtue represents the manner and relationship to the Church, which, by Christ's commission, possesses the New Testament means of salvation. Faith does not lead to ecclesial community based on feelings and personal needs but on the principled acceptance of God's way. The document sends a clear signal: Christian faith is Trinitarian, faith in God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. In the sacramental economy, the Holy Trinity holds an irreplaceable place. It is the faith of the Church, through which believers have access to salvation via the sacraments (Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith 2025). This understanding of faith relates to and touches upon revealed religion, in which we strictly declare the implicit connection between humanity and God. The mission of the Thessalonian brothers relates to Slavic tribes, which held pagan beliefs, though this does not equate to knowledge of God's revealed truths. In this context, a religious scholar and author of popular scientific works on the Slavs notes: “Because the Slavs did not reach such knowledge (of revealed truths), we cannot

call their faith a religion. Their belief has the character of an initial relationship with God and is based on knowledge of the universe, nature, and universal laws, rather than on any prophetic canon and secondary connection with divinity” (Kosinski 2020, 13). Religion is an organizational system based on faith. Thus, Christian religion is based on revealed divine truths, which humans accept by the authority of God Himself. The apostles received the initial revelations and subsequently passed them on, following Jesus Christ’s call to proclaim the Good News, as “faith comes from hearing, and hearing through the word of Christ” (*Rom* 10:17). In this transmission of faith by the Church, language plays a crucial role, as it must be comprehensible to those hearing God’s word. The Church’s liturgy is a special means of transmitting and proclaiming faith. For participation in worship to bear spiritual fruit, it is essential to understand it properly. Proclaiming the Gospel is not the goal of missionary activity; it is an effective means of receiving God’s truths, which shape the lives of individuals and subsequently the entire community. Missionary activity is directed toward fulfilling Jesus’ call to “be witnesses” at all times. For the missionary efforts of Saints Constantine and Methodius, a crucial element was the actualization of the proclaimed kerygma. The words of Pope Benedict XVI in the exhortation *Verbum Domini* are timeless, as they emphasize that proclaiming the Gospel has always been accompanied by its application to daily life – even for our Slavic ancestors, as God’s word represents a message for practical use in the benefit of humanity within the Church and the world. This intent is aptly expressed in the quote from the Gospel of John: “But to all who did receive him, he gave the right to become children of God” (*Jn* 1:12). Pope Benedict XVI primarily focuses on God’s word and the Church – highlighting the reciprocity between the word that is proclaimed and the Church in which it resounds. Benedict XVI specifies how God’s word is present in the liturgy, as it is the Church’s liturgy that is the privileged place for proclaiming the word and living from it (Benedict XVI 2010).

The missionary work of Saints Cyril and Methodius represents a unique contribution to the proclamation of Christ to our Slavic ancestors (Ivanič – Hetényi 2017, 27-34). In their missionary method and approach to proclamation, the creation of a new alphabet and the subsequent use of the Slavic language for preaching the Gospel, as well as the translation of the Holy Scriptures and liturgical texts into the Slavic language, played an exceptional role. This activity corresponds to the medieval Christian missionary method practiced by the Christian East. The Byzantine emperor assumed responsibility for organizing missions in pagan areas. Such initiatives included the selection of suitable missionaries and the provision of everything necessary for carrying out the Christian mission. Great emphasis was placed on the adequate preparation of candidates for missionary activity, including thorough study of the Holy Scriptures, the works of the Church Fathers, philosophy, and secular literature. Missionary proclamation encompasses the proclamation of the Gospel in a wide spectrum of its presence in the lives of individuals and nations. Revealed Christian religion is comprehensive in its liturgical, dogmatic, iconographic, legal, and spiritual dimensions. Successful implementation of such a missionary activity required fluent communication in the native language and familiarity with the political, cultural, and religious situation of the missionary area. The Byzantines believed that Christianity was the religion of civilized people with refined spiritual, political, philosophical, and cultural needs. They sought to instill in pagans a willingness to adopt the Byzantine way of life and the sense that being a Christian was a privilege. An essential role in this effort was played by a comprehensible language that enabled access to philosophy, theology, and literature (Sullivan 2011, 21-27). In this area, Caesaropapism also played an important role, as the Byzantine emperor acted on the conviction that ecclesiastical and theological matters fell under his authority (Zieliński 1985). A historical overview demonstrates that this exercise of power by the emperor was not always a fortunate solution, although one cannot deny the efforts of various emperors to resolve religious disputes,

which were not uncommon in the early centuries of Christianity due to various theological controversies, particularly in the areas of Christology and soteriology.

The aim of the Byzantine emperors in their concept of missionary activity was the effective proclamation of God's word. For this reason, the decision of the Thessalonian brothers to create a new alphabet and script for their Slavic ancestors was a logical consequence of their personal engagement in activities within the territory of Great Moravia. Without any doubt, it can be stated that this new language and liturgy represent the original work of the holy Thessalonian brothers Cyril and Methodius (Sullivan 2011, 27).

The mission of Saints Cyril and Methodius was supported, as mentioned above, by the decision of the ruler. In this context, it is possible to speak of a different approach applied in the missionary efforts of the Western method compared to the Eastern method. Considering the nature of our discussion, we will highlight only a few aspects of the Western missionary method, whose understanding allows a deeper comprehension of the way the Good News was proclaimed in the work of Eastern missionaries.

A Brief Outline of the Western Missionary Method

Western missionaries also accepted the presence of political influence and cultural forces; however, their method differed significantly from that of the East. Potential converts in the missionary territories were not preconditioned by Christian rulers to accept Christianity. Missionaries often had to request help from rulers, the state, or even the aristocracy. Political support for missionary proclamation was minimal, as Western society was unable to create an effective political influence over pagans. Religious or theological formation in the truths of the faith was not adequately required, which ultimately resulted in inconsistent acceptance of Christian doctrine and the subsequent practical application of religious truths in Christian life. Missionary activity in the West emphasized the demonstration of Christianity's superiority over paganism, which led to the destruction of pagan temples and idols. The Christian God was proclaimed in a manner that involved mocking pagan deities, which failed to produce the desired or expected outcomes (Leśniewski 2013, 35). On a general level, it is necessary to emphasize that such practices caused many problems and raised numerous questions. Proclaiming the eternal Kingdom of God as a kingdom of truth and life, a kingdom of holiness and grace, a kingdom of justice, love, and peace should not evoke feelings of humiliation or any sense of superiority.

Western missionaries, aware that pagans had developed mythologies explaining the origins of the world and its inhabitants, restructured these narratives to align with the biblical message. However, such an approach raised doubts and risked leading to the barbarization of Christianity (Sullivan 2011, 24-29). The missionary method of the Christian West accounted for a prolonged period of education in all aspects touched by the Christian way of life. Consequently, it was expected that converts would be well-versed not only in God's Word but also in spiritual literature concerning missionary activity. They were also expected to be adequately familiar with Church documents, papal directives, and, understandably, canon law. These requirements stemmed from an emphasis on the fact that human civilization evolves intellectually, spiritually, and materially.

One characteristic of Western missionary work and methods is the emphasis on ecclesiastical structures, which, while important, were not a primary concern for converts. Excessive efforts to integrate converts into Western ecclesiastical structures led to the minimization of using local places of worship and the importation of Western culture (not only the influence of the Western Church), instead of creating room for the Christianization of local cultures. Missions undertaken in the West were inadequately supported by Christian rulers and relied too little on the rich

Christian cultural heritage and scientific achievements. A simplified presentation of doctrinal truths, combined with a developmental vision of civilization and a universalist understanding of the Church, specifically limited and slowed the process of creating unique Christianized cultures in newly Christian nations (Leśniewski 2013, 35).

The Mission of Eastern Christianity and the Initiatives of Saints Cyril and Methodius

The proclamation of the Good News by Eastern Christian missionaries was enriched by the theological and civilizational wealth achieved by the Byzantine Empire. Education played a crucial role in introducing the Byzantine way of life. Knowledge of the languages and dialects of the nations targeted by the mission was an essential reality for the missionaries. They approached this responsibility with a sense of duty to the mission entrusted to them among pagan tribes and nations. In this context, the mission of Saints Cyril and Methodius required thorough preparation for proclaiming Jesus Christ and addressing the needs of the people in the missionary territories.

While the readiness of Eastern Christian missionaries to work among pagans is emphasized, it is equally important to highlight initiatives that could enrich both the missionaries and the recipients of the Good News. One such initiative was the proclamation of the Gospel in the local vernacular, a method exemplified by the Thessalonian brothers. Aware of this requirement, Saints Cyril and Methodius, during their preparation for their mission among the pagan Slavs in Moravia, created an alphabet tailored to the Old Bulgarian dialect spoken in Southern Macedonia. This alphabet was called Glagolitic (Granstrem 1955, 300-313). In Old Church Slavonic, the term “Glagol” is the Greek translation of the word “logos” – meaning “word.” The oldest Slavic manuscripts were written using two different alphabets: Glagolitic and Cyrillic. Cyrillic was most likely the work of one of Saint Methodius’s disciples in Bulgaria, Constantine, the Bishop of Preslav (Dobrev 1995, 301-316).¹ He adapted Greek printed letters to the Slavic language of the time (Auty 1960, 1-14). Encyclopaedia Beliana states: “The creation of Cyrillic script is dated to the era of Bulgarian Tsar Simeon I (893–927); it is assumed that it was created by the disciples and followers of Saints Cyril and Methodius (Clement of Ohrid). In manuscripts from the 11th century, Cyrillic script used 43 letters, 24 derived from the Greek alphabet (Byzantine uncials), and the remaining 19 borrowed from other (not always identifiable) sources” (Encyclopaedia Beliana 2025a). The Slavic Cyrillic script, named after Saint Cyril (Constantine), followed the earlier Glagolitic script. The adoption of Christianity in Russia and Serbia reinforced the penetration of Cyrillic into the Slavic world (Tachiaos 2001, 120-121). The language created by Constantine-Cyril, based on the vernacular Macedonian dialects of the Slavs and modeled after Greek, had a religious character but also played a significant role in culture, which is invariably connected with religion. The Slavic

¹ Constantine of Preslav, also known as Constantine of Bulgaria, lived in the mid-9th century. According to the Encyclopaedia Beliana: Constantine of Preslav was a Great Moravian and Bulgarian medieval theologian, bishop, missionary, writer, and translator from Greek. He was a disciple and later a close collaborator of Methodius in Great Moravia. After Methodius’s death (885), Constantine was persecuted. He was likely sold into slavery, later redeemed at a slave market in Venice, and taken to Constantinople. From there, he was invited by Prince Boris I to come to Bulgaria. Constantine worked in Preslav (today an archaeological site about 2 km south of the town of Veliki Preslav), initially under the guidance of Naum of Ohrid. Later, he became a leading figure of the Preslav Literary School. By the early 10th century (no later than 906), he was consecrated as a bishop and was one of the fervent promoters of Christian teachings (Encyclopaedia Beliana 2025b).

nations received a precious gift from the Thessalonian brothers, a heritage shared by present generations. It is now our task to fulfill the words of the hymn: "Heritage of our fathers, preserve for us, O Lord!"

The significance of language in the missionary work of Saints Cyril and Methodius goes beyond the ecclesiastical realm, influencing the social and cultural life of our Slavic ancestors. With the development of language came cultural enrichment, an awareness of national identity, and a strengthened connection to one's roots. This is a crucial aspect of the missionary methodology of the Slavic apostles. The integration of Old Church Slavonic into the Church structure must be understood in the context of a time when, according to Latin missionaries, the Holy Scriptures could only be read in three languages: Hebrew, Greek, and Latin (Leśniewski 2013, 36). It is not surprising that Germanic clergy strongly opposed the mission of the Thessalonian brothers, which they did not welcome.

In this context, the mission of Saints Cyril and Methodius was Emperor Michael III's response to the request of Slavic Prince Rastislav, who appealed to Constantinople for missionaries capable of conveying the truths of faith in the comprehensible Slavic language. In the life of Constantine, it is recorded: "[...] various teachers have come to us from Italy, Hellas, and Germany, instructing us in different ways. We Slavs are simple people and have no one to direct us to the truth and to teach us in an understandable way. Therefore, send us, O good ruler, a man who will explain the whole truth to us" (Lehr-Splawiński 1988, 106-107). Pope John Paul II, reflecting on this mission, stated: "They prepared well for the task entrusted to them: they brought with them the books of the Holy Scriptures, indispensable for sacred worship, which they translated from Greek into Old Church Slavonic and wrote in a new alphabet developed by Constantine the Philosopher, perfectly suited to the pronunciation of that language" (John Paul II 1985).

Saint Cyril-Constantine defended the value of the Slavic language by referring to the Holy Scriptures. He emphasized that every nation has the right to praise God in its own language (Counellis 1988, 141-146). He reminded the missionaries of Christ's Great Commission: "Go into all the world and proclaim the Gospel to every creature. Whoever believes and is baptized will be saved; but whoever does not believe will be condemned" (Mk 16:15-16). The path of salvation is open to all, which is why God's Word must be proclaimed in a manner that is accessible and understandable to everyone. This was the ultimate mission of the Thessalonian brothers among the Slavic people. It is impossible to overlook the fruits brought about by the acceptance of the Good News as expressed in the Gospel of Mark (cf. Mk 16:17-18). The Apostle to the Nations calls for the glorification of God in every language: "At the name of Jesus, every knee should bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father" (Php 2:10-11).

Pope Saint John Paul II, in his encyclical *Slavorum Apostoli*, wrote: "The Church, as the People of God, while spreading this Kingdom, takes nothing away from the earthly goods of any nation. On the contrary, it promotes the abilities, qualities, and customs of individual nations. It develops and adopts them, purifying, strengthening, and elevating them... This universal character, which is the shared beauty of God's people, is a gift from the Lord Himself... Thanks to this catholicity, individual parts bring their gifts to other parts and the entire Church, so that the whole and each part are enriched by living together with others and striving together towards fullness" (John Paul II 1985).

Their faithfulness to the Church's doctrine enabled Saints Cyril and Methodius to fulfill their missionary mission diligently, maintaining unity with both the Roman and Constantinopolitan Churches as well as with the new ecclesiastical communities they established among the Slavic nations.

The creation of an alphabet and a new script was an invaluable contribution to missionary activity in Great Moravia. By allowing the Slavic tribes to read and be instructed in the truths of faith while shaping a Christian way of life, the Thessalonian brothers laid the groundwork for new catechetical and pastoral methods. Their missionary commitment was not limited to the people; Saints Cyril and Methodius also focused on educating their successors, ensuring that their mission would continue even after they had completed their personal tasks. This apostolic activity brought something entirely new to the era, as nations began to hear the mysteries of God celebrated in their own language and in a manner accessible to their thinking, respecting their specific living conditions (Dvorník 1970; Hetényi – Ivanič 2021, 417; Vavřínek 2013).

The missionary activities of the holy Thessalonian brothers were driven by the conviction that every nation has unique gifts and that every people is called to belong to the universal Church (Kondrla et al. 2022, 160-169). For the Slavic nations, the ability to hear the Gospel in a language they understood was of immense importance. The Christianization of Great Moravia is inseparable from the Slavic liturgy, which elevated hearts to God and opened the doors to accepting the living Christ. The approach to missionary activity and the application of new methods for proclaiming the Good News contributed not only to the ecclesiastical system of Christian knowledge and theology but also brought a fully developed Christian civilization to the Slavic ancestors (Hlad 2021, 176-190; Maturkanič et al. 2023b, 58-72; Viglaský – Tóthová 2024, 242-254). Through the acceptance of Christianity from Byzantium, the Slavic nations simultaneously adopted numerous cultural and educational elements. Of particular importance were texts translated from Greek, including the Holy Scriptures, liturgical books, works of Church Fathers, philosophical texts, and various other writings, which made the written tradition of the Great Empire accessible. Although Cyril and Methodius sought to create a “learned language,” this did not mean that it was incomprehensible to uneducated people. Through this language, a transition was achieved from oral to written expression. The acceptance of the spiritual beauty contained in the Gospel and the influence of Byzantine culture inspired the Slavs to begin creating their own literature as early as the 9th century. This is one of the most evident outcomes of the missionary methodology of Saints Cyril and Methodius.

Conclusion

The legacy of the Thessalonian brothers and the Cyril and Methodius tradition manifests itself in various ways in the liturgical, spiritual, and educational realms (Krupa et al. 2023a, 199-208; Krupa 2023, 23-39; Rychnová et al. 2022, 503-513; Zozulák 2019, 13-21), demonstrating that their missionary work among the Slavic tribes and nations has yielded lasting and abundant fruit. Although the evangelizing and cultural endeavors of the Thessalonian brothers are rooted in the 9th century, they have retained a unique value, open to the future (Šuráb et al. 2024, 126-139; Judák et al. 2022, 40-52). Theologian Górká notes: “Their work, placed in a specific time and place, forms the soil from which the spiritual roots of European culture grow. Seeking these roots and recognizing their timeless value also means renewing spiritual communion and returning to the Gospel mission, which carries the power to create a new reality for our European continent – one that corresponds to the vocation of humanity. As our Teachers of Faith affirmed, humanity is capable of creating new life, defending truth, and respecting values where they truly exist” (Górká 2001, 73).

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FROM THE CYRILLO-METHODIAN MISSION TO INTEGRAL ECOLOGY. A THEOLOGICAL-ETHICAL REFLECTION ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN THE TEACHING OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH¹

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Abstract: ĎURKOVÁ, Eva – KONDRLA, Peter. *From the Cyrillo-Methodian Mission to Integral Ecology. A Theological-Ethical Reflection on Sustainable Development in the Teaching of the Catholic Church.* The article explores the values of sustainable development within the context of the Catholic Church's teaching, tracing their historical roots to the mission of Saints Cyril and Methodius. The authors highlight the connection between the cultural, social, and moral legacy of the Thessalonian brothers and the contemporary Sustainable Development Goals defined by the United Nations. Core themes such as justice, equality, access to education, cultural diversity, and moral responsibility are examined through the lens of Church social encyclicals – from Leo XIII to Pope Francis. Special attention is given to *Laudato Si'*, which presents the ecological crisis as a moral challenge and calls for dialogue between faith and science. The article concludes that Christian tradition, when authentically lived, can offer relevant tools for addressing today's environmental and social challenges by fostering responsibility, respect, and an integral ecological perspective.

Keywords: *sustainability, Catholic Church's teaching, encyclical Laudato Si', pope*

Introduction

Several studies indicate that the values associated with sustainable development were already present in the missionary work of Saints Cyril and Methodius. Their mission, as part of the Church's teaching, embodied moral principles that form the foundation of Christian doctrine. Among other values, the mission emphasized the importance of education, cultural identity, social justice, shared responsibility, and the preservation of traditions, as well as the sustainable governance of society.

These core values form the legacy of Saints Cyril and Methodius and remain relevant in the Church's teaching today. Moreover, they correspond to many of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) adopted by international organizations such as the United Nations.

This paper examines how these values are currently interpreted in the Church's teaching and compares them with contemporary sustainable development principles and documents. Ultimately, we aim to demonstrate that since the time of the Cyril-Methodian mission, the Church has consistently promoted a vision of society grounded in justice, cultural diversity, and human dignity (Šuráb et al., 2024).

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The roots of a culture of sustainability

It is widely accepted – supported not only by scholarly studies but also by the lived experience of communities – that the mission of Saints Cyril and Methodius left a significant civilizational, cultural, and social imprint on the Slovak and Central European context (Ivanič 2022).

Their mission was not limited to the transmission of Christian faith to Slavic nations. It also encompassed a political dimension (linking to the Byzantine Empire) and a vital cultural aspect, particularly in the development of writing, education, and broader cultural expression. It thus formed a foundational value matrix that influenced the character of Slovak culture as well as the cultures of neighboring nations (Maturkanič 2022).

A notable and lasting contribution of the Thessalonian brothers – one that resonates in the later teachings of the Church – is their emphasis on social justice and equality (Fila et al. 2024). Their mission aimed to make both spiritual and material values accessible to all. Justice and solidarity became central themes of modern social encyclicals, which now address sustainable development as a necessary condition for social justice (Murgaš 2023).

This notion includes not only material well-being and economic stability, but also equal access to education. In the Christian tradition, equal opportunity is rooted in the idea that each human being is a unique creation of God with a divine purpose: “There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus” (Galatians 3:28). In the interpretation of Saints Cyril and Methodius, this may be understood as: there is neither Slav nor Byzantine, Roman nor Germanic – the dignity and uniqueness of each person are paramount. Then as now, efforts to realize these ideals often face resistance and misunderstanding in practice (Pavlíková – Tavilla 2023).

The religious mission of Cyril and Methodius was also grounded in moral principles that are inseparable from Christianity and essential for creating a just and functioning society. A sustainable future depends not only on addressing environmental concerns and resource scarcity but also on fostering healthy social relationships that shape the quality of life and the future development potential of society.

Without the presence of and respect for moral principles – firmly rooted in Christian teaching – a meaningful future cannot be envisioned. The moral values in the work of Cyril and Methodius promoted ethical governance and long-term thinking. Their focus on education, especially through the development of a script for the Slavic language, was central to empowering future generations. Both in the 10th century and today, access to education is a crucial element of sustainable development (Hetényi 2019).

Another essential dimension of their mission was the promotion of cultural diversity. This was expressed through the development of written language, the use of vernacular in liturgy, and support for existing local traditions. Their legacy also includes the empowerment of communities and grassroots initiatives – principles echoed in today’s understanding of sustainable development (Zalec – Pavlíková 2019). The idea of unity in diversity has long been reflected in the Church’s self-understanding. In his encyclical *Ut unum sint* (1995), Pope John Paul II calls for Christian unity, but elsewhere he expands this call to include all people. Like Cyril and Methodius, his vision of unity respects multiplicity as an essential dimension of the human journey toward God.

The only domain where we find no clear parallel between the mission of Saints Cyril and Methodius and today’s sustainable development agenda is the environmental crisis. However, even this absence may be understood contextually. The current ecological crisis stems from a distorted interpretation of the meaning of existence – where both nature and humanity are treated as means to ends rather than ends in themselves (Máhrík – Králik 2024a).

The message of Cyril and Methodius can be described as a message of sustainable culture, which is permeated with respect for otherness, acceptance of cultural diversity and its promotion. Their aim was to bring tools by which an atmosphere of belonging and mutual cooperation is created in society, where each person is a child of God called to cooperate for the common good and to fulfill the will of God. Their vision of society is that of a cooperative community that, instead of polarization, seeks common ways to achieve justice and well-being (Máhrík – Králík 2024b). These ideas find their place in the teaching of the Church, which a few centuries later solves similar problems, but in fundamentally different conditions.

From *Rerum novarum* to *Laudato si*

The Popes have addressed issues related to sustainable development and their social context continuously since the second half of the 20th century. However, already in the 19th century, the Catholic Church began systematically reflecting on social problems and advocating for a just social order that avoids deepening inequality and social tensions.

The encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, issued by Pope Leo XIII in 1891, is considered a foundational document of Catholic social teaching. It responds to the consequences of the Industrial Revolution, including the exploitation of workers, poverty, and tensions between capitalism and socialism. While the Pope rejects both extreme capitalism and the abolition of private property, he emphasizes the social function of ownership – property must serve the common good.

These ideas were further developed in the documents of later Popes, such as *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931), *Laborem Exercens* (1981), and *Centesimus Annus* (1991).

In *Pacem in Terris* (1963), Pope John XXIII focused primarily on peace, justice, human rights, and international cooperation during the Cold War. Although it does not directly address environmental protection, the encyclical calls for ethical principles in scientific and technological development – an indirect appeal for a responsible approach to natural resources.

His successor, Pope Paul VI, continued this reflection in the apostolic letter *Octogesima Adveniens* (1971), written on the 80th anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*. He addressed modern social and political challenges, including urbanization, poverty, alienation, and environmental degradation. He warned against ideologies such as Marxism and extreme capitalism, which produce injustice and exploitation, and called for increased social participation, particularly among minorities, women, and youth.

Pope John Paul II consistently emphasized the dignity of the human person and the pursuit of social justice in several encyclicals, including *Redemptor Hominis* (1979), *Laborem Exercens* (1981), and *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* (1987). He addressed global injustice, the debt crisis of developing countries, and the widening gap between rich and poor nations. His vision of sustainable development is closely tied to the principle of subsidiarity, which supports the empowerment of communities and civil society. In *Centesimus Annus* (1991), he warned of the risks of unregulated capitalism – not only the disregard for human dignity but also the erosion of values and the transformation of people into instruments of profit. He emphasized that sustainable development requires decentralization and local self-determination, which are impossible in totalitarian or ideologically rigid systems.

John Paul II also drew attention to Saints Cyril and Methodius, presenting them as protectors of the Slavic peoples and founders of Christian culture and civilization. In his apostolic letter *Slavorum Apostoli* (1985), he emphasized their social contribution, especially their efforts to promote cultural identity and autonomy by introducing the Slavic language into the liturgy.

Pope Benedict XVI developed this line of thought in *Caritas in Veritate* (2009), where he stressed that development must be both ethical and rooted in solidarity. He criticized the unchecked pursuit of economic growth and its devastating consequences for the environment and for social cohesion. According to him, environmental protection is a moral duty and a matter of human conscience. He viewed technological progress as potentially beneficial, but emphasized the need for its responsible and ethically guided use.

Benedict XVI also warned against the misuse of biotechnology and genetic manipulation, which he saw as violations of human dignity. He called for fairer global distribution of resources and criticized the mechanisms through which wealthy countries exploit poorer ones without sharing the benefits. In his view, traditional capitalism has reached its limits – not only in terms of resource exhaustion, but also in its creation of a global system marked by injustice, environmental degradation, and disregard for future generations.

LAUDATO SI': A CHRISTIAN–SECULAR DIALOGUE

The Earth is facing a multifaceted environmental crisis, characterized by climate change, biodiversity loss, pollution, and the depletion of natural resources. These phenomena pose serious threats to human well-being and the stability of ecosystems (Agenda 2030, IPCC, UN Environment Programme).

In his 2015 encyclical *Laudato Si'*, Pope Francis writes: “*If someone were to observe our planet from the outside, they would be amazed at behaviors that sometimes appear self-destructive*” (*Laudato Si'*, §55). As already noted, this behavior is centered on individual interest, treating both nature and people as means to satisfy immediate needs (Kralik 2024).

Pope Francis continues the legacy of Saints Cyril and Methodius as well as the social teaching of the Church by calling for a renewed form of evangelization – one that includes environmental, social, cultural, and spiritual dimensions. These dimensions are rooted in the missionary principles of the Thessalonian brothers and are echoed in modern documents such as *Laudato Si'*.

For example, the Pope underscores the importance of respect for cultural diversity, a theme also central to Cyril and Methodius. Dialogue and respect represent a new dimension of evangelization and inter-cultural communication. Without these, there can be no real sustainable development or shared future.

Another essential point is the spiritual reflection on the environmental and social crises – something that was already present in the mission of Cyril and Methodius and is now revived in *Laudato Si'*. The encyclical invites Christians to become agents of social change – just as the Thessalonian brothers once did – particularly through renewed responsibility toward nature.

At the beginning of the encyclical, Pope Francis sets out his intention: “*I would like to enter into dialogue with all people about our common home*” (*Laudato Si'*, §3). As with the efforts of Pope John Paul II, the promotion of diversity and pluralism remains a central element. This intention is most clearly reflected in the first chapter of *Laudato Si'*, where the Pope presents a comprehensive overview of scientific findings related to the environmental crisis.

The encyclical follows a logical framework built on three pillars:

1. Confronting the facts of scientific research;
2. Interpreting them through ethical and spiritual reflection;
3. Proposing an ecological vision based on human relationships with reality.

Ultimately, this reflection is meant to inspire an educational process grounded in the richness of Christian experience (*Laudato Si'*, §15). Accepting the results of scientific research becomes a foundation for the Church's dialogue with the secular world – acknowledging the complexity of the crisis while promoting honest and respectful debate.

The acceptance of the findings of scientific research in the environmental field is an essential part of the Christian–secular dialogue. In the view of Pope Francis, this dialogue must be framed by a willingness to listen and to respect diverse perspectives. As he states: „*On many specific issues, the Church has no reason to offer a definitive opinion; she must instead encourage honest debate among experts and respect the variety of views.*“ However, he immediately adds: „*It is enough to take a frank look at reality to see that our common home is falling into serious disrepair*“ (*Laudato Si'*, §61).

When presenting the facts about the socio-environmental crisis in the first chapter of *Laudato Si'*, the Pope emphasizes that the aim is not merely to collect information or satisfy intellectual curiosity, but to foster a deep, even painful, awareness – and a sense of personal and moral responsibility for contributing to solutions (*Laudato Si'*, §19).

The encyclical aligns closely with the issues outlined in the 2030 Agenda and related international documents. It discusses, for example, the ambiguous effects of technological innovation – how it can both solve and create environmental problems. Other challenges include the throwaway culture, which stands in stark contrast to the balanced functioning of ecosystems; rising global temperatures, sea level rise, extreme weather events, increasing concentrations of greenhouse gases, deforestation, and the scarcity of essential resources such as clean water, energy, and food. The Pope also highlights livelihood threats for coastal populations, and the complex, simultaneous migration of animal and plant species. Further issues include urban overcrowding, the lack of green spaces, and air pollution (UN 2025). Similar to the 2030 Agenda, the encyclical repeatedly draws attention to the principle of differentiated responsibility, especially the moral and historical responsibility of developed countries. As Francis writes: „*There is a need to maintain a clear awareness that climate change entails differentiated responsibilities*“ (*Laudato Si'*, §52).

He also criticizes the behavior of multinational corporations and industrialized nations that exploit weaker countries – doing things abroad that would not be allowed in their own regions. He highlights the imbalance between financial debt and ecological debt: „*The foreign debt of poor countries has become a way of controlling them, yet nothing is said about the ecological debt owed to them*“ (*Laudato Si'*, §52). He further insists: „*It is essential that developed countries help resolve this debt by reducing the consumption of non-renewable energy.*“

The Pope points out that the problems of the most vulnerable – the excluded – are often overlooked (*Laudato Si'*, §49). He also addresses the issue of social fragmentation and the lack of integral development, warning that emerging “green” urban areas are too often accessible only to privileged social groups.

In describing the state of the contemporary world, *Laudato Si'* is consistent with the findings of science and with the priorities articulated in the 2030 Agenda (UN 2015). However, the encyclical also introduces a more psychological and anthropological dimension. For example, Pope Francis reflects on the personal impact of environmental degradation: „*The environment in which we live influences the way we see life, feel and act. In our rooms, homes, workplaces and neighborhoods, we express our identity through our surroundings. When these environments are chaotic or filled with visual and noise pollution, our attempts to live a balanced and happy life are challenged by an excess of stimuli*“ (*Laudato Si'*, §47)

In addition to visual and acoustic pollution, Francis also addresses the concept of mental pollution, which he links to the dynamics of digital media. This form of pollution arises when

people consume vast amounts of data without the necessary space for emotional or spiritual processing (Slobodová Nováková et al., 2024).

Spiritual Reflection on the Environmental Crisis - Integral Ecology

In the third chapter of the encyclical, Pope Francis outlines the ambition to propose a philosophical and theological vision of the human person and creation (*Laudato Si'*, §130). This vision builds on the awareness of the current ecological crisis and reflects on how humans relate to the world around them. The Pope notes that people are often disturbed by the extinction of large, visible animals such as mammals, but remain indifferent to the disappearance of smaller components of biodiversity, such as insects, fungi, or algae (*Laudato Si'*, §34).

As a counterexample, Pope Francis points to St. Francis of Assisi, who experienced even the smallest parts of creation as his brothers and sisters, bound to him by deep emotional ties. The Pope's choice of St. Francis is deliberate, as this emotional relationship with creation is at the heart of the encyclical's proposed concept of integral ecology.

Integral ecology is not merely an intellectual framework – it transcends rational categories and the language of science. It is built on a sense of affective connection, which encourages moderation and care in our use of natural resources. This emotional and spiritual bond prevents us from treating creation merely as a resource to be used and consumed (*Laudato Si'*, §11).

According to the Pope, a major cause of the absence of truly ecological behavior today is not a lack of information, but rather the absence of deep emotional attachment to nature. Intellectual understanding alone is insufficient if it is not accompanied by inner transformation and personal connection. This insight is confirmed by studies on religiosity in postmodern societies, which suggest that people have access to vast knowledge about environmental degradation, but still fail to act because they lack inner motivation (Maturkanič et al., 2023a).

As the Pope rightly observes, “*Some people show more sensitivity than others; some do not grasp the social dimension of ownership; others deny the existence of others through non-ecological behavior*” (*Laudato Si'*, §§90–95). Thus, integral ecology is not only about environmental preservation – it is about redefining our relationship to reality, beginning with ourselves. It calls for a new way of thinking, living, educating, and engaging spiritually with the world (*Laudato Si'*, §§15, 101, 111, 141).

The Encyclical's Ambitions for the Positive Impact of the Christian Faith on the Environmental Crisis

In addition to describing the symptoms and root causes of the environmental crisis, *Laudato Si'* also articulates a strong ambition: to offer a pathway for motivation and education grounded in the Christian faith. Pope Francis suggests that religious belief can serve as a powerful force for fostering ecologically responsible behavior.

The Pope argues that faith offers not only a moral framework, but also noble motivations that can inspire believers to engage more deeply with ecological concerns (*Laudato Si'*, §64). He presents biblical foundations for this dialogue: from the Book of Genesis and its call to responsible stewardship (interpreted beyond reductive anthropocentrism), to Old Testament practices such as the Sabbath year and the sharing of harvests with the poor.

In the Pope's view, human freedom, when exercised in a universe of interconnected relationships, has the potential to contribute positively to the evolution of creation (*Laudato Si'*,

§79). The Christian tradition, in this context, encourages believers to understand that they are not the final purpose of creation – and that by recognizing their own sacredness, they also discover the sacredness of the world.

The encyclical can thus be seen as a pastoral appeal to the faithful, calling them to active participation in resolving the environmental crisis. Since human behavior stems from how people see themselves in relation to their environment, this appeal is deeply spiritual and existential. As White (1967) noted, what people do about their ecology depends on what they think about themselves in relation to things around them.

Some critics have argued that Christianity, through its misinterpretation of Genesis, has historically contributed to an exploitative view of nature. The encyclical seeks to correct this by emphasizing that human dominion does not mean domination. Pope Francis warns against literalist readings of Scripture that ignore the relational and moral responsibility embedded in the biblical message.

Librová (1994) contrasts Christian views with ancient pagan traditions, which expressed awe and reverence toward the natural world. In this sense, *Laudato Si'* becomes a theological corrective – acknowledging the spiritual dimension of nature and the moral failure of purely utilitarian attitudes toward it. As White concluded, “*Since the roots of our ecological crisis are so largely religious, the remedy must also be essentially religious*” (1967, 1205).

Therefore, the encyclical does not merely analyze environmental challenges – it mobilizes spiritual and ethical resources within the Christian tradition to foster a renewed moral commitment. If this message reaches beyond Church documents and is lived out by Christian communities, it may contribute meaningfully to global ecological renewal.

Conclusion

The intellectual and spiritual legacy of Saints Cyril and Methodius has left a lasting imprint on the cultural and religious history of Europe. This article has sought to demonstrate the continuity between their mission and the contemporary values and principles of sustainable development as articulated in the social teaching of the Catholic Church.

Central to this legacy are values such as respect for pluralism and cultural diversity, personal responsibility, and the inviolable dignity of the human person. These principles remain foundational to any effort aimed at building a just and sustainable future (Pavlíková – Zalec 2019).

In this context, both Pope Francis and various secular thinkers call for a departure from inadequate anthropocentric interpretations of the Book of Genesis. Instead, they advocate for a transformative process of moral motivation and education, inviting the Christian community to acknowledge its responsibility and take action in addressing the ecological crisis. However, the effectiveness of the encyclical *Laudato Si'* will depend not only on its presence in Church documents but also on its implementation in everyday life – by bishops, priests, religious communities, parishes, Catholic schools, and Christian families. A truly religious response to the challenges of sustainable development requires two key elements: visibility in Church discourse and embodiment in concrete daily practice.

As Librová (1994) aptly notes: “*Christian communities, and especially their leaders, can become instruments for spreading ecologically beneficial forms of thinking, feeling, and acting. When a priest leaves his car in the garage and takes a bicycle, it does not merely spark conversation – it also inspires reflection and imitation.*” Of course, personal involvement brings risks, as the Thessalonian brothers themselves experienced. From the very beginning, the Gospel message has met with resistance and misunderstanding (Blaščíková – Nemec 2023). Yet, ideas rooted in the Christian

tradition – when linked to real ecological challenges and consistently lived – can help repair the spiritual distance between humanity and nature.

Ultimately, living according to the Gospel and its values presents a meaningful path toward a sustainable future. It is a path that challenges us not only ecologically, but also morally and spiritually.

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PASTORAČNÉ SPREVÁDZANIE HĽADAJÚCICH VIERU V STOPÁCH SV. CYRILA A METODA

Pastoral Guidance of Those Seeking Faith in the Footsteps of Sts. Cyril and Methodius

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Abstract: HOSPODÁR, Michal. *Pastoral Guidance of Those Seeking Faith in the Footsteps of Sts. Cyril and Methodius*. In postmodern society, a culture of religious indifference is on the rise. Religious faith is no longer regarded as an essential life value worth striving for. This paper emphasizes the significance of the Christian faith, which in the historical context of Central European countries is closely tied to the mission of Saints Constantine-Cyril and Methodius. It examines the causes behind the current decline in the practice of faith and offers pastoral suggestions to address this trend. The most critical means for overcoming this state appears to be fostering dialogue between faith and unbelief. The search for God is a complex process that requires not only human effort but also God's accompanying grace and cooperation. It is based on the perspective that the search for God is a human dignity, not a limitation. The article does not hide the obstacles to the acceptance of faith by people in contemporary digital culture. These are mainly excessive intellectualism, a lack of personal humility to accept someone higher than oneself (God), and a hectic lifestyle focused on consumption. Encouragingly, dialogue between believers, non-believers, and seekers is possible and has proven to be fruitful in pastoral efforts.

Keywords: *Faith, God, Man, Pastoral mentality, Statistics*

Je to poznanie i nadpoznanie,
pre každého má inú mieru
a iba vzťahom lásky, prítulení k Bohu
máme pravú vieru! (Tóth 2013, 5)

Úvod

Krajiny v strednej Európe, medzi ktoré patrí aj Slovensko, sa nachádzajú niečo vyše 30 rokov od pádu komunistickej totality. Počas toho obdobia v nich neustále prebieha proces budovania spoločnosti v liberálnej demokracii (Kobylarek 2020, 5-12; Králik 2015, 183-189), kde je náboženská sloboda súčasťou právneho štátu *de facto*, nielen *de iure*, ako to bolo deklarované v totalitnej ére. Práve kvôli aktuálnej slobode viery a náboženského vyznania je potrebné umne prehodnocovať pastoračné modely a prístup pastierov Cirkvi z totalitnej minulosti k rastúcemu počtu ľahostajných kresťanov a tzv. hľadajúcich (Krogmann et al. 2023, 78-91; Maturkanič et al. 2023a, 58-72). Dnes je totiž otvorený ideologický nepriateľ viery nahradený maskovaným a prefikáňm

spôsobom, v ktorom sa otázka viery zľahčuje či zosmiešňuje a sofistikovane sa dáva na perifériu života.

Kto je veriaci? Čo je to vlastne viera? Ako sa život veriaceho má odlišovať od života ateistu? Tieto a podobné otázky sa natískajú s neodolateľnou potrebou hľadať na ne primerané odpovede v súčasných podmienkach. Viera je totiž živá skutočnosť v srdci človeka, nemôže byť raz a navždy vyriešená v živote jednotlivcov či akéhokoľvek spoločenstva. Navyše, ako sme už naznačili, popri politických sa menia aj filozoficko-psychologické kontexty života spoločnosti (Jiříšková – Medzihorský 2023, 812; Plašienková 2020, 505-510), čo s určitosťou vplýva na stav náboženskej viery (Krupa 2023, 23-39; Krupa 2024, 1-15). Historické pozadie západného pozitivizmu (skúma iba to, čo je dokázateľné empiricky) a najmä nedávneho bojovného ateizmu (popiera existenciu Boha), násilne implementovaného krajinám tzv. sovietskeho bloku, je už reliktom. Na druhej strane súčasná kultúra bezbrehého konzumizmu u bohatých vyvoláva odmietanie praktizovania náboženstva ako prekážku vlastnej pohodlnosti. Článok reflektuje otázku hľadania Boha z pastoračného aspektu a ponúka aj praktické usmernenia k prekonaniu kultúry ľahostajnosti.

Cyrilo-metodská stopa viery

Ako je známe zo spisu *Život Konštantína*,¹ veľkomoravské knieža Rastislav († po r. 870) sa po predchádzajúcom neúspechu latinských misionárov obrátil na byzantského cisára Michala III. s prosbou, aby poslal na územie Veľkej Moravy vierozvestcov (por. ŽK XIV.). Konštantín a Metod prijali poverenie cisára i konštantínopolského patriarchu, ktoré zmenilo ich život, ale aj život starých Slovanov. Prišli na územie Veľkej Moravy s láskou Kristovou a preto našli pochopenie u miestnych obyvateľov a ich nábožensko-kultúrna misia v kontinuite ďalších storočí splnila všetky očakávania (Hetényi – Ivanič 2021; Krupa et al. 2023, 199-208). Časť bádateľov predpokladá, že svätí bratia priniesli a šírili na Veľkej Morave byzantskú liturgiu sv. Jána Zlatoústeho a ďalšie prvky východného modelu kresťanstva (Ivanič 2024, 55-57; Marincák 2005, 61; Škoviera 2010, 194-197). Súčasne sa pri útokoch zo strany neprijateľov a problematickom výklade cirkevnej právomoci obrátili priamo na Apoštolský stolec v Ríme, a tým jednoznačne deklarovali svoju katolicitu. Vtedajší rímsky pápež Hadrián II. († r. 872) schválil staroslovienskú liturgiu a ich evanjelizačný model postavený na jasnosti a zrozumiteľnosti. Veľká Morava sa mala stať ríšou stredú, teda ani východná ani západná, ale slovanská. Mala byť mostom medzi východom a západom (Judák et al. 2022, 40-52). Za takýto model Cirkvi sa modlil Konštantín-Cyrl na smrteľnej posteli: „(Pane, Bože môj,) vypočuj moje modlitby a zachovaj verné ti stádo... Znič trojjazyčný blud a zveľaď svoju Cirkev množstvom a všetkých spoj v jednote ducha a urob znamenitým ľuďom, rovnako zmýšľajúcim o pravej viere a o správnom vyznaní a vry do ich srdíc slovo tvojho prijatia za synov“ (ŽK XVIII.).

Spiritualita, ktorú žili sv. Cyril a Metod vo svojej súčasnosti, je živá a perspektívna aj dnes (Ivanič – Hetényi 2017, 27-34; Šuráb et al. 2024, 126-139). Jej korene sú spoločné pre východ aj západ, ale predsa tak, ako medzi jednotlivými národmi vidíme ich špecifiká, rovnako by sme mali charakterizovať aj špecifiká východnej a západnej spirituality. Jej dôležitosť a význam vyplýva z jej predmetu, t. j. z nadprirodzenej dokonalosti. Budovať kresťanskú dokonalosť znamená vytvárať konkrétny model vnútornej práce, ktorý je schopný usmerniť snahu a úsilie duše. Pokiaľ západný model je skôr teoreticko-filozofický, východný je charakterizovaný prežívaním a emotívnosťou. Slovanské národy z citového hľadiska sa viac zhodujú s východnými národmi a spájajú ich sklony

¹ *Život Konštantína* (ďalej ŽK) je najstarším prameňom o cyrilo-metodskej misii. Jeho autorstvo sa pripisuje žiakovi solúnskych bratov Klimentovi Ochridskému (*Žitije Konstantina/Život Konstantinův* 2010, 38-95).

k poézii, spevu, hudbe, mysleniu a táto duchovná vlastnosť vnikla aj do cirkevného života, ktorého vonkajší prejav sa odráža práve v obrade. V západnom (rímskom) obrade sa naopak prejavuje prísnosť, determinovanosť a praktickosť. Oveľa menej je tu priestor pre citové rozptýlenie ľudského ducha, ktoré prevláda vo východnom obrade. Zdá sa, že na území Slovenska sme práve v rozmedzí, kde sa tieto dva modely prelínajú.

Hodnota viery a jej integrita

Ak chceme hovoriť o pastoračných impulzoch voči hľadajúcim a neveriacim v kontexte cyrilometodskej misie (Maturkanič et al. 2022, 161-176; Hlad 2021, 176-190), tak si najprv v krátkosti načrtneme hodnotu biblickej viery. Celé (biblické) zjavenie je vyjadrením záujmu Boha o slobodné prílnutie človeka k nemu vo viere a o nasmerovanie života podľa Božích zákonov. Tento záujem vyvrcholí v Ježišovi Kristovi, ktorý je obrazom neviditeľného Boha (por. Kol 1,15). V Ježišom pohľade je hodnota viery taká veľká, že sa nedá s ničím iným porovnať. Viera je nosnou podmienujúcou spásy: „Kto uverí a dá sa pokrstiť, bude spasený. Kto však neuverí, už je odsúdený“ (Mk 16,16). Proces budovania osobnej viery sa začína stretnutím, ktoré označujeme ako úkon viery. Potvrdil to rímsky pápež Benedikt XVI. (1927 – 2022) vo svojej prvej encyklike: „Na začiatku toho, že je niekto kresťanom, nestojí etické rozhodnutie alebo veľkolepá myšlienka, ale skôr stretnutie sa s udalosťou, s osobou, ktorá ponúka celkom nový horizont a tým aj zásadné smerovanie“ (Benedikt XVI., 1). Na tajomné Božie pôsobenie odpovedá človek súhlasom svojho rozumu i vôle, to znamená už spomenutým úkonom viery. Alebo, ako učí Katechizmus Katolíckej cirkvi: „Viera je predovšetkým osobným primknutím sa človeka k Bohu; súčasne a neoddeliteľne je slobodným súhlasom s celou pravdou, ktorú Boh zjavil“ (KKC, 150). Teologicky je viera darom Božím, milosťou a súčasne slobodnou spoluprácou človeka s týmto darom. Teodoros Veľký vo svojom 47. poučení hovorí: „Skutočná viera rodí Božiu bázeň. Božia bázeň nás učí dodržiavať prikázania. [...]“ (Palmer et al. 1990, 22).

Kresťanská viera nestojí nikdy osamotene, ale má integrujúci charakter (Dedová – Baník 2021, 60-69; Kohútová et al. 2021, 307-321). Totiž uveriť v kresťanskom zmysle, znamená súčasne uveriť v Boha-Lásku, lebo ako tvrdí apoštol sv. Ján: „Boh je láska (ἀγάπη)“ (1 Jn 4,16). Táto Božia láska, rozlievajúca sa ako mocný prúd v ľudských srdciach, je súčasne dôvodom neklamnej nádeje (por. Rim 5,5). Dôkazom sily Božej lásky a potvrdením celej kresťanskej viery je Kristovo zmŕtvychvstanie. Viera vo vzkrieseného Krista patrí k podstate apoštolského kázania, ako o tom svedčia na mnohých miestach novozákonné Skutky apoštolov. Na pochybnosti ohľadom vzkriesenia u niektorých Korintánov reagoval apoštol Pavol principiálnym konštatovaním: „Ak však Kristus nevstal z mŕtvych, potom je márne kázanie a márna je i vaša viera“ (1 Kor 15,14). Z toho vyplýva, že všetky tri božské čnosti úzko súvisia, vzájomne sa prelínajú a potvrdzujú. Kde by chýbala viera, chýba by aj nadprirodzená láska aj nádej. Naopak, kde je prítomná živá viera, nutne disponuje človeka k agapickej láske a nádeji. Živá viera je totiž „činná skrze lásku“ (Gal 5,6).

Dialóg medzi vierou a nevierou

Dialóg medzi predstaviteľmi náboženskej viery a neviery nezačal dnes, ale je súčasťou histórie ľudstva. Ako taký je možný a potrebný aj v súčasnej dobe. Ak sa vedie poctivo, možno od neho očakávať primerané ovocie. Základom takého dialógu je úsilie poznať pravdu. Prvé pokusy takéhoto dialógu v modernej dobe zo strany Cirkvi sa ukázali aj v tzv. Nádvorciach hľadajúcich, iniciovaných a organizovaných Pápežskou radou pre kultúru (Pápežská rada pre kultúru 2005).

Nádvorie hľadajúcich sa usiluje reflektovať dôležité spoločenské otázky z pohľadu veriaceho i neveriaceho a vytvoriť k nim diskusiu. Aby bol naznačený dialóg prínosný, potrebné je najprv vymedziť obidva tábory, resp. ich východiskové pozície. Načrtáva ich Ladislav Hučko vo svojej knihe o viere:

Neveriaci:

- Neviera spôsobená neznalosťou, neprítomnosťou náboženskej výchovy, ale hľadajúci.
- Neviera spôsobená ľahostajnosťou a nezaujmom.
- Neviera spôsobená pokrivenou a falošnou znalosťou viery.
- Neviera spôsobená nejakou traumou, zlými skúsenosťami s veriacimi.
- Neviera spôsobená vlastnými nedostatkami, hriechom, hriešnymi sklonmi – nehľadajúci.
- „Presvedčený“ a bojovný ateista... i tých môže byť viac druhov.

Veriaci:

- Boh asi existuje, ale nič sa z toho nevyvodzuje pre osobný život. Žije sa, ako by nebol. Praktický materialista.
- Boh existuje, ale iba ako niečo, čo na nás dohliada a trestá nás. Je potrebné mu niečo dať (nejakú modlitbičku, ísť niekedy do kostola...) a to stačí. Praktický pohan.
- Boh existuje, plnia sa všetky náboženské povinnosti, koná sa niekedy i pokánie, ale nad ním sa veľmi nezamýšľa. Žije v praktickom živote väčšinou ako ostatní okolo neho.
- Boh existuje a osobne miluje každého. Človek preto hľadá jeho tvár, osobný kontakt s ním, ktorý je Láska, ale zostáva to iba na súkromnej úrovni. Kresťan žijúci svoje kresťanstvo väčšinou len v osobnej rovine.
- Boh je Láska a miluje všetkých, dal svoj život za každého človeka. Preto i veriaci má milovať svojich blížnych... pomáhať a šíriť jeho radostné posolstvo. Kresťan žijúci svoje kresťanstvo i na spoločenskej rovine (Hučko 2016, 12-13).

Správne vedený dialóg nedáva hotové recepty, ale vedie aj k samostatnému uvažovaniu a rozhodovaniu a vyžaduje to (Kondrla 2016, 117-128). Nie je dobré, keď sa zo strany veriacich podávajú iba hotové postupy, ktorými sa treba riadiť, ale im nerozumieme, neuvažujeme nad nimi, nepýtame sa. K tomu si hľadajúci človek nevytvorí živý vzťah. Chýba tam potom existenciálny rozmer viery, niečo, na čom aj sám spolupracoval, s čím sa stotožnil.

V pastoračnej praxi a službe je potrebné zachovať diferencovaný prístup k ľuďom, t. j. iný k ľuďom hľadajúcim Boha – informácia, alebo pred-evanjelizácia; iný k tradičným veriacim – iniciácia; iný k aktívnym veriacim – sprevádzanie; iný k najbližším spolupracovníkom – misia, misijné poslanie (Galis 2009, 45).

Hľadanie Boha je veľkosťou človeka

Potreba Boha a jeho hľadanie sú hlboko vstepené do ľudskej prirodzenosti. Potvrdzujú to celé dejiny ľudstva. Napr. moderná archeológia pri svojich objavoch takmer vždy nachádza aj kultové budovy a predmety náboženskej povahy, zachovali sa staré literárne diela s jasným náboženským obsahom atď. Hoci tieto formy vyjadrenia môžu obsahovať nejasnosti, sú také univerzálne, že človeka možno nazvať náboženskou bytosťou (por. KKC, 28).

Autentickou predohrou k osobnej zrelej viere je hľadanie Boha. Ide o tzv. *prvé* hľadanie na rozdiel od trvalého hľadania Pánovej tváre, vlastného aj veriacim. Toto prvé hľadanie treba vzbudzovať a podporovať u každého človeka, lebo každý z prirodzenosti nosí v sebe zameranie na Boha. Hľadajúci je ten, kto má podnet a príležitosť zamýšľať sa nad otázkami zmyslu svojho bytia, života, nad svojou existenciou v prítomnosti i záhadou večnosti (Adam – Trstenský 2024, 53-67; Kovaleva – Plašienková 2022, 332-340). Autonómia, na ktorej si súčasný človek tak zakladá, je dôsledkom odmietnutia Boha. Toto odmietnutie súvisí so slobodou. Stvoriteľ dal človeku slobodu ako dar, ale súčasne aj ako zodpovednosť (Roubalová et al. 2022, 148-159). Neprijatie slobody v rozmere zodpovednosti má katastrofálne dôsledky pre život i pre večnosť. Tak ako je prirodzené pre ľudskú osobu hľadanie Boha, je súčasne možné aj jeho popretie. Človek môže, ale nemusí vyvinúť primerané úsilie vedúce k náboženskej viere. Nakoniec ešte raz zdôraznime, že aj veriaci je v neustálom procese hľadania Pánovej tváre, jeho tajomstva, lásky, vzťahu... (por. Ž 27,8).

Ak si súčasná dospelá populácia namýšľa, že problém viery sa jej netýka, lebo žije vo vysokom stupni rozvinutej techniky a informatizácie, tak sa mylí. Technický pokrok nemá slúžiť na popretie či zahmlievanie viery v Boha, ale na jeho oslavu a hľadanie Pravdy (por. Jn 14,6). Cirkev vyznáva, že sú dve cesty hľadania Boha: cesta prirodzeného ľudského rozumu a cesta zjavenia. Pápež Pavol VI. (1897–1978) už pred polstoročím skonštatoval, že ani jednou cestou nie je také ľahké dospieť k náboženskému vzťahu, teda k viere (Pavol VI. 1991, 44). V modernej dobe sa tieto ťažkosti ešte zväčšili. Človek, zaujatý často len vonkajším svetom, akoby sa neodvážil vnímať vnútornú túžbu po transcendentných hodnotách (Rychnová et al. 2022, 503-515; Akimjak et al. 2022, 47-54). Preto je potrebné v pastoračnej praxi využívať vhodné príležitosti na vzbudenie túžby po Bohu a tiež pomáhať odstraňovať pochybnosti na ceste viery a to rôznymi spôsobmi (Judák et al. 2023, 514-525). Pochybnosti na ceste hľadania Boha sú znakom rastu. Viera nie je iba výplod ľudskej fantázie ani intelektuálnej reflexie. Je to predovšetkým dar Boží. Preto sa treba aj modliť za prijatie viery, čiže zdarného hľadania Boha (Hlad 2021, 125-150).

Prekážky na ceste k viere

V tejto časti sa pokúsime zhrnúť hlavné prekážky, ktoré stoja na ceste viery súčasnému človeku. O vzťahu viery a rozumu sa už veľa povedalo. Rozum, ktorým človek nachádza poznanie pravdy, je Božím darom, i viera je Božím darom. Obidva sú ako dve krídla, ktoré povznášajú ľudský um ku kontemplácii pravdy (Ján Pavol II. 1998). Človek je zodpovedný za náležité používanie svojho intelektu. Poctivé filozofické bádanie je širokou platformou pre dialóg s hľadajúcimi. Prehnaný intelektualistický prístup vytvára bariéru na prijatie náboženského tajomstva. Americký evanjelizačný film *God's not dead*² predstavuje práve takýto odmietavý intelektualistický prístup k Bohu v konfrontácii s úprimným postojom hľadania, verifikovaným životným svedectvom nájdenia Boha. Námet filmu bol inšpirovaný viacerými prípadmi, kedy boli študenti a zamestnanci niektorých univerzít v USA zaznávaní pre svoju vieru. Záver filmu jasne ukazuje prednosť poctivého prístupu k existenciálnym otázkam života u študenta oproti nadutej intelektuálnej prednosti svojho neveriaceho profesora.

Viera v Boha je nerozlučne spätá so životom v spoločenstve – v Cirkvi (Maturkanič et al. 2023b, 20-32; Kondrla et al. 2022, 160-169). Odvolávanie sa na nejaký omyl v učení Cirkvi a jej stotožnenie s bežnou inštitúciou je ďalšou možnou prekážkou. Cirkev je v očiach bežných ľudí nepotrebná. Neveriaceho človeka pohoršuje samotný *fakt* Cirkvi. Toto pohoršenie, ktoré vyplýva z nepochopenia podstaty Cirkvi, nemožno odstrániť a iste bude trvať až do konca sveta.

² Film vznikol v roku 2014 v produkcii spoločnosti Pure Flix a režíroval ho Harold Cronk.

Nedostatok pokory – uznať, že je tu i ktosi vyšší (Boh), ako som ja sám. Kto sa príliš spolieha na svoju vlastnú veľkosť, umenšuje Božie pôsobenie vo svojom živote (Máhrík et al. 2024, 34-43).

Ďalšou možnou prekážkou pri praktizovaní náboženstva je hektické tempo života a hlučnosť sveta. Tieto vonkajšie okolnosti často oberajú človeka o priestor, v ktorom by mohol počuť Boží hlas. Vonkajšie ticho je predpokladom vnútorného stíšenia. To vytvára priestor na modlitbu a uctievanie Boha.

Napokon je tu i pocit zahanbenia pred inými zmeniť svoj doterajší životný pohľad, svoj svetonázor. Prílišný ľudský ohľad niečo zásadné v sebe zmeniť je prekážkou Božej milosti a jej spásneho pôsobenia. Na druhej strane úprimné obrátenie napr. nejakých celebrit k Bohu prirodzene vyvoláva údiv verejnosti, vyvoláva otázniky a je samo o sebe evanjelizačným impulzom pre hľadajúcich.

Záver

Poslaním Cirkvi nie je zabrániť prebiehajúcej kultúrnej transformácii, ale zaistiť odovzdávanie viery v Krista v kultúrach, ktoré sa nachádzajú uprostred tejto transformácie (Viglaský – Tóthová 2024, 242-254; Fiľa et al. 2024, 231-241). Otvorenosť ducha, ktorý neustále túži lietať, ktorý sa chce povzniesť nad bežné situácie, priblížiť sa k nim, ale tiež sa dokáže od nich odlepiť, to je predpoklad viery (Hučko 2016, 83).

Dialóg s neveriacimi a pastoračia neveriacich majú za cieľ odpovedať na dvojaké poslanie, ktoré Kristus zveril Cirkvi: „Chodte do celého sveta a hlásajte evanjelium všetkému stvoreniu“ (Mk 16,15) a „učte všetky národy“ (Mt 28,19).

Odobzdávanie viery v pastoračnom teréne má začať v rodinách. Tu je prvé pole pôsobnosti rodičov, ktorí sú zodpovední za život viery svojich detí. Pritom netreba opomenúť, že viera vzniká iba tam, kde je dovolené pôsobeniu Božej milosti (por. Jn 6,43). Ak niekto nežije svoj život s Bohom, nemôžeme obviňovať Boha, žeby mu nedal milosť. Boh ponúka svoju milosť každému a pritom rešpektuje ľudskú slobodu. Dôkazom toho sú evanjeliá, v ktorých Ježiš nikdy „neznásilňuje“ slobodu človeka, iba mu venuje pozvanie alebo napomenutie. „Akékoľvek hľadanie Boha mimo modlitbu je už v princípe ateistické“ (Joly 1967, 48). Modlitba je otvorenie okien duše pre Božie svetlo.

„Čo však najviac napomáha zjavovať Božiu prítomnosť, je bratská láska veriacich, jednomyseľne spolupracujúcich za vieru blahozvesti a slúžiacich za znamenie jednoty“ (Gaudium et spes, 21). Svedectvo vzájomnej úprimnej lásky je najpresvedčivejším argumentom, ktorý môžu kresťania ponúknuť ako dôkaz o existencii Boha a to v rôznych aspektoch humanitného smerovania (Hamarová et al. 2024, 138-146; Kondrla et al. 2023, 142-155).

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CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE AWARENESS OF TODAY'S YOUNG GENERATION RELATING TO THE GREAT MORAVIAN PERIOD

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Abstract: PAVERA Libor. *Cultural Heritage in the Awareness of Today's Young Generation Relating to The Great Moravian Period*. This study examines the historical awareness of 15-year-old students regarding the Great Moravian period and its interpretation within the current education system. It explores how students perceive Great Moravia, the factors influencing their knowledge, and potential gaps in historical education. The research sample comprises students from the upper grades of primary schools as well as lower grades of secondary and grammar schools in the Czech Republic. A statistical analysis of both correct and incorrect responses is interpreted within a broader historical and pedagogical framework. The findings indicate a tendency among students to view the past through the lens of contemporary media and cultural discourses, confirming differences in historical consciousness depending on region and school type. Additionally, the study includes a control sample of students from Silesian schools, allowing for a comparative analysis between different educational environments and providing a broader perspective on the historical memory of younger generations.

Keywords: *research, 15-year-old students, historical memory, Great Moravian period, education system, paradigm shifts*

Cultural heritage is a fundamental part of both individual and collective identity. It serves not just as a means of understanding the past but rather also as a living source of values, traditions, and inspiration for both the present and future. Cultural heritage encompasses tangible elements – such as architectural monuments, artworks, and archaeological sites – as well as intangible aspects, including language, folklore, traditions, customs, and craftsmanship. Together, these components create a rich cultural tapestry acting as a definition of nations and communities.

In the modern era young people's relationship with cultural heritage is undergoing significant changes. Factors such as digitalization (instantaneous access to data – and therefore less need for memorisation), changes in educational approaches, new forms of leisure activities, and evolving value systems influence how young people perceive their historical and cultural identity. Yingfei Zhang (2023) describes the importance of youth engagement in heritage management, a perspective echoed by Fontal – Ibáñez-Etxeberria (2024) and Selim et al. (2024).

Among 15-year-olds, the target group of this study, attitudes toward cultural heritage vary widely. Their engagement with it is often based mainly upon their school environment, the availability of cultural activities, and the digitalization of heritage sites. However, an important question remains: To what extent is this awareness truly embedded in their value system? Or is it merely a result of external influences, such as school curricula? (See Madgin 2016; Halu 2016.)

This study explores how young people perceive cultural heritage, what factors influence their relationship with it, and how this connection can be strengthened through innovative approaches. The following sections will examine not only their general awareness of cultural heritage, but also how their perspectives compare to those of older generations. We will also discuss the challenges

and opportunities faced by cultural institutions today and explore effective ways to engage young people in actively discovering history and traditions.

The Importance of Cultural Heritage for Young People

Cultural heritage is not just a relic of the past – it is a living part of contemporary society and can play a crucial role in shaping young people's identities. But why should cultural heritage be relevant to 15-year-old students?

A strong connection to cultural heritage helps young people navigate their place in the world. When they develop a deeper awareness of their cultural roots, it gives them a stronger sense of identity, helps them understand historical contexts, and allows them to see their surroundings in a more meaningful way (Madgin 2016, 85; Fontal – Ibáñez-Etxeberria 2024, 78).¹

Cultural heritage is also a powerful tool for critical thinking. It opens up discussions about values, identity, and history – acting as encouragement for young people to reflect on how societies evolve over time. Once students engage with topics like national history, historical monuments, or cultural diversity, they are more likely to think about the bigger picture and question how historical narratives shape the present.² Studies suggest that those who feel connected to their cultural heritage are often more involved in their communities, participate in civic life, and even take part in volunteering or projects that help preserve cultural traditions (Yingfei Zhang 2023, 45; Selim et al. 2024, 112).³

When young people engage with their cultural heritage – whether through learning, discussion, or creative projects – they can also better work with their creative potential (Halu 2016, 210).

Factors Influencing the Relationship Between Young People and Cultural Heritage

Several key factors shape how young people relate to cultural heritage, including school education and curricula, digital media, and the relatively limited availability of cultural programs tailored to youth.

Schools play a crucial role in developing young people's relationship with cultural heritage. The way how cultural heritage is presented in educational curricula influences whether students create a deeper connection to it or see it merely as a collection of historical facts to memorize for exams and forget after (for example, due to lack of usage and no current need for it).

In the classroom, cultural heritage is often framed within history, civic education, or arts and music lessons. However, if teaching methods are not interactive or connected to students' real-world experiences, cultural heritage may feel distant or irrelevant to them. Modern educational

¹ This study explores how students at primary and secondary levels perceive and conceptualize cultural heritage, emphasizing the role of education in fostering a holistic understanding of heritage (Fontal – Ibáñez-Etxeberria 2024).

² This research (Madgin 2016) examines the relationship between young people's connection to heritage sites and their ability to engage critically with history, demonstrating that attachment to physical spaces fosters deeper historical awareness.

³ This study (Zhang et al. 2023) presents a framework for engaging young people in heritage conservation, analyzing factors such as participation, perception, and influence in cultural heritage decision-making. A follow-up study (Selim 2024) then analyses the impact of youth engagement on cultural heritage, focusing on knowledge acquisition, motivation, and long-term contributions to heritage conservation.

approaches – such as project-based learning, field trips, historical reenactments, and participation in community activities – have proven to be more successful in motivating young people to engage with cultural heritage.

The digitalization of cultural heritage opens new possibilities for exploration and accessibility. Today's generation, raised in a world of online media and mobile apps, often prefers visual and action-based learning experiences. Many museums and cultural institutions now employ virtual reality, augmented reality, and 3D modelling, allowing young people to explore heritage in entirely new ways that are much more memorable. Mobile apps – such as digital city guides, educational games, or online archives – are too becoming increasingly popular tools for making cultural heritage more engaging.

On the other hand, there is a risk that digital formats may oversimplify complex historical themes, potentially leading to a superficial understanding of historical contexts.

One of the major challenges is that many cultural institutions primarily target an older audience. Museums, galleries, and historical sites are often not designed with young visitors in mind, leading to a lack of interactive programs and opportunities for young people to contribute to content creation, resulting in lower engagement. To combat such an issue, there is a growing number of cultural institutions experimenting with youth advisory boards, workshops, and volunteer programs, enabling students to actively participate in shaping cultural content.

Expert opinions on the issue can be found in recent domestic literature (cf. Dolák 2022) or in journals and bulletins (Czech Association of Museums and Galleries; *Museologica Brunensia* 2016, etc.).

Research Framework

As previously mentioned, this study focuses on young people's perceptions of the earliest phase of domestic history – particularly the Great Moravian period – which played a fundamental role in shaping the cultural and spiritual landscape of the Czech lands and Central Europe. This period saw the establishment of the first significant state entity in the region and the arrival of Christianity, which profoundly influenced cultural and political development in the centuries that followed.

Although Great Moravia was the first state formation to leave a lasting impact on the historical continuity of Czech lands and neighbouring regions, it remains unclear to what extent this period is still a living part of historical consciousness among today's youth. This study, therefore, strives to answer and evaluate several key questions:

- A) What level of knowledge do 15-year-old students have about Great Moravia?
- B) What factors influence their relationship with this earliest phase of local history?
- C) Do they perceive Great Moravia as a part of cultural heritage that is relevant to them?
- D) How can awareness of this early stage of Czech history be strengthened?

Focusing on the earliest phase of our history allows us to identify deeper structures of historical awareness and perceptions of heritage. Furthermore, this research paves the way for a follow-up study examining later phases of Czech statehood – including the transition to the Přemyslid dynasty and iconic historical figures such as Charles IV, George of Poděbrady, and other influential rulers and thinkers.

Survey Structure, Thematic Areas, and Justification for Test Question Selection

The selection of test questions was not random; rather, it was carefully structured to cover the most significant aspects of the Great Moravian era and its legacy for Czech and Slovak history. The test was designed to reflect the knowledge that students are expected to acquire both through the school education system and within a broader cultural awareness. The primary criteria for structuring the questions included historical relevance, alignment with educational standards, interdisciplinary connections, and the continued presence of this topic in collective memory.

The test was developed following methodologies used in international educational assessments such as OECD/PISA tests.⁴ This means that the questions do not merely assess students' ability to recall dates and facts, but they add an emphasis on their understanding of broader historical contexts, the significance of events, and their long-term impact on cultural and political realities.

The first part of the test focused on general knowledge about Great Moravia. It was important to determine whether students recognized it as the first stable state formation in Central Europe, preceding the emergence of the Czech state and significantly influencing neighbouring regions, such as present-day Slovakia, Hungary, and Poland. Understanding the basic historical timeframe (9th century) and the geographical extent of Great Moravia was essential for grasping its historical significance. The goal was to assess whether students could correctly place Great Moravia within the broader context of Central European history and avoid confusing it with later periods, such as the Přemyslid or Luxembourg dynasties.

Great Moravia was the first political entity in the region to deal with administration, defence, diplomacy, and relations with other local powers. For this reason, the test included questions about the political and military aspects of the empire. A crucial moment was Rastislav's effort to secure Great Moravia's independence from the Frankish Empire, which led to the arrival of Cyril and Methodius. It was therefore necessary to verify whether students understood the political and strategic dimensions of their mission.

One of the most significant contributions of Great Moravia was the spread of literacy and Christianity through the work of Cyril and Methodius. The test examined several key aspects of their influence. The first was their origin – whether students knew they were sent from Byzantium and that their arrival had both religious and cultural (as well as indirectly political) implications. Students should understand that the mission of Cyril and Methodius was not solely focused on spreading Christianity, but also included educational and legal reforms that had a profound impact on the entire Slavic world.

A particular emphasis was placed on questions concerning writing, as the creation of Glagolitic script was a key moment in the development of Slavic literacy and education. Its significance extended beyond Great Moravia, as its legacy endured in Slavic countries for centuries. Another critical topic was *Zákon sudnyj ljudem*, one of the first legal codes in the Slavic world. This question helped assess whether students were aware that legal culture and codification of laws were part of Great Moravia's civilizational development, rather than being exclusive to Western Europe.

Questions about Great Moravia's relations with Frankish and Byzantine rulers tested students' ability to understand early medieval diplomacy and the geopolitical situation of the time. It was

⁴ The OECD conducts the Programme for International Student Assessment, evaluating the competencies of 15-year-olds in reading, mathematics, and science across member and non-member countries. Detailed results and reports are accessible on the OECD's official website <https://www.oecd.org/pisa/>.

important to determine whether students recognized that Great Moravia was not an isolated state but an active participant in international relations.

Including a question about Prince Svatopluk was crucial, as under his rule, Great Moravia reached its greatest territorial expansion and political influence. It was necessary to verify whether students could distinguish his reign from other periods in Great Moravian history. In addition, a further important question concerned the collapse of Great Moravia and the Hungarian invasion, as this moment illustrates the historical transformation of Central Europe. Understanding the causes and consequences of Great Moravia's fall is required for grasping the continuity and chronology of history – that the decline of one state formation leads to the emergence of new power structures, such as the Kingdom of Hungary.

The final part of the test focused on what has remained from Great Moravia. The goal was to assess whether students understood that its influence did not end in the 10th century but continues in the cultural and religious traditions of the Czech and Slovak regions. Testing students' knowledge of the locations of Great Moravian archaeological sites helped assess their awareness of the physical remnants of this era. Additionally, it was necessary to assess whether they understood the significance of the Cyril and Methodius legacy for present-day Slovakia, as Great Moravia plays a crucial role in Slovak national identity to this day.

The last questions examined the living aspects of Great Moravian heritage in the current era.⁵ The aim was to determine whether students realized that national holidays, linguistic heritage, and Christian traditions have their origins in this period. The selection of questions was designed to reflect school curricula without leaving out broader societal and historical awareness. As can be inferred, the test covered key political, cultural, legal, and religious aspects of Great Moravia, with an emphasis on its historical continuity and also on the facts that can prove useful even nowadays. Such approach allows for a detailed analysis of students' responses and helps assess their understanding of this early phase of Czech and Slovak history.

Based on the test results, the next part of the study will identify potential gaps in students' knowledge and comprehension of historical connections, enabling (and providing) recommendations for the education system and the promotion of Great Moravian heritage among younger generations.

A multiple-choice format with one correct answer out of four options was intentionally chosen, as this approach is methodologically more suitable for comparative analysis and enables a more precise assessment of students' knowledge. Open-ended questions were ruled out primarily due to concerns about objectiveness (how results would be evaluated and scored, since there are many cases in which it can be complex to tell how well something was defined or elaborated upon) and the ease of interpreting results in a quantitative manner. With open-ended answers, grading would depend on subjective evaluation, which could lead to inconsistencies in assessing the correctness of responses among different evaluators. Additionally, the closed format minimizes the risk of students avoiding a direct answer by providing vague responses or simply rephrasing the question.

Another key reason for choosing multiple-choice questions was the higher reliability of the test, meaning the ability to obtain consistent results across different groups of respondents. This approach allows for statistical evaluation of success rates for individual questions and the identification of specific areas where students have the most significant knowledge gaps. Open-ended questions, by contrast, would require more complex qualitative analysis of responses, making direct comparisons between individual students or schools significantly more difficult.

⁵ The author of this study focused on the scientific prowess of Josef Vařica, who explored the topic of Great Moravia in several books (see Pavera 2001).

Time efficiency was also an important factor. Multiple-choice questions enable quick test completion and easy automated grading, which would not be possible with open-ended responses. Moreover, this format eliminates issues related to spelling or grammatical errors, which could otherwise distort the interpretation of answers – such as when a student knows the correct answer but struggles to express it precisely.

This format also aligns with the methodology used in international comparative tests such as PISA or TIMSS,⁶ where multiple-choice questions are employed precisely because they allow for international comparison and quantification of students' knowledge levels. Additionally, this method allows for mathematically identifying specific areas where students struggle. For example, if a significant number of students answer questions about the Cyril and Methodius mission or the geopolitical role of Great Moravia incorrectly, this information can be used to develop recommendations for history education that focus on strengthening these particular areas.

The assessment of students' historical awareness of Great Moravia provided interesting results, allowing for an evaluation of their level of knowledge as well as the identification of key factors influencing their responses. The overall test performance was relatively solid, with some questions answered with high accuracy, while others revealed gaps in knowledge or a natural tendency among young people to interpret the past through the lens of the present.

Among the 305 students tested,⁷ the average number of correct answers was around 65%, indicating that basic knowledge of Great Moravia is not negligible (though not really commendable either). However, certain systematic biases were observed, particularly in questions concerning the geopolitical and cultural context of Great Moravia. While knowledge of the Cyril and Methodius mission was relatively strong – questions about Glagolitic script, Old Church Slavonic, and the mission's significance achieved success rates above 80% – questions focusing on Great Moravia's military and political history caused more uncertainty.

Students performed best on questions related to Great Moravia's direct cultural legacy. For instance, a question about the importance of the Cyril and Methodius mission for Slavic nations had a 91.5% success rate. Similarly, a question about the liturgical language used by Cyril and Methodius reached 88% correct answers. These results suggest that students have a firm understanding of Great Moravia's cultural and linguistic legacy, which may be due to the continued presence of the Cyril and Methodius tradition in Czech education, such as through the national holiday on July 5th or the study of Slavic languages at universities.

By contrast, questions requiring an understanding of power dynamics and Great Moravia's geopolitical role proved more difficult. For example, only 39% of students correctly identified that the disciples of Cyril and Methodius moved to Bulgaria and Macedonia after being expelled, with a large number instead selecting Kyiv. This likely reflects the influence of current media narratives about Ukraine (and students having this in mind – leading them to consider the importance of Ukraine in history as well) rather than an accurate understanding of historical events. These findings highlight the importance of placing greater emphasis on the political and diplomatic aspects of Great Moravia in school curricula while also helping students develop the ability to critically analyse history without projecting contemporary events onto the past.

Another question with a relatively low success rate was question 18, which asked where the center of Great Moravian liturgy was located. Only 80% of students correctly identified the Moravian-Pannonian region, while 35 students believed that Prague was the religious center at

⁶ In the 2018 PISA assessment, Central European countries such as the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Poland demonstrated notable performances and appeared in the top half of tested jurisdictions.

⁷ See Annex 2) in this study, named *Test Results Table – Great Moravia and Its Legacy*, which displays the final multiple choice answers of the students.

that time. This distortion can be explained by the fact that students from Prague and Central Bohemia, where the research was conducted, tend to perceive Prague as the historical center of Central Europe, although this is a perspective that emerged much later.

Question 19, which focused on a region that was not influenced by Great Moravia, also revealed uncertainty. The correct answer was Normandy, but only 37% of students answered correctly. Many were unsure whether Poland had been under the influence of Great Moravia, suggesting insufficient awareness of the territorial expansion and diplomatic relations of the Great Moravian Empire.

Looking at the overall results, it is evident that students performed best in questions related to the cultural and religious legacy of Great Moravia, which suggests that these aspects are relatively well covered in school education. On the other hand, the political and geopolitical dimension of Great Moravian history proved to be more challenging, possibly due to a lesser emphasis on this aspect in teaching.⁸

The test also revealed that some responses were influenced by contemporary media and cultural discourse. In the case of the question about the exile of Cyril and Methodius' disciples, it is clear that current geopolitical events influence students' historical thinking. This is a natural phenomenon, but it also suggests that the younger generation may be susceptible to a certain form of "historical shortcut," in which historical events are associated with the present based on intuitive rather than precise knowledge.

From these results, several recommendations can be made for educational practice. Firstly, it would be beneficial to strengthen the teaching of the geopolitical aspects of Great Moravia, as students demonstrate good knowledge of the cultural legacy of this period but have a weaker understanding of how the empire functioned in terms of governance, defence, and diplomatic relations. Additionally, it can be anticipated that providing students with more tools for understanding historical contexts – such as interactive maps or comparative historical overviews for a specific era/time period – could help them better grasp how Great Moravia interacted with other powers of its time.

An interesting aspect that could be utilized in teaching is the study of how contemporary events influence our perception of the past. As mentioned above and demonstrated by the question about the exile of Cyril and Methodius' disciples, some students intuitively linked this event to current developments in Ukraine. This finding suggests that integrating historical education with current affairs could be beneficial, helping students to better distinguish between past and present.

Social and Geographical Factors in Students' Historical Awareness: The Influence of Environment and School Type on Test Results

One of the aspects that should be carefully monitored in future research is the social and geographical background of respondents – whether they come from villages, small towns, or larger cities, as well as the type of school they attend. Such a distinction is important because historical awareness is not solely a product of formal education but is also shaped by family and community environments, public discourse, and local historical traditions.

⁸ Professor Josef Vašica, a great expert in the field of Old Church Slavonic language and script, wrote about Great Moravia in a highly accessible way. He was a priest and a scholar of extraordinary quality. His key works include the publication *Literární památky epochy velkomoravské* (published twice, in 1966 and 1996) and the posthumously published collection *Eseje a studie ze starší české literatury* (Vašica 2001).

In this study, respondents were primarily recruited from Prague and the Central Bohemian Region, which may explain certain trends in their responses, such as the tendency of some students to identify Prague as the historical centre of Great Moravia. This suggests that students subconsciously attempt to place historical events within a familiar environment. If we were to conduct the test among students from Moravia or Slovakia, their answers might exhibit different tendencies, such as greater awareness of Great Moravian archaeological sites or better orientation in questions related to the Cyril and Methodius tradition.

Differences can also be expected between students from various types of schools. Grammar school students typically receive a broader general education, while vocational school students may have more selective knowledge, as their curriculum places a stronger emphasis on practical subjects. If we were to test students from agricultural, business, or technical schools, their responses might reveal less focus on humanities, which would affect their understanding of historical connections.

If we aim to gain a more comprehensive picture of students' historical awareness, it would be beneficial to expand the sample to include rural and Moravian regions as well as a wider range of school specializations. This would allow for an analysis of regional and educational differences in historical knowledge and help determine the influence of social and cultural factors on the formation of historical consciousness.

Active vs. Passive Historical Awareness: Is There a Difference Between Memorization and Understanding?

A key issue revealed by the test is the difference between active and passive historical awareness (Zhang 2023). The results indicate that students are quite proficient in memorizing facts, such as the century in which Great Moravia was established or the name of the ruler who invited Cyril and Methodius. However, problems arise when they are asked to place historical events in a broader context, understand their consequences, or recognize their long-term significance for Czech and European history.

For example, questions requiring an understanding of power relations between Great Moravia, the Frankish Empire, and Byzantium performed significantly worse than fact-based questions. This suggests that history education still emphasizes encyclopaedic knowledge rather than historical interpretation.

Due to this fact, education of history should place greater emphasis on analytical thinking and historical interpretation, using project-based learning, discussions, analysis of historical sources, and comparative studies of different historical periods. This approach would help students understand why historical events unfolded the way they did and what lessons can be drawn from them for the present. This also supports greater student engagement – when a student appears inattentive to historical facts, it may not stem from disinterest, but rather from a natural lack of understanding of how that information holds value or relevance in today's world.

Great Moravia: A Czech, Slovak, or Central European Phenomenon?

Another important aspect of test interpretation is how students perceive Great Moravia in a national context. In Czech textbooks, Great Moravia is often presented as “the first state on our territory,” which can inadvertently suggest that it was primarily a Czech state entity. In reality, its

core lay in present-day Slovakia and Moravia, and its legacy is perceived differently in the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

If the test were conducted in Slovakia, we could expect students to view Great Moravia as their historical state, whereas in the Czech Republic, it is more often perceived as a precursor to the Přemyslid state.⁹ This difference may influence how students associate certain historical events, such as the significance of Great Moravia for Czech history – some students may not identify it as a direct predecessor of Czech statehood.

It would also be interesting to observe how students from Poland, Hungary, or Austria would respond to the test, as Great Moravia had cultural and political influence in these regions as well. If we wanted to gain a deeper understanding of regional historical awareness, it would be valuable to compare the responses of Czech students with those from neighbouring countries to determine how Great Moravia is perceived in the broader Central European context.

Control Sample – Comparison of Czech and Polish Respondents: The Influence of National Educational Curricula on Historical Awareness

An important supplement to the main test sample was a control group of 26 respondents from Silesia, representing a Polish environment. The results of this sample showed significantly lower success rates compared to Czech students, revealing major differences in several key areas. These differences can be explained by both the different school curriculum, which in Poland places primary emphasis on national history, and the generally lower level of cultural awareness of the Great Moravian period.

Lower knowledge of Slavic rulers: If he wasn't "ours," he isn't important

One of the most striking differences was that Polish students had more difficulty identifying key rulers of Great Moravia. For example, in the question about which ruler invited Cyril and Methodius, only 27% of Polish students correctly selected Rastislav, whereas among Czech students, the success rate was 61%. Similarly, in the question about which ruler expanded Great Moravia the most, Polish students had only a 23% success rate, compared to 58% among Czech students.¹⁰

This result aligns with expectations, as Polish school curricula emphasize the Piast dynasty and the formation of the Polish state; conversely, Great Moravia is perceived as a distant phenomenon with only marginal significance for Poland. Naturally, Polish students are less familiar with Great Moravian rulers than Czech students, for whom these figures are part of their national historical tradition.

It also confirms a broader tendency of national education systems to focus primarily on their own history, with neighbouring historical entities often mentioned only briefly or within the context of the local country maintaining foreign relations. Polish students, for example, are

⁹ Several prominent Czech historians have dedicated their research to the Přemyslid dynasty and the Czech Middle Ages. František Kavka, Jiří Spěváček, Josef Žemlička, Petr Sommer, Dušan Třeštík, Marie Bláhová, and Eva Doležalová focus in their works on various aspects of the Přemyslid era, ranging from political history to economic and social development, as well as cultural and religious issues, thus significantly contributing to our understanding of this key epoch in Czech history.

¹⁰ The intellectual output of the survey consisted of a percentage-based evaluation of student responses. For detailed data, see Annex 2 of this study (*Test Results Table – Great Moravia and Its Legacy*), which presents the final multiple choice responses collected from the students.

well-acquainted with figures such as Mieszko I or Bolesław the Brave, but historical figures like Rastislav or Svatopluk are not perceived as historically relevant.

Even greater uncertainty in geopolitical questions

In addition, a significant difference was the even lower success rate of Polish students in questions concerning Great Moravia's geopolitical context. For example, in the question about where the centre of Great Moravian liturgy was located, only 19% of Polish students correctly identified the Moravian-Pannonian region, whereas among Czech students, the success rate was 80%.

Polish students more frequently selected Prague or Rome, which suggests that the perception of church history in Poland is strongly linked to Catholic tradition and Roman Christianity, whereas the Byzantine influence is less emphasized. This is due to the fact that Poland historically oriented itself toward Latin Europe, whereas Great Moravia had to navigate between the influences of Byzantium and Rome. This difference in historical trajectories is also reflected in the students' answers.

Similarly, in the question about where the disciples of Cyril and Methodius moved, only 15% of Polish students selected the correct answer, Bulgaria and Macedonia, whereas among Czech students, the success rate was 39%.¹¹ Most Polish students chose Kyiv, which indicates a similar issue as among Czech students – a tendency to project contemporary geopolitical perceptions onto history (though the issue here could also be something else, e.g. Poland having control over now-Ukrainian land at some points in history, or other factors). In Poland today, Ukraine is often discussed in political discourse, and so students likely intuitively associate it with “old Eastern Europe,” despite the fact that Kyiv was not the main centre of the Slavic mission.

Limited awareness of the Cyril and Methodius legacy

Another interesting difference emerged in the question about the legacy of Cyril and Methodius. While Czech students were relatively aware of the fact that the mission of Cyril and Methodius held a large role in the development of Slavic literacy and education, the Polish sample showed significantly lower success rates.

For example, in the question about Glagolitic script as the writing system of Great Moravia, 83% of Czech students answered correctly, while among Polish students, the success rate was only 46%. This may be related to the fact that Poland never adopted the Cyril and Methodius tradition but instead maintained Latin script and Roman liturgy from the beginning. The Cyril and Methodius mission is therefore not perceived as part of Poland's cultural heritage, and Polish students are naturally less familiar with it than their Czech peers.

Perspectives and Insights for Educational Practice

The Great Moravian period is an integral part of history education in primary schools and remains a permanent feature of educational curricula. However, the research findings indicate that attention should be paid not only to the content of instruction but also to the methods used to convey this historical era to students.

¹¹ Quantitative results from the research are summarized as percentage values of student answers. These findings are documented in Annex 2, titled “*Test Results Table – Great Moravia and Its Legacy*,” which outlines the distribution of multiple choice answers submitted by the respondents.

Although students encounter Great Moravia in textbooks and classroom lessons, their knowledge often remains fragmented, superficial, or purely memorized. This becomes evident in their responses. For example, test results show that while students can recall certain factual details – such as the century in which Great Moravia emerged or the arrival of Cyril and Methodius – they struggle to grasp broader historical contexts. They often have difficulty understanding Great Moravia's geopolitical situation or the long-term consequences of its collapse.

To understand the context of textbook use in the Czech Republic, it should be noted that textbooks for primary and secondary schools are not centrally or mandatorily prescribed. Each school can choose textbooks that comply with the Framework Educational Program [*Rámcový vzdělávací program*] and align with the School Educational Program [*Školní vzdělávací program*] of the specific institution.¹² This flexibility allows for diverse approaches to history education but also means that the content and emphasis on specific historical topics, including Great Moravia, may vary between schools.

Research conducted as part of our study shows that one of the most frequently used textbooks is Playful History [*Hravý dějepis*], which includes the subtitle “In Accordance with the Framework Educational Program”. This textbook series is particularly popular due to its interactive approach and the use of visual and game-based elements. It is used in both primary schools and multi-year grammar schools.

The topic of Great Moravia appears as early as the lower primary level, specifically in the educational area “Man and His World” [*Člověk a jeho svět*]. Within the subject of social studies in 4th grade, students are introduced to the early history of the Czech lands, including the era of Great Moravia.

Commonly used textbooks for teaching this topic include Playful Social Studies 4 – The Earliest Czech History [*Hravá vlastivěda 4 – Nejstarší české dějiny*], published by *Taktik*, which covers history from prehistoric times to the rise of the Habsburgs (Autorský kolektiv 2021). Another option is Social Studies 4 – Textbook for the 4th Grade of Primary School [*Vlastivěda 4 – učebnice pro 4. ročník základní školy*], which covers similar topics (Binková et al. 2024). Each school can adjust the inclusion and scope of the Great Moravian Empire within its School Educational Program. Although this topic is primarily taught in 4th grade, students may revisit it later, for example, in 7th grade, when medieval history is covered in greater depth. Such fact may also contribute to the case of worse understanding, i.e., as there are several years since the student has explored this topic, they will have partially forgotten it at the time they were surveyed due to lack of use or interest.

At the upper primary level, the topic of Great Moravia reappears in 7th grade as part of a broader discussion on the formation of early medieval states. The most commonly used textbooks for this grade include Playful History – Textbook for the 7th Grade of Primary Schools and Multi-Year Grammar Schools [*Hravý dějepis – učebnice pro 7. ročník ZŠ a víceletá gymnázia*], published by *Taktik*, which emphasizes interactive learning (Autorský kolektiv 2022). Another option is History 7 – The Middle Ages and the Beginnings of the Modern Era [*Dějepis 7 – Středověk, počátky novověku*], published by *Nová škola*, authored by Libor Vykoupil, Robert Antonín, and Marie Fejfušová (2021). A more traditional choice is History for Primary Schools 7 – The Middle Ages and Early Modern Era [*Dějepis pro základní školy 7 – Středověk a raný novověk*], published by *SPN* and written by Veronika Válková (2019).

¹² More about the structure of teaching history at a primary school level can be found in the Framework Education Program, accessible from: https://www.edu.cz/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/RVP-ZV_2017_červen-2.pdf [23.02.2025].

The diversity of textbooks allows for different approaches to teaching – for example, even though some textbooks focus on factual knowledge, others might emphasize interactive methods and creative approaches to history education – either approach might have its own set of issues and missing information. Schools thus have the flexibility to choose textbooks that best align with their teaching strategies and students' needs.

One of the key issues is that history instruction still largely relies on rote memorization rather than fostering critical thinking, connecting historical events, and understanding cause-and-effect relationships in historical processes. This challenge is not limited to political history; it also extends to topics such as the Cyril and Methodius mission, liturgy, and the spread of literacy.

Recommendations for Improving History Education

These findings highlight the need to modernize history education, particularly in some key areas:

A) Emphasizing connections between historical events and the broader European and cultural context. Students should not view Great Moravia as an isolated historical phenomenon but rather as part of a complex geopolitical system that influenced other regions of Europe.

B) Encouraging analytical and critical thinking in history lessons. Instead of merely memorizing facts, students should be guided to understand why certain events occurred and what their long-term implications were.

C) Utilizing modern teaching methods to make history more interactive and engaging. Digital reconstructions, interactive maps, historical simulations, and gamification can help students relate history to real-world experiences and increase their engagement.

D) Developing historical awareness and understanding specific roles in society. The test results suggest that when students lack a solid historical foundation, their knowledge can easily become distorted by misinformation or modern reinterpretations. History lessons should therefore include discussions on how historical narratives are shaped and why they matter today.

E) Integrating Czech history education with regional and international perspectives on Central European history. As the testing in Poland demonstrated, historical awareness varies significantly depending on how Great Moravia is presented in national curricula. Future history instruction could better reflect the shared past of Slavic nations and Great Moravia's role within the broader context of European history.

Addressing Historical Awareness of the 1990s

A recent survey conducted by STEM for the Václav Havel Library (STEM 2024) revealed that young people aged 15 to 20 have limited knowledge of key events from the 1990s. Nearly half of the respondents believed that the Czech Republic joined the European Union in the 1990s, while a third mistakenly placed the creation of Charter 77 in this decade. Furthermore, a quarter of young people incorrectly stated that Soviet troops invaded Czechoslovakia in the 1990s, confusing this with the actual invasion of 1968.

These findings suggest that today's young generation often has an incomplete or distorted understanding of recent history. One possible reason is the insufficient inclusion of this period in school curricula. According to the survey, 85% of young people expressed a desire for the 1990s to be a firm part of history education.

Another contributing factor may be the lack of interactive and engaging educational materials that could make this era more accessible to younger generations. Johana Fundová, author of the

project *Pure Nineties*, emphasized the importance of an interactive approach to teaching the 1990s to increase awareness among young people (Fundová 2024).

These insights point to the need for a revision of educational programs and the introduction of new teaching methods that would provide students with a more accurate and comprehensive understanding of recent history. At the same time, fostering critical thinking and the ability to analyse historical events in a broader context is needed to prevent similar misconceptions in the future (Czech Television 2024).

Even though Great Moravia is firmly embedded in Czech history education, the study's findings suggest that the way this period is taught may contribute to fragmented or distorted knowledge among students. If historical memory is to remain both sustainable and resistant to myths and manipulation, history education must be modernized. Students should be equipped with tools that allow them to see history not merely as a collection of dates but as a dynamic process that shapes their present and future.

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ANNEX 1)

Test Questions – Great Moravia and Its Legacy

(For students approximately 15 years old, inspired by OECD/PISA testing)

Instructions for students: This test consists of 20 questions focusing on key aspects of Great Moravian history and its legacy. Answer each question as accurately as possible, drawing on your school knowledge and general understanding.

Section 1: General Knowledge about Great Moravia

1. In which century did Great Moravia emerge as the first significant state formation in Central Europe?
 - a) 6th century
 - b) 7th century
 - c) 9th century
 - d) 11th century
2. Which two main territories formed the core of Great Moravia?
 - a) [Čechy] Bohemia and [Morava] Moravia
 - b) [Morava] Moravia and [Slovensko] Slovakia
 - c) [Slezsko] Silesia and [Polsko] Poland
 - d) [Rakousko] Austria and [Slovensko] Slovakia
3. Which ruler was responsible for bringing Cyril and Methodius to Great Moravia?
 - a) a) [Mojmír I.] Mojmir I
 - b) b) [Rostislav] Rastislav
 - c) c) [Svatopluk] Svatopluk
 - d) d) [Boleslav I.] Boleslav I

Section 2: The Arrival of Cyril and Methodius and the Spread of Literacy

4. From which empire were the missionaries Cyril and Methodius sent?
 - a) [Franská říše] The Frankish Empire
 - b) [Byzantská říše] The Byzantine Empire
 - c) [Kyjevská Rus] Kievan Rus
 - d) [Řím] Rome
5. What script did Cyril and Methodius bring to Great Moravia?
 - a) Latin script
 - b) Cyrillic script
 - c) Glagolitic script
 - d) Greek alphabet

6. What was the purpose of Glagolitic script?
- a) To record the Old Church Slavonic language
 - b) For secret communication among priests
 - c) For recording trade agreements
 - d) As a decorative element in churches
7. What was the name of the legal code created in connection with the mission of Cyril and Methodius?
- a) [*Zákon sudnyj ljudem*] *The Law for the People*
 - b) [*Dekret kutnohorský*] *The Kutná Hora Decree*
 - c) [*Svatováclavská smlouva*] *The Saint Wenceslas Agreement*
 - d) [*Zlatá bula sicilská*] *The Golden Bull of Sicily*

Section 3: Great Moravia as a Power Center

8. Which political entities were Great Moravia's main rivals?
- a) The Byzantine Empire and Kievan Rus
 - b) The Frankish Empire and the Hungarians
 - c) The Holy Roman Empire and the Duchy of Poland
 - d) [Čechy] Bohemia and the Duchy of Austria
9. Which Great Moravian ruler is associated with the greatest territorial expansion of the empire?
- a) [Mojmír I.] Mojmír I
 - b) [Rostislav] Rastislav
 - c) [Svatopluk] Svatopluk
 - d) [Boleslav II.] Boleslav II
10. What was the main reason for the collapse of Great Moravia in the early 10th century?
- a) A plague epidemic in the region
 - b) The Hungarian invasion
 - c) A commercial crisis
 - d) A rebellion against Christianity

Section 4: The Legacy of Great Moravia in Later History

11. What happened to the disciples of Cyril and Methodius after the fall of Great Moravia?
- a) They were executed
 - b) They continued spreading education in Bulgaria and Macedonia
 - c) They became rulers in Kievan Rus
 - d) They fled back to Byzantium
12. What role did Great Moravia play in shaping the future Czech state?
- a) It laid the foundations of state organization
 - b) It facilitated the adoption of the Latin script
 - c) It prevented the spread of Christianity in Bohemia
 - d) It played no significant role in Czech history

13. In which present-day country is the most significant Great Moravian archaeological site, [Mikulčice] Mikulčice, located?
- a) [Česká republika] The Czech Republic
 - b) [Slovensko] Slovakia
 - c) [Polsko] Poland
 - d) [Rakousko] Austria
14. What is the significance of the Cyril and Methodius legacy for modern Slovaks?
- a) It became the basis for their national holiday on July 5th
 - b) It has no significance
 - c) It is connected to the arrival of the Hussites
 - d) They still use Glagolitic script today

Section 5: Cultural and Religious Aspects

15. What language was used in the Cyril and Methodius liturgy?
- a) Latin
 - b) Old Church Slavonic
 - c) Germanic
 - d) Greek
16. What was the main difference between Christianity coming from Byzantium and Christianity from Western Europe?
- a) Byzantine Christianity allowed the use of local languages in liturgy
 - b) Byzantine Christianity rejected baptism
 - c) Frankish Christianity prohibited education for priests
 - d) There was no difference
17. What was the significance of the Cyril and Methodius mission for other Slavic nations (e.g., Bulgarians, Serbs, Poles)?
- a) It helped spread Slavic literacy and Christianity
 - b) It enabled trade with China
 - c) It prevented the collapse of the Byzantine Empire
 - d) It led to the creation of a unified Slavic state
18. What was the main center of Great Moravian liturgy?
- a) [Řím] Rome
 - b) [Konstantinopol] Constantinople
 - c) The Moravian-Pannonian region
 - d) [Praha] Prague
19. Which of the following regions was NOT under Great Moravian influence?
- a) [Polsko] Poland
 - b) [Uhry] Hungary
 - c) [Normandie] Normandy
 - d) [Slezsko] Silesia

20. What part of Great Moravia's legacy is still alive in Czech and Slovak culture today?
- a) The Cyril and Methodius tradition and a national holiday
 - b) The use of Glagolitic script
 - c) The teaching of Old Church Slavonic in schools
 - d) The borders of Great Moravia correspond to the present-day Czech Republic

ANNEX 2)

Test Results Table – Great Moravia and Its Legacy

The table shows the number of responses from 305 students for each of the answer choices in the test questions. It also includes the correct answers, which will be key for the subsequent interpretation of results.

Nr	Question	A	B	C	D	Correct Answer
1	In which century did Great Moravia emerge?	13	37	220	35	C
2	Which two territories formed the core of Great Moravia?	98	168	6	33	B
3	Which ruler invited Cyril and Methodius?	55	185	65	0	B
4	From which empire were Cyril and Methodius sent?	13	237	39	16	B
5	What script did Cyril and Methodius introduce?	31	117	154	3	C
6	What was the purpose of Glagolitic script?	278	7	15	5	A
7	What was the name of the legal code of Cyril and Methodius?	156	84	46	19	A
8	Who were the main rivals of Great Moravia?	9	123	98	75	B
9	Which ruler expanded Great Moravia the most?	54	178	60	13	C
10	What caused the fall of Great Moravia?	77	217	3	8	B
11	Where did the disciples of Cyril and Methodius relocate?	38	119	29	119	B
12	What was Great Moravia's significance for Bohemia?	220	56	4	25	A
13	Where is [Mikulčice] located?	128	103	18	56	A
14	What is the Cyril and Methodius legacy for Slovakia?	253	47	0	5	A
15	What language was used in the Cyril and Methodius liturgy?	32	270	2	1	B
16	What was the main difference between Byzantine and Frankish Christianity?	97	13	76	119	A
17	What was the significance of the Cyril and Methodius mission for Slavic nations?	279	3	5	18	A
18	Where was the center of Great Moravian liturgy?	8	35	246	16	C
19	Which of the following regions was NOT under Great Moravian influence?	56	61	114	74	C
20	What aspect of Great Moravia's legacy remains alive today?	164	14	57	70	A

POP CULTURE, MARGINALIZATION, REMEDIATION. DIGITAL ARTIFACTS OF THE CULT OF ST. CYRIL AND METHODIUS AND ST. VALENTINE ON THE X.COM PLATFORM

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Abstract: ADAMSKI, Andrzej – GAWEŁ, Arkadiusz – PRZYWARA, Barbara. *Pop Culture, Marginalization, Remediation. Digital Artifacts of the Cult of St. Cyril and Methodius and St. Valentine on the X.com Platform*. The article analyzes the contemporary reception of the Cyril-Methodian heritage in the context of the mediatization of religion and the transformation of religious traditions in digital culture. The study compares the presence of the cult of Saints Cyril and Methodius (patrons of Europe) with the simultaneous popularity of St. Valentine and commercial “Valentine’s Day” in the Polish media and religious space. Using the methodology of media archaeology and digital communication analysis techniques, the authors examine the virtual representations of both cults in the discourse of the Twitter/X platform (in Polish and English). Quantitative and qualitative analysis (analysis of topoi, study of remediation) shows that the cult of the Thessalonian Brothers in the media space in Poland is almost completely marginalized by the Valentine’s Day pop-cultural narrative. The study also documents the complex processes of adaptation and transformation of traditional religious cults under the influence of digital media logic. The article contributes both to studies on the continuity of the Cyril-Methodian tradition in the digital age, as well as to the sciences of social communication and media, showing the mechanisms of functioning of historical religious heritage in an environment dominated by popular culture, dominant media narratives, and algorithms of social platforms.

Keywords: *Social communication and media sciences, Cyril and Methodius, Valentine’s Day, pop culture, St. Valentine, media content analysis, topoi analysis, media archaeology*

1. Introduction

The cult of Saints Cyril and Methodius in Poland is present in both the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. In addition to official liturgical celebrations, one can mention here the activities of the Orthodox Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius (Bractwocim 2023) or the erection of churches and parishes dedicated to these saints. The Orthodox Church commemorates St. Cyril on February 14, i.e., February 27 according to the Gregorian calendar, St. Methodius on April 6 (April 19 according to the Gregorian calendar). In addition, on May 11 (May 24 according to the Gregorian calendar), it celebrates a joint commemoration of both saints. In the liturgical calendar of the Catholic Church, the feast of St. Cyril and Methodius is celebrated on February 14. Initially Pope Leo XIII fixed their annual liturgical feast on 5 July. After the Second Vatican Council, as a result of the liturgical reform, the feast was transferred to 14 February. From the historical point of view it’s the date of the heavenly birthday of Saint Cyril (14. 02. 869) (Zubko 2014, 88-89).

Nevertheless, some Slavic nations celebrate this feast on July 5, on the anniversary of the beginning of the Christianization mission of both saints. This is the case in the Czech Republic

and Slovakia – in these countries it is also a national holiday and a day off from work. Saints Cyril and Methodius, also known as the “Apostles of the Slavs,” played a key role in shaping culture and religion in Central and Eastern Europe. They are called “the most intelligent Christian missionaries and diplomats of their period” (Ivanič – Hetényi 2017, 27-34; Maturkanič – Tomanová Čergetová – Příbylová 2022, 161-176). Their undoubted merit in the sphere of the development of writing and language was the creation of the Glagolitic alphabet, which enabled the translation of important religious texts into Slavic languages (Ivanič 2020; 2024). The translation of the Bible and other liturgical texts into Old Church Slavonic was crucial for the spread of Christianity among the Slavs, it was an act of inculturation of the Gospel (Adamski – Przywara – Przybyło 2020, 111-123). Translations of the Gospel and liturgical texts into Old Church Slavonic enlivened the religious life of our ancestors and created the foundations of literature and culture for almost the entire Slavic world (Hetényi – Ivanič 2021, 417). Appreciating their contributions to contemporary Europe, Pope John Paul II declared them patrons of Europe on December 31, 1980, in an apostolic letter entitled *Egregiae Virtutis*. In 1985, on the 1100th anniversary of Methodius’ death († 885), John Paul II issued the encyclical “*Slavorum Apostoli*” (Apostles of the Slavs), which can be considered one of the most important documents of the Catholic Church on St. Cyril and Methodius. (Hromják 2024, 132-140; Zubko 2014, 195-202).

On the same day (February 14), the Roman Martyrology commemorates two saints named Valentine (although they probably refer to the same person). In a copy of the Martyrology published in Poland in 1910, we read: “On the 14th of February in Rome at the Via Flaminia, the solemnity of St. Valentine, Priest, who during the reign of Emperor Claudius performed miraculous healings and through his teaching converted many to the true faith. First he was beaten with sticks, and finally beheaded. [...] In Terni, the memorial of St. Valentine, Bishop. Because his firmness did not change despite prolonged flogging and torture, by order of the city prefect Placidus, he was dragged out of prison at night and beheaded” (Roman Martyrology 1910, 53). The name of this saint gave rise to the term “Valentine’s Day,” which in pop culture means lovers’ day. It falls on February 14 – thus on the liturgical commemoration of St. Valentine and (in the Church in Poland) the feast of St. Cyril and Methodius – Patrons of Europe.

2. Valentine’s Day – origins and dimension of celebration in Poland

Researchers trace the deepest roots of Valentine’s Day celebrations to ancient pagan Rome, in celebrations honoring two pagan deities: Lupercus, who protected lambs from wolves, and Juno, who watched over wives (Van Dyk 2013, 4). However, the beginnings of Valentine’s Day celebrations in their current form should be sought in the 14th-century court culture of England. In the 19th century, they were transformed into a modern commercial holiday in the USA and returned to Europe in the next century. After World War II, Valentine’s Day spread to Western European countries. In the last decade of the 20th century, after the fall of communist regimes, the celebration of Valentine’s Day in the Anglo-Saxon style spread to Eastern European countries (Zajonc 2023, 403-425).

According to a Polish language textbook for foreigners, Valentine’s Day refers to “events organized (following the Anglo-Saxon model) on the day of St. Valentine (February 14), who is the patron of lovers, and this day itself is precisely the holiday of lovers” (Kita – Skudrzyk 2009, 285-286). In Poland, Valentine’s Day is considered a relatively new holiday, but its celebration – despite the name referring to the name of a saint, and thus religious roots – is evidently focused on the secular, often commercial dimension. It is also often called “lovers’ day” and in the symbolism used (red color, hearts, etc.) does not refer to religious issues at all. Quasi-holidays of

a similar nature also include the so-called St. Andrew's Eve (celebrated on the evening preceding the feast of St. Andrew the Apostle – November 30, combined with fortune-telling for maidens preparing for marriage) or St. Nicholas' Day (the custom of giving gifts on the day of the liturgical commemoration of St. Nicholas – December 6) (Cf. Strzelecka 2014, 163-175). Slovaks have quite similar experiences related to the celebration of Valentine's Day. It is no coincidence that the term "holiday" is used in English to describe Valentine's Day, not "feast", understood as "an occasion or cyclically recurrent period of various duration, in which something important or extraordinary takes place or is remembered. During holidays, specific and, to some extent, normative ways of behaving are anticipated or evoked, to which symbolic meanings are attributed to varying degrees" (Popelkova – Zajonc 2022, 21-37). Similar to Poland, this holiday became popular during the late-modernity period and are not embedded in the historical tradition of the country and protected by important social institutions. Information about these holiday has spread mainly through schools, the internet, electronic media, and pop-culture (Popelkova – Zajonc 2022, 21-37).

3. Purpose and research method

3.1. Purpose

To examine to what extent Saints Cyril and Methodius – patrons of Europe, and to what extent Saint Valentine, whom pop culture has made the patron of lovers, are present in internet discourse. The feast of St. Cyril and Methodius and Valentine's Day are celebrated in Poland on the same day – February 14. In a broader context, the analyzed example may help answer the questions:

- a. Does pop culture, by referring to religious symbolism, desacralize it and dominate, or is it a carrier of religious content and leads to increased interest in it?
- b. What actions should be taken to break through in media discourse with a serious message, and is it even possible from the perspective of designing communication in social media?

3.2. Method

This study goes beyond a simple comparison of quantitative data. The authors seek to understand the analyzed data in the light of media archaeology (MA). This is a relatively new, interdisciplinary field of science. It defies a clear definition; it is not so much a theory as a heterogeneous collection of theories and methods. Its main goal is to understand new and contemporary media through an in-depth analysis of the past, especially through a critical analysis of media narratives. Traditional archaeology studies the past of humanity based on material remains, while media archaeology focuses on the history of media, communication technologies, and their cultural contexts. It explores alternative paths of media development, forgotten ideas and technologies, as well as those aspects of media history that have been forgotten or neglected for some reason. In this way, it challenges the supposed novelty of digital culture by showing that what we consider new already has its prototypes in the past. Jussi Parikka defines media archaeology as an undertaking between materialist media theories and an emphasis on the value of the obsolete and forgotten, realized through new cultural histories (Parikka 2012, 205; Parikka 2023, 3387).

This perspective allows treating posts on the Twitter/X platform not only as messages but as complex media artifacts (we use the name Twitter/X due to the recognizability and prevalence of the former name of the service, now known as X.com). The concept of a media artifact is

key to understanding media archaeology and fulfilling this article's objectives. In traditional archaeology, an "artifact" is an object made by humans, discovered as a result of research. Media archaeology extends this concept to all objects, systems, practices, and discourses related to media and communication technologies. A media artifact in this approach of MA doesn't have to be a physical object. It can be, for example, a specific data format, a piece of code, a user interface, but also a recurring discursive motif (topos), an idea, or even an "imaginary medium" (Wiatr 2020, 24; Bierzyński – Slivka 2024). Digital artifacts, on the other hand, are virtual objects or data created using technology. These can be websites, social media posts, digital images and artworks, video games, software, databases, algorithms, and even individual files, code fragments, or traces of user interaction (Fiveable 2024), whose form, content, and visibility are shaped by the specific "materiality" of the digital platform – its architecture, algorithms, and interfaces (Moschini 2018, 623-640). MA also enables the analysis of recurring motifs (topoi) (Huhtamo 2020, 340-367) and remediation processes (Hammond 2020), i.e., how the new medium, which is Twitter/X, processes and reconfigures older forms of religious worship and cultural narratives (Bolter – Grusin 1999). The aim is therefore not only to describe the state of the media presence of both saints but also to understand the mechanisms that lead to the observed situation, questioning simple, linear narratives about progress and the "newness" of digital media.

4. Research methodology in the perspective of media archaeology

The study is based on a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, embedded in the theoretical framework of media archaeology.

4.1. Data collection (Documentary Research/Content Gathering)

This process first involved retrieving data from the Twitter/X platform to collect publicly available tweets containing specific keywords and hashtags related to the studied figures and holidays. At this stage, available posts (tweets) published in Polish and English on February 14, 2023 (as well as in the days immediately preceding and following, to capture the broader context of the discussion) were downloaded. Posts containing words in Polish and English related to St. Cyril and Methodius (e.g., "Cyril and Methodius", "Saints Cyril and Methodius") and to St. Valentine and Valentine's Day (e.g., "St. Valentine", "Saint Valentine", "#ValentinesDay", "Valentine's Day") and their variations were sought. The collected tweets are treated as mentions and analyzed in further steps. The analysis takes into account not only their content but also format, metadata (e.g., number of likes).

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4.2. Quantitative Analysis

This method involved measuring and comparing numerical data. At this stage, the authors undertook the following actions: comparison of the number of tweets (volume of discussion) on particular topics, analysis of engagement indicators (number of likes), calculation and comparison of the frequency of occurrence of specific words and word sequences (n-grams).

4.3. Qualitative analysis

In the first stage, it was focused on the interpretation of meanings and patterns. The basis for the analysis of topoi and remediation was content analysis, including interpretation of tweet content (based on the most common words/phrases). The next stage was the analysis of topoi, i.e., identification and interpretation of recurring motifs, stereotypes, and interpretative frames (common places) with reference to Twitter/X data. Topoi analysis is a research method focusing on the identification and analysis of recurring cultural motifs, so-called “topoi”, which recur throughout media history. Topoi are recurring formulas, common places, or stereotypes that are cyclically reproduced in various historical and media contexts. This method allows for the archaeological examination of media, where instead of a chronological description of technological development, the researcher identifies cultural patterns and narratives that accompany new media (Huhtamo – Parikka 2011, 14).

The operationalization of topoi identification proceeded in the following steps:

- a. Immersion in data. At this stage, the authors became familiar with all the collected material available for the studied entity (e.g., all tweets containing “St. Valentine”).
- b. Identification of preliminary patterns. At this stage, the authors searched for and noted recurring keywords, phrases, content types (e.g., informational, promotional, prayer-related) in relation to the studied entity. In the case of Twitter/X data, the analysis of word frequency and n-grams provided key quantitative clues here and was performed automatically based on a written algorithm.
- c. Open coding, i.e., assigning working labels (codes) to identified data fragments that represent these recurring patterns. Then these working codes were combined into larger thematic groups that seem to represent a coherent motif, stereotype, or interpretive frame of the studied phenomenon.
- d. Defining and naming topoi. It involved formulating precise definitions for the emerging thematic groups that reflect the essence of the recurring cultural or media pattern. The authors tried to give a concise name for each identified topos.

The third stage is the study of remediation, i.e., a comparative analysis of how a newer medium (Twitter/X) and contemporary practices (online/offline parish life) process, adapt, or replace older forms of transmission and practices related to the cult of saints. Quantitative data from Twitter/X were compared to identify patterns of popularity and possible traces of adaptation or transformation of symbolism. This method involved comparative interpretation of different types of data in search of traces of processing older content in newer contexts (Bolter – Grusin 1999).

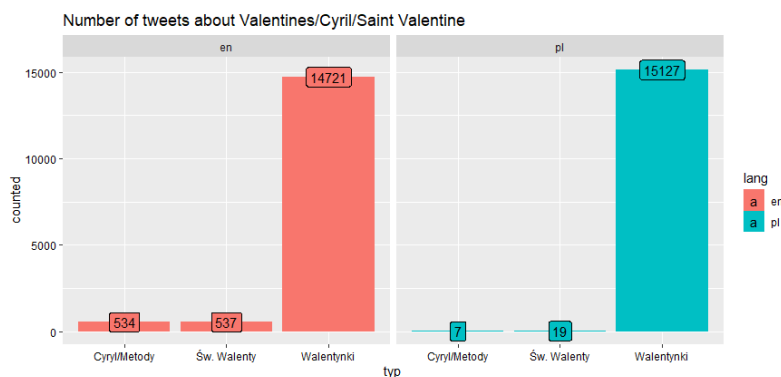
The text is explanatory in nature, so the authors refrain from formulating hypotheses.

5. Quantitative research – data from Twitter/X

The data were analyzed using the R environment. In data processing and visualization, primarily the dplyr packages (for data manipulation and aggregation) and ggplot2 (for creating statistical visualizations) were used. Additionally, tidyverse, tidytext, and scales packages were used to support operations on text data and formatting chart axes. For better understanding of the context, words such as “not”, “for”, “and”, so-called stopwords, were not removed from the sets.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of the number of tweets in Polish and English. In both languages, Valentine’s Day clearly had the most tweets (14,721 in English, 15,127 in Polish). The topics “St. Valentine” and “Cyril/Methodius” had significantly fewer mentions in both languages, with trace amounts in Polish (19 and 7 tweets, respectively).

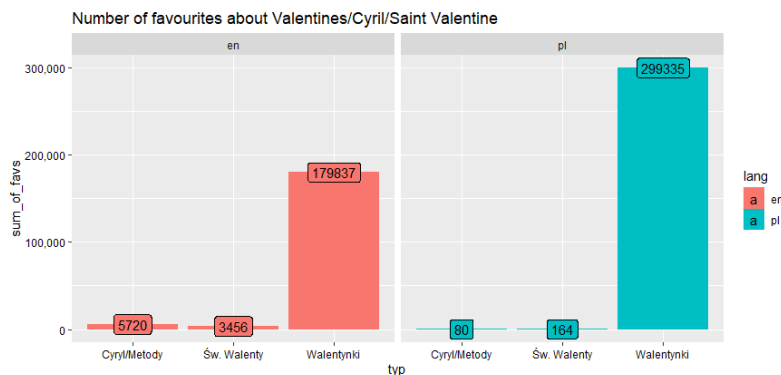
[Fig. 1 Number of tweets in Polish and English]



Source: Own elaboration.

Figure 2 demonstrates the total number of likes of the analyzed tweets. Similar to the number of tweets, Valentine’s Day tweets received the most likes (179,837 in English, 299,335 in Polish). Polish tweets about Valentine’s Day were much more popular in terms of likes. Other topics had negligible numbers of likes in both languages.

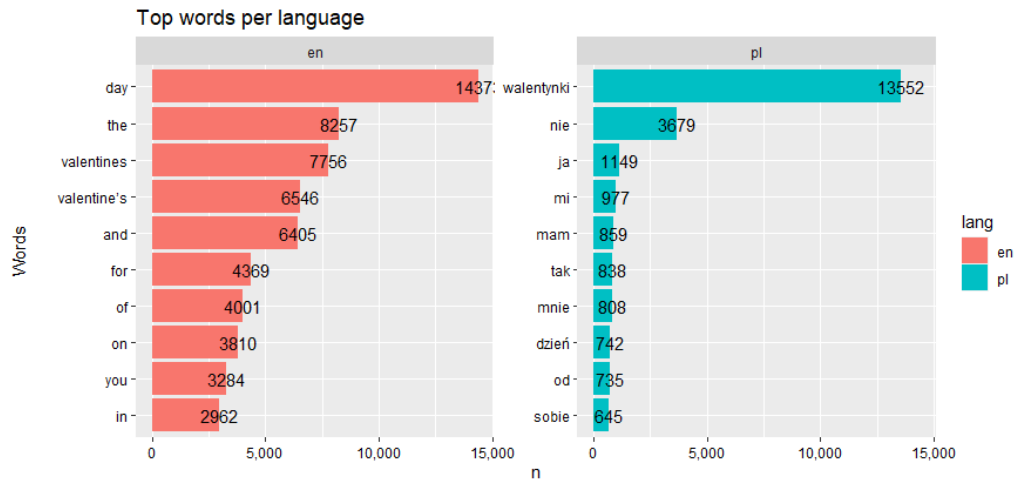
[Fig. 2. Total number of likes of analyzed tweets]



Source: Own elaboration.

Fig. 3 shows the most frequent single words in tweets. In English, words such as “day”, “the”, “valentines”, “valentine’s”, “and”, “for”, “of”, “on”, “you”, “in” dominate. The most popular words in Polish are “walentynki” (Valentine’s Day), “nie” (not), “ja” (I), “mi” (me), “mam” (I have), “tak” (yes), “mnie” (me), “dzień” (day), “od” (from), “sobie” (yourself).

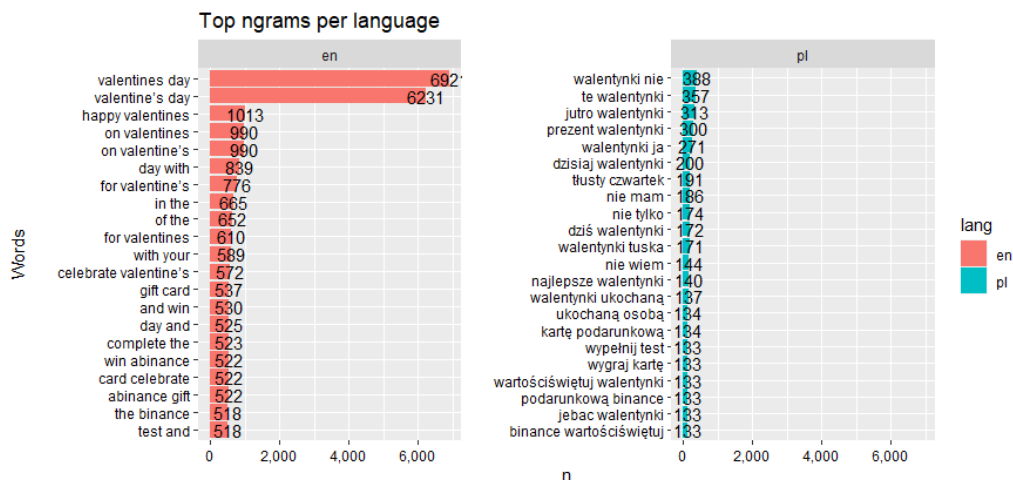
[Fig. 3. Most frequent words in Polish and English]



Source: Own elaboration.

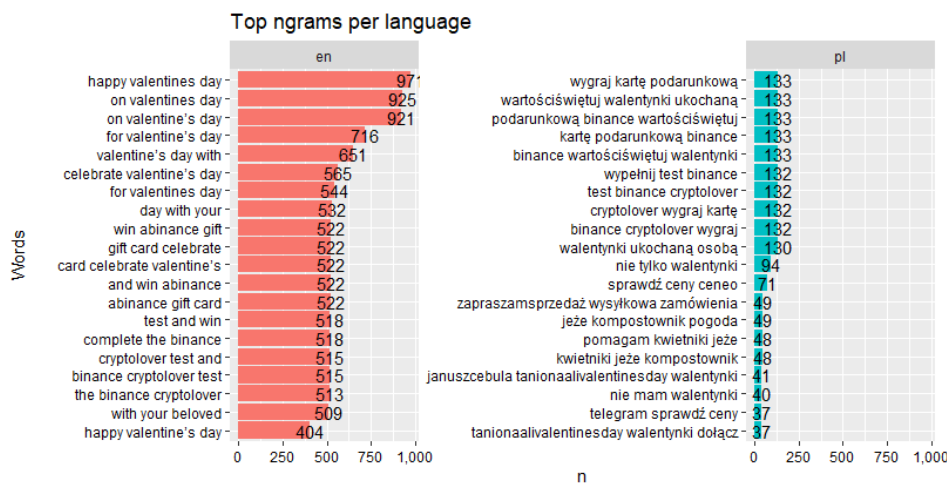
Figures 4, 5, and 6 show the most frequent word sequences (n-grams), with Fig. 4 showing combinations of 2 words, Fig. 5 the frequency of three-word expressions, and Fig. 6 combinations of 4 words. In English, common phrases include “valentines day”, “valentine’s day”, “on valentines”, “on valentine’s”, “happy valentines day”, “for valentine’s”, “celebrate valentine’s”, often related to greetings or the context of the day. There are also phrases related to contests or promotions (“win abinance gift”, “complete the binance”, “cryptolover test and win”, “binance cryptolover”). In Polish, popular phrases include “walentynki nie” (Valentine’s Day not), “te walentynki” (this Valentine’s Day), “jutro walentynki” (tomorrow Valentine’s Day), “prezent walentynki” (gift Valentine’s Day), “walentynki ja” (Valentine’s Day I), “dzisiaj walentynki” (today Valentine’s Day). Similar to English, phrases related to contests and promotions appear, especially regarding Binance and cryptocurrencies (“wygraj kartę podarunkową” (win a gift card), “podarunkowa binance wartości” (gift Binance value), “kartę podarunkową binance” (gift card Binance), “wypełnij test binance cryptolover” (complete the Binance cryptolover test), “binance cryptolover wygraj” (Binance cryptolover win)).

[Fig. 4. Most frequent n-grams for Polish and English – 2-word combinations]



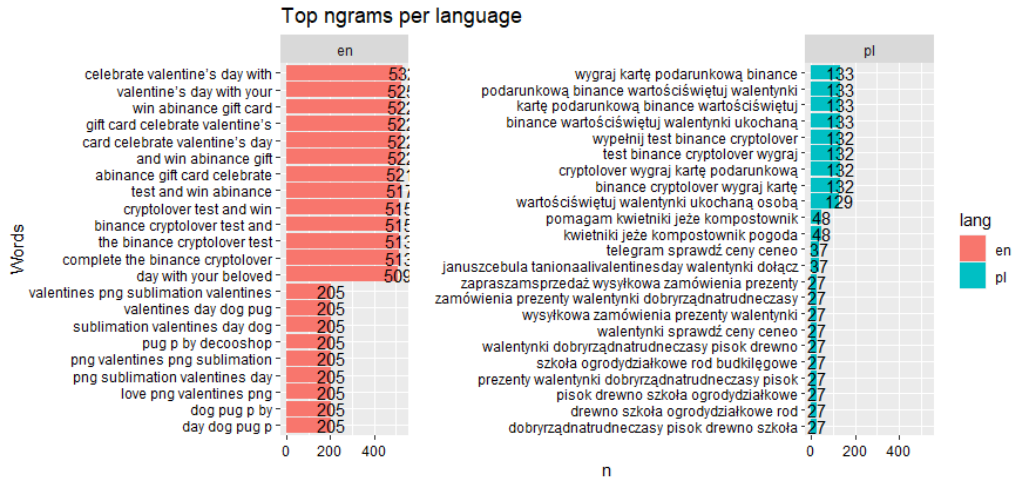
Source: Own elaboration.

[Fig. 5. Most frequent n-grams for Polish and English – 3-word combinations]



Source: Own elaboration.

[Fig. 6. Most frequent n-grams for Polish and English – 4-word combinations]



Source: Own work.

The quantitative analysis clearly shows that secular popular culture completely dominates the religious context. The commercialized version of Valentine's Day has an overwhelming advantage in the discussion on Twitter/X in both languages analyzed (over 14,000 tweets in English and over 15,000 in Polish). By comparison, references to religious figures are marginal (537 for Saint Valentine in English, only 19 in Polish, and even fewer entries were devoted to Saints Cyril and Methodius – 534 in English and 7 in Polish). This allows us to conclude that the pop culture holiday has almost completely erased its religious roots or other religious figures from public consciousness on Twitter/X. The same is true in terms of engagement (likes). Tweets about Valentine's Day received a very large number of likes (almost 180,000 in English and almost 300,000 in Polish), while those about St. Valentine or Cyril/Methodius received a negligible number of likes (a few thousand or less). This means that the secular holiday generated incomparably more interest and emotion among users. This trend was confirmed by an analysis of the most popular words.

The most frequently used words in both languages are dominated by terms related to the secular meanings of the day ("day," "valentines," "happy," "love," "gift" in English; "walentynki," "nie," "ja," "mam," "dzień" in Polish). Words directly related to religion and spirituality are missing from the top of the list. This is confirmed by an analysis of n-grams (popular phrases). The commercial and pop-cultural nature of modern Valentine's Day is a fact. Additionally, the commercial emphasis is highlighted by the fact that in both languages, phrases related to specific marketing campaigns and competitions appear in the context of Valentine's Day (e.g., numerous mentions of Binance and cryptocurrencies: "win abinance gift," "win a binance gift card," "binance cryptolover"). This shows how strongly pop culture and commerce shape the discourse around this day, pushing its potential religious references to the margins.

5.1. Qualitative analysis

A qualitative content analysis was conducted, focusing on the analysis of topoi. An attempt (not entirely successful) was also made to study remediation.

5.1.1. Topoi analysis:

A. Cyril and Methodius

Based on the collected data, the only identifiable topos for Cyril and Methodius is their extreme marginality in the context of discussions on Twitter/X compared to Valentine's Day. This topos can therefore be defined as "Marginality/Reference point."

This topos was defined based on the following indicators:

1. Extremely low number of tweets containing keywords related to St. Cyril and Methodius (quantitative indicator).
2. Negligible number of likes for these few tweets (engagement indicator).
3. Complete absence of keywords "Cyril", "Methodius", etc. on the lists of most frequent words and n-grams (frequency analysis).

The number of tweets and likes is minimal in both languages. Within this analysis, they function mainly as a contrastive reference point, highlighting the immense popularity of Valentine's Day. The data do not allow for the identification of any specific stereotypes or interpretative frames related to their activities or significance – they are simply very rarely mentioned in this context.

B. St. Valentine

Similar to St. Cyril and Methodius, St. Valentine appears in the data (much less frequently than Valentine's Day, though slightly more often than Cyril and Methodius). The main topos that emerges from these data is the role of the historical or religious predecessor of the contemporary, secular holiday. His presence in the discourse is trace, which positions him as a secondary figure, whose connection with contemporary celebrations is very weak in the awareness of Twitter/X users (at least those analyzed). The topos can therefore be defined as "Historical/Religious Predecessor/Secondary Figure." It was defined based on the following indicators:

1. Very low number of tweets containing "St. Valentine" compared to "Valentine's Day" (quantitative indicator), but noticeably higher than for "Cyril and Methodius".
2. Very low number of likes compared to Valentine's Day.
3. Absence of "St. Valentine" on the lists of most frequent words and n-grams.

C. Valentine's Day

Based on the data for this concept, several dominant topoi can be identified:

C1. Topos "Mass popularity and engagement" It was defined based on the following indicators:

1. Very high number of tweets containing keywords related to Valentine's Day, overwhelmingly higher than for other topics (quantitative indicator).
2. Very high total number of likes for tweets about Valentine's Day, significantly exceeding engagement for religious topics (engagement indicator).

Data on the number of tweets and likes unequivocally indicate the topos of Valentine's Day, which appears as an event of mass popularity that generates enormous engagement on social media.

This engagement causes media noise that overshadows and drowns out other figures or holidays potentially associated with a given day.

C2. Topos “Secular celebration (Lovers’ Day)”. It was defined based on the following indicators:

1. High frequency in top words and n-grams of terms referring to the day/occasion itself (e.g., “day”, “dzień”, “valentines day”).
2. High frequency of words and phrases expressing positive emotions, wishes, interpersonal relationships (e.g., “happy”, “love”, “you”, “ja”, “mi”, “mam”).
3. Absence or trace presence of specifically religious terms (e.g., “saint”, “prayer”, “God”, “church”) in the most common words and n-grams related to Valentine’s Day.

The most popular words and n-grams indicate an interpretative frame of Valentine’s Day as a general, secular holiday (“day”, “dzień”) related to relationships, feelings, and wishes (“happy”, “love”, “valentines”, “valentine’s”, “happy valentines day”). It is an occasion to express personal feelings and experiences (“ja”, “mi”, “mam”, “mnie”, “you”).

C3. Topos “Commerce and consumption”. It was defined based on the following indicators:

1. High frequency of occurrence in top n-grams (two-, three-, four-word) of names of specific brands (e.g., “Binance”).
2. High frequency of n-grams containing words related to promotional activities and contests (e.g., “wygraj” (win), “win”, “test”, “karta podarunkowa” (gift card), “gift card”, “abinance gift”).
3. Presence in top n-grams of words related to gifts and buying (e.g., “gift”, “prezent walentynki”).

Especially in n-grams, there is a strong topos of Valentine’s Day as an occasion for commercial activities and consumption. Phrases concerning gifts (“gift”, “prezent walentynki”) and numerous references to contests and promotions (especially related to Binance and cryptocurrencies: “win abinance gift”, “wygraj kartę podarunkową binance”, “cryptolover test and win”, “binance cryptolover”) show the interpretative frame of this day as an event strongly coupled with the market and marketing.

C4. Topos “Controversy/Negation”. It is visible especially in Polish. It was defined based on an indicator, which was the statistically high position of a specific phrase with negative connotation (“walentynki nie” – Valentine’s Day not) in the ranking of the most frequent n-grams in Polish. The high position of this n-gram suggests the existence of a topos of contestation, negation, or criticism of Valentine’s Day. This indicates an interpretative frame in which some users refer to this holiday with distance or negatively.

5.1.2. Remediation analysis

It was not possible to study remediation, i.e., to conduct a detailed analysis of remediation of earlier forms of transmission (religious texts, iconography, folk traditions, historical messages) nor to precisely examine how religious symbolism is adapted or transformed in tweets. This results from the specificity of the collected data, specifically the low frequency of religious references. As the analyses have shown, references to the figures of St. Valentine and Cyril and Methodius are extremely rare compared to secular Valentine’s Day. With such a small number of mentions, it is difficult to infer any dominant patterns of adaptation or transformation of religious symbolism. The data indirectly suggest marginalization and replacement rather than active remediation or

transformation of religious symbolism. The enormous popularity of secular Valentine's Day and related commercial themes (visible in n-grams) suggests that the pop-cultural version of the holiday has largely replaced potential references to its religious roots in discourse on Twitter/X, instead of adapting or processing them. Moreover, in the most popular words and phrases, there are no traces of adaptation of religious symbolism to the pop-cultural context. Secular, commercial terms and those related to everyday emotions dominate.

6. Conclusions

The media discussion on Twitter/X on February 14 is completely dominated by a secular, commercialized version of Valentine's Day. This is reflected in the huge number of tweets, high engagement (likes), and the overwhelming number of words and phrases related to celebration, emotions, but also commerce and promotions (e.g., cryptocurrencies). Religious figures – both Saints Cyril and Methodius (patrons of Europe) and Saint Valentine (historical patron) – are almost invisible in this discourse. At best, they serve as a marginal point of reference or historical background. The relationship between religion and popular culture on Twitter/X is clear: it is a complete erasure and marginalization of religious discourse by popular culture from the space of discussion in cyberspace. Pop culture has become a catalyst for marginalization (we understand a catalyst as “an irregular causative factor in the transformation of institutions, norms, culture, social and family structure or a factor escalating this transformation”) (Bierzyński 2024).

Thus, the aim of the study, defined as “To examine the extent to which Saints Cyril and Methodius, patrons of Europe, and Saint Valentine, whom popular culture has made the patron saint of lovers, are present in online discourse on February 14,” has been largely achieved. Quantitative research on Twitter/X clearly showed the minimal media presence of saints (Cyril and Methodius and Valentine) compared to the massive popularity of secular Valentine's Day. Qualitative analysis (topoi) allowed us to determine that their position in the discourse is marginal and only serves as a background or contrast to the dominant theme. The analysis also showed that it is the secular, pop-cultural version of the holiday (“Valentine's Day”), rather than the figure of St. Valentine, that dominates the discourse related to February 14.

Based on the results of the study, an attempt can be made to answer the questions posed.

- a. Does pop culture, by referring to religious symbolism, desacralize it and dominate, or is it a vehicle for religious content and leads to an increase in interest in it?

Based on the analysis of discourse on Twitter/X, it must be concluded that popular culture (commercial Valentine's Day) completely dominates this particular media space. This results in a kind of functional desacralization of religious symbolism. This is achieved through its complete marginalization, removal from the discourse space, and replacement. The study showed a strong link between contemporary Valentine's Day and commercialism and consumer culture. This is a clear manifestation of fundamental desacralization, which reduces the liturgical commemoration of a saint to a consumer opportunity, driven and fueled by marketing. This process is similar to the celebrity culture surrounding religious leaders, which is very intense due to digital media (Mikuláš – Chalányová 2017). Even if the name “Valentine's Day” refers to a saint, the content of the discussion is almost entirely secular and commercial, devoid of religious references.

- b. What steps should be taken to break through the media discourse with a serious message, and is this even possible from the perspective of social media communication design?

The study shows that this is extremely difficult. Is it even possible? Perhaps, but it must be realistically noted that serious messages about the patrons of Europe or the historical dimension of the cult of St. Valentine were practically absent against the backdrop of the dominant, light-hearted, and commercial Valentine's Day content. A complete and dominant breakthrough into the mainstream discourse in social media may be unrealistic due to the logic of these media (algorithms promoting engagement, speed, emotions). However, strategies to increase visibility in specific niches or attempts to "tap into" the mainstream are feasible and possible. One can consciously refer to popular trends in order to present deeper content in their context. Certainly, a high technical level of the messages created and the creation of content in formats preferred by the platform (visually attractive graphics, short videos, engaging storylines) are necessary. These are tools that convey a "serious message" in an accessible way. It would also make sense to build an engaged community. This can be achieved by building and nurturing relationships with a group of recipients who are genuinely and deeply interested in a given topic (history, religion, culture). This is definitely a more realistic and purposeful approach than fighting for a mass audience. It would also be useful to use storytelling, i.e., presenting stories and characters in an emotionally engaging way that has a chance to stand out in the flood of information. Key to success is understanding that social media is a specific environment and that the direct transmission of traditional forms of "serious communication" (e.g., long articles, lectures) is doomed to failure. Effectiveness requires adapting the form and strategy to the logic of the medium. However, this is not always easy or possible without certain compromises regarding the depth of the message. Better is the enemy of good – therefore, for those who want a deeper religious message to emerge in the digital environment and information smog, it is necessary to precisely plan goals and choose a strategy appropriate to the possibilities and realities.

7. Limitations and ethical issues

The authors are aware of the limitations of the study, resulting, among other things, from the ephemeral nature of online content, potential difficulties in accessing all data, especially on Twitter/X (e.g., private profiles, the operation of algorithmic "black boxes"), and the dynamic nature of the platform. The study includes only publicly available data. The authors provide only aggregate data that in no way violates user privacy, in accordance with the ethical principles of research in the digital space. As a next step, the authors plan to investigate the presence of the cult of St. Cyril and Methodius in Poland outside Twitter/X, in the broader digital space (e.g., through the activities of parishes dedicated to St. Cyril and Methodius, their cult in these parishes in Poland – Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, and Orthodox). For methodological consistency between the two articles, it will be useful to use similar research methods (quantitative and qualitative analysis, topos analysis, and maintaining the study within the perspective of media archaeology). It may also be appropriate to maintain a comparison with the cult of St. Valentine in the same space.

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Figure 1: Number of tweets in Polish and English

Figure 2: Total number of likes of analyzed tweets

Figure 3: Most frequent words in Polish and English

Figure 4: Most frequent n-grams for Polish and English – 2-word combinations

Figure 5: Most frequent n-grams for Polish and English – 3-word combinations

Figure 6: Most frequent n-grams for Polish and English – 4-word combinations

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RECENZIE / REVIEWS

MALONE-LEE, Michael. *Cardinal Bessarion (1403 – 1472): most Latin of Greeks, most Greek of Latins*. New York : Routledge, 2024, 209 s. ISBN: 978-1-003-37115-1.

Pozornosť historikov venovaná pôsobeniu kardinálov v období vrcholného stredoveku je v súčasnosti veľmi obmedzená, nehovoriac o slovenskej historiografii, kde sa podobné výskumné zameranie nachádza len na periférii. Za povšimnutie preto stojí dielo z pera britského historika a filológa Michaela Malone-Leeho, prinášajúceho pozoruhodný životný príbeh baziľánskeho mnícha Bessariona, ktorý sa svojou usilovnosťou, rozhľadom a dôvtipom dostal až do hodnosti kardinála Svätej stolice. Príbeh je vskutku fascinujúci a čitateľovi sprostredkúva všetok potrebný rozhľad do problematiky cirkvi v období 15. storočia. Treba podotknúť, že obdobie, v ktorom sa dej odohráva, bolo poznačené schizmou medzi západnou a východnou cirkvou, či narastajúcou hrozbou tureckého nebezpečenstva. Bessarion sám pochádzal z Malej Ázie, preto sa mu osmanská hrozba videla príliš blízka a snažil sa počas celého svojho života poukázať na jej závažnosť. Životu kardinála Bessariona je tak venovaná publikácia s názvom „*Cardinal Bessarion (1403 – 1472): most Latin of Greeks, most Greek of Latins*“ od Michaela Malone-Leeho, vychádzajúca z dizertačnej práce autora, ktorú obhájil v roku 2015 s názvom „*Cardinal Bessarion and the transmission of Plato in the fifteenth century*“. Na základe získaných poznatkov počas štúdia sa pokúsil prehĺbiť svoj výskum a vykonať hlbšiu analýzu do Bessarionovho života a jeho pôsobenia v hodnosti kardinála. Kniha je celkovo rozdelená na osem kapitol, ktoré opisujú jednotlivé životné etapy Bessariona, a to od jeho detstva cez dospievanie, získanie prvých cirkevných hodností až k dosiahnutiu hodnosti kardinála, pôsobenie v službách rímskej cirkvi, no napokon aj jeho úmrtie v roku 1472.

Okrem klasických pasáží obsahujúcich faktografické údaje, sa autor rozhodol priniesť

pohľad do formovania filozofického myslenia Bessariona, ktoré získaval počas svojho štúdia v Konštantínopole a v Mistras. Konštantínopol v tomto období predstavil ako veľmi konzervatívny a upadajúci. Napriek tomu v Byzancii prebiehalo, podobne ako v západnej Európe, obdobie renesancie, čo môžeme vidieť na počte súdobých gréckych mysliteľov, ktorí sa venovali primárne oživovaniu antických filozofických smerov Platóna, Aristotela a i. Bessarionov prehľad a názory sa formovali ďalej počas jeho štúdia v Mistras, kde podrobne študoval diela antických filozofov, dostával sa do kontaktu s významnými filozofmi a jeho prehľad sa vyšplhal na takú úroveň, že bol dokonca schopný protirečiť a argumentovať tézy svojich učiteľov. Zároveň je to aj čas, keď sa Bessarion dostal do záujmu byzantského cisára, ktorý využil jeho schopností a poveril ho prvými diplomatickými misiami. Aj z mála dochovaných prameňov tak autor dokázal vyťažiť, čo najväčšie množstvo informácií k tvarovaniu jeho osobnosti, čím okrem iného priniesol aj pohľad do mysliteľského prostredia poslednej z etáp upadajúcej Byzantskej ríše.

Z Mistras viedla Bessarionova cesta opäť do Konštantínopolu, kde sa dostal do kláštora sv. Bazila (v roku 1430 dosiahol kňazskú hodnosť), následne sa stal nicejským arcibiskupom, odkiaľ bol vyslaný ako sprievod konštantínopolského patriarchu a cisára na koncil do Florencie. Popri sledovaní Bessarionových krokov približuje autor problematiku Veľkej schizmy. Je známe, že vyslanci z Byzancie mali na koncile za úlohu hľadať konsenzus medzi západnou a východnou cirkvou. Priblížením problematiky Michael Malone-Lee odhaľuje vnútorné zápolenie v rámci politického manévrovania, kde kvôli narastajúcej hrozbe zo strany osmanských Turkov považoval cisár za nutné uzavretie únie so západom na jednej strane, no stretávame sa s nespokojným duchovenstvom, ktoré odmietalo opustiť od výkladu svojej vierouky, nie to akceptácie tej latinskej. Ako presný opak spomedzi predstaviteľov pravoslávnych duchovných je tu vyobrazená osobnosť Bessariona, ktorý si počas koncilu rozšíril

sieť kontaktov medzi západnými duchovnými a známymi mysliteľmi. Všetky tieto informácie tak dopĺňujú jeho ďalšie kroky vedúce k odkloneniu od východnej cirkvi. Ako dôkaz autor uvádza preštudovanie Bessarionovej korešpondencie, v ktorej polemizoval o teologickom učení, čím môžeme sledovať jeho postupné zblížovanie sa so západnou cirkvou až jeho následnou konverziou.

Autor priblížením synody vo Florencii z pohľadu gréckej politiky analyzuje vnímanie cirkevných záležitostí z úplne inej stránky. Napriek tomu, že sa podarilo nájsť krehkú dohodu vo veci ukončenia schizmy, nikdy sa nenaplnila. Bessarion vďaka svojim snahám o nájdenie spoločnej veci a ukončenie nezhôd získal od pápeža kardinálsku hodnosť, čo predstavovalo výrazný zlom v jeho budúcom pôsobení v službách rímskej cirkvi. Je obdivuhodné, že Bessarion, ako cudzinec v Ríme, ostal verný svojim pôvodným hodnotám, stále nosil habit baziliánskeho mnícha a odmietal si oholiť svoju dlhú bradu.

Obsahovo je Bessarionova biografia zameraná aj na preštudovanie jeho širokej siete kontaktov spomedzi významných učencov, kardinálov, ale i pápežov. Bessarion však po páde Konštantínopolu v roku 1453 podporoval vrstvy gréckych emigrantov, s ktorými udržiaval kontakt aj po svojom odchode z Byzancie. Zároveň tak autor vnáša teóriu o možnom vykupovaní významných hodnostárov z tureckého zajatia samotným Bessarionom. Taktiež sleduje jeho snahy o rozširovanie a zachovávanie gréckej kultúry či v zaobstarávaní si gréckej literatúry, so snahou zachovania významných diel, keďže sa obával ich upadnutiu do zabudnutia. V danej pasáži sa udáva do popredia názor, že tak konal najmä pre uchovanie gréckej identity, ktorá sa ocitla v područí Turkov. Informácie o páde mesta zastihli Bessariona počas výkonu funkcie pápežského legáta v meste Bologna. Touto úlohou ho poveril pápež Mikuláš V., údajne ako najschopnejšieho v tejto veci, keď sa mesto ocitlo pod mnohými hrozbami z rebélií. Niemenej zaujímavé sú jeho kroky k zavedeniu poriadku v meste, no priestor sa tu otvára aj k náhľadu

vzťahov mnohých významných rodov, ktoré mali veľký vplyv na politický chod v regióne.

Všetka diplomatická aktivita Bessariona je následne prezentovaná ako veľmi úspešná, údajne len tak mohol po smrti Mikuláša V. dokázať, aby sa po pätnástich rokoch v službách rímskej cirkvi stal jedným z najvážnejších adeptov na nového pápeža. Pápežom sa nikdy nestal, hoci o svoju kandidatúru sa pokúšal viackrát. Napriek tomu všetku svoju pozornosť venoval pokusom o vyhlásenie križiackej výpravy za znovu dobytie Konštantínopolu, neskorší pápež Pius II. ho dokonca vymenoval za titulárneho konštantínopolského patriarchu. Pontifikove snahy o zvolanie výpravy sa minuli účinkom, preto poveril Bessariona do úlohy zmierovateľa sporu medzi Fridrichom III. a Matejom Korvínom, keďže dôležitosť oboch panovníkov hrala veľkú úlohu v boji proti Turkom. Autor pomerne do hĺbky sleduje všetky Bessarionove aktivity, ktorými agitoval najvyšších predstaviteľov kresťanského sveta, aby sa spojili a porazili v križiackej výprave rozpínavých Turkov. Zároveň je z textu cítiť značnú depresiu Bessariona z neúspechu, ktorý túto úlohu považoval ako svoju povinnosť. Kardinál Bessarion je v predkladanej biografii opisovaný ako človek, ktorý sa všetkým svojím úsilím snažil zabezpečiť mier medzi kresťanskými panovníkmi a presvedčiť ich na boj proti spoločnému nepriateľovi. Jeho zanietenosť je viditeľná až do posledných rokov svojho života, hoci bol ťažko sužovaný zdravotnými problémami, prijal od pápeža úlohu legáta vo Francúzku. Napriek svojim snahám však nedokázal nikdy naplniť svoje plány.

Práca tak predstavuje hlboký náhľad do filozofického myslenia, či diplomaticko-politických aktivít kardinála Bessariona, ktoré autor spracoval na základe veľkého množstva literatúry, či edične spracovaného archívneho materiálu, najmä korešpondencie mnohých Bessarionových súčasníkov, ale i jeho samotnej, či významných dobových diel, ktoré boli napísané ako odozva na Bessarionove uvažovanie a jeho vplyv, ako na rímsku, tak i pravoslávnu cirkev. K mnohým prameňom, najmä dobovým dielam, však

pristupuje autor s dávkou kritiky, čo odráža aj iný hodnovernejší pohľad na opisované udalosti. Kniha od Michaela Malone-Leeho tak prináša komplexnejšie spracovanie problematiky medzi východnou a západnou cirkvou, v ktorom stál kardinál Bessarion niekde uprostred.

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TURCEROVÁ-DEVEČKOVÁ, Helena.
Ludovít Štúr a myšlienka slovenskej nezávislosti. Preklad a predhovor: Stanislava Moyšová. Autor štúdie: Peter Podolan. Bratislava : Vydavateľstvo Spolku slovenských spisovateľov, 2024, 240 s. ISBN 9788082022639.

Text dizertačnej práce Heleny Turcerovej-Devečkovej *Ludovít Štúr a myšlienka slovenskej nezávislosti*, ktorý pôvodne vyšiel vo francúzštine, sa po sto desiatich rokoch dočkal moderného prekladu do slovenčiny. Jeho význam bol už v roku 1913 kladne zhodnotený na pôde slávnej parížskej univerzity Sorbona ako zásadne objavný príspevok k poznaniu dejín slovenských národov. Héléne Tourtzer, lebo tak znelo jej pofrancúzštené meno, zaň napokon zaslúžene získala titul *philosophiae doctor*.

Nikomu zo zasvätených historicky orientovaných bádateľov ani dnes neunikne pomerný nezaujím o osobnosť L. Štúra v takom rozsahu poznatkov, ako si už pred vyše storočím zaumienila zmapovať a charakterizovať v tej dobe vcelku neznáma slovenská autorka. V súhre vnútorných a vonkajších spoločensko-politických súvislostí, ktoré podmieňujú hodnoverný kontakt s podobným typom literatúry, ide vlastne pri pozornom čítaní nie o náhodný jav. Ukazuje sa to z dvojakého hľadiska, a to nielen vo vzťahu k celoživotnému pôsobeniu slovenského dejateľa, ale aj cez zložité osudy samotnej autorky.

Jej formovanie totiž odzrkadľuje mnohoronosť podnetov domáceho a zároveň zahraničného pôvodu. V prvom rade treba spomenúť

výnimočné jazykové znalosti, na čom malo po diel štúdium na francúzskom lýceu v Moskve. K nemu sa neskôr priradilo rovnako elitné vzdelanie v kruhu francúzskych historikov a slavistov na parížskej Sorbone. Vďaka tomu sa zrodila Turcerovej vôľa pristupovať k téme historického odkazu L. Štúra v širšom rámci, v organickom prepojení slovenských, slovan-ských i francúzskych zdrojov.

Ako uvádza v predslove, pri absencii potrebného katalógu alebo súpisu, počas trojročného štúdia obrovského množstva dokumentov, ktoré sa hromadili skoro storočie, jej ambíciou bolo začleniť do spracovaniu štúrovskej tematiky kritický bibliografický postoj. Relevantné dokumenty pochádzali z archívov múzea v Turčianskom Svätom Martine, zo slovenskej knižnice evanjelického lýcea v Prešporku a knižnice Národného múzea v Prahe. Riešenie slovenských otázok podnetne doplnili rukopisné a nepublikované dokumenty, ktoré aj s príspevím knižnice pána Légera v Paríži vytvorili neobyčajne rôznorodý súbor prameňov, s ktorými Turcerová-Devečková pracuje v situácii, keď, ako hovorí, jediným historikom, ktorý sa zaujímal o Slovensko v prvej polovici 19. Storočia, bol J. Vlček. Mnohostranný projekt napokon našiel primeranú odozvu práve v Paríži, pričom hodnotné výsledky jej bádateľskej aktivity prispeli k tomu, že sa ako členka česko-slovenskej delegácie zúčastnila na mierovej konferencii vo Versailles na odporúčanie samého T. G. Masaryka.

Napriek tomu, že to všetko bolo predpokladom úspešného napredovania, budúca kariéra Turcerovej-Devečkovej sa vyvíjala mimo akademického prostredia. Nepriaznivé vonkajšie okolnosti ju priviedli k bežnej profesii stredoškolskej učiteľky alebo inšpektorky cudzích jazykov na dievčenských školách. Významná zostala na druhej strane aspoň jej prekladateľská činnosť venovaná popredným predstaviteľom francúzskej a ruskej literatúry. Ide podľa môjho názoru o nezanedbateľnú sféru jej neprestajne živých a pestrých tvorivých záujmov. Tieto výrazne poznamenali výskumnú koncepciu, ktorú sa u Turcerovej-Devečkovej v istom zmysle

vzďaľuje vyhranenejšiemu vedeckému pohľadu, či už bibliografickému alebo dokumentárne odbornému. Potvrdzuje to štýl práce, ktorý je blízky esejistickému spracovaniu prameňov; prezrádza ojedinelý moment dôverného zžitia sa s nimi, teda i so samotným temperamentom a charakterom L. Štúra. Vzhľadom na obdobie, v ktorom doktorská práca vznikla, ako i na nesporne výnimočný talent a erudovanosť Turcerovej-Devečkovej, nemožno si ani nedomyšlieť, do akej miery znútornený rozmer jej komplexného poznania musel sťažovať recepciu jej doktorskej práce na Slovensku. Aj keď jej meno figurovalo v tiráži niekoľko tisícich nákladov francúzskej a ruskej beletrie, nemohlo osloviť ani odbornú ani širokú čitateľskú obec, bez ohľadu na to, že na Slovensku sa Turcerovej doktorská práca vďaka distribúcii cudzojazyčnej verzie stretla s priaznivým ohlasom.

Popri aspekte historicko-spoločenských a politických dejín stojí v popredí sama postava L. Štúra. Jeho pôsobenie je v práci spracované chronologicky: po úvodných pasážach nasleduje päť kapitol zameraných na detstvo a mladosť, cez študijné a učiteľské roky, slovenskú vec, politickú činnosť, až po ideu panslavizmu. Keďže Turcerovej výskum je postavený na historiografickom materiáli, paralelne doň svojimi podnetmi vstupujú francúzski, českí a slovenskí odborníci. Ako ústredná sa javí otázka osobitého charakteru romantizmu u Ľudovíta Štúra a celej jeho generácie. Prvotným cieľom bolo poskytnúť argumenty potvrdzujúce oprávnenosť boja za národné práva Slovákov. Protiváhu tvorí stanovisko inonárodnej historiografie, ktorá sa kriticky vyjadrovala k jednoznačnejším názorom najmä starších slovenských národovcom. Táto skutočnosť priamo ovplyvnila autorkin kritický pohľad, ktorý aj v ďalších obdobiach bol na Slovensku jednou z príčin nezájmu o jej prácu.

Je príznačné, že bádanie Turcerovej-Devečkovej je zakaždým poznamenané potrebou hľadania rovnováhy medzi mnohými protirečivými aspektmi pri riešení slovenskej otázky. Sprievodným javom je snaha vytvoriť si od skúmaného materiálu primeraný odstup,

v úsilí sledovať nielen individuálne osudy samotného Štúra, ale zachytiť ich aj v rámci národných, lokálnych alebo krajových mentalít. Práve v tomto aj bytostne náročnom predsa-
vzatí spočíva hlavný prínos doteraz nedocenený, a vysoko hodnotnej Turcerovej práce.

Základom, z ktorého vychádzajú autorkine úvahy, je ustavičné uvedomovanie si problému. Nedostatky pri riešení ideálu slovanskej spolupatričnosti vidí v stálych náboženských sporoch medzi protestantmi a katolíkmi. Už v 17. storočí sa to podľa nej prejavuje narušením silného puta, ktoré predtým jestvovalo medzi obidvoma vierovyznaniami. Ako je známe, protestanti si tradične zachovali používanie českého jazyka, kým katolíci naďalej uprednostňovali latinčinu alebo reč ľudu. Výsledkom sporov bolo šírenie národného povedomia, pričom k istému zmiereniu medzi obidvoma náboženstvami dochádza až koncom meruôsmych rokov, hoci nevedlo k naplneniu hrdó proklamovaného ideálu. Zmarili ho silné susedné mocnosti, Maďari i Rakúšania, lebo vedeli čeliť romantickej ladenej umiernenosti Slovákov, stelesňujúcich priam chimérické predstavy. Podľa Turcerovej tieto nádherné ideálne fikcie, stvorené na ochranu inštitúcií, už predtým nemali dostatočnú moc na to, aby zachránili Slovanský ústav a katedru česko-slovenskej reči, ktoré zanikli.

V rovnakom kritickom duchu Turčeková-Devečková nazerá na spôsob, ako Štúr koncipoval svoje prednášky, keď vynikal v nastoľovaní problémov bez toho, aby ich riešenie dostatočne vypracoval. Jeho romantický zápal mu síce priniesol rýchly úspech, podľa nej však nestál na hlboké reflexii potrebnej na uspokojivé riešenie otázok. Bádateľkin postoj je zrejme i v tomto ohľade podmienený dôkladnou znalosťou reálneho fungovania moci, ktorého princípy si Štúr v tom čase nemohol ani nevedel rovnocenne osvojiť.

Ako vidieť, Turcerovej vedomie protikladu medzi romantickým ponímaním národnostnej otázky u Štúra a realistickejším prístupom okolitých južných mocností sa odzrkadľuje v celej knihe. Dotýka sa tiež otázky filozofických

vplyvov na slovenského národovca, hlavne pokiaľ ide o mieru inšpiratívnosti Hegelovej filozofie. Podľa autorky bol Štúr popri iných vzoroch unesený myšlienkami nemeckého mysliteľa, pretože vyhovovali prirodzeným črtám jeho mysle. Pramenili z jeho nadania zo všeobecňovať a prorocky veľkolepo predvídať slovanskú budúcnosť. Turcerová-Devečková podčiarkuje jeho úsilie zachovať štruktúru objemného diela, v ňom prítomné závery však podľa nej Štúr nedokáže rovnocenne vstrebať. Kým Hegel vypracoval systém, ktorým sa obracia k Nemcom, Štúr vníma jeho estetiku ako podnet na oslavu budúcej veľkoleposti duchovnejších, kresťansky založených Slovanov. Tým sa vinou apriórnej predstavy o dokonalosti odkláňa od cieľavedomej systémovej hegelovskej filozofie zdôrazňujúcej cestu, ktorá nie je vopred daná. Nemecké myšlienky teda Štúr preberal len preto, aby ich adaptoval na slovan-ské dejiny.

Aj v tomto bode sa črtá obohatenie Turcerovej práce o užitočný komparatívny prístup uplatnený vo veci odlišného Štúrovho chápania filozofických vzorov. Preto niet divu, že k podobným zisteniam na základe hlbokého filozofického poznania slovenská bádatelka dospieva tiež pri riešení kľúčovej otázky Štúrovej aktivity. Spočíva v samom jazyku slovenčiny, ktorý mal v úmysle sám pôvodne postaviť na pevnom jednotiacom základe. Ako príklad uvádza, že keď prednášal na zasadnutí prešporského spolku miernosti, hlásajúc príkaz viesť ľudí Božou cestou, na prvé miesto staval štúdium slovenskej gramatiky, čo prísne vyžadoval od všetkých jeho členov. Až po slovenčine mala nasledovať nemčina a maďarčina. Všeobecné vzdelanie sa malo rozvíjať aj v oblasti slovanských dejín a jazykov, francúzštiny alebo psychológie. Na rozdiel od prísnej systémovej v Štúrovej reflexii dominuje vlastenectvo, pocit nadradenosti slovanských jazykov vyznačujúcich sa nepomerným bohatstvom nárečí.

V danom smere Turcerová-Devečková uvádza aj viacero pozitívnych príkladov. Zároveň nestráca zo zreteľa skutočné črty metódy, ktorou

sa chcel Štúr prispôbiť gramatickým pravidlám v iných jazykoch. Nesúhlasí však s absenciou sústredenej pozornosti v dôsledku izolovanosti, zväčša náhodných a nepremyslených Štúrových postupov. Namiesto racionálnejšieho uvažovania, napríklad ohľadne kmeňovitosti slovanských nárečí, je Štúrovo hľadanie jazykovej jednoty znakom fragmentárne povrchnej systematizácie sprevádzanej mesianisticky oslavným velebením jedinečných vlastností slovenčiny. Jej rozmanitosť má podľa neho potenciál neprestajne oživovať súhrn objektívneho a subjektívneho vnímania reality. Roztrieštenosť slovanských nárečí nie je podľa Štúra statická, lebo napriek ich nezávislosti sú spojené putom, ktoré potvrdzuje aj do budúcnosti ich vzájomnosť.

Je pochopiteľné, že Turcerovej kritika aj na tomto mieste výstižne zodpovedá intelektuálnej dialektickej koncepcii, vďaka ktorej sa rodí symbióza ducha a hmoty vnímaná s vedomím hĺbkovej podstaty jazykov. Treba pripomenúť, že slovenská bádatelka sa pri písaní svojej práce opierala o výbornú znalosť niekoľkých slovanských i neslovanských jazykov, najmä francúzštiny (podľa prekladateľky Stanislavy Moyšovej je dizertačná práca napísaná brilantnou francúzštinou). Niet pochyb o tom, že pri práci na umeleckých prekladoch Turcerová musela zvädzať neľahký boj pri hľadaní vhodného slovenského ekvivalentu. Z toho prameniace skúsenosti jej umožnili, aby svoje tvrdenia teoreticky i prakticky podložila poznatkom o rozdieloch medzi analytickou povahou západných jazykov a syntetickejšou slovenčinou. Systém budovaný na racionálnom poznaní špecifickej štruktúry jazyka sa tak u nej dostáva do konfrontácie so zvýšenou subjektívnosťou, výraznou orálnosťou slovan-ských jazykov. Sám Štúr tieto kvality nachádza v piesňovej tvorbe, no i v obrazne živšom a pestrejšom charakte slovan-ských rozprávok prinášajúcich jednoducho vyjadrené poučenie. V nich neprestajne zastúpený etický dôraz vyjadruje napokon morálne zásady, ktoré sloven-ský vlastenec aj v osobnom živote prísne dodržiaval. Preto v záujme obety pre slovenský ľud vedel v sebe potlačiť to, čo pokladal za telesné

pohnútky vedúce k sebarealizácii. Tie rázne odmietal, pretože nežil v zajatí individuálneho šťastia. Ako je zrejmé, robil to v prospech ideálu slovanskej spolupatričnosti, ktorej výnimočnosť jednoducho velebil. Dokonca zvýšenou mierou v podobne zameranej tvorbe na konci života, napriek sklamaniam z dejinnej prehry, čo nanajvýš trpkou pocítoval.

Vplyvom prevládajúceho feministického diskurzu sa prostredníctvom niektorých médií zaostruje pozornosť verejnosti len na túto stránku jeho života a vznikajú mýty, ktoré radi preberajú niektorí autori. V dnešných časoch nekriticky šírenej rodovej koncepcie ako by ani neprichádzalo do úvahy, že v prípade L. Štúra nemôže ísť o odlišnú sexuálnu orientáciu. Veď patriarchálny princíp jeho konania by v očiach mnohých takúto očividnú bytostnú inakosť podľa všetkého, čo bolo jeho morálnym krédom, vopred vylučoval. To vlastne vysvetľuje stálu popularitu, ktorá Štúra vyniesla na taký piedestál, na ktorom nakoniec po celý krátky život nezávisle zotrval, a napokon aj po jeho smrti. Pravda, bez možnosti nachádzať seberovne dôstojných súputníkov i nasledovateľov.

Ak sa po tomto konštatovaní prenesiem do súčasnosti, čoraz silnejšie nadobúdam dojem vzácnosti pretrvávajúcej platnosti odkazu Heleny Turcerovej-Devečkovej. Jej obdivuhodné úsilie obsiahnuť bohaté spektrum aspektov zložitého kultúrneho dialógu medzi národmi nesie znaky mimoriadnej vyzretosti i osobnej odvahy prekonávať mnohé úskalia pri jeho riešení. Je nesporné, že uprostred úlohy jasnozrivého kultúrneho mediátora, dozaista s plným vedomím stála elitársky osamotená ako bytosť prekračujúca hranice jednostranného vnímania života, jeho bežne nepoznaných, utajených, zato však podstatných stránok. Jej bádanie nieslo, prirodzene, dnes toľko zanedbávaný ľudský rozmer, v znamení symbiotickej, kultúrno-spoločenskej a historickej povahy viacrozmerného a preto nenahraditeľného poznania. Som presvedčený, že celostné zaujatie významnou témou by aktuálne malo priniesť víťanú pootočenú zorných uhlov. Dokonca aj

smerom k istej rehabilitácii emotívno-etických koreňov, na čom sám Ľudovít Štúr staval mnohé svoje vízie. Práve v dnešnom pragmaticky účelovom svete by rovnako podnetne, ako to už pred vyše storočím chcelo nastoliť Turcerovej kniha, vyznel slobodne nezávislý kritický duch, ktorého oživený hlas by predovšetkým s ohľadom na budúcnosť nielen na Slovensku, verne, by mal mať silu zaznieť viac než účinne.

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Slovakia

ŽEŇUCH, Peter. 2024. Slováci a cirkevná slovančina: kultúrno-historické súvislosti. Bratislava: VEDA. 208 s. ISBN 978-80-224-2097-6.

Jazyk nie je len prostriedkom komunikácie – je základným kameňom identity každého jednotlivca i celých spoločností. V ňom sa odzrkadľujú dejiny, hodnoty, tradície aj spôsob myslenia národa. Jazyky, ktoré už nie sú národnými či materinskými, majú aj tak stále svoje miesto v kultúrnom a náboženskom živote obyvateľov konkrétnych národov i v historickej lingvistiky či jazykovede ako takej.

V súčasnosti – aj v závislosti od rôznych spoločenských zmien – narastá záujem o cirkevnú slovančinu¹ (pokračovateľa staroslovienčiny) ako o jazyk východnej liturgie, (bohoslužobný) jazyk používaný veriacimi pravoslávnej i gréckokatolíckej konfesie. Zvýšenú pozornosť potvrdzuje aj rastúci vedecký dopyt po pochopení a skúmaní cirkevnej slovančiny v slavistickom výskume.² Skúmanie slovenčiny

¹ Pozri napr.: Štec, Mikuláš. 2006. Cirkevná slovančina ako súčasť duchovnej kultúry obyvateľov Juhovýchodných Karpát. In *Pravoslávny teologický zborník* 15/3, 112-121; Dudášová-Kriššáková, Júlia. 2019. Od staroslovienčiny k cirkevnej slovančine. In *Slavica Slovaca* 54/2, 156-165; Štec, Mikuláš. 2006. Cirkevná slovančina v 21. storočí. Prešov.

² O rastúcom či aktuálnom záujme o cirkevnú slovančinu píše okrem autora recenzovanej

ny v slovanskom i neslovanskom kontexte je perspektívne z hľadiska pochopenia jednak jazyka, kultúrnej identity a spoločnosti, jednak interkultúrnych, interetnických a interkonfesionálnych procesov. Predložená monografia vytvára priestor na vedecký interdisciplinárny dialóg o Slovákoch a cirkevnej slovančine v rôznych kultúrno-historických súvislostiach. Metodologická báza výskumu je koncipovaná na poli viacerých vied – slavistiky, filológie a lingvistiky, histórie a historiografie, kulturologie, teológie.

Autor monografie Peter Žeňuch, už dlhé roky výrazná osobnosť slovenskej i svetovej slavistiky,³ nadväzuje predloženým textom na doterajšie výskumy v oblasti cirkevnej slovančiny a byzantsko-slovanskej tradície na území Slovenska.⁴ Je potrebné dodať, že

vedeckej spisby napr. aj: Štec, Mikuláš. 2006. Cirkevná slovančina ako súčasť duchovnej kultúry obyvateľov Juhovýchodných Karpát. In Pravoslávny teologický zborník, 15/3, 112.

³ Svedčia o tom o. i. aj jeho rôzne funkcie a ocenenia, napr.: člen Prezídia Medzinárodného komitétu slavistov, hlavný redaktor časopisu *Slavica Slovaca*, člen kultúrno-vedeckej spoločnosti *Gli amici del PIO* v Ríme, cena Ministerstva kultúry Bulharskej republiky za prínos do rozvoja a popularizácie bulharskej kultúry v roku 2013 a mnoho ďalšieho.

⁴ Pozri napr. autorove práce: Žeňuch, Peter. 2020. Byzantsko-slovanská tradícia v staršom období vývinu slovenskej kultúry. In Konštantínove listy 13/1, 112-125; Žeňuch, Peter. 2020. Zvuková rovina cirkevnej slovančiny u Slovákov. Bratislava; Žeňuch, Peter. 2020. Poznámky o jazyku prameňov byzantsko-slovanského obradu v slovanskom prostredí. In *Philologia* 30/1, 197-212; Žeňuch, Peter. 2000. Cirkevná slovančina v bohoslužobnej praxi Slovákov byzantsko-slovanského obradu na východnom Slovensku. In Doruľa, Ján (ed.). Slovensko-rusínsko-ukrajinské vzťahy od obrodnenia po súčasnosť. Bratislava, 231-274; Žeňuch, Peter. 2017. Cirkevná slovančina slovenských veriacich byzantského obradu. In Žeňuch, Peter – Zubko, Peter – Vašíčková, Svetlana (eds.). Liturgické jazyky v duchovnej kultúre Slovanov. Bratislava, 21-36; a i.

publikácia bola vytvorená s podporou projektu VEGA 2/0002/21 *Liturgický jazyk veriacich byzantsko-slovanskej tradície na Slovensku* v Slavistickom ústave Jána Stanislava SAV, v. v. i.

Štruktúra monografie je funkčná a prehľadná. Spisba sa začína problematikou cirkevnej slovančiny vzhľadom na cyrilo-metodskú tradíciu, starobylosti a sústavnosti tohto liturgického jazyka, a to aj v súvislosti s cyrilskou písomnosťou na území Slovenska (identita byzantsko-slovanského obradu, kresťanské princípy formovania spoločnosti a i.). Ďalej je v monografii pozornosť venovaná hodnotovým aspektom slovanského jazyka a literatúry, jazykovo-historickým kontextom slovenského konfesionalizmu, cirkevnoslovanskej Biblii pod Karpatmi i gréckokatolíkom a ich jazykovým potrebám (liturgický spev, šlabikáre a gramatiky, cirkevná slovančina v jazykovej praxi). Ťažiskové kapitoly sú doplnené jasne formulovaným Záverom (s. 182-183), zoznamom literatúry (s. 184-201), abstraktom v anglickom jazyku (s. 202-204) a resumé v ruskom jazyku (s. 205-207).

Už v prvej kapitole sa čitateľ oboznamuje s priamym pokračovateľom staroslovienčiny – cirkevnou slovančinou, ktorá sa podľa autora „presadila tiež v neslovanskom prostredí, napríklad najmä v Moldavsku a Rumunsku, a v kontexte s rozvojom gréckokatolíckej cirkvi pod Karpatmi aj v Maďarsku“ (s. 8), čím sú načrtnuté viaceré aspekty analyzované vo vybranej monografii – cirkevná slovančina v slovanskom a neslovanskom kontexte či súvislosť s gréckokatolíckou cirkvou. Problém starobylosti a sústavnosti cirkevnej slovančiny je zasadený do kontextu rozmanitosti písomných pamiatok a liturgickej tradície, pričom tento jazyk vníma P. Žeňuch ako „jazyk klasického postantického sveta, a tým aj starobylého jazykovo-kultúrneho dedičstva Slovanov“ (s. 13). Cirkevnoslovanský jazyk je v predloženej spisbe predstavený ako dôležitý komponent kresťanstva v Európe, prostriedok komunikácie medzi Bohom a človekom a kultúrno-náboženský symbol gréckokatolíkov i pravoslávnych

v slovenskom priestore, ale aj ako jazyk so stabilným základom zachovaným najmä v biblických a bohoslužobných textoch.

V rámci spracovania témy cyrilských písomností (napr. *Čukalovský rukopis* zo 16. st., *Baškovský evanjeliár* z 15. st., *Dva litmanovské rukopisné zborníky s príkladmi* a i.) P. Žeňuch akcentuje okrem rôznorodej obsahovej stránky aj ich rozmanitú lexikálnu zásobu (napr. výpožičky zo slovenčiny, češtiny, poľštiny, ruštiny či ukrajinčiny). Dôveryhodnosť a erudovanosť časti o cyrilských písomnostiach potvrdzuje autor aj prostredníctvom doložených textov piesní (*Hospodíne pomiluj ny*, s. 23; *Zostúpenie svätého ducha*, s. 40-41; paraliturgická pieseň vo východoslovenskom nárečí zo spevníka J. Tótha z Michaloviec, s. 48; a i.) i administratívnych textov (svedectvo zapísané vo vizačnom protokole M. M. Olšavského, s. 43-44) či výkladových textov (text o umučení Ježiša Krista z apokryfného zborníka, s. 52-53), pričom neopomína ani ich didaktický charakter, ako je to napr. aj v prípade *Keresturského rukopisu*. Vybraný rukopis je detailnejšie opísaný cez jeho jazykové špecifiká – asibilovaná hláska *dz* sa zapisuje pomocou spojenia grafém *д* a *ц*, asibilovaná hláska *ť* sa zapisuje prostredníctvom grafémy *ц*, zápis grafém *g* a *h* jednou grafémou *Г* a pod. (s. 54-55). Pri charakteristike predstáv o pôvode jazyka byzantsko-slovanskej tradície pod Karpatmi⁵ sa pozornosť sústreďuje na *Rukopisný mukačevský katechizmus* (40 r. 18. st.), rukopis, v ktorom nám jeho autor zanechal zmienky o cyrilo-metodských a veľkomoravských východiskách formovania slovanskej liturgie, ako aj o vývoji slovanského kresťanstva v rôznych súvislostiach. Priebežne sú z neho citované konkrétne pasáže, ktoré autor spisby kompetentne komentuje a objasňuje (pozri s. 62-63, 65-66).

⁵ Napr. o homiletickej tradícii pod Karpatmi pozri aj: Шашерина, Светлана. 2021. Интерпретация системы ценностей в гомилетической традиции под Карпатами. In *Slavica Slovaca* 56/3, 398-402.

Pri skúmaní písomných pamiatok P. Žeňuch naráža aj na problém hodnôt slovenského jazyka a kultúry. Uvádza, že „[h]odnotový systém kresťanstva sa [...] plne aplikoval [...] vo výrazných prostriedkoch, ktoré sú aj v slovenčine kontinuálnym dokladom starobylých kresťanských hodnôt. Petrifikoval sa najmä v starých slovanských pomenovaniach, napr. pravda, právo, spravodlivosť [...]“ (s. 76). Zaujímavým aspektom tejto problematiky je opäť lingvistická stránka národného jazyka, vychádzajúca z porovnávania lexiky súčasnej slovenčiny s nárečiami i predpisovnou podobou jazyka. Najstaršia lexika je v texte členená podľa určitých okruhov – prírodné reálie (hora, zem, oheň a pod.), časti tela (ruka, hlava, noha a pod.) či spoločenský život (sluha, hrad, dedina a pod.) a mnohé iné (ďalej uvádzané v texte monografie – remeselníctvo, rodinný život a pod. – bližšie pozri na s. 79).

Následne sa P. Žeňuch dostáva k problematike jazykovo-historických súvislostí slovenského konfesionalizmu, čo je podľa neho nevyhnutné obsiahnuť pre „štúdium jazykovo-kultúrnej situácie na Slovensku“ (s. 91). Zdôrazňuje sa poznanie nielen latinčiny, ale už aj variant predpisovnej slovenčiny gréckokatolíckymi učencami a biskupmi i kňazmi, napr. A. Bačinským, M. Teodorovičom alebo M. Braďačom, prekladanie biblických textov do slovenčiny, východná slovenčina ako kultivovaný jazyk (podložené citátom z *Čorbovej veršovanej kroniky*) a kultúrne povedomie Slovákov i moderný pohľad na slovenčinu aj v kontexte konfesionalnej diverzity. V ďalšej kapitole sa neopomína ani cirkevno-slovanská Biblia pod Karpatmi, v rámci čoho sa P. Žeňuch opäť vracia k M. M. Olšavskému či mukačevskému biskupovi A. Bačinskému. Ovládanie cirkevnej slovančiny bolo potrebné primárne s ohľadom na jazykovú (liturgickú) prax, preto bolo nevyhnutné vydanie cirkevno-slovanskej Biblie pre gréckokatolíkov pod Karpatmi. Nadväzne na to autor monografie píše: „[...] vidno preto najmä snahu podporiť jednotu konfesionality v etnicky a jazykovo rôznorodej gréckokatolíckej cirkvi pod Karpatmi a na východnom Slovensku prostredníctvom

cirkevnoslovanského liturgického jazyka“ (s. 118).

Najminucióznejšie rozpracovaná je posledná kapitola – *Slováci gréckokatolíci a ich jazykové potreby*. Hneď v úvode kapitoly je predstavená premisa, že „[n]ový rozmer jazykovo-kultúrnej identity priniesol Slovákom gréckokatolíkom až ich spolok Jednota sv. Cyrila a Metoda, ktorý vznikol v prvej polovici 20. storočia a ktorý založil Ján Murín [...] v roku 1941 v Michalovciach“ (s. 119). V texte nachádzame odvolávky na presadzovanie cirkevnoslovanskej jazykovej tradície, edukačné aktivity spomenutého spolku, boj gréckokatolíkov o vlastnú jazykovú a kultúrnu identitu, prvý preklad liturgie J. Zlatoústeho do slovenčiny (*Sv. služba Božia (liturgia – omša) sv. Jána Zlatoústeho, arcibiskupa carihradského*, 1933) či liturgický spev v byzantsko-slovanských obradoch. Je potrebné oceniť aj *Prehľad najstarších šlabikárov a gramatík pre gréckokatolíkov pod Karpatmi* na s. 149-155 (napr. gramatika Arsenija Kocaka, *Elementa puerilis institutionis in lingua latina...* od M. M. Olšovského a i.). Autor monografie sa prepracováva postupne až k používaniu cirkevnoslovanského jazyka v jazykovej praxi Slovákov gréckokatolíkov (s. 155-181). Píše o rôznych špecifikách jazyka – uplatňovanie predného [i] namiesto zadného [y] v pôvodných pozíciách, realizácia samohlásky *и* ako nemäkčiaceho predného

[i], používanie -l-ového zakončenia prídavia minulého ako náhrada za cirkevnoslovanskú príponu -Ѣ (pohral, poznal a i.) alebo vypadávanie morfémy -Ѣ vo verbách tretej osoby jednotného čísla v prezente a futúre, a pod. V celom texte (nielen) poslednej podkapitoly P. Žeňuch veľmi dôkladne uvádza príklady jednotlivých javov, čím je čitateľovi priblížená aj fonetická, ortografická, lexikálna či štylistická stránka tohto jazyka.

Priebežne sa Peter Žeňuch odvoláva na výrazné osobnosti slavistického výskumu – slovenského historika a byzantológa A. Avenaria, slovenského jazykovedca a slavistu J. Doruľu, jazykovedca, slavistu a dialektológa J. Stanislava, rímskokatolíckeho duchovného, slavistu a historika P. Zubka, maďarského slavistu I. Udvariho a i. V texte publikácie sú tak zachytené ťažiskové výskumy a práce slovenských i zahraničných odborníkov.

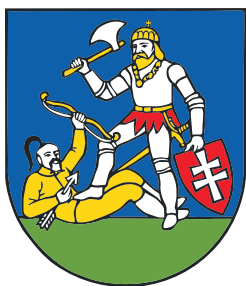
Na záver možno skonštatovať, že Peter Žeňuch recenzovanou monografiou, ktorou nadväzuje na svoje predchádzajúce výskumy, výrazne prispieva do problematiky cirkevnej slovančiny na Slovensku, čo je dôležité pre pochopenie a ďalšie formovanie historickej, jazykovej i kultúrnej identity Slovákov.

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