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Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra
Faculty of Arts
Institute for Research of Constantine and Methodius’ Cultural Heritage
Tr. Andreja Hlinku 1
949 01 Nitra
Slovakia
tel.: +421 37 6408 503
e-mail: constantinesletters@ukf.sk

IČO vydavateľa: 00157 716

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NOTES ON THE SEMANTIC DEVELOPMENT OF OLD CHURCH SLAVIC *ŠTUDŮ* AND *BLAGŮ*¹

Martin Diweg-Pukanec

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Abstract: *DIWEG-PUKANEC, Martin: Notes on the Semantic Development of Old Church Slavic študŭ and blagŭ.* The aim of this paper is to research enantiosemymy concerning the Old Church Slavic words *študŭ* ‘manners’ and *blagŭ* ‘good’ in Slavic languages. The original meanings of the word *študŭ* must have been related to ‘beat’. By the 15th century at the latest, the meaning changed to ‘modesty, chastity (acquired through training, discipline and beatings)’. The semantic change may have been associated with the significant religious movement of flagellants. Since the semantics of Old Church Slavic *blagŭ* are quite rich, its original nature could be revealed by etymology. Proto-Slavic **bolgŭ* should be linked with Proto-Slavic comparative **bolъjъ* ‘bigger, better’ from Proto-Indo-European **bol-*, **bel-* ‘strong’. The church has preserved the positive meanings of the root. The negative connotations fully emerged in secular or non-church environments, at the latest in the 14th – 15th centuries, when the behaviour of yurodivy fanatics in Russia, also called *blagy*, began to be viewed negatively.

Keywords: *etymology, moral words, Old Church Slavic, semantic change, semantics, Slavic languages*

The aim of this paper is to collect semantic material relating to Old Church Slavic words *študŭ* and *blagŭ*, and to determine the original meaning of these words in Proto-Slavic and how it developed, not only in Old Church Slavic, but also later in Church Slavic and other historical and modern Slavic languages and dialects. Both words underwent radical semantic changes, which we will attempt to place in a historical context in this study, at least in the form of a hypothesis. As part of these semantic considerations, we will also outline the etymologies of both Old Church Slavic terms analysed.

Old Church Slavic *študŭ* has two meanings: 1. ‘manners, behaviour, way of life; Sitte, Brauch, Lebensweise; победение, поступки (pl.), обычай, нравы (pl.); σχῆμα, τρόπος; mōs, mōrēs’, 2. ‘naturally, instinctively; отприроды; von Natur, instinktiv; φυσικῶς; naturaliter’ (SJSE, s. v. *študŭ*). The latter meaning, which is more important for semantic analysis, is defined in the dictionary based on this Old Church Slavic sentence from the 12th century, which is a translation from Greek, and we will return to it later: “Си же, елико убо не вѣдят, хулять, еликоже щоудью яко скоти животьнии вѣдятъ, въ сихъ сквѣрнять ся“ (Jud. 10) (SRJ XI – XVII XXV 2000, 7).

In South Slavic languages, the term corresponding to Old Church Slavic *študŭ* is attested mainly in Serbian/Croatian as *ćud* (since the 15th century) or *ćud* (in the 17th century), but also in Slovenian since the 19th century as *čūd* ‘nature’, which is most likely borrowed from Croatian *ćud* (cf. Pleteršnik 1894, 116). The semantics of the Serbian/Croatian term are as follows: ‘character, nature, custom, habit, manners, will’, ‘nature, naturalness, instinct, sense’, ‘sin’ – *Niste vi ni rodом*,

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ni jezikom, ni ćudom Grci = You are not Greeks by race, language, or customs; *Koliko ljudi, toliko ćudi* = Quot capita, tot sententiae; *Bogom se svijem molim vašojzi naravi da zlu ćud prikrate* = I pray to God that your nature will restrain your evil temper (RJA II 1884 – 1886, 145 nn.).

To understand the original meaning of the word, it is also important to know the semantics of Serbian/Croatian expressions with the same root: *ćudâne* ‘consternation (about horse)’, *ćudati*, *ćudnuti* ‘to desire’, *ćudati se* ‘to fear, to refuse, to run away (about horses)’, *ćudljiv* ‘sensitive (about child)’, ‘fearful (about horse)’, similarly *ćudovit*, but also finally *ćudoredan* ‘related to morality, moral’, which is attested since the 18th century – *ćudoredni nauk* = moralis documentum, *ćudoredne nauke vaditi* = informandis moribus documenta promere, *ćudoredna kripas* = virtus moralis, *po zakonu ćudorednu* = bonis moribus congruenter, etc., *ćudorediti* means ‘to instil moral values and qualities (virtues)’ and *ćudorede* ‘morals, virtues’ (cf. RJA II 1884 – 1886, 150).

The term corresponding to Old Church Slavic *študb* is not attested in East Slavic languages, but it is found in West Slavic, namely at the beginning of the 17th century in Middle Czech as *cud* ‘discipline, good manners, exercise’ (Jungmann 1835, 250), and similarly in modern Czech, as well as in Slovak dialectal *cúd* ‘fluid that comes out of a cow before calving’ (SSN I 1994, 220), since before calving, cows release a thick mucus plug and often clear or bloody fluid from the vulva, along with urine and excrement.

In order to understand this meanings, it is necessary to know the verbs that are attested already in Old Czech, namely: *cúdi* ‘to clean’, ‘(about an animal or a human) to defecate, to shit, to clean’ (ESSČ, s. v. *cúdi*), *cúdi se* ‘(about an animal or a human) to defecate, to shit’ (ESSČ, s. v. *cúdi se*), *cudnovati* ‘to clap (one’s hand)’ (Gebauer 1903, 147, where it is stated that the term is related to the onomatopoeic words *čundy*, *čundy*, *cundy*, *cundy*, but the root of the verb is *cudn-*, not *cund-*). Middle Czech *cúdi* means ‘to clean’, ‘to groom a horse’, ‘to beat’, as well as ‘to shit, to soil’ (Jungmann 1835, 232), Czech dialectal (Moravian) *cúdit* ‘to clean’ – *kráva sa cúdí* ‘cow is cleaned after calving’, ‘to eat greedily, to drink a lot’, ‘to beat’, *cudovat sa* ‘to argue’ (Bartoš 1906, 40). Old Slovak *cúdi* (documented since the 16th century) means ‘to clean’, ‘to convert to cultivated land, to clear’, ‘to groom a horse’ (HSSJ I 1991, 194), Slovak dialectal *cúdiť* ‘to clean, to sow, to rain’, *cúdiť sa* ‘to get rid of the fetal bed’, ‘to remove the remains of flowers and mature fruit (about fruit trees)’, ‘to rain’ (SSN I 1994, 220). This root also includes the Czech and Slovak adjective *cudný*, meaning ‘morally pure, innocent, shy’.

In the 16th century, corresponding verbs are also attested in Polish: *cudzić* ‘to clean, to groom a horse’, ‘to beat, to hit, to train’ (SP XVI w. III 1968, 701). This century also documents the adjective *cudny*, meaning ‘beautiful, perfect, extraordinary, good’, as well as ‘ugly’ (SP XVI w. III 1968, 697 nn.), which is also attested in the former meaning in Old Polish (Sł. stp. I 1953 – 1955, 335). Old Polish noun *cudność* means ‘beauty’, but also ‘modesty, chastity’, which results from discipline – *Czudność disciplina morum* (in the 15th century) = ‘chastity: discipline of morals, manners’ (Sł. stp. I 1953 – 1955, 334 n.). Polish dialectal *cudować* means ‘to destroy, to curse’ (Machek 1971, 85) – *Niech (mąż) nie krzyczy, nie cuduje, niech mnie sanuje* (Karłowicz 1900, 260) ‘Let him (the husband) not shout, not hit/curse, let him respect me’. Old Polish (*cud*), *cudo*, *czudo* (Sł. stp. I 1953 – 1955, 333 n.) and Old Polish or Old Czech *cud* ‘court’ are not etymologically related.

Most recently, Rejzek (2022) has discussed this group of words, adding Old Church Slavic *študb* ‘manners, behaviour, way of life’ to the words mentioned in West Slavic languages. However, he does not mention Old Church Slavic *študb* in the meaning of ‘naturally, instinctively; φυσικῶς’, nor Slovak dialectal word *cúd* ‘fluid that comes out of a cow before calving’, and, moreover, he completely avoids Serbian/Croatian material. Therefore, he comes to slightly different conclusions than those presented here. The broader context of the Greek text Jud. 10-11 clearly shows what kind of customs, behaviour, or way of life is meant in the case of Old Church Slavic *študb*: οὐαί

αὐτοῖς ὅτι τῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ Κάιν ἐπορεύθησαν (NTG 1881, 347), where ‘the way of Cain’ is mentioned. It is therefore likely that Old Church Slavic *študb* had the semantic nuance of ‘violent manners, violent behaviour, violent way of life’, although it was gradually disappearing in Old Church Slavic as a result of semantic generalization.

The original meanings of the word *študb* must then most likely be hidden in Middle Czech *cíditi* ‘to beat’, Polish *cudzić* ‘to beat, to hit, to train’, Polish dialectal *cudować* ‘to destroy, to curse’, Czech dialectal (Moravian) *cúdit* ‘to beat’. As a result of brutal, violent beating or causing fear of it, then Old Czech *cúdit* ‘(about an animal or a human) to defecate, to shit’, *cúdit se* ‘(about an animal or a human) to defecate, to shit’, as well as (through the transfer of meaning based on the figurative similarity) Moravian *cúdit*, Slovak *cúdiť sa* ‘to clean after calving’. This semantic change is perhaps also evidenced by the reflexive forms of verbs alongside the non-reflexive ones. From this then derives the additional meaning ‘to clean’.

By the 15th century at the latest, the meaning changed from ‘to beat, to hit, to train (a horse, etc.)’ to ‘modesty, chastity (acquired through training and discipline)’ – *Czudnoszcz disciplina morum* ‘chastity: discipline of morals, manners’. Chastity and morality were apparently acquired by people through training, discipline, and quite possibly even beatings, but certainly not in the same way as with horses, as shown, among other things, by Serbian/Croatian adjective *čudljiv* ‘fearful (about horse); but ‘sensitive (about child)’. All of this was a kind of purification.

We can agree with Rejzek (2022, 168) that if we accept the connection between Old Church Slavic *študb* and West Slavic words with the root *cud-*, the source will be Proto-Slavic **teu-d-*. However, we disagree that this **teu-d-* cannot originate from Proto-Indo-European **tēu-* (**teuh₂-*) ‘to grow, to become strong’ (LIV2 2001, 639 n.). On the contrary, the relationship should be seen precisely in Old Indic *tavīti* ‘is strong, has power’, *tavás* ‘strong, powerful’, Avestan *tavah* ‘strength, power’, *tauman* ‘wealth, strength, power’, etc. (see Pokorny 1959 – 1969, 1080 n.). The other Proto-Indo-European **teuH-*, which Rejzek refers to as the only possible source, with the meaning ‘to pay friendly attention to, to care for, to protect’, can hardly explain such a specific meaning as that of the Slovak dialect word *cúd* ‘fluid that comes out of a cow before calving’ and similar expressions.

Given the semantics of the root, the time of radical semantic change in the moral sphere, and the geographical distribution of the attested expressions, it can be speculated that the semantic change (semantic specialization) ‘manners’ > ‘morals’ will be related to the significant religious movement of flagellants (cf. Novak – Srđelić 2025), which is documented in the countries of Central Europe (Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, etc.) as well as the eastern Adriatic since the second half of the 13th century, although flagellation is often mentioned in monastic rules as a means of acquiring discipline much earlier. The practices of flagellants respected the original concept of suffering as *imitatio Christi*, and its goal was to torment the body in order to purify the soul. Moreover, great force was used in the whipping, and a bloody fluid flowed from those who were whipped, as mentioned by a German Dominican in the 14th century (Aberth 2005, 123): “With these *flagella* [whips] they beat and whipped their naked bodies to the point that the scourged skin swelled up black and blue and blood flowed down to their lower members and even spattered the walls nearby”.

As regards Old Church Slavic *blagb*, it has several meanings: 1. ‘good, right’, ‘virtue’, ‘saint’, 2. ‘good, kind, benevolent’, 3. ‘beneficial, useful, good’, 4. ‘blissful, pleasant’, 5. ‘superb, brilliant, excellent’, ‘noble’ (SJSE, s. v. *blagb*), *ѣко благѣиѣхъ моѣхъ негрѣбоуешѣ* = *tōn agathōn mou* (Ps 15:2), *клирици из зем’ла и благыхъ своихъ* = *patria bonisque privati*, that is ‘property, estates’ (pl.) (SJSE, s. v. *blago*). Old Church Slavic composite *blagoteča* means ‘good runner’, *možeblaštvije* ‘bravery, virility’, literally, apparently, ‘male virtue’, etc. (cf. ESJS I 1989, 64).

In South Slavic languages, the corresponding word is rather well documented. Bulgarian *blag* means 'happy', 'good, kind', 'tasty', 'modest' (Duvernois 1885 – 1888, 104), 'good, mild', 'kind, gentle', 'sweet, tasty' (BER I 1971, 52 n.), Macedonian *blag* 'sweet', 'sweet, not spicy (about pepper, etc.)', 'gentle', 'good, kind' (MRS 1963, 33). Serbian Church Slavic *blagŭ* meant 'good; ἀγαθός' (in the 13th century) (Petković 1935, 18), Serbian/Croatian *blâg* 'good, kind, gentle, sweet, happy' (since the 12th century) (RJA I 1880 – 1882, 394 nn.), Slovenian *blâg* 'noble', 'kind', 'beneficial', 'blissful' (Pleteršnik 1894, 30).

In West Slavic languages, the adjective *blahý* 'blessed' is merely assumed to exist in Old Czech; only the adverb *blazě* is attested (Gebauer 1903, 61), while the adjective itself is attested later in Middle Czech with the meanings 'good, true', 'blessed, blissful, happy', 'kind' (Jungmann 1835, 131), Middle Czech *bláhový* means 'blissful, happy' (Jungmann 1835, 131), but Czech *bláhový* 'foolish, slow-witted, unwise', Czech dialectal (Moravian) *blahovať* means 'to bliss, to congratulate', *blahút* means 'fool' (Bartoš 1906, 17). In Slovak, the adverb *blaze* is attested in the 17th century, and the adjective *blahý* 'blessed, happy' since the 18th century (HSSJ I 1991, 135). Sorbian *bložki* means 'blessed, blissful' (Schuster-Šewc 1978, 37).

Polish is more complex both phonologically and semantically. Old Polish *blogi* (since the 16th century), with secondary substitution *h > g* (cf. ESJS II 1990, 65), meant 'happy' (SP XVI w. II 1968, 218), but Old Polish *blahy* (since the 16th century), with Church Slavic metathesis of liquids, i.e. a borrowing from (Russian) Church Slavic, meant 'of little value, of little importance, imperfect, modest, very light, little', 'weak, feeble, small, miserable, poor' (SP XVI w. II 1968, 198 n.). Polish *blogi* means 'fortunate, saved, blessed', 'sweet, kind, dear, pleasant, delightful', 'beneficial, wholesome', 'kind, merciful, gracious', as well as 'bad' (SW I 1900, 174), Polish *blahy* 'worthless, insignificant, unworthy of attention, colourless, bland', 'uncertain, doubtful, false' (SW I 1900, 170 n.), Polish dialectal *blogi* means 'fortunate', 'worth, valuable', and 'bad' (Karłowicz 1900, 92), *blagi*, *blachi*, *blachy*, *blahy* 'worthless, bad' (Karłowicz 1900, 91).

In East Slavic, enantiosemia is similar. Old Russian Church Slavic *blagyi* means 'kind, good, merciful, favourable, convenient, fat' (since the 11th century), 'pleasant, beautiful, wonderful' (since the 11th century), 'angry, furious, bad, unkind' (since the 15th century), 'crazy' (since the 15th century) (Sreznevsky 1893, 109 n.; SRJ XI – XVII vv. I 1975, 191), Old Russian *bologo* (since the 11th century) 'good, good deed' (Sreznevsky 1893, 145; SRJ XI – XVII vv. I 1975, 282), Russian *blagóy* 'good', 'foolish, frivolous' (Ushakov 1935, 148), Russian dialectal *blagóy*, *blagíy* 'good, noble, honest, useful, good-hearted, compassionate', 'evil, angry, stubborn, persistent, headstrong, restless, carefree, bad, difficult, uncomfortable' (Dal 1911, 222 n.).

Old Ukrainian Church Slavic has the meanings 'good, kind, nice, righteous, holy, blessed, happy', as well as 'bad, poor, cheap' since the 16th century (SUM XVI – I/XVII II 1994, 92 n.), Ukrainian 'old, poor, weak', and 'good, gentle, good-hearted' (SUM I 1970, 191), 'blessed', 'bad, weak, powerless, feeble' (Hrinčenko 1907, 70), the original *boloh-* is attested in the adverb *ne-z-bolóha*, from which stem the meanings 'prosperity, pride' (cf. SP I 1974, 306). Old Belarusian *bologiy* meant 'good' (HSBM II 1983, 133), Old Belarusian Church Slavic *blagiy* 'good, kind, pleasant', as well as 'bad' (HSBM II 1983, 22), Belarusian *blahí* means 'having no positive qualities, not meeting requirements', 'morally evil', 'skinny, sickly-looking', 'unpleasant for others (in terms of behaviour, character, etc.)' (TSBM I 1977, 381 n.), and 'weak, powerless, bad' (Turaŭ I 1982, 61), dialectal *blahiy* 'silly' (Nosovich 1870, 26).

Since the semantics of Old Church Slavic *blagŭ* are quite rich and its meanings do not clearly point to the character of "good", its original nature could be revealed by etymology. However, there are as many as three relatively widespread interpretations of this word (cf. ESJS II 1990, 65; Králik 2015, 72). The first interpretation is from Proto-Indo-European **bʰel-* 'shining, radiant', which would not shed much light on this semantic problem, but it is not mentioned by ESSJa or Derksen,

and can perhaps be considered marginal today. The second etymology, which both ESSJa (ESSJa II 1975, 173) and Derksen (2008, 51) mention with some doubt, is the etymology from Proto-Indo-European **b^hleg-* ‘to desire’, but even Derksen notes that the connection with Old Indic *bṛhaspāti-* (the name of a god, literally ‘lord of prayer’), Avestan *bərəṣaya-* ‘to welcome, to pay respects’ and *bərəg* ‘rite, (religious) custom’ is “highly speculative”, and ESSJa points to the improbability of a change from **-l-* to Indo-Iranian *-r-*. The third of the widespread interpretations is phonologically the most likely. Berneker linked Proto-Slavic **bolgŭ* with Proto-Slavic comparative **bolъjb* ‘bigger, better’ from Proto-Indo-European **bol-*, **bel-* ‘strong’, given that a positive with the formant *-go-* would be extremely rare (Berneker 1924, 69).

Based on the third etymology, we can interpret the original meaning as ‘strong’, which is indicated by above-mentioned Old Church Slavic composites, both Old Church Slavic and Slovene ‘noble’, Ukrainian ‘prosperity, pride’, etc., and probably confirmed by a sentence from the 13th century: “къ душьному мужьству и тѣломъ благъ быше и крѣпокъ” = “he was mentally courageous, physically *blagŭ*, as well as strong” (Smirnova 1966, 57). In any case, considering all three etymologies presented, it is unlikely to assume that the original meaning was ‘weak, powerless, feeble, small, modest, miserable, poor, bad’, or even ‘silly, foolish, crazy’.

However, the first evidence of this latter meaning in the 15th century in Old Russian Church Slavic is quite interesting: “...да за ним благой слон идет... да обивает люди, да чепь у него железна велика во рте, да обивает кони и люди...” = “...and behind him goes *blagoy* elephant... and beats people, and has a big iron flail in his mouth, and beats horses and people...” (SRJ XI – XVII vv. I 1975, 282). Is this, then, an analogy to the customs known among West and South Slavs as *cud* or *čūd*, and is this why the semantically corresponding term has not been preserved in East Slavic languages? Even if so, these customs are not related to flagellants, but to a specifically Russian type of religious asceticism called *yurodstvo*.

The essence of *yurodstvo* lay in the fact that a person renounced the usual way of behaving and consciously took on the appearance of a madman, and this had been the case since the beginnings of Christianity in Russia, but especially in the 14th – 16th centuries. *Yurodivy* often endured physical hardship, public mockery, and beatings while living a life of asceticism. Nevertheless, the church considered these madmen to be saints and recognized their “prophetic” abilities. When they died, their remains were even declared holy and attributed with miraculous powers that brought healing from diseases (cf. Smirnova 1966), so it can be assumed that something similar existed in Greece or in pre-Christian times, which, from a semantic point of view, would point back to the etymology connected with Avestan *bərəg* ‘rite, (religious) custom’.

In any case, this church background has preserved the positive, old ritual or at least new religious, meanings of the root. The negative connotations fully emerged in secular or non-church environments, at the latest in the 14th – 15th centuries, when the behaviour of *yurodivy* fanatics, called *blagy*, who, with their rowdiness, shouting, and throwing of objects, differed little from animals or madmen, began to be viewed negatively (cf. Smirnova, 1966; ESJS II 1990, 65). From colloquial Russian, the expression with negative meanings spread to other East Slavic languages, from Old Ukrainian to Old Polish, and much later, in a weakened sense, into Czech and even into non-Slavic languages, namely from Old Belarusian into the Baltic languages, cf. Lithuanian *blagnas* ‘unsuitable, bad, evil’, *blōgas* ‘bad, weak, poor’, Latvian *blāgs* ‘weak, bad, evil, quarrelsome’ (Fraenkel 1962, 45 n.); semantically important in the context of Slavic *cud*, *čūd*, absent in East Slavic, is Lithuanian verb *blōginti* ‘to exhaust (a horse)’ (Szmoczyński 2007, 65 n.).

The first change in the meaning of Proto-Slavic **bolgŭ* occurred in the early days of Christianity and was not radical. Its nature is even very difficult to estimate. The further semantic change in the Middle Ages, though, was radical and concerned the Russian environment, so it is most likely related to the significant religious movement of the holy fools known as *yurodivy* or *blagy*.

The similarity between this movement and the flagellants is not great; after all, the flagellants had positive semantic connotations from a Christian point of view in both the Church and the population, while the yurodivy only had them in the church, but outside it, quite the opposite. However, it cannot be completely ruled out that these types of Christian religious fanaticism in the Slavic environment were not linked to some older, pre-Christian religious customs and rituals, Slavic or broader Indo-European ones, preserved in rural areas, since several pagan customs were still practiced in the peripheral areas (not only) of the Slavic world even in the 20th century.

The ritualistic use of whips was practiced in various Indo-European cults, in Europe, for example, in the Dionysian cult, at the Thargelia festival, or at the Roman festival of Lupercalia. Especially the old Spartan cult of Artemis Orthia was famous for its ritual flagellation of adolescent men. Self-flagellation was practiced by the priests of resurrecting Attis. Whipping is often perceived by scholars as a ritual of manhood. Blood-letting caused by ritual scourging is interpreted as a substitute for human sacrifice or self-castration or as a means to increase fertility. It was only later that the whip made its way to early monastic rules as an instrument of education. Benedict of Nursia (480 – 547), for example, prescribes flagellation of the stubborn and the disobedient, as well as the novices (cf. Bräunlein 2010, 1120 nn.).

Slovak and Moravian meanings of *cúd*, *cúdiť sa*, and *cúdit* would refer to a fertility ritual; proposed Proto-Indo-European source roots **tēu-* (**teuh₂-*) and **bol-* ‘strong’ and especially Old Church Slavic composites like *možeblašbviye* would point to a ritual of manhood. Nevertheless, it cannot be unequivocally confirmed that Old Church Slavic *študь* and *blagъ* are echoes of such ancient rituals. The semantic material presented here only illustrates changes in Slavic languages after the literacy revolution in the Cyrillo-Methodian era. Further semantic research will reveal the extent of these changes.

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Prof. Mgr. Martin Diweg-Pukanec, PhD.
Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra
Faculty of Arts
Department of Slavic Philology
Štefánikova 67
949 01 Nitra
Slovakia
mdpukanec@ukf.sk
ORCID ID: 0000-0003-4175-1727
WOS Researcher ID: AAG-6732-2020
SCOPUS Author ID: 55566239700

SUSTAINABLE VALUES IN THE WORK LIFE OF CONSTANTINE-CYRIL

Viera Zozuláková

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Abstract: ZOZULÁKOVÁ, Viera. *Sustainable Values in the Work Life of Constantine-Cyril*. The study examines the analysis of sustainable values in the Old Church Slavonic work *Life of Constantine-Cyril* from the perspective of ethics and cultural anthropology. Its aim is to identify and interpret the key value categories present in the text and to highlight their significance in both historical and contemporary contexts. Particular attention is paid to four fundamental values – truth, salvation, education, and law – which are presented through the figure of Constantine-Cyril as the integral foundation of his spiritual and intellectual profile. Methodologically, the study is based on a textual analysis of the source, a comparison with the Byzantine patristic tradition, and an interpretation of the concepts in their ethical meaning. The results demonstrate that these values do not merely form part of a historical narrative but constitute a coherent ethical system that unites knowledge with a virtuous life and the spiritual transformation of the human person. Special emphasis is placed on the understanding of philosophy as a way of life leading to the knowledge of God and to the realization of the ideal of the “image and likeness.” The study further shows that the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition conveys a model of cultural and spiritual identity grounded in the interconnection of faith, education, and ethical order. The identified values may therefore be interpreted as timeless and sustainable principles applicable to contemporary discussions on cultural identity, ethics, and intercultural dialogue. The significance of the Old Slavonic literary tradition in shaping ethical and cultural concepts remains indispensable even in today’s globalizing society, where sustainable values are increasingly emphasized.

Keywords: *Constantine-Cyril, Methodius, Byzantine Empire, Great Moravia, values, Slavic script, Slavic literature*

Introduction

The rich cultural heritage of Saints Constantine-Cyril and Methodius has, in recent years, stimulated increased scholarly interest in a deeper analysis of values in the Central European context. Numerous academic studies have been published focusing on the transmission of cultural and spiritual values from the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire to the Slavic environment, initiated by the mission of the Thessalonian brothers to Great Moravia. Examining the impact of Byzantine thought on Central Europe and tracing its influence on the formation of Slavic nations provides important insights for comparing Byzantine values with the contemporary value system of the Slavic cultural milieu. Values, as perceived through the perspective of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius, are gaining increasing relevance in today’s social context. They deserve particular attention, as they directly concern the individual, society, and interpersonal relationships, while also possessing a strong anthropological dimension.

The transmission of Byzantine values into the Slavic cultural environment, carried out primarily through the translation of Greek written sources, represented a significant cultural factor in shaping the spiritual identity of the Slavs (Zozulák 2019, 18). In analysing the Cyrillo-Methodian

heritage, we draw on the work of Antónios-Emilios N. Tachiaos, a prominent scholar of Byzantine-Slavic relations, who interpreted the cultural legacy of the Thessalonian brothers within broader historical and cultural contexts, thereby contributing to a new understanding of the relationship between Byzantium and Great Moravia (Zozulák – Delikari 2024, 150). According to him, the Christianization of the Slavs through the missionary activity of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius brought not only the Slavic script and the development of Slavic literature but also a complex of spiritual and ethical values that profoundly influenced the cultural consciousness of the Slavic nations. These values are also reflected in the ascetic tradition of Byzantine Christianity, preserved in the collection of neptic texts known as the *Philokalia*, which became known in the Slavic world as *Dobrotoljubie* (Tachiaos 1962, 1964, 1986).

Systematic reflection on the Byzantine hesychastic tradition, which spread into the Slavic environment through Paisius Velichkovsky in the second half of the 18th century (Zozulák 2021b, 1–13), provides further insight into the continuity of Byzantine spiritual influence among the Slavs. Tachiaos emphasizes that Paisius Velichkovsky made the rich heritage of neptic ascetic literature accessible to the Slavic world, thereby encouraging a revival of the hesychastic tradition and a return to Byzantine spiritual roots (Zozulák – Delikari 2024, 152).

This process was closely connected with Byzantine hesychasm, as monks of the hesychastic tradition continue to profess “the highest values of Byzantine Christian culture” (Pirivatrič 2019, 52), which attests to their enduring validity not only in a historical context but also in contemporary society. The hesychastic-neptic tradition was also brought to Great Moravia by the missionaries Constantine-Cyril and Methodius, who became acquainted with it during their stay in the monastery of Polychronion on Mount Olympus in Bithynia (Zozulák 2022, 4), where their spiritual orientation was formed. Methodius even served as the igumen (abbot) of this monastery, where more than seventy monks lived under his spiritual guidance (Gonis 1985, 7).

Values in the Work *Life of Constantine-Cyril*

The values reflecting the spiritual tradition of Byzantine thought, in which knowledge is not limited to intellectual activity alone, are closely linked with ethics and the spiritual transformation of the human person. As a starting point for our research, we draw on the *Life of Constantine-Cyril*, in which we have identified the fundamental values shaping the spiritual personality of this great intellectual and missionary. These values are not presented merely as theoretical principles but as defining features of his entire life orientation. They include, above all, the knowledge of truth, repentance and a righteous life, self-restraint, prudence, wisdom, diligence, love of learning, and quietness in behaviour – inner peace and humility in one’s way of life (Zozulák 2021a, 19–20).

A special place in his hierarchy of values is occupied by learning and knowledge (*Life of Constantine-Cyril* 2013, 16), that is, education, which Constantine regarded as a highly important value. He understood education not merely as the accumulation of knowledge but as a path to wisdom, since he considered knowledge a means of approaching truth and, at the same time, a path leading the human person to a deeper knowledge of God and of oneself. According to Constantine, true education unites intellectual cultivation with ethical perfection and leads to an understanding of divine truths. In this sense, knowledge acquires a profound spiritual dimension and is directly connected with the cultivation of virtues.

The *Life of Constantine-Cyril* is one of the most important sources for understanding the life and thought of Constantine the Philosopher, who later took the monastic name Cyril. This work, probably composed at the end of the ninth century, is not only biographical in nature but also preserves valuable testimony about Constantine-Cyril’s spiritual personality and his understanding

of the relationship between knowledge, faith, and ethical life. The text records that when the young Constantine was asked what philosophy is, he answered: “Knowledge of divine and human things insofar as a human being can draw near to God. It teaches a person to become, through his own deeds, the image and likeness of the One who created him” (Life of Constantine-Cyril 2013, 16). This statement is of great importance, as it reveals a synthesis of Greek philosophy and Christian thought (Zozulák 2021a, 17). At the same time, it expresses the essence and goal of human life, which, in Constantine’s understanding, acquires a distinctly Christian dimension.

These words must be examined in a broader context. It is not sufficient to consider only his exceptional education, but also his deep commitment to Christian values. Philosophy, as understood by Constantine, is not merely a theoretical search for truth but a way of life requiring the transformation of human behaviour according to Christ’s commandments. Philosophy is thus connected with the practical realization of ethical principles and with the effort to transform one’s inner world. Life according to Christian law calls a person to change ethical principles, abandon passions, and turn toward virtue and truth. In this framework, philosophy becomes at once education, ascetic practice, and spiritual progress, leading to wisdom and ultimately to the knowledge of God.

This synthesis of education, knowledge, virtue, and spiritual life forms the core of Constantine-Cyril’s thought and explains why he is presented in the Life as a model of a Christian intellectual who unites scholarly knowledge with ethical perfection and apostolic activity.

Two Dimensions of Constantine’s Definition of Philosophy

The aim of our research is not to analyse Constantine’s definition of philosophy itself – which has already been examined by scholars such as F. Dvorník (Dvorník 1970, 78), A. Avenarius (Avenarius 1992, 71), R. Dupkala (Dupkala 2006, 95-102), and J. Zozulák (Zozulák 2021a, 15) but to grasp the essence of his thought in relation to the ethical perspective of spiritual transformation. Within this framework, we analyse two dimensions of his statement:

1. “Knowledge of divine and human things insofar as a human being can draw near to God.”
2. “It teaches a person to become, through his own deeds, the image and likeness of the One who created him.”

The Christian Interpretation of Philosophy as a Way of Life

In ancient Greek philosophy, knowledge of “divine and human things” was considered the fundamental aim of philosophical inquiry. Aristotle, in his *Metaphysics*, defines philosophy as the science that investigates the first principles and causes of reality, stating: “All men by nature desire to know” (*Metaphysics* A 1, 980a). Philosophical knowledge according to Aristotle thus aims at understanding the essence of the world and the fundamental principles that govern it. A similar understanding can also be found in later philosophy.

In Christian thought, however, the concept of philosophy acquires a deeper theological dimension, as it becomes directly connected with the soteriological perspective of the human person and with one’s personal relationship with God. Christian thinkers did not reject Greek philosophy but approached it critically and created a new synthesis between philosophy and Christian revelation. In patristic literature, philosophy is often identified with a way of life leading to spiritual perfection and union with God. Thus, true philosophy is not limited to theoretical

knowledge but is expressed primarily in practice – through the cultivation of virtues and the spiritual formation of the human person.

Knowledge of God is not a static state but a dynamic journey of continual spiritual ascent. In this context, Constantine's statement should also be understood, namely that philosophy is the knowledge of divine and human things insofar as a person can draw closer to God. This formulation, on the one hand, acknowledges the value of human knowledge, but at the same time points to its limits. In Byzantine thought, the full knowledge of God is considered unattainable for the human intellect, since God transcends all created reality – a distinction further elaborated by Gregory Palamas in his teaching on the Divine essence and energies.

Humans can draw near to God through spiritual experience, prayer, and participation in Divine grace. Thus, the knowledge of God is not merely the result of intellectual effort, but the fruit of spiritual experience and a deeper relationship with God, which presupposes spiritual purity. The integration of philosophy and ethical life therefore constitutes one of the fundamental characteristics of Byzantine patristic thought.

It teaches a person to become, through one's own deeds, the image and likeness of the One who created him.

Equally important is the second dimension of the definition, according to which philosophy teaches a person to become, through one's own deeds, the image and likeness of the Creator. This statement directly builds on the biblical teaching of the creation of the human being in the image and likeness of God (Gen 1:26). In Christian thought, a clear distinction is made between these two concepts. The "image" is understood as a gift given to the human person at creation, whereas the "likeness" is not a given state but a goal to be attained through ethical and spiritual progress. Constantine's assertion that philosophy leads a person to become the image and likeness of God thus directly reflects Byzantine anthropology, according to which progress toward the likeness of God is realized through the practice of virtues. This process is closely connected with the teaching of deification, understood as participation in the Divine life. Deification represents the ultimate goal of human existence and is accomplished through cooperation between the human person and God. Within this framework, philosophy acquires a distinctly ascetic and pedagogical character, since it guides the human person toward spiritual transformation, in which one is called to become, through one's deeds, the image and likeness of the Creator. In this way, philosophy becomes inseparably linked with ethical life, spiritual growth, and the search for communion with God, thereby constituting a fundamental feature of the Cyrillo-Methodian spiritual heritage. This means that it is not merely a matter of knowing theoretical principles but rather a path that leads to the transformation of the human person.

Constantine-Cyril's conviction also reflects the high level of education he received in Constantinople. His studies at the Imperial University brought him into contact with classical Greek literature, philosophy, and theology. The synthesis of these elements shaped a distinctive spiritual profile that united Hellenic education with Christian faith. This conception of philosophy as the union of knowledge and a virtuous life is evident both in his teaching and in his activity.

The significance of Constantine's words becomes even more apparent in the historical context of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission. The mission of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius to the Slavs had not only a religious but also a profound cultural dimension. Through the creation of the Slavic script and the translation of liturgical and biblical texts, they strove to transmit not only the Christian faith but also an entire spiritual and cultural system of values. In this sense, philosophy functions as a pedagogical instrument that contributes to the formation of a new cultural identity. N. Malinovska, in her analysis of the identity of the Slavs based on Ján Zozulák's study *A Source*

of *Values in the Cultural Life of the Slavs* (Zozulák 2019, 13-21), emphasizes that “the Moravian mission of the brothers Cyril and Methodius is considered a turning point in the history of all Slavic nations, as the fruits of their work directly influenced the development of every Slavic country” (Malinovska 2021, 165).

This approach is closely related to the Byzantine understanding of education, which is not limited to the transmission of knowledge but aims at the formation of character and ethical consciousness. True education leads a person to wisdom, which is expressed through justice, philanthropy, and love for God and neighbour. Thus, philosophy, as understood by Constantine, is not merely an object of knowledge, but a dynamic process that leads to the fulfilment of the human person. The words of Constantine preserved in the *Life of Constantine-Cyril* therefore reveal a profound theological and anthropological understanding of knowledge and of the ultimate purpose of human life.

Ethical Values of Truth, Salvation, Education, and Law in the *Life of Constantine-Cyril*

The analysis of ethical values in the *Life of Constantine-Cyril* can be organized around four fundamental axes: truth, salvation, education, and law. These concepts form the ethical and spiritual core of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission and are presented in the work as fundamental values for shaping the Christian life of the Slavs.

The Cyrillo-Methodian mission (Ivanič 2020, 655-667) brought a new ethical code to the Slavs after the Great Moravian ruler Rastislav, through his envoys, requested that the Byzantine Emperor Michael III send him a teacher who would explain the essence of the Christian faith to the Slavs in their own language. The analysis of this text can be carried out on three levels: historical-narrative, theological, and conceptual-linguistic.

Historical and Narrative Framework

The central figure of the examined passage is the Great Moravian ruler Rastislav, who sent envoys to Emperor Michael III requesting a teacher who would teach Christianity in the language of the Slavs. The narrative emphasizes three key elements:

1. Political-ecclesiastical initiative – ruler Rastislav’s request for a teacher points to an effort toward ecclesiastical autonomy from the Frankish clergy.
2. Educational character of the mission – the teacher is to explain the essence of the faith.
3. Linguistic dimension – education should take place in their own language.

In his letter, Emperor Michael III presents the mission as a gift from God: “Therefore receive a gift greater and more precious than all gold, silver, precious stones, and perishable wealth” (*Life of Constantine-Cyril* 2013, 33). This rhetoric conveys two important messages: the superiority of spiritual value, since the gift is not material but spiritual – namely, knowledge of the faith and Christian teaching with a soteriological perspective.

Truth

In the *Life of Constantine-Cyril*, the concept of truth is not limited to a cognitive meaning but acquires theological and ethical depth. Truth is above all the knowledge of God, the true faith, and a right life lived according to God’s will. The narrative directly refers to Holy Scripture (1 Tim

2:4): “God, who wants all people to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth” (Life of Constantine-Cyril 2013, 32). Truth thus appears as a condition of salvation.

Particular importance is given to the interpretation of the Old Slavonic word ‘true’. This term signifies not only truth in a cognitive sense but also justice, law, and legal order. This semantic richness shows that in the Slavic cultural context, ‘true’ is linked with Divine law, social justice, and ethical order. The transmission of truth therefore means the transmission of the Christian faith and the establishment of a new legal and ethical order.

The text also presents the Byzantine Empire as a source of faith, education, and justice. The claim that good law proceeds from Byzantium “to all sides” (Life of Constantine-Cyril 2013, 32) expresses the idea that Byzantium is the bearer of the true faith, and that the mission among the Slavs has both a civilizational and soteriological character. Thus, the passage is not merely a historical narrative, but presents Rastislav’s political initiative, the Byzantine response as a Divine gift, and the spread of truth as the transmission of faith, justice, and culture. In this context, the mission of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius represents the transmission of truth that leads people to salvation.

Salvation

The second fundamental value is salvation. The mission of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius is presented in the *Life of Constantine-Cyril* as a work directed toward the salvation of nations. Salvation has three dimensions:

- Spiritual – liberation from ignorance and knowledge of God,
- Ecclesial – incorporation of nations into the community of the Church,
- Cultural – transformation of society through Christian teaching.

The mission is therefore not only a theological act but also an expression of love for humanity.

Salvation represents the principal goal of the mission, as it implies the transformation of the human person and participation in the Divine life. In the *Life of Constantine-Cyril*, this mission is understood as part of God’s plan of salvation for all people. Salvation as the aim of the mission of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius is not limited to the afterlife but includes the transformation of human existence through the knowledge of God and participation in the life of the Church. The goal of the Incarnation is the deification of the human being, and the mission of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius is seen in this perspective as part of the Divine economy of salvation.

Education

The value of education as a means of transmitting the faith occupies a central place in the *Life of Constantine-Cyril*. The ruler Rastislav requests Emperor Michael III to send a teacher who will teach the faith in the Slavic language. Education in this context means the transmission of theological knowledge, an understanding of Holy Scripture, and the cultivation of the human intellect. The creation of the Slavic script by Constantine-Cyril is an act of great cultural significance, enabling the Slavs to access the truths of the faith. Thus, education becomes a means of spiritual freedom and cultural development.

The mission of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius began on the basis of a request by ruler Rastislav addressed to Emperor Michael III, asking that a teacher be sent who would proclaim the Christian faith in the language of the Slavs. Education here includes knowledge of Scripture, the creation of an alphabet, the translation of liturgical texts, and the transmission of knowledge.

Law

In the *Life of Constantine-Cyril*, the concept of law is closely linked with truth. It is not merely a legal norm, but an ethical order originating from God. Christian teaching introduces a new way of life grounded in justice, virtues, and obedience to the will of God. The spread of the Christian faith thus also entails the establishment of a new ethical framework in which society is ordered according to the principles of justice and love.

These four values – truth, salvation, education, and law – constitute the fundamental pillars of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition. Truth is presented as the knowledge of God that leads to salvation. Education is the means of transmitting this truth, while law expresses the ethical order arising from the acceptance of the Christian faith, shaping the life of society. Through these values, the Cyrillo-Methodian mission emerges as a significant event in the history of the Church and of European culture. In this perspective, the mission of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius is understood as a spiritual, cultural, and ethical renewal of the Slavic nations, integrated into the broader framework of patristic theology and the Byzantine missionary tradition. The mission of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius thus had not only an ethical, but also a distinctly social dimension.

At the end, it is important to emphasize that the analysis of the values of truth, salvation, education, and law in the *Life of Constantine-Cyril* reveals that this text is not merely a hagiographical narrative, but a work of profound theological and ethical depth.

Conclusion

The values presented by Constantine-Cyril in his work are enduring values that have lost none of their relevance even after nearly twelve centuries. Truth, legal and ethical order, law, and education remain fundamental for the functioning of a stable society. “The effects of human actions on the development of technology, today, are so radical that it is impossible to predict their consequences. They demand many answers concerning ethical issues” (Kuzior - Marszałek-Kotzur, 2022, 200). It can be argued that even in today’s postmodern and technocratic world, rationality, self-restraint, wisdom, and diligence are values closely associated with sustainable and successful systems of governance and organizational management. These are values whose impact can be observed over the long-term period across ages. They have their place in many areas of both professional and personal life, especially in the regulation of behaviour. It is important to emphasize that the value system of the human person is diverse and rich. The preservation of deep and sound values leads a person to success without endangering others through one’s actions. Ethical principles such as spiritual cultivation, the practice of virtues, and the integration of knowledge with a virtuous life foster genuine progress when they are embraced as a natural part of life. At the same time, the emphasis on maximizing performance and the rapid implementation of digital technologies and tools raise numerous ethical questions and introduces new kinds of challenges that must be addressed. Societies and individuals who build their lives upon ethical principles are better equipped to respond effectively to these challenges. This represents a way of thinking and acting that is grounded not merely in theoretical knowledge, but in lived practice – a path leading toward the profound transformation of society.

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Mgr. Viera Zozulaková, PhD.
Silesian University of Technology
Faculty of Organization and Management
Department of Applied Social Sciences
Zabrze
Poland

Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra
Faculty of Arts
Department of Philosophy and Political Sciences
Hodžova 1
949 01 Nitra
Slovakia
vzozulakova@ukf.sk
ORCID ID: 0000-0001-7035-8743
WOS Researcher ID: AAB-5534-2020
SCOPUS Author ID: 57191340873

FROM CONFLICT TO MARRIAGE. THE RELATIONS OF THE PIASTS OF POLAND AND THE ÁRPÁDS OF HUNGARY IN THE 1130S. PART 2.

Gábor Barabás

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Abstract: BARABÁS, Gábor. *From Conflict to Marriage. The Relations of the Piasts of Poland and the Árpáds of Hungary in the 1130s. Part 2.* The research into the relations between certain rulers, territories or peoples can be considered one of the classic topics of Medieval Studies. 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. Since we can only speak indirectly about the international relations of 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 marriages was realized, yet I believe that the hypothesis formulated in this 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

“It is as difficult as finding a way out of the labyrinth in the dark of night without Ariadne’s thread” (Wertner 1892, 259.)

This paper is the second part of a contribution to the history of the dynastic relations of the Árpáds of Hungary and the Piasts of Poland in the 1130s. In my previous study (Barabás 2025) I examined the conflict that arose between the king of Hungary, Béla II the Blind (1131 – 1141) and the Polish prince, Bolesław III Wrymouth (Krzywousty) (1107 – 1138) in the early 1130s. The controversy was caused by the decision of the latter to support the late King Coloman the Learned’s (1096 – 1116) illegitimate son, Boris, against the new Hungarian ruler. Boris’s mother Euphemia Vladimirovna of the Rurik dynasty, the 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, 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 Reichstag in Merseburg, and – probably – consequently to withdraw his support from Boris Kolomanovich (Makk 1987, 63-64; Makk 1996, 170-171,

175-176; Kristó 2000, 15-16; Font 2021, 135-136. See furthermore: Zupka 2016; Rostkowski 2019, 117-119). According to Hans-Otto Gaethke the reconciliation of Bolesław III with King Béla II happened already prior to the Reichstag (Gaethke 2024, 169-171, 181).

Based on the analysis of the remaining Polish narrative sources, it can be stated that in 1136 the daughter of Bolesław III, Judith got engaged to the son of the Hungarian king. The relevant sources do not give the name of the groom, therefore we cannot be sure which son of Béla II was involved in the planned wedding, presumably the future Géza II, or perhaps his brothers, the later usurpers, Ladislas or Stephen. In the end, the engagement was not followed by an actual marriage,¹ 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). The annulment of the betrothal has been linked by certain Polish scholars to the fact that another marriage had already provided a sufficient basis for Piast-Árpád relations at this time (Jasiński 1993, 256; Piastowie, 98).

This second example of the Piast-Árpád dynastic relations in the 1130s cannot be called completely clear either, even if there is no doubt that this family tie was established. Drawing upon the extant narrative and pragmatic sources in Poland, it is beyond doubt that the wife of Mieszko III the Old (Stary), the son of Bolesław III, married the daughter of a Hungarian ruler. This is attested by a contemporary source, the chronicle of the Bishop of Cracow, Wincenty Kadłubek (*Chronica Polonorum*), written in the early thirteenth century.² The chronicler, however, did not record the name of the wife or the fact of which Hungarian ruler's daughter she was. Similarly laconic statements are found in the historical works of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that followed the work of Kadłubek.³

Nevertheless, the fifteenth-century historian Jan Długosz does indeed provide the names of both parties, and, according to his narrative, the marriage took place in 1153, when Mieszko III wed Gertrude, the daughter of King Béla II, and sister of Géza II, to ensure peace and to erase the memory of the former conflict between King Béla II and Bolesław III the Wrymouth.⁴ At the end of the nineteenth century, Mór Wertner, based on a sixteenth-century work by Martinus Cromerus (Cromer 1555), which mentions Béla II's daughter Gertrude,⁵ without reference to Długosz, identified the Hungarian king's daughter as Gertrude and her father as Béla II (Wertner

¹ Stephen married Mary Komnena, a Byzantine princess and niece of Emperor Manuel Komnenos, in the late 1150s. A few years later, Ladislas turned down the offer of marriage in Constantinople. See Makk 1978, 13, 20-21; Makk 1989, 70.

² "ex filia regis Ungarorum" (Bielowski 1872, 378-379; Plezia 1994, 131; Mühle 2014, 300-301). For Kadłubek see EMC 955-956; von Güttner-Sporzyński 2017.

³ "ex filia regis Ungarorum" (Ćwikliński 1878, 635); "ex filia regis Ungarorum" (Kürbis 1970, 55); "Ex filia regis Ungarie" (Węclewski 1878, 479); "ex filia regis Ungarorum" (Pawłowski 2013, 57). See Jasiński 1993, 236.

⁴ "[...] filiam Bele ceci Hungarie regis mortui et sororem Geyse Hungarie regis Gertrudim nomine, virginem et moribus et forma inclitam accepit in consortem, que ex Hungaria in Poloniam traducta splendidam et magnificam dotem in vasis aureis et argenteis ceteraque suppellectili invexit, nupciarum quoque solennitas Poznaniensi civitate pluribus diebus sub frequentia plurimorum hospitem habita. Ea enim affinitas ideo expetita et accepta est, ut priorum veterumque discordiarum et bellorum inter Belam Hungarie regem et Boleslaum Polonorum ducem Crzywovsty vocatum, patrem Mye(cz)sz(lawi) initarum obliteraretur memoria, et inter finitima sibi Hungarie et Polonie Regna quies et animorum idemptitas atque tranquillitacio proveniret" (Ioannis Dlugossii V – VI 1973, 51).

⁵ "[...] Mieziſlaus uero Eudoxiam. Verum is, hac non ita multo post mortua, nondiu exacto a primis nuptiis biennio, aliam duxit, Gertrudim Geise regis Vngarorum sororem, Belae caeci filiam." (De origine et rebus, 148). See furthermore Báling 2021, 523, footnote 52.

1892, 303-304). The former is quite interesting because the eminent Hungarian genealogist himself published a decisive excerpt from a contemporary document, which refers to Mieszko III's first wife as Elizabeth,⁶ a fact confirmed by several other sources as well.⁷ Wertner makes only a fleeting reference that Gertrude and Elizabeth might be considered identical (Wertner 1892, 306).

Polish medieval studies have clearly favoured the version of Elizabeth (Piaŝowie, 109; Jasiński 1993, 235-240), but there are several theories as to which Hungarian king's daughter was the wife of the Polish prince, Mieszko III. In addition to the name given by Długosz and his successors, King Béla II, it has been suggested that the princess in question was not, in fact, the daughter of the Hungarian monarch, but rather his sister, that is to say, the daughter of Prince Álmos, the brother of King Coloman the Learned. This theory, created by the renowned Polish historian Oswald Balzer at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Balzer 2005, 289-292, Báling 2021, 506), which was accepted, among others, in the 1970 edition of the Chronicle of Greater Poland and in the 1976 edition of the documents of the Church of the Virgin Mary in Lubin (Kürbis 1970, 157, note 306; Perzanowski 1976, 6, note 22; 84, note 38), was already contested in the twentieth century, with scholars underlining that Álmos was never a Hungarian king, which contradicts the surviving data (Jasiński 1993, 236-237; Piaŝowie, 109). The most prominent Polish genealogist of the second half of the twentieth century, Kazimierz Jasiński, theorised that Elizabeth was in fact the daughter of King Stephen II. He argued that, although the Hungarian chronicle tradition states that Stephen II had no children, this could be a later fabrication constructed under the rule of the descendants of Prince Álmos, the so-called Álmos branch. Furthermore, he argued that medieval sources focused primarily on male descendants, while daughters were often not mentioned at all (Jasiński 1993, 238).

Moreover, he contends that the biographical data concerning Mieszko III, specifically his purported birth in the years 1121 – 1122, precludes the likelihood that his wife was the daughter of Béla II, who married Helena, the daughter of the Serbian Grand Duke Uroš I, in 1129 (Makk 1996, 172; Farkas 2016, 114, 117; Kádár 2017, 789). Additionally, Jasiński also pointed out that Mieszko III's daughter, Elizabeth, married the Bohemian duke Soběslav II (1173 – 1178), whose mother, Adelaide, was the daughter of Prince Álmos, and therefore the sister of Béla II (Piaŝowie, 119; Báling 2021, 520), meaning that the couple would have been related in the second degree. The Polish historian pointed out that in a similar case, an appeal to the Holy See would have been unusual, so the later marriage could be considered a disqualifying factor for both Álmos and Béla II as fathers of the bride (Jasiński 1993, 237).

The most recent comment on this issue was made by Eduard Mühle, former director of the German Historical Institute in Warsaw, who published the Latin-German bilingual edition of Wincenty Kadłubek's chronicle in 2014. Mühle chose the name Elizabeth in his translation, but did not make a decision regarding the Hungarian king in question. Although Béla II is not mentioned by Mühle, both Álmos and Stephen II are considered to be possible identifications of the father of the bride (Mühle 2014, 301).

It is evident that none of these solutions has found general acceptance within the field of Hungarian historical research, a phenomenon that may be attributed to the absence of any explicit mention in the Hungarian sources of the case. As mentioned above, Mór Wertner considers the wife of Mieszko III to be the daughter of Béla II, and refers to her as Gertrude (Wertner 1892, 303-304). In his article on Polish-Hungarian relations, Gyula Kristó does not provide a name, but he

⁶ "Mesacho Pollonie dux et prima uxor eius Helizabeth [...]" (Piekosiński 1886, II, 16, nr. CCCLXXVI.)

⁷ "Domina Elisabeth ducissa uxor Mesiconis" (Perzanowski 1976, 6). "Comemoracio Elisabeth ductricis" (Perzanowski 1976, 84). See Jasiński 1993, 244.

identifies the wife of Mieszko III as the daughter of King Béla II by referring to Kadłubek's chronicle (Kristó 2000, 16). In his work on the history of the twelfth-century Hungarian Kingdom, Ferenc Makk places the marriage of the king's sister Gertrude and "one of the Polish princes" around 1146, i.e. during the reign of Géza II (Makk 2000, 84-85). The historian from Szeged demonstrated greater caution in other works, such as his 1996 monograph, which mentions only the "dynastic bond" between the family of Géza II and "one of the Polish princely courts" (Makk 1996, 184). Tamás Kádár mentions the name Elizabeth as the daughter of Béla II, ruling out the possibility of the Gertrude version. It is important to point out that in a footnote Kádár also presents the theory of Álmos and Stephen II as the fathers of the bride, stating in connection with Jasiński's analysis of the topic that it is worthy of further consideration (Kádár 2012, 82, note 91). Most recently, Péter Báling addressed the issue in his monograph on the family relations of the early Árpáds definitely rejecting the idea that Béla II had a daughter named Gertrude. Although not explicitly stated in the analysis, Báling presents the Polish theories in the context of Stephen II, so presumably the historian is accepting the version that Elizabeth was his daughter (Báling 2021, 506, 523). It is important to note here that the source already cited by Wertner and referenced also by Báling (Wertner 1892, 303; Báling 2021, 523, note 52), the biography of the Bishop of Bamberg, St. Otto, according to which King Béla II had only one daughter, named Sophia, can be questioned for the same reasons as the sources regarding the childlessness of Stephen II. The former, though, is undoubtedly a contemporary source, not an afterthought, as the report of the Hungarian chronicle regarding Stephen II, the son of King Coloman the Learned, which was definitely written under the rule of the branch of Álmos, attests.⁸

Polish genealogical research places the birth of both Mieszko III and Elizabeth around 1125, primarily on the basis of the later activities of the former (Jasiński 1993, 238, Piastowie, 107). Similarly, precise data on the timing of the matrimony remains elusive. Jasiński has noted that in 1140/41 Mieszko III attended the meeting in Łęczyca with his wife, where he negotiated with his brother Bolesław IV the Curly (Kędzierzawy) and their mother Salomea, without and against their eldest brother, the *senior dux*⁹ Władysław II the Exiled (Wygnaniec).¹⁰ However, according to the Polish historian, the actual *terminus ante quem* was the death of Bolesław III Wrymouth in 1138, after which the marriage of the young Piast prince, who had gained power over Greater Poland, and an Árpáadian princess would have been politically unrealistic because of the geographical distance and the fact that Władysław II had the sovereign power over the territories bordering the Kingdom of Hungary. Drawing upon extant research, Jasiński identified the imperial assembly of 1135 in Merseburg as the *terminus post quem*, when Bolesław III, the Bohemian duke Soběslav I, and King Béla II made peace with each other under the pressure of Emperor Lothair III.¹¹ As mentioned in the first part of this study, the Polish prince then

⁸ I am grateful to Péter Báling for this remark.

⁹ Poland entered into the era of territorial fragmentation after the death of Bolesław III Wrymouth in 1138. See Lukowski – Zawadzki 2019, 13-27; Berend – Urbánčzyk – Wiszewski 2013, 174-176.

¹⁰ The contemporary monk of Zwiefalten, Ortlieb reports: "[...] preclarissimos filios duces Bolezlaum et Misiconem cum uxoribus elorum, filiabus scilicet regum Ungariae et Rusziae, de regionibus suis fecit ad generale colloquium convenire." (Pertz 1852, 91). A broader narrative from the seventeenth century: "[...] praeclarissimos filios suos Duces Bolezlaum ac Misiconem cum Uxoribus eorum, filialibus scilicet Regum Ungariae et Russiae de Regionibus suis fecit ad generale colloquium venire, quo colloquio in Civitate, quae vocatur Lantsza cum Regni Primatibus habito [...]" (Sulger 1698, 100). See Szczur – Ożóg 1999, 89, 107-108. For the contacts of the Piast dynasty, especially of Bolesław III Wrymouth and his wife, Salomea see Wiszewski 2010, 512-516.

¹¹ The reconciliation might have happened earlier. See Gaethke 2024, 169-171, 181. For the former conflict caused by the support provided to Prince Boris by Bolesław III, see Makk 1972, 42, Makk 1987, 63-64;

pledged himself to abandon his support for Boris, the pretender to the Hungarian throne (Makk 1989, 32-33; Makk 1996, 176). The union of Mieszko and Elizabeth, according to Jasiński, could thus have been instrumental in the restoration of the previously strained relationship between the Polish and Hungarian monarchs (Jasiński 1993, 238-239; Szczur – Ożóg 1999, 107). It is noteworthy that Jan Długosz also saw the intention to settle the conflict between Béla II and Bolesław III behind the marriage, which was mentioned by him though with the wrong date and bride's name (Ioannis Dlugossii V – VI 1973, 51).

The precise date of Elizabeth's death is unknown, although the *necrologium* of Lubin provides the date, 21 July, albeit without specifying the year (Perzanowski 1976, 84). Jasiński draws attention to the fact that Bolesław, the first son of Mieszko III's second marriage to Eudoksia, the daughter of Iziaslav Mstislavich,¹² was born in 1159, so Elizabeth's death must have occurred in 1158 at the very latest, and the Polish historian assumes that it happened between 1151 and 1154. Mieszko and his first wife had two sons, Odon and Stephen, and three daughters, Wierzchosława Ludmilla, Judith, and Elizabeth (Jasiński 1993, 239-241; Szczur – Ożóg 1999, 106). Among them, the name Stephen, which is foreign to the Piast naming tradition, also reinforces the assumption that Mieszko III's wife, Elizabeth, came from the Hungarian royal family. Jan Długosz himself interpreted the naming in this way.¹³

In my opinion, there can be no doubt that the daughter of the Hungarian king was indeed called Elizabeth, so we can safely dismiss the version of Gertrude as a genealogical curiosity once and for all. While the precise origins of the name preserved by Długosz remain uncertain, it is worth mentioning that one of the daughters of Bolesław III and his second wife, Salomea, was named Gertrude (Jasiński 1993, 245-246; Szczur – Ożóg 1999, 94-95; Pac 2022, 417). Mieszko III's sister entered the monastery of Zwiefalten in 1138 or early 1139, where she was buried in 1160 (Pertz 1852, 85, 91. See Jasiński 1993, 246-247; Wiszewski 2010, 512-516; Pac 2022, 262). While it may be of little consequence, the contemporary monk-historian Ortlieb did make a note in the monastery of Zwiefalten that informs us about the meeting in Łęczycza. It is no more than a hypothesis, but it is not inconceivable that the name Gertrude preserved by Długosz, was connected to Mieszko III's wife, the daughter of the Hungarian king, due to her being the sister of the Polish prince.

Kazimierz Jasiński's reconstruction is clearly remarkable, despite the poor state of the sources. Nevertheless, it cannot be regarded as definitive, despite the thoroughness of his argumentation. Indeed, his arguments can be challenged on several points regarding the identity of the princess's father. The purported date of the marriage, 1135 – 1138, does not, in my opinion, unequivocally preclude the possibility that the agreement between Béla II and Bolesław III concerned the daughter of the former, who was still a child, and not her collateral relative, i.e. the child of the late King Stephen II. The eldest son of Mieszko III, Odon, was probably born around 1145 (Szczur – Ożóg 1999, 116), so it cannot be excluded that his mother was born from a marriage between Béla II and Helena concluded in 1129. In fact, if we place Elizabeth's birth around 1122 – 1125, following Jasiński, she gave birth to her first – known – child relatively late by the standards of the time. By analogy, it seems not at all inconceivable that in the 1130s there was an engagement between the older son of Mieszko III and the slightly younger daughter of the Hungarian king (Cf. Jasiński 1993, 251-253), which became official when the bride reached the

Makk 1996, 175-176; Kristó 2000, 16.

¹² According to recent research she was the daughter of Yury Dolgoruky. See Dąbrowski 2008, 677-687; Font 2021, 142.

¹³ “cui matre obsecrante Stephanus nomen inditum est; in Hungarie enim Regno Stephanus rex suus nepos et fratre germanus principabatur” (Ioannis Dlugossii V – VI 1973, 62).

appropriate age.¹⁴ The situation was similar almost a century later in the case of the marriage of King Andrew II's son, Coloman, and Salomea, daughter of Prince Leszek the White of Cracow (Font 2021, 177-185; Font – Barabás 2019, 21-41).

A more compelling argument against the Álmos lineage is that Mieszko III's and Elizabeth's daughter became the wife of the Bohemian duke Soběslav II around 1173. Jasiński's assertion that a papal dispensation would have been required for a union between second-degree relatives, which he considered to be a special case, is noteworthy. However, there are also examples of marriages between close relatives among the Piasts: Bolesław III Wrymouth received a papal dispensation from his third-degree kinship with his first wife Zbyslava, according to the testimony of his chronicler, Gallus Anonymus (Báling 2021, 78-79). The thirteenth century provides several further examples of intra-dynastic marriages between members of the Piast family (See Kozłowski 2020, 174-222). For the twelfth century, it should also be noted that no papal registers from the period before the beginning of the pontificate of Innocent III in 1198 have come down to us, with only a handful of exceptions (Frenz 1986, 46-47), which means that the survival of petitions submitted to the papal court is at the very least accidental. Thus, in a given case, the absence of evidence may not be evidence of absence regarding an application for dispensation.

Finally, as a conclusion of both parts of my paper, it is important to note that, on the basis of the remaining sources and their interpretation, it is far from impossible that in the mid-1130s Bolesław III and Béla II could have reached an agreement on two marriages to settle their formerly contentious relationship. As we have seen, the engagement between Bolesław's daughter Judith and the son of the Hungarian king, possibly the later monarch Géza II, can be dated to 1136 (Barabás 2025). In my opinion, the argumentation of Kazimierz Jasiński rightfully suggests that the marriage of the later Prince Mieszko III the Old and Elizabeth can also be placed at this time. It is conceivable, therefore, that the establishment of amicable relations between the monarchs in 1135 was sealed by a plan for a double wedlock.¹⁵ It is indisputable that only one of the two plans was realised, namely that of Mieszko and Elizabeth, regardless of whether the latter was the daughter of Stephen II or Béla II. However, it cannot be ruled out that there was indeed a plan to betroth the daughter of the Polish prince¹⁶ to one of the sons of the Hungarian king, which perhaps did not take place because Bolesław III died in 1138 and the political situation changed. In the absence of further data, we can only speculate as to whether Judith arrived in the Kingdom of Hungary after the agreement, as was customary, or whether she did not travel there at all. It is possible that the journey was delayed for some reason, and then the plan was ultimately dismissed because of the death of Bolesław III. However, the close proximity of the actual marriages of Géza II and Judith in 1146 and 1148 respectively suggests the hypothesis that they broke off their engagement shortly before (Jasiński 1993, 256). In the case of Elizabeth, however, there is no reason to doubt that after the agreement the Hungarian princess travelled to Poland to meet her

¹⁴ See e.g. the betrothals of the children of Prince Henry I the Bearded of Silesia in 1207 (Zientara 2002, 154-155).

¹⁵ In his work on Polish-Hungarian relations, Endre Kovács does not explicitly link the peace and the engagement of Géza II and Judith, but the fact that the two are mentioned one after the other suggests this (Kovács 1973, 21).

¹⁶ Regarding another daughter of Bolesław III born to Salomea, Dobroniega, who was close in age to Judith, it has also been suggested in scholarship that she was betrothed to Conrad of Płock around 1136, when she was still a child, but the marriage did not take place later. Dobroniega married the future Count Dietrich II of Lausitz (1156 – 1185), son of the Margrave Konrad of Meissen (1123 – 1156), in 1146 – 1148. The latter can also be paralleled with Judith's marriage to Otto, both of whom served diplomatic purposes on behalf of Bolesław IV the Curly and Mieszko III the Old against Władysław II the Exiled, who sought imperial support. See Jasiński 1993, 251-253.

future husband, based on the realization of the marriage and her participation in the meeting in Łęczyca, only the time of her arrival in Poland is unknown.

As already mentioned above, Polish research has posited the hypothesis that the marriage of Judith and Géza II was not carried out because the matrimony of Mieszko III and Elizabeth provided sufficient grounds for the settlement of the formerly turbulent Polish-Hungarian relations, or because the young age of the parties would have delayed the realisation of the planned wedding. However, it cannot be entirely discounted that Géza was engaged to an unknown daughter of the Polish prince, whose death marked the end of the engagement, and that Judith's name was only later connected with the planned marriage. Moreover, there is also the idea that the engagement of Bolesław III's daughter to the son of the Hungarian king, as preserved in the annals, could, in fact, be derived from the other marriage. That is to say, the reports merely "reversed" the family backgrounds of the parties. However, this latter idea did not become widely recognised (Jasiński 1993, 255-256; Szczur – Ozóg 1999, 98). Although the initial two ideas appear to be very plausible, in contrast to the others, I think that the proximity in time of the actual marriages of Judith and Géza II is more of a counter-argument in this regard (Cf. Jasiński 1993, 257).

One thing is certain: around 1135 Bolesław III abandoned his earlier policy of supporting Boris (Makk 1996, 176). There is, unfortunately, an absence of direct evidence that would clearly confirm that the two engagements under analysis can be linked to the reconciliation between the Hungarian and Polish rulers, and the sources themselves raise many questions. However, I believe that, in accordance with the nature of medieval diplomacy, it is not impossible that the two planned matrimonyes that the sources capture could indeed be linked to the settlement of the relationship between King Béla II and Duke Bolesław III. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that, even though the Hungarian Fourteenth Century Chronicle-composition (*Illuminated Chronicle*) mentions the fact that Bolesław III supported Boris against Béla II, it provides another explanation for the change in his alliances. According to the chronicle, it happened during the campaign of 1132 when a Hungarian envoy, sent by members of the lay elite, argued that it was unworthy to support a bastard against the lawful king, Béla II, after which event, the Polish duke returned home.¹⁷

It is also noteworthy that in 1135 – 1136 Bolesław III had two unmarried sons of appropriate age, Bolesław IV the Curly and Mieszko III (Jasiński 1993, 224-245). The son of the prince born from his first wife, Zbyslava, the later senior duke Władysław II the Exiled, was out of the question in 1136, not only because of his age, since he was born in 1105, but also because he had wed ten years earlier Agnes, daughter of the Austrian margrave Leopold III of Babenberg, half-sister of the later German king Conrad III (Jasiński 1993, 57-58; Font 2021, 141).

For Bolesław III Wrymouth, after his submission to Emperor Lothair III at the imperial assembly in Merseburg in 1135, it must have been particularly important to break the isolation that had developed around him. This assertion is well substantiated by the fact that his eldest son born to his second wife, Salomea, Bolesław IV the Curly, married the Prince of Pskov, Vsevolod Mstislavich's daughter Verhuslava in 1136 – 1137 (Font 2021, 141-142; Jasiński 1993, 228-229). As we have seen, Mieszko's first union with his Hungarian wife of disputed origin can also be placed

¹⁷ "Proceres autem regni Hungarie miserunt ad ducem Rutenorum et Polonorum, qui pro Boricho venerant, dicentes: „Non decet vos contra iustitiam querere regnum homini adulterino, nos enim scimus, quod de iure regnum habere debeat Bela, et ipse regnat cum consensu totius regni“. Hiis auditis duces Ruscie et Polonie destiterant amplius adiuvere Borichoni et reversi sunt singuli in suas provincias." (Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV. 1999, 451. cap. 161). See Bak – Veszprémy 2018, 302-303.

in this period. The marriage plan of Bolesław III's daughter Judith also aligns with this historical context.¹⁸

On the Hungarian side, too, the reconciliation, sealed by kinship ties, must have been of significant importance. If we accept that there was an anti-Boris motive behind the marriage of Géza II to Euphrosyne, the sister of the Grand Prince of Kiev, Iziaslav Mstislavich (Font 2021, 140), it is equally conceivable that around 1136 it was perhaps even more important for the Hungarian royal court to permanently deprive Boris of one of his main supporters, Bolesław III Wrymouth.

Regarding the complex dynastic relations of the 1130s, the assumption can provide a further element, namely that the previously mentioned Vladimirko Volodarevich of Zvenigorod, an ally of the Hungarian monarch Béla II, was married to a Hungarian woman, perhaps a daughter of the Hungarian king. However, in contrast to the Piast–Árpád relations outlined above, the theory is not even indirectly supported by sources, as Márta Font has recently pointed out (Font 2021, 120).

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¹⁸ See furthermore footnote 16 for the case of Dobroniega, daughter of Bolesław III.

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Dr. habil. Gábor Barabás, PhD.
University of Pécs
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Institute of History
Department of Medieval and Early Modern History
Rókus utca 2.
7624 Pécs
Hungary
barab.gabor@gmail.com
ORC ID: 0000-0003-4786-970X

ABOUT THE SO-CALLED BENEDICTINES IN THE NA SLOVANECH MONASTERY NEAR PRAGUE¹

Dajana Ćosić – Jozo Vela

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Abstract: ĆOSIĆ, Dajana – VELA, Jozo. *About the So-Called Benedictines in the Na Slovanech Monastery near Prague.* It is generally accepted in scholarship that in the mid-14th century, the newly founded monastery *Na Slovanech* near Prague (later known as *Emmaus*) was settled by Croatian Glagolitic monks who were members of the Benedictine order, and that the monastery initially operated as a Benedictine monastery. While no one questions the Benedictine affiliation of the Croatian Glagolitic monks, scholars have mainly discussed which monastery on the Croatian coast they may have come from. The Benedictine designation may have been uncritically applied and accepted here. This article analyzes the extant fragments of liturgical manuals preserved from the “Na Slovanech” monastery to determine whether they are truly of the Benedictine type. These fragments were recently collected and published together, which facilitates analysis. The analysis shows that the manuscripts for the Divine Office are undoubtedly of a non-Benedictine type, as they clearly indicate they were intended for a Liturgy of the Hours organized according to secular use, not monastic Benedictine use. If the Croatian Glagolitic monks and their local brethren at the *Na Slovanech* monastery prayed their daily prayers (Divine Office) using the books from which these fragments remain, then they did not pray them as the Benedictines had done for centuries.

Keywords: *Na Slovanech Monastery; Prague Emmaus Monastery; Benedictines; Croatian Glagolites; Croatian Church Slavonic; medieval liturgy; medieval Divine Office; monastic use; secular use*

Introduction

“Je všeobecně známo”, It is common knowledge – to quote the esteemed Czech Paleo-Slavist Václav Čermák (2020, 39) – that in the middle of the 14th century to the newly founded Benedictine monastery *Na Slovanech* (later called *Emmaus*) near Prague Slavic Benedictines from the Croatian coast were brought. These Benedictines preserved Church Slavic liturgy of the Catholic rite and the Glagolitic script and in scholarly literature they are known as Croatian Glagolites. The belief that the Croatian monks who came to Prague were Benedictines is indeed widely accepted. Čermák is undoubtedly one of the leading experts on this subject, being the author of recent major surveys on the Church Slavonic literacy of the *Na Slovanech* monastery (Čermák 2014), the Croatian roots of that Church Slavonic literacy (Čermák 2017), and the Glagolitic literacy in any way related to the monastery in question (Čermák 2020, 39-175). Furthermore, Čermák has collated and

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published in Latin transliteration more than thirty surviving parchment fragments of liturgical books and manuals written in the Croatian Church Slavonic language and in the Glagolitic script, which were either brought by the Croatian Glagolites to the *Na Slovanech* monastery or created by copying the books they brought in the monastery's scriptorium (Čermák 2020, 177-295). This publication is accompanied by liturgical, linguistic, palaeographic, and codicological analyses of the fragments.

Čermák is far from being the only one who claims the Benedictine affiliation of the Croatian monks who came to the *Na Slovanech* monastery. The assertion that Croatian monks who came to the newly established Prague monastery – besides practicing the Church Slavic liturgy of the Roman rite and using liturgical books written in Glagolitic script – were also Benedictines is taken as fact in almost every study on the topic by Czech, Croatian, or international Paleo-Slavists, literary historians, and historians, past or present. This is evident in the works of E. Hercigonja, J. Hamm, M. Mihaljević, F. Pechuška, I. Ostojić, L. Pacnerová, B. Lomagistro, J. Verkholtantsev, M. Kramarić, T. Galović, and M. Pohunek (Hercigonja 1975, 61-62; Hercigonja 1994, 74; Hercigonja 2000, 194, 217-218; Hamm 1970; Mihaljević 2017, 194; Mihaljević – Reinhart 2005, 34; *Pěchuška* 1940; Ostojić 1960; Ostojić 1964, 201, 227; Pacnerová 2008; Lomagistro 2009, 127; Verkholtantsev 2014; Verkholtantsev 2016; Kramarić 2019, 45-50; Galović 2016, 145; Pohunek 2022). Likewise, the role of the Croatian Benedictines in the foundation of the Prague monastery *Na Slovanech* is included in scholarly surveys on the history and evolution of the Order of Saint Benedict, such as that by James G. Clark (2011, 259-260). Thus, it is indisputable that the Croatian Glagolites brought to the Prague monastery were Benedictines. Scholars only debate from which Benedictine monastery on the Croatian coast they were summoned. Some favour the Benedictine monastery of Saints Cosmas and Damian on the island of Pašman, while others argue for one of the few Benedictine monasteries located in the town of Senj or its vicinity (Galić – Kozak 2024, 68).

However, while reading the surviving Glagolitic fragments of the liturgical books used in the *Na Slovanech* monastery mentioned above, we have noticed that they do not conform to Benedictine ones. On the contrary, they are of the non-monastic, non-Benedictine type. Here is what we mean by that.

Monastic use vs. secular use

It is well known that during the Middle Ages in the West, the Divine Office was celebrated according to one of two fixed patterns and – as J. Billet aptly puts it – “any student of the Divine Office must be able to tell the difference between the two” (Billet 2014, 13). One way of celebration, usually labelled as ‘monastic use’ or ‘monastic cursus’, was used in Benedictine monasteries and in the monasteries of related orders (Camaldolese hermits, Cistercians, Carthusians, etc.). On the other hand, ‘secular’, ‘Roman’, or ‘cathedral’ use or cursus refers to the pattern by which the Office was sung in secular cathedrals, collegiate churches, and, from the 13th century onwards, in the monasteries of the mendicant orders of friars (Franciscans, Dominicans, Paulines, etc.). The monastic use was based on the prescriptions given by St Benedict of Nursia, mainly in chapters 8–20 of his *Regula s. Benedicti* (RB). As research has shown, the form prescribed by St Benedict was essentially the way the Divine Office was sung in Rome in the sixth century and with which St Benedict was familiar. When the ‘Roman’ use changed in the following centuries, monks who observed the RB (Benedictines and reformed Benedictines) adhered to the old custom prescribed by the RB.

Both monastic and secular uses are similar in many ways. Some differences between the two are very subtle. However, there are areas where the two forms differ significantly. Two fundamental

differences are evident: one is the distribution (*cursus*) of the 150 psalms with canticles over the course of one week; the other concerns the number and arrangement of musical pieces (antiphons and responsories) that accompany the psalms and readings (of the Night Office).

Both uses distribute psalms in numerical order and both rely on the principle that all 150 psalms are sung in one week, so repetitions of a psalm are generally avoided. Both uses start the sequence with Sunday at Matins and both divide the psalms into two groups, 1–108 and 109–150, using them mostly at Matins and mostly at Vespers, respectively, with some psalms being removed for use at other canonical hours. The chief differences are that Benedict designated the majority of psalms 1–19 to be sung on weekdays at Prime and has twelve psalms at Matins and four at Vespers every day, while in the secular *cursus*, psalmody starts with Psalm 1 sung at Matins on Sunday, eighteen psalms are sung at Sunday Matins, twelve on the other days, and five every day at Vespers (Hughes 2004, 51). There is no need to describe all the details of the differences between the distribution of psalms in monastic and secular use here. The monastic and secular weekly *cursus* of psalms are usually best presented in tables (Billet 2014, 16–19. Harper 1991, 258–259. Hughes 2004, 52), from which the differences between the two are most easily seen. We find it unnecessary to present similar tables here. In our analysis of the surviving Glagolitic fragments from the *Na Slovanech* monastery, we shall refer to them as needed. Besides the weekly *cursus*, monastic and secular use also distributed psalms differently on feast days. A useful selection of proper psalms for feast days that was used more frequently is given in Harper's overview (Harper 1991, 260–263).

Except for the way the 150 psalms are distributed over the eight daily offices in one week, the fundamental and most apparent differences between monastic and secular use may be found in the office at Matins on Sundays and feast days. While the secular use had three readings with responsories in each of three nocturns (nine in total), the monastic festal Office had four (twelve in total). Also, following the prescriptions given in RB 11, the monastic festal Office uses three Old Testament canticles instead of psalms in the third nocturn, accompanied by a special antiphon labelled *antiphona ad cantica* (Billet 2014, 20–21).

Glagolitic fragments of Office books

Fundamental differences between monastic and secular use can sometimes be difficult to discern in medieval Office books. To know the exact manner in which the canonical hours were sung, one would need to possess a directory (*directorium*) prescribing it in detail. Unfortunately, no such directory has survived among the Croatian Church Slavic liturgical material used in the *Na Slovanech* monastery. As for the medieval liturgical Office books, they always relied on some degree of familiarity with the psalmody and customs, so only the necessary guidelines are usually given in the rubrics. Even so, the surviving fragments contain enough material to assess whether they follow monastic or secular use.

Fragments of Psalter

On column *a* of the verso sheet of the second folio of the fragment Turský zlomek 1 D c 1/4A of the *Emmaus breviary psalter*, a rubric is written: *V(e)č(e)rna v pon(e)d(ě)l(a)k*, indicating the beginning of Monday Vespers. This rubric appears before the Psalm *Vzlûbihŭ ěko*, which is written with a large, distinctive initial *V*. This is Psalm 114, *Dilexi quoniam*. Psalm 114 is sung at Monday Vespers in both the monastic and secular *cursus*; however, only the secular *cursus* begins the psalmody of this canonical hour with this Psalm. In the monastic *cursus*, Monday Vespers have

Psalms 113 before Psalm 114 (Billet 2014, 16-19). It is clear that the rubric indicates the secular distribution of psalms, not the monastic.

On the first folio of the fragment Borotický zlomek 1 D c 1/13 of the *Emmaus breviary psalter*, within the text of Psalm 118, there is a rubric (1a) which reads *K n(o)n(ê) ps(alm)*. After this, a large initial letter D marks the distinctive beginning of line 129 of Psalm 118: *Divna sv(ê)d(ê) niê* (*Mirabilia testimonia*) (Čermák 2020, 199). Because of its length, Psalm 118 is divided into sections and used for the daily hours of Prime, Terce, Sext, and None in both monastic and secular cursus; but different sections are used. The rubric in the Croatian Glagolitic fragment from the *Na Slovanech* monastery perfectly conforms to the secular cursus, where Psalm 118: 129-176 (three sections of 16 lines each) is used daily at None. In contrast, the monastic cursus uses Psalm 118: 129-152 not at None, but at Sext, and not each day of the week, but only on Monday (Billet 2014, 16-19).

The first folio of the Dobřichovický zlomek 1 D c 1/12 of the *Emmaus breviary psalter* contains the rubric, which Čermák transcribes as *V p(e)t(a)k v(e)č(er)b* (1c), clearly indicating that the following Psalm(s) should be sung at Friday Vespers (Čermák 2020, 202). This rubric appears before Psalm 137 *Ispovêm se t(e)bê ... êko* (*Confitebor tibi ... quoniam*) and is another indication that the psalter was prepared for secular use. In the secular cursus, psalmody for Friday Vespers begins with Psalm 137. Monastic practice differs, as Friday Vespers begin with Psalm 141 and Psalm 137 is placed at the end of the psalmody for Wednesday Vespers (Billet 2014, 16-19).

Before Psalm 143 *Bl(agoslovle)nъ g(ospod)b b(og)b moi* (*Benedictus Dominus Deus meus*) in Turský zlomek 1 D c 1/4B of the *Emmaus breviary psalter*, there is the rubric *V(e)č(er)na v s(o) b(o)tu* (2b), marking the beginning of the psalmody at Saturday Vespers (Čermák 2020, 205). The rubric closely resembles the secular cursus, where Psalm 143 is the first of five psalms (from Psalm 143 to Psalm 147) sung at Saturday Vespers, and has no connection with the monastic cursus, where the second part of Psalm 144 is used at the beginning of Saturday Vespers instead (Billet 2014, 16-19).

The second folio of the Borotický zlomek 1 D c 1/13 is the only fragment of the *Emmaus breviary psalter* that contains Old Testament Canticles. Before the Fifth Cantic G(ospod)i uslišahъ sluhъ tvoi (Hab 3: 2-19), which begins with a large and distinctive Glagolitic initial G, there is a rubric indicating the distribution of psalms that accompany this Cantic. The rubric is *V p(e)ti mat(uti)na* (2b), meaning *At Friday Lauds*. Three psalms are then mentioned by their incipits, along with their antiphons, followed by the full text of the Fifth Cantic (Čermák 2020, 209). From the number of psalms preceding the Cantic at Lauds, it is evident that this is a secular cursus, which has three psalms, rather than a monastic one, which has four. However, as liturgical books always assume some familiarity with the customs involved, it is not necessary to list everything in detail, and much can be omitted that is implied; the exact selection of psalms should confirm the assumption based on the number of psalms. The first psalm mentioned, *P(o)m(i)lui me b(o)ž*, clearly Psalm 50, is not a point of divergence, as both the monastic and secular cursus include it at Lauds on weekdays. However, the second, *G(ospod)i usliši*, and the third, *B(o)ž b(o)ž*, which can be identified as Psalm 142 and Psalm 62 respectively, correspond exactly to the secular cursus psalmody. Needless to say, this has nothing to do with monastic use, where, as prescribed by RB 13, two variable psalms, Psalm 75 and Psalm 91, are sung at Friday Matins (Billet 2014, 16-19).

In addition to the rubrics that explicitly indicate the distribution of psalms across the canonical hours according to secular rather than monastic practice, there are further, subtler indications that the Croatian Church Slavonic psalters used at the *Na Slovanech* monastery were not intended for monastic use. These indications concern the absence of evidence for the Benedictine practice of dividing certain psalms into two parts. To meet St Benedict's prescribed structure for each canonical hour, the monastic cursus split some longer psalms, counting them as two separate

psalms (Billet 2014, 15). There is no evidence of this practice in the surviving Glagolitic psalter fragments.

In the so-called *Emmaus Glagolitic Psalter fragment* 1 D c 1/22, there is no indication whatsoever of a Benedictine division of Psalm 106 into two parts at line 25, *Reče i vsta d(u)hb* (1d) *Dixit et stetit* (Harper 1991, 248). The line begins with a rubricated versal letter, as do all other lines of that psalm. There is neither a rubric nor any sign indicating that line 25 and the subsequent lines of Psalm 106 should be regarded as a separate psalm (Čermák 2020, 190, 314). In monastic tradition, Psalm 106 is sung at Saturday Matins in the second nocturn, but it is divided into two parts to satisfy the requirement of six psalms. In the secular cursus, Psalm 106 is also sung at Saturday Matins (in a single nocturn), but it is sung in its entirety without division, as it is one of the twelve psalms used at that canonical hour (Billet 2014, 16-19).

Similarly, in the Glagolitic fragment *Karlínský zlomek* 1 D c 1/10 of the *Emmaus breviary psalter* (Čermák 2020, 194), there is no indication of the Benedictine division of Psalm 9 into two parts in line 20, *Vskrsni g(ospod)i* (1d) *Exsurge Domine* (Harper 1991, 243). In the monastic cursus, Psalm 9 is divided into two parts: the first is sung as the last of three psalms at Tuesday Prime, and the second as the first of three psalms at Wednesday Prime. The secular cursus uses Psalm 9 in its entirety in the first nocturn at Sunday Matins (Billet 2014, 16-19).

Also, Psalm 103, written on the fragment *Turský zlomek* 1 D c 1/4A of the *Emmaus breviary psalter* (Čermák 2020, 194), is not divided into two parts at line 25, *se more* (1b) *Hoc mare* (Harper 1991, 247). Indeed, due to a change in line boundaries in the Glagolitic text, not even the letter *s* of the pronoun *se* (*hoc*) is written as a distinctive versal marking the beginning of a line (Čermák 2020, 195). Psalm 103 is used undivided in the secular cursus as one of twelve psalms in a single nocturn at Saturday Matins, while in the first nocturn of the same canonical hour in the monastic cursus, it is divided into two parts to satisfy the requirement of six psalms (Billet 2014, 16-19).

In addition to containing the rubric *K n(o)nê ps(alm)* within the text of Psalm 118, which, as previously described, clearly indicates a secular distribution of psalmody, fragment *Borotický zlomek* 1 D c 1/13 of the *Emmaus breviary psalter* also provides evidence that Psalm 118 is not arranged for monastic use. In the monastic cursus, the lesser hour of None on Monday begins with Psalm 118,153 *Vide humilitatem* (Harper 1991, 249). In the fragment, the corresponding Croatian Church Slavonic line *Viždь smêrenie* begins with a rubricated versal *V*, written in a completely unremarkable manner, like any other versal at the beginning of any other line of the Psalm (Čermák 2020, 199).

When discussing the division of psalms into parts that function as separate psalms and are counted as such, fragments of Psalm 118 deserve closer inspection. While the monastic cursus divides many psalms, Psalm 118 is the only psalm in the secular cursus that is permitted to be divided into parts. Psalm 118, which is partially preserved on fragment *Borotický zlomek* 1 D c 1/13 of the *Emmaus breviary psalter*, contains three large distinctive initials within the text. The initial letter *D*, marking the beginning of line 129 of Psalm 118: *Divna sv(ê)d(ê)niê* (*Mirabilia testimonia*), has already been mentioned, as it is preceded by the rubric *K n(o)n(ê) ps(alm)*. The second initial, the letter *V*, stands at the beginning of line 145: *Vbzvahь vsêmb sr(ъd)c(e)mь moim* (1b), and a large initial *K* marks the beginning of line 161: *Knezi prognaše* (1c) (Čermák 2020, 199-200). These initials divide Psalm 118 into three distinct sections comprising lines 129-144, 145-160, and 161-176—the very three sections of 16 lines each that are used in the secular cursus at None each day (Harper 1991, 249). The adherence to the secular cursus here is unsurprising. What is important to note is that the *Emmaus breviary psalter* recognises the practice of dividing psalms into parts and possesses the graphematic means (in this case, large initial letters) to do so properly when required. It seems that the psalms *are* divided, just not in accordance with monastic practice.

Psalms that are divided into parts only in monastic use appear undivided. There is no indication of a division of Psalm 138 on the fragment Turský zlomek 1 D c 1/4B (1r) of the *Emmaus breviary psalter* at line 14, *Isp(o)v(ê)m se t(e)bê êko*. In the monastic cursus, Psalm 138 is divided into two parts at line 14, *Confitebor tibi quia* (Harper 1991, 250), but the Glagolitic fragment shows no evidence of such a division (Čermák 2020, 206). The same applies to Psalms 143 and 144, written on the second folio of the same fragment. In monastic use, these psalms are divided at line 9, *Deus canticum novum*, and line 10, *Confiteantur tibi Domine*, respectively (Harper 1991, 250). In the Glagolitic fragment, there is no clear division of the psalms at the corresponding lines, *B(ož)e pêsny novu* (Ps 143,9; 2c) and *Isp(o)vêdetb se t(e)bê g(ospod)i* (Ps 144,10; 2d), nor at any other line (Čermák 2020, 206). Psalms 138, 143, and 144 are used at Vespers in both monastic and secular practice. However, in the secular cursus, the complete Psalm 138 is sung as one of five psalms on Friday, and the complete Psalms 143 and 144 are sung as two of five psalms on Saturday. In contrast, in monastic use, the divided Psalm 138 accounts for two of four psalms on Thursday; the divided Psalm 143, together with the first half of Psalm 144, accounts for three of four psalms on Friday; and the second half of Psalm 144 is sung on Saturday (Billet 2014, 16-19).

Fragments of the temporal and sanctoral feasts

The fragments of the psalter used in the Prague monastery *Na Slovanech* provide the best evidence that the liturgical books intended for the Divine Office in that monastery were prepared according to secular practice, as they contain several instructions from which the distribution of the psalms can be deduced. However, other fragments from other parts of the breviaries also show some indications of secular use, although these are less frequent.

The Office of St Vitus written on the first folio of the fragment Svatotomášský zlomek breviáře 1 D c 1/14 has the text of the legend of St Vitus distributed in six readings (not eight) before the homiletic reading on Gospel (Čermák 2020, 217-218) as in secular cursus. Readings are indicated three times by the rubric *čtenie* 'reading', and otherwise by a large distinctive initial letter, six in total. There is also a rubric *rêš(poni) .e. (= 6) iči ot m(u)č(eni)kb*, which explicitly confirms that the number of readings is six – three per nocturn, not four.

The second folio of the same fragment, containing the text of the Office of the Nativity of John the Baptist, also has three readings (not four) in the second nocturn. Before these readings, the psalmody for the second nocturn is indicated by the incipits of the psalms (2a). The same applies to the third nocturn (2d), of which only rubrics for the psalmody and the beginning of the first homiletic reading on the Gospel are preserved. These are psalms mentioned by incipits. For the second nocturn: Psalm 4 *Vneg(da)* (*Cum invocarem*), Psalm 5 *G(lago)li* (*Verba mea*), and Psalm 8 *G(ospod)i g(ospod)b* (*Domine Dominus noster*); for the third nocturn: Psalm 10 *Nb g(ospod)a* (*In Domino confido*), Psalm 14 *G(ospod)i kto o(bitati)* (*Domine quis habitabit*), and Psalm 20 *G(ospod)i sil(oû)* (*Domine in virtute*) (Čermák 2020, 219-220). The preserved selection of psalms reveals nothing about the affiliation of the office to secular or monastic use. Both patterns use the same psalms in the same order for the feast days of martyrs – the category to which St John the Baptist belongs. However, the distribution of psalms shows that we are dealing with psalmody arranged for secular, non-monastic use. The secular cursus has Psalms 4, 5, and 8 at the second nocturn, and Psalms 10, 14, and 20 sung at the third nocturn (Harper 1991, 260), exactly as preserved in the Glagolitic fragment. The monastic cursus, by contrast, uses psalms only in the first and second nocturn, distributing Psalms 4, 5, 8, and 10 in the first nocturn and beginning the psalmody of the second nocturn with Psalms 14 and 20 (Harper 1991, 261).

The Glagolitic fragment Trutnovský zlomek breviáře 1 D c 1/6, which forms part of the temporal, follows the same cursus as the Svatotomášský zlomek breviáře 1 D c 1/14, which belongs to the sanctoral. Fortunately, even more text is preserved here, making secular use even more apparent. On the Glagolitic bifolium, almost the complete office of St Stephen Protomartyr for Matins is written. Thus, we are again dealing with the office for the feast days of martyrs. Three readings (not four) at the first nocturn (1v) and three readings (not four) at the second nocturn (2r) are clearly discernible. Likewise, Psalm 4 *Vnegda*, Psalm 5 *G(lago)li moe*, and Psalm 8 *G(ospod)i* (1d–2a) are prescribed by incipits for the second nocturn, and Psalm 10 *Nb g(ospod)a upvaû*, Psalm 14 *G(ospod)i kto*, and Psalm 20 *G(ospod)i siloû* (2c) for the third nocturn; just as in the aforementioned Office of the Nativity of John the Baptist. In addition, psalmody for the first nocturn is also preserved (1b): Psalm 1 *B(la)ž(e)nb m(u)žb* (*Beatus vir qui non abiit*), Psalm 2 *Vskuû* (*Quare fremuerunt*), and Psalm 3 *G(ospod)i čo se* (*Domine quid multiplicati*) (Čermák 2020, 225–228). The distribution of psalms fully corresponds to the secular cursus and differs from the monastic one (Harper 1991, 260–261).

Some of the fragments believed to have been used in the *Na Slovanech* monastery for the celebration of the Divine Office are in poor condition. Since the text on these fragments was reconstructed using external sources – specifically, by comparison with preserved Croatian Church Slavonic plenary breviaries – we will not discuss them here, as they do not provide solid evidence that they follow the secular cursus. However, it is important to emphasize that even in these fragments, there are no traces of monastic use. While the abundance of material supports secular use, there is no indication of monastic use in any of the preserved fragments of the manuscripts used for the Divine Office.

Conclusion

Our analysis clearly showed that at many points of divergence between the monastic and secular cursus, the surviving fragments of liturgical books for the Divine Office used in the *Na Slovanech* monastery near Prague follow the secular cursus and were intended for non-monastic, secular use. We observed no evidence of adherence to the monastic cursus in any relevant detail. The preserved fragments unequivocally show that they once belonged to books of the Liturgy of the Hours of a non-monastic type.

The scholarly literature states that the *Na Slovanech* monastery was settled by Benedictines from Croatia, who brought with them the necessary liturgical books written in Croatian Church Slavonic and Glagolitic script, and that the monastery – at least in its beginnings – was Benedictine. It is possible that this claim is uncritically accepted in scholarship. Were the Croatian Glagolitic monks who came to Prague actually Benedictines? Did they identify themselves as Benedictines, or were they (mis)identified as such by others? We do not know. We leave these questions to historians and literary historians. What we do know, based on the preserved fragments of the books they used for the Divine Office, is that their books were not Benedictine; they were of a secular, non-Benedictine type.

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Dajana Čosić, MA
Old Church Slavonic Institute in Zagreb
Demetrova 11
HR-10000 Zagreb
Croatia
dajana.cosic@stin.hr
ORCID ID: 0009-0002-6633-4372

Jozo Vela, PhD.
Old Church Slavonic Institute in Zagreb
Demetrova 11
HR-10000 Zagreb
Croatia
jvela@stin.hr
ORCID ID: 0009-0002-3080-6083

O PROBLÉMOCH IDENTIFIKÁCIE POJMOV PRI VÝSKUME FARNOSTÍ STREDOVEKÉHO UHORSKÉHO KRÁĽOVSTVA V SLOVENSKEJ MEDIEVALISTIKE¹

On the Issues of Terminological Identification in Research on Parishes of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary in Slovak Medieval Studies

Jozef Filo

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Abstract: FILO, Jozef. *On the Issues of Terminological Identification in Research on Parishes of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary in Slovak Medieval Studies*. This paper addresses terminological issues in Slovak medieval scholarship related to research on medieval parishes in the Kingdom of Hungary. These problems, which occur to varying degrees in the works of Slovak medievalists, arise from inconsistent and ambiguous Latin terminology in medieval written sources, from its uncritical – sometimes even literal – translation, and from incomplete or inaccurate interpretation. These factors may lead to erroneous assessments of the status of churches within parish structures and of the roles of their administrators.

The paper outlines the problem of the erroneous conflation of two distinct categories: terms denoting clerical orders – such as priest (*sacerdos*, *presbyter*) – and terms denoting an ecclesiastical office, primarily that of parish priest. It also highlights the problem of automatically and uncritically equating general Latin terms with canon-law categories of churches within parish structures: *ecclesia* with a parish church and *capella* with a filial church or chapel, even though *capella* was often used to refer to churches that were in fact parish churches. The author emphasizes the need to consider the context in which the term was used and, among the various possible interpretations of *capella*, pays special attention to revenue-related contexts. The paper points out that the terms *capella* (or *quarta*) were used to designate parish churches subject to the so-called “magisterial right,” a specific form of benefice without the cure of souls (*sine cura animarum*) held by canons – *magistri* – who received a portion of the tithes, most often the quarter-tithe, as well as other revenues from certain parish churches and their parish priests. This is an issue that has received almost no attention in Slovak medieval studies.

The paper further outlines the terms *plebania*, *plebanus*, *parochia*, *ecclesia parochialis*, *rector*, and *parochus* in relation to the variable status of parishes, parish churches, and their administrators in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. The author discusses existing interpretations in Slovak medieval studies, on which there is no significant consensus and which tend primarily to associate terms *plebania*, *plebanus* with parishes having either exempt status or the right to the full tithe. However, as Hungarian medieval studies has shown, the terms *plebania* and *plebanus* were also used for non-exempt parishes and/or for parishes whose parish priests were entitled “only” to a quarter-tithe. Even so, such parishes still enjoyed a privileged status in comparison with others. The author argues that

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the fundamental prerequisite for the privileged status of these parishes was that they were not burdened by the aforementioned magisterial right. In such cases, although the parson of a non-exempt parish was entitled only to a quarter-tithe, the magister did not receive a share of it. These aspects have not previously been linked. Because the aforementioned terms were used, differentiated, and combined inconsistently in the sources, the author argues that privileged and non-privileged parishes should not be distinguished on the basis of period terminology alone. The paper presents cases in which, on the basis of period terminology, it is possible to speak of a privileged parish, as well as cases in which it is not. It also notes that the terms *ecclesia parochialis* and *rector* could refer to subordinate churches – the so-called “filial parish churches,” as the author calls them – and to their administrators. The concluding section defines medieval parishes in the strict sense as the lowest-level independent ecclesiastical districts, centred on parish churches that were not dependent on others and administered by parish priests who were not subordinate to other parsons.

Keywords: Church, Chapel, Parish, Parson, Terminology, Slovak Medieval Studies, Kingdom of Hungary, Middle Ages

„*Nomina sunt substantia rerum.*“

Problematické používanie pojmov pre farskú organizáciu a jej jednotlivé časti (nielen) v slovenskej medievalistike, na ktorú sa príspevok sústreďuje, nepochybne súvisí s nekonzistentnosťou a nejednoznačnosťou dobovej terminológie v stredovekých písomnostiach. Nekritické prijímanie týchto latinských označení a ich následná automatická, neraz chybná interpretácia je hlavným problémom výskumu stredovekých farností² Uhorského kráľovstva v slovenskej historiografii, a to napriek tomu, že stredovekým farnostiam sa venovali už mnohí slovenskí medievalisti.³ Následné preberanie nekorektných termínov či poznatkov ovplyvňuje nielen ďalší výskum stredovekých farností, ale aj to medievalistické bádanie, kde farská organizácia je len partiálnou

² K definícii farnosti, farského kostola a farára pozri záver príspevku. V celom texte budem farnosťami (a ich súčasťami) rozumieť tie latinské. Hoci je možné už v priebehu 14. storočia sledovať snahu zakladať farnosti pre, z pohľadu latinského kléru, schizmatikov (a iných „neveriacich“), nepochybne malo ísť o latinské farnosti, keďže predmetní ľudia mali prijímať krst a byť konvertovaní na latinské či západné kresťanstvo (napr.: Theiner 1859, 797-798, č. MCCXVIII). Možnosti farností východného (gréckeho, byzantského) rítu som nevenoval pozornosť.

³ Tento text nemá za cieľ podať úplnú historiografiu výskumu uhorských farností v slovenskej medievalistike. To by bola téma na samostatný, pravdepodobne rozsiahly výstup charakteru záverečnej práce vyššieho stupňa. Totiž farnosti, farské kostoly, ďalšie svätyne a ich správcovia bývajú partiálnou témou mnohých výskumov. Na tomto mieste je vhodné zdôrazniť, že slovenská historiografia vyprodukovala viaceré kvalitné práce venujúce sa farskej organizácii či iným aspektom farností, ktoré napriek menším (napr. využívanie registrov pápežských desiatkov z rokov 1332 – 1337 ako zoznamu farností) či aspoň marginálnym terminologickým nepresnostiam (rozdiel medzi farnosťou a farou) podávajú dôležité informácie pre poznanie a ďalšie bádanie. Taktiež ich autori reflektovali aspoň základnú hierarchiu farských svätýň (farský kostol a filiálka) a kléru v stredovekých farnostiach, hoci sa nezaoberali otázkou ich označovania v písomnostiach, problematikou súčasnej terminológie alebo do väčšej miery ani funkčnou stránkou farských kostolov a filiállok. Pozri napríklad: Csiba 2015; Marek 2010; Skalská 2010; Šotník 2001. Dôsledkom nekorektnej identifikácie pojmov pri výskume stredovekých farností v slovenskej medievalistike bude venovaná samostatná práca.

témou. Len nedávno upozornila na problematiku dobových výrazov pre farské chrámy⁴ Bibiana Pomfyová⁵ a v publikovaných príspevkoch aj autor tohto textu.⁶

Cieľom tohto príspevku je predstaviť niekoľko najzásadnejších problémov identifikácie termínov pri výskume stredovekých farností Uhorského kráľovstva v slovenskej medievalistike a priblížiť možnosti ich vyriešenia. Uvedomujem si, že jednotlivé problematiky budú potrebovať ďalší výskum. Mojou snahou však nie je vyčerpávajúce spracovanie jedinej parciálnej otázky, ale skôr poukázanie na možnosti interpretácie pojmov k farnostiam, ktorým slovenská medievalistika nevenovala dostatočnú pozornosť, a taktiež zdôrazniť potrebu ďalšieho bádania a odbornej diskusie.

Vyššie naznačenú skutočnosť najzreteľnejšie vidieť v nesprávnom určení a neraz aj zamieňaní stupňa svätenia klerikov (kňaz – *presbyter*, *sacerdos*) a cirkevného úradu (na príklade farára),⁷ hoci by nebol uvedený vzťah ku konkrétnemu bližšie charakterizovanému chrámu (napr. farský kostol)⁸ či uvedené aspoň nápomocné adjektívum (*parochialis*), ktoré by aspoň pomohlo (nie bezvýhradne a automaticky bez sledovania ďalších vzťahov vo farnosti, prípadne s vyššími stupňami cirkevnej správy) s identifikáciou pozície držiteľa toho-ktorého.⁹ V prípade chrámov zase ide o všeobecné, bez ďalšej konkretizácie v písomnosti neraz nič nevypovedajúce označenia svätyne, najčastejšie *ecclesia*, *capella*. A to buď doslovným, nekritickým prekladom „holého“ latinského termínu ako kostol a kaplnka, alebo (v snahe o určenie postavenia) ich zamieňaním za cirkevnoprávnu kategóriu: *ecclesia* ako farský kostol, *capella* ako filiálka (navyše bez ohľadu na ich variabilitu).¹⁰ Pritom ako *ecclesia* mohla byť označená aj filiálna, subordinovaná svätyňa a ako *capella* aj skutočný farský kostol. Napríklad ako *capella* bol v zakladacej listine z roku 1310 (Šotník 1999, 53-54) nazvaný farský Kostol sv. Jána Evanjelistu v Ponikách, ktorý mal jednoznačne svoju farnosť (*parochia*), jeho kňaz (*sacerdos*) právo na štvrtinový desiatok¹¹ (z ktorého nemal podiel iný farár) a v prvom rade

⁴ Myslím tým všeobecne svätyne vo farnosti. Dôsledne v príspevku odlišujem na základe cirkevnoprávneho postavenia a hierarchie vo farnostiach farské kostoly a filiálne chrámy.

⁵ Bibiana Pomfyová okrem iného v štúdií *Ďaleká cesta k farskému kostolu* (2023) priblížila problematiku nejednoznačnosti latinskej terminológie svätých. Väčšiu pozornosť venovala problematickému termínu *capella*. Pri jeho možnostiach vysvetlenia použitia latinského výrazu pre farské kostoly však vynechala problematiku magisterského práva (pozri ďalej). Otázke označení *plebania*, *plebanus* venovala len malú pozornosť. Privilegovaným či nepriviligovaným postavením farností sa nezaoberala. Hoci s niektorými jej predpokladmi nesúhlasím a predmet bádania pramennou bázou, nehistoricky obmedzila iba na územie dnešného Slovenska, vďaka množstvu písomností ide o jednu z najkorektnejších prác slovenskej medievalistiky o stredovekých uhorských farnostiach.

⁶ Síce som upozornil na nekonzistentnosť latinských termínov pri pomenovaní farností, farských kostolov, filiálok a ich správcov, ale nevenoval som tejto problematike väčšiu pozornosť. V prvom rade som sa zaoberal významom posledných sviatostí, problémom s ich nedostupnosťou, resp. potrebou zakladania farských kostolov a filiálnych chrámov (pričom som poukázal na ich variabilitu), a otázkou práva na pochovávanie vo svätyniach uhorských vidieckych farností (Filo 2024; 2025).

⁷ Najčastejšie v písomnostiach uvádzajúcich priamo úrad ako: *plebanus*, *parochus*, *rector* (*ecclesiae parochialis*), ale aj iba napr. *sacerdos* (prípadne *sacerdos parochialis*). K nejednoznačnosti týchto latinských pojmov pozri ďalej.

⁸ Farský kostol ako hlavný a jediný samostatný chrám vo farnosti bol najčastejšie konkretizovaný ako *ecclesia parochialis* alebo ako *plebania*, *parochia* (farnosť, ktorej bol centrom). Voči filiálnym chrámom mohol vystupovať ako *ecclesia matrix* (materský kostol). Neraz však bol označený len ako *ecclesia* alebo *capella*. Pozri ďalej.

⁹ *Ecclesia parochialis* mohlo byť aj označenie pre subordinovaný chrám vo farnosti. Pozri ďalej.

¹⁰ Pozri ako jednoznačný príklad: Uličný 2013, 133, 356-359.

¹¹ Nešlo o jedinu možnosť podielu, ale štvrtinový desiatok je považovaný za základný podiel desiatku (napr. Marek 2010, 134-135; Kristó 1994, 550, heslo: Plébánia), ktorý určovalo aj kánonické právo

nebol subordinovaný inému farárovi, neprislúchal pod farnosť iného farského kostola, resp. jeho príslušnosť bola rozoberaná len v rámci vyšších stupňov cirkevnej organizácie.¹²

Doslovný preklad termínov *ecclesia* a *capella* ako kostol a kaplnka (vo význame samostatne stojacich svätýň)¹³ môže viesť k nesprávnemu pochopeniu funkcie či postavenia chrámu podľa súčasného vnímania a definície týchto slov v slovenskom jazyku.¹⁴ Nielen v uhorských stredovekých písomnostiach je možné len veľmi problematicky hovoriť o nejakej všeobecnejšie používanej dobovej terminológii pri označení svätýň vo farnostiach. Interpretácia používania týchto termínov pre ten-ktorý chrám, hlavne slova *capella*, je stále aktuálnou a nevyriešenou témou. Najpravdepodobnejšie takéto označenie nesúviselo s veľkosťou svätyne či dobovým vnímaním jej charakteru. V medievalistike bývajú tieto termíny od seba odlišované napr. na základe cirkevno-právneho štatútu, či v nich povolených liturgických úkonov (Sommer 1982, 453-469).¹⁵ Naopak sa predpokladá využívanie označenia *capella* pre nejaký konkrétny architektonický typ svätýň bez ohľadu na ich cirkevno-právny status. Zdá sa, že inokedy mohlo slúžiť na zdôraznenie podriadeného vzťahu chrámu voči jeho svetskému patrónovi. Taktiež plne súhlasím, že diferencovanie dvoch svätýň v jednej písomnosti ako *ecclesia*, *capella* mohlo slúžiť na odlišenie ich postavenia, teda „kaplnky“ podriadenej (materskému) kostolu (Pomfýová 2023, 177-182). Nie sú to však jediné vysvetlenia.

Jednoznačne je vždy nevyhnutné sledovať súvislosti použitia tohto označenia. V slovenskej medievalistike sa takmer nereflektuje, že označenie farských kostolov ako *capella* v Uhorskom kráľovstve v kontexte príjmov súviselo s problematikou tzv. magisterského práva.

To predstavovalo špecifickú formu príjmu, resp. nekurátneho (*sine cura animarum*) benefícia kanonikov-magistrov najmä katedrálnych kapitúl spojeného s farským kostolom. Títo magistri poberali z (najčastejšie štvrtinového) desiatku (a ďalších príjmov) farárov¹⁶ (nie všetkých) farností určitý podiel, najčastejšie tri štvrtiny, teda následne farárom zostala len šestnástina (Rácz 2011, 92-94; pozri aj: Mályusz 2007, 44-48; a rozhodnutie pápeža Gregora IX. z roku 1233 ohľadom magisterského práva: Theiner I 1859, 113-114, č. CXCI). Tieto príjmy magistrov bývali potom nazývané v Uhorsku, ako aj v rámci pápežskej kúrie ako kvarty alebo „kaplnky“.¹⁷ Zároveň boli podľa nich označované aj farské kostoly zaťažené magisterským právom.¹⁸ Napríklad podľa listiny z roku

(IV. lateránsky koncil, čl. 32: DEC I 1990, 249-250).

¹² K samostatnosti farností, resp. farských kostolov pozri ďalej.

¹³ Je vhodné zdôrazniť, že termín „kaplnka“ nepredstavuje homogénnu skupinu. V medievalistike sa používa na označenie rôznych samostatne stojacich svätýň alebo súčasť iných chrámov, ako aj pre „poľné“, resp. vojenské kaplnky. Stredoveké kaplnky sa líšili charakterom zriadenia, určením, funkciou, právnou výbavou, etc. Pozri viac napr.: Záruba 2017, 101-103; Kristó 1994, 670; Szakács 2022, 260; Binding 1999, 931. Zaoberal som sa tými samostatne stojacimi svätýňami, ktoré boli súčasťou farskej správy. Vzhľadom na predmet bádania som sa vôbec nevenoval svätyniam cirkevných ustanovizní, ktoré sa do určitej miery mohli podieľať na duchovnej starostlivosti, ale neboli priamou súčasťou farskej organizácie, resp. nepodliehali jurisdikcii farára (pozri napr.: Romhányi 1999, 270-272).

¹⁴ Pozri a porovnaj „kostol“ a „kaplnka“ (drobná sakrálna stavba) napr.: Vragaš 2006, 274, 329-330.

¹⁵ Napriek tomu, že ide o štúdiu staršieho dáta je práca Petra Sommera k českým stredovekým kostolom a kaplnkám stále početne citovaná. Ale mám výhrady voči striktnému odlišovaniu termínov „*ecclesia*“ a „*capella*“.

¹⁶ Títo farári bývali označovaní najčastejšie ako *rectori* (vo význame správcov ich samostatných farských obvodov neprislúchajúcich pod farnosť iné farského kostola).

¹⁷ Napríklad: „*De fructibus decimarum, qui in illis partibus quarte seu capelle nuncupantur...*“ (MVH I/1 1887, 448).

¹⁸ Nepredpokladám, že takto boli označované aj subordinované, teda filiálne farské kostoly (pozri ďalej), hoci ich správca mal nárok na časť desiatkov z predmetnej dediny. Ale keďže z neho poberal príjem aj (skutočný) farár, tak v prípade zaťaženia farského benefícia magisterským právom, boli zaťažené príjmy

1335, po výmene majetkov medzi ostrihomským arcibiskupom Čánadom Telegdim (1330 – 1349; Engel 1996, 63) a ostrihomským kanonikom-kustódom Jánom¹⁹, mali tomuto Jánovi prislúchať „kvarty alebo kaplnky s ich filiálkami“ v takmer päťdesiatich dedinách ostrihomskeho arcibiskupstva.²⁰ Nepochybne však nešlo o výmenu týchto svätýň za majetky, ako uviedol Vladimír Rábik (2010, 34-35), ale magisterských príjmov z nich. Podľa uvedenej listiny, jedna šesťnástina príjmu kňazov mala byť zachovaná. To značí, že podiel spomenutého Jána na príjmoch z kvárt a ich filiálok tvoril práve tri štvrtiny z celej jednej štvrtiny „štandardného“ podielu desiatku farárov.²¹

Kanonik-kustód Ján bol mnohoobročníkom a informáciu o držbe niekoľkých magisterských príjmov z farností je možné sledovať vo viacerých písomnostiach. Napríklad v roku 1343 Ján syn Dominikov z Uzse²² žiadal pápežskú kúriu o úrad, hodnosť, prebendu alebo benefícium vo Vespérmskej diecéze bez ohľadu na to, či bude kurátne alebo nekurátne, a to napriek tomu, že už bol jágerský lektor, mal kanonikáty a prebendy tiež v Jágri, Ostrihome a Vepréme, a taktiež kaplnky (resp. kaplánstva – *capellania*) *sine cura* zvané kvarty v Tekovskom hrádku, Tekovských Lužanoch, Veľkom Ďure a Lehotských Ďarmotách aj s ich filiálkami v Ostrihomskej arcidiecéze (MVSI II/1 2009, 53-54, č. 29). Informácia o filiálkach naznačuje, že štyri menované „kaplnky“ boli farskými kostolmi, no najmä ozrejmienie o tom, že išlo o „kvarty“ a obročia bez kurátnej starostlivosti (*sine cura*), jednoznačne poukazuje na otázku držby magisterského práva. Teda spomínaný Ján z Uzse nebol farárom uvedených farností či správcom ich filiálok, ale „len“ poberal určitý podiel z časti ich desiatkov a ďalších príjmov. Jeho žiadosti o pozíciu a príjem vo Vespérmskej diecéze bolo vyhovené s dišpenzom na zachovanie si lektorátu, ale vzdal sa príjmov z uvedených „kvárt“ a ich filiálok (MVSI II/1 2009, 53-54, č. 29). Podobnú situáciu je možné sledovať aj na schválenej žiadosti na pozíciu v Ostrihomskej kapitule pre Andreja syna Štefana z roku 1353. Bolo mu vyhovené aj napriek tomu, že v Ostrihome už mal kanonikát a prebendu, a taktiež držal kvarty desiatkov nešpecifikovaných farských kostolov v ostrihomskej arcidiecéze, ktorých sa bol ochotný vzdať po získaní novej funkcie (MVS II/1, 171, č. 275). Aj v jeho prípade nepochybne nešlo o úrad farára a držbu kurátneho benefícia vo farnosti, ale „len“ o magisterský príjem z farností.

Nie všetky farské kostoly (a ich farnosti) označené v súvislosti s príjmami ako *capella* boli zaťažené magisterským právom. Na desiatkoch a príjmoch z tzv. „slobodných kaplniek“ (*libera capella*) naopak nemali magistri podiel. Príkladom je farský kostol v Lomničke, ktorý bol pri povolení jeho stavby v roku 1294 označený ako „slobodná kaplnka“, boli k nemu pripojené desiatky z Lomničky a farár (*plebanus*) mal rovnaké práva a povinnosti voči spišskému prepoštovi ako ostatní spišskí farári (CDP VI 1876, 408, č. 302). Iné subordinácie, a ani zaťaženie príjmov neboli uvedené.

S magisterským právom, na prvý pohľad okrajovo, ale v skutočnosti integrálne, súvisí aj problematika označovania niektorých farností, resp. farských kostolov ako *plebania*, zatiaľ čo iných len ako *parochia* a *ecclesia parochialis*. Niektorých farárov ako *plebanus*, iných ako *rector* (*ecclesiae parochialis*) alebo *parochus*, etc. Nejednotnosť postavenia uhorských stredovekých farností (a správcov farských kostolov) ako aj rôzne výrazy na ich označovanie boli v slovenskej medievalistike

z farnosti ako celku. Niekedy pri informácii o zaťažení magisterským právom býva okrem uvedenia farského kostola stručne doplnené, že sa to týka aj filiálok (bez rozdielu). Pozri ďalej.

¹⁹ Podľa Norberta C. Tótha mohlo ísť o Jána Csóku z Toldy, synovca ostrihomskeho arcibiskupa Čánada Telegdiho (2019, 45, 166).

²⁰ „... *quandam quartam, sive capellam, cum suis filiabus, quarum nomina sunt...*“ (MES III, 258-260, č. 380; pozri aj: AO XIX 2004, 80, č. 165).

²¹ Je známe, že mnohí farári najmä uhorských vidieckych farností mali menší podiel ako „štandardnú“ a kánonicky predpísanú štvrtinu (napr. Šotník 2011, 49, 51-55; Hegyi 2018, 14-19). Súvislosť so zaťažením magisterským právom je zrejmá.

²² Pozri: Tóth C. 2019, 165.

reflektované. Avšak skôr stručne, okrajovo, dokonca nie celkom korektne. Navyše nepanuje ani zhoda, v čom sa „plebánie“ odlišovali od obyčajných farností. Podľa Miloša Mareka malo ísť o exemptné farnosti, teda vyňaté (aspoň) z jurisdikcie arcidiakona (2020a, 179, pozn. č. 204).²³ Podľa Ondreja Gloda bol rozdiel v desiatkoch. *Plebanus* mal vraj poberať plný desiatok,²⁴ zatiaľ čo iným farárom náležala len štvrtina (Glod 2018, 32).²⁵ Bibiana Pomfyová zase spájala označenie *plebania* s plnohodnotnosťou a samostatnosťou farnosti, zatiaľ čo „*parochia*“ ju ešte ani v 13. storočí nemusela predstavovať. Odkazujúc sa, podobne ako Ondrej Glod, na situáciu vo Veľkom Šariši v roku 1293 uviedla, že na rozdiel od plebánie nemala jednoduchá farnosť („*simplex ecclesia parochialis*“) právo na desiatky (Pomfyová 2023, 167-169). Obaja autori vychádzali (iba) z listiny kráľa Ondreja III. z uvedeného roku 1293 ohľadom (mestského) Kostola sv. Jakuba vo Veľkom Šariši. Ten podľa písomnosti mal byť plebániou a jeho farár – plebán mal preto prijímať, resp. zbierať (*percipio*) desiatky zo svojho územia, zatiaľ čo farskí kňazi (*presbyteri parochiales*) jednoduchých farských kostolov (*simplex ecclesia parochialis*) toto právo nemali.²⁶

Podrobne sa označeniam „*plebania*, *plebanus*“ venoval Géza Hegyi na základe sedmohradských písomností do roku 1387 (mnohé nejasnosti vysvetľoval aj písomnosťami z konca 15. a zo 16. storočia). Zhodnotil, že termíny „*plebania*“ a „*plebanus*“ v Sedmohradsku priamo nesúviseli s exemptiou farností (mnohí tamojší farári – plebáni exemptní neboli ani z jurisdikcie arcidiakona), ale ani s plným desiatkom. Tým síce viacerí plebáni disponovali (a odvádzali za to poplatky ordinárovi), no mnohí mali len podiel, až do úrovne „základnej“ štvrtiny desiatku (ani exemptné farnosti nemuseli disponovať plnými desiatkami). Géza Hegyi skonštatoval, že plebánie a plebáni boli (rôznou mierou a spôsobom) privilegovanou skupinou farností a farárov dodávajúc, že výraz

²³ Pod lat. termínom „*plebania*“ je v latinskom slovníku Miloša Mareka uvedené: „*plebania*, ae, f. – farnosť, fara, plebánie, cirkevný obvod v pôsobnosti farára, plebána, ktorý na rozdiel od obyčajných fár – *parochií* bol vyňatý spod právomoci arcidiakona a disponoval právom na výber desiatkov“ (Marek 2020b, 932).

²⁴ Právo na tzv. plný alebo slobodný desiatok bolo pomerne časté, ale významné privilégium. Jeho udelenie je možné sledovať častejšie v mestských ako vidieckych privilegovaných farnostiach, ale nebolo tomu tak vždy. Aj títo plebáni mohli mať pridelený len určitý podiel až do úrovne vyššie spomenutej štvrtiny (Meliš 2016, 39-46; Šotník 2001, 38, 44-46, 50). Plný desiatok udeľoval miestny ordinár, ktorý zaň požadoval pravidelné odvádzanie presne stanovenej sumy ako náhrady príjmu (Mályusz 2007, 117-118; Sokolovský 2002, 88-89). Porovnaj: Kušík 1961, 462-467; Oslanský 1987, 861-870. Zdá sa, že by aj označenie slobodný desiatok (*libera decima*) mohol súvisieť s nezatažením či lepšie povedané oslobodením desiatku od magisterského práva. Bude však potrebný ďalší, podrobnejší výskum.

²⁵ Nedá sa súhlasiť s tvrdením, že by bol plebán „nadriadený“ ostatným „kňazom“ (Ondrej Glod uviedol v tejto súvislosti termíny „*parochus*“ a „*sacerdos*“) s úradom správcu – rektora farského kostola, keďže to nie je možné doložiť. Nadriadenosť je možné sledovať „iba“ v rovine kňaza farského kostola (bez ohľadu na to, či bol alebo nebol označený ako *plebanus*) a kňaza filiálneho farského kostola (pozri „Filiálny farský kostol“ v II. časti).

²⁶ Podľa listiny bol kráľ Ondrej III. v domnienke, že Kostol sv. Jakuba vo Veľkom Šariši bol iba jednoduchým farským kostolom (*simplex ecclesia parochialis*) a nie plebániou, teda jej kňaz (*sacerdos*) nemal právo prijímať desiatky zo svojho územia, lebo to, podľa textu, nemalo na základe zvyku kráľovstva prislúchať farským kňazom (*presbyteri parochiales*), ale iba farárom – plebánom (*plebani*). Ale keďže mu bolo doložené, že Kostol sv. Jakuba bol vždy plebániou, uznal, že farár (*plebanus*) má právo prijímať desiatky v rámci hraníc svojho územia – farnosti (CDH IV/1 1829, 254-255; CDH XI 1844, 417-418, č. XII; MES II 1882, 346, č. 346). Pozri aj: Hegyi 2018, 1-2. Je vhodné opäť zdôrazniť, že termín *ecclesia parochialis* ešte nemusí odkazovať na skutočný farský kostol v pravom slova zmysle a ani označenie kňaza za farského nemusí znamenať, že išlo o farára – správcu farského kostola, hlavného kňaza vo farnosti, ale len vedľajšieho filiálneho farského kostola.

plebanus sa postupne už od konca 70. rokov 14. storočia používal aj pre nepriviligovaných farárov v Sedmohradsku.²⁷

Hoci je potrebný ďalší, podrobný výskum, podobnú situáciu je možné predpokladať v Uhorsku aj mimo Sedmohradsku. Výsadné postavenie farností sa rôznou mierou odlišovalo. Exempcie z jurisdikcie arcidiakona či dokonca diecézneho biskupa²⁸, ako aj plné desiatky, boli nepochybne znakom privilegovaného postavenia niektorých farností, ale je možné skonštatovať, že nimi nebolo podmienené označenie *plebania*, *plebanus*, resp. celkovo možnosť nazvať tú-ktorú farnosť za privilegovanú. Okrem toho, že mohli byť rôzne kombinácie týchto privilégií, tak je možné sledovať aj neexemptné plebánie, iba so štvrtinovým desiatkom pre ich správcov.²⁹ Nesúviselo to ani výhradne iba s privilegiami sídiel, ktoré boli centrom danej farnosti. Plebánov je možné sledovať aj v dedinách, ktoré najpravdepodobnejšie nepatrili medzi tie, riadiace sa emfyteutickým právom,³⁰ v ktorých sa výsadnejšie postavenie farností predpokladá.³¹

Zdá sa však, že jednu výsadu, ktorej slovenská medievalistika nevenovala väčšiu pozornosť, mali všetky privilegované farnosti spoločnú. Nezataženie farského obročia vyššie priblíženým magisterským právom. Som názoru, že práve v tom spočíva základný rozdiel medzi privilegovanými a ostatnými farnosťami, zatiaľ čo exempcie či vyšší podiel z desiatkov ako štvrtinový (prípadne ich kombinácia) sú „len“ lepšími privilegiami – nadstavbou. Na rozdiel od nepriviligovaných farností by sa teda na príjme z desiatku farárov – plebánov, hoci štvrtinových, magistri nepodielali. Naznačuje to (v súvislosti s problematikou plebánie a magisterského práva spomínané,³² ale v rámci slovenskej medievalistiky ignorované, povýšenie farského Kostola sv. Ondreja v dedine Horný Dörög³³ na plebániu.

V roku 1338 tak učinil vesprémsky biskup Meško (1335 – 1344)³⁴ na žiadosť jágerského biskupa Mikuláša z Dörögdu (1330 – 1361; Engel 1996, 68) a jeho brata Štefana (patrónov farského kostola), so zdôvodnením malého príjmu jeho správcu, farára (*rector*). Pridelil mu plné desiatky nielen z Horného, ale ešte aj Dolného Dörögdu, v ktorom už bola postavená „Kaplňka“ Panny Márie.³⁵ Biskup Meško farský kostol eximoval spod jurisdikcie zalianského arcidiakona, podriadil ho sebe a farský kňaz (*sacerdos parochialis*) mohol byť nazývaný plebán (*plebanus*). Celé sa to stalo so súhlasom vesprémskej kapituly, prepošta, zalanského arcidiakona, ale aj, čo je pre sledovanú

²⁷ Géza Hegyi ešte sledoval či boli plebáni v Sedmohradsku volení miestnymi komunitami. Zistil, že tomu tak mohlo byť, ale rozhodne nie pri všetkých. Videl však vzťah medzi plebánmi neexemptných farností, ktorí poberali len štvrtinu desiatku a slobodnou voľbou farára: Hegyi 2018, 5-23.

²⁸ K rôznym stupňom exempcií uhorských farností pozri: Thoroczkay 2020, 40-49.

²⁹ Ako príklad môže slúžiť situácia farského Kostola sv. Kataríny Panny v Šarišských Dravciach. Podľa konfirmačnej listiny nového farára – plebána z roku 1319 dostal pri investitúre právo len na štvrtinový desiatok a bol podriadený pod jurisdikciu spišského prepošta (Boleš 2010, 79).

³⁰ Napríklad v roku 1322 je ako „plebanus“ (a zároveň nitriansky vicearcidiakon) spomínaný farár z Preselien Dominik (MES III 1924, 13-14, č. 31; RDSI I 1980, 347-348, č. 787).

³¹ Pozri v rámci slovenskej medievalistiky napr.: Sokolovský 2002, 259-261; pozri aj: Mályusz 2007, 117-118.

³² Stručne ho spomína aj: Hegyi 2018, 2.

³³ Vesprémske biskupstvo, komitát Zala. Dnes dedina Taliándörög (MTFH III 1897, 47).

³⁴ Meško Piastovec bol prv medzi rokmi 1328 – 1334 nitrianskym biskupom (Engel 1996, 72, 77).

³⁵ Označenie „Kaplňka“ píšem v úvodzovkách, keďže nie je zrejmé, aký cirkevnoprávny status chrám zasvätený Panne Márii pred subordináciou mal. Na základe sťažnosti, ktorú spomínam nižšie, sa zdá, že pri ňom mohol predtým pôsobiť kňaz, ktorý poberal desiatky a teda mohlo ísť o farský kostol (*ecclesia parochialis*), ktorý by bol pri povýšení farského Kostola sv. Ondreja a farnosti na plebániu podriadený, farnosť Panny Márie absorbovaná a chrám by bol degradovaný iba na filiálnu kaplnku. Po sťažnosti jeho patrónov by mal chrám pozíciu filiálneho farského kostola, ale na základe neskoršieho zásahu pápeža by platilo pôvodné rozhodnutie biskupa (pozri ďalej).

problematiku zásadné, magistra tohože kostola (*magister ecclesie sancti Andree*), vesprémskeho kanonika Jána (Theiner I 1859, 749-750, č. MCXXVI).

Hoci exempcia z jurisdikcie zalanského arcidiakona, ako aj väčší podiel z desiatkov ako štvrtina boli nepochybne výsady novej privilegovanej farnosti, tak, ako bolo uvedené vyššie, takýmito privilégiami nedisponovali všetky farnosti označené ako plebánie. Až informácia o existencii magistra farského Kostola sv. Ondreja o jednom z vesprémskych kanonikov, ktorý musel schváliť povýšenie na plebániu, odkrýva, podľa môjho názoru, najnižší stupeň privilegovaného postavenia, resp. základný rozdiel medzi privilegovanou a nepriviligovanou farnosťou. Tým je oslobodenie od magisterského práva. Príjmy (menovite desiatok) farského Kostola sv. Ondreja po povýšení na plebániu, resp. jeho správcu (*rector*; vo význame farára nepriviligovanej farnosti) na plebána, už magisterským právom neboli zaťažené.

Aj tu je nevyhnutné mať na zreteli bežný problém termínov v stredovekých písomnostiach. A to nedôslednosť dodržiavania pojmov, konkrétne: *plebania*, *plebanus* pre privilegovanú farnosť, farský kostol a jeho farára; *parochia*, *ecclesia parochialis*, *rector (ecclesiae parochialis)*, *parochus*, *sacerdos* / *presbyter parochialis*, etc. pre nepriviligovanú farnosť, resp. farský kostol a jeho farára. Privilegované postavenie totiž mohli mať napríklad farári, ktorí v konkrétnych písomnostiach neboli označení ako plebáni, ako tomu bolo v roku 1323 v prípade farára (*rector*) Kostola sv. Alžbety vo Vysokej, ktorý podľa konfirmačnej listiny od spišského prepošta Jána mal udelené plné desiatky (za ktoré platil katedraticum a descensus spišskému prepoštovi) a slobody, mal plnú moc spravovať farský kostol vo veciach duchovných a svetských a volili ho nielen patróni, ale aj farníci z Vysokej (Boleš 2010, 78; RDSI II 1987, 453, č. 1043). Alebo podľa listiny pápeža Gregora XI. (1370 – 1378) z roku 1372 jágerský biskup Michal (1363 – 1377) udelil farárom (*rectores*) dvoch novozaložených farských kostolov (*ecclesiae parochiales*) plné desiatky a povinnosť platiť jednu marku striebra ako náhradu (Theiner II 1860, 120, č. CCXXXVIII). Taktiež je možné sledovať aj rôzne kombinácie. Napríklad nový kriviansky farár (tiež volený patrónmi a farníkmi) Jakub bol v jeho konfirmačnej listine z roku 1315 označený ako *plebanus* a *rector animarum* a farnosť Kostola sv. Štefana Prvomučeníka ako *parochia*. Plebán bol podriadený spišskému prepoštovi, mal právo na plné desiatky, z ktorých odvádza prepoštovi katedraticum a descensus (Boleš 2010, 78; RDSI II 1987, 45, č. 56). Teda vždy treba mať na mysli, že v prípade privilegovaných farností nemuseli byť použité výrazy plebán, plebánie, ale aj iné ako ich synonymá.³⁶

V rámci slovenskej medievalistiky je najkorektnejšie odlišovať v stredovekom Uhorsku nepriviligované farnosti a tie privilegované, ale nielen na základe použitých latinských výrazov v písomnostiach uhorskej proveniencie.

Na problém s nedôslednosťou terminológie *plebania*, *plebanus* upozornila už maďarská medievalistika. Elemér Mályusz bol názoru, že farnosti a farári označení ako plebánie a plebáni boli približne do konca 14. storočia odlišovaní od ostatných (neprivilegovaných) farností, resp. farských kostolov a ich správcov (2007, 121-122). Skutočne od konca 14. a začiatku 15. storočia je možné sledovať vyslovene nedodržiavanie výrazov plebán, plebánie (pôsobia ako synonymá od ostatných termínov) na odlišovania privilegovaných od ostatných farností.³⁷ Géza Hegyi, považoval farnosť za nejakým spôsobom privilegovanú ak farnosť alebo jej správca bola v ním sledovanej dobe (do 1387) označená ako *plebania*, *plebanus* (2018, 2-23). Gábor Thoroczkay zase uviedol, že dodržiavanie sledovaných pojmov v uhorských písomnostiach (nie z prostredia pápežskej kúrie)

³⁶ A taktiež je vhodná opatrnosť, keďže nikdy nie je možné vylúčiť chyby pri pomenovaní či odlišovaní farností a ich súčastí.

³⁷ Pozri ako príklad farský Kostol sv. Štefana Prvomučeníka v Mojmirovciach a farára (*plebanus*) Jána (CDH X/4 1841, 795-796, č. CCCLXXVIII).

je možné predpokladať iba do začiatku 14. storočia (Thoroczkay 2020, 48), s čím sa dá v prípade privilegovaných farností, ako bolo priblížené vyššie, súhlasiť.³⁸

Je možné skonštatovať, že označenie *plebania*, *plebanus* v písomnostiach uhorskej proveniencie sa dá považovať približne do konca 14. storočia za privilegované farnosti (farské kostoly) a ich farárov. Výsadné postavenie v tomto období mohlo mať rôzne úrovne. Najnižšou bolo nezaťaženie magisterským právom, teda taký farár poberal celú štvrtinu desiatku. Nielen tie termíny mohli označovať privilegovanú farnosť a jej správcu. Je ich možné identifikovať aj pod všeobecnejšími výrazmi *rector*, *ecclesia parochialis*, (*etc.*) ak: a) bol aspoň pre farský kostol použitý termín *plebania* alebo aspoň pre jeho správcu *plebanus*; b) ak nebol ani pre jedného použité toto označenie, ale išlo o exemptnú farnosť alebo (aj) mala nezaťažený desiatok magisterským právom, a to plný, či jeho podiel, aj keď „iba“ štvrtinový (pri ňom však musí byť nezaťaženie benefícia aspoň naznačené, napr. odkázaním sa na práva ďalších plebánov či uvedením, že ide o „slobodnú kaplnku“, inak oslobodenie nie je možné automaticky predpokladať). Taktiež treba mať na zreteli, že nepriviligovaná farnosť mohla byť na privilegovanú povýšená (tak ako filiálka mohla byť povýšená na farský kostol, a taktiež je možné sledovať aj opačný proces).³⁹ V opačnom prípade za označenia *rector* a *ecclesia parochialis* je možné považovať: a) samostatnú, plnoprávnú, ale nepriviligovanú farnosť (a jej správcu), teda zaťaženie magisterským právom – to potvrdzuje, ak bol farský kostol označený ako *capella* (pri riešení príjmov) alebo kvarta, prípadne mal menší ako štvrtinový desiatok (utvrdenie však nie je nutné); b) subordinovaný, filiálny farský kostol a jeho rektora (ktorý bol najčastejšie označovaný ako *rector*, *capellanus* či všeobecnejšie *sacerdos parochialis*). To situáciu samozrejme komplikuje.

Zatiaľ čo označenie plebánie, plebán v stredovekom Uhorskom kráľovstve viac-menej bezpečne odkazuje na samostatnú farnosť a farára,⁴⁰ pri ďalších termínoch je potrebné minimálne mať na pamäti, a to obzvlášť pri *ecclesia parochialis* a *rector* (ktoré navádzajú k identifikácii ako farský kostol a jeho správcu), že tak mohli (nemuseli) byť označované aj spomedzi filiálok najvyššie hierarchicky postavené svätyne (cirkevnoprávne najbližšie k skutočným farským kostolom), ktoré nazývam filiálne farské kostoly, a ich rektori podriadení farárovi. Disponovali takmer rovnakými farskými právami ako skutočné farské kostoly a farári, dokonca aj právom na desiatky (podielom z nich, z ktorého časť prislúchala farárovi) z príslušného sídla, ale boli nesamostatní. Mali subordinované postavenie.⁴¹

Príkladom filiálneho farského kostola je aj vyššie spomenutý chrám zasvätený Panne Márii v Dolnom Dörögde v rokoch 1339 – 1347 po jeho podriadení farnosti, resp. farskému Kostolu sv. Ondreja v Hornom Dörögde biskupom Meškom. Po sťažnostiach patrónov tohto chrámu Meško zmenil svoje predchádzajúce rozhodnutie. Zachoval mu farské cirkevnoprávne postavenie, farárovi mali prislúchať „len“ tri štvrtiny desiatkov, zatiaľ čo zvyšná štvrtina prislúchala správcovi (označeného ako *capellanus*) filiálneho farského kostola. Biskup Meško povolil patrónom výber a vydržiavanie kňaza za správcu (ZVT I 1886 350-352, č. 239; AO XXIII 1999, 112,

³⁸ V období 14. storočia som sa nestretol s farnosťou zaťaženou magisterským právom označenou ako plebánie či farárom ako plebán.

³⁹ Povýšovaniu či degradovaniu farských svätých bude venovaná pozornosť v inom príspevku.

⁴⁰ Porovnaj s prácou Bibiany Pomfyovej (2023, 168, 177), v ktorej sa autorka nevenovala problematike privilegovaných či nepriviligovaných farností, ale označenia *plebania*, *plebanus* považovala za menej bezpečné pre identifikáciu farností ako *parochia*, *parochus*, *rector ecclesiae parochialis*.

⁴¹ Bližšej charakteristike, pomenovaniu a ďalším príkladom filiálnych farských kostolov, ako aj iným filiálnych chrámov (a ich prípadným správcami) v stredovekých uhorských farnostiach venujem samostatný príspevok. Čiastočne som niektoré filiálky (hlavne tzv. pomocné filiálne kaplnky) už priblížil (Filo 2024; 2025), avšak ešte bez náležitého pomenovania na ich odlíšenie. K filiálnym svätyniam pozri aj: Doležalová 2020, 238-240; Hledíková 2007, 24-27; Jokeš 2011; Pomfyová 2023, 167-182.

č. 214). Nakoniec však na žiadosť vyššie spomenutého jágerského biskupa Mikuláša z Dörögdu, ako priamo zainteresovanej osoby, pápež Klement VI. (1342 – 1352) v roku 1347 uznal a potvrdil prvý Meškov verdikt. Teda filiálny farský Kostol Panny Márie bol degradovaný na filiálnu kaplnku bez vlastného správcu (Theiner I 1859, 749-751, č. MCXXVI; MREV II 1899, 123-125, č. CXXXIX-CXL; Bossányi I 1916, 179-180, č. CCCLXV; AO XXXI 2007, 515-516, č. 1005 a 590, č. 1170).

Kvôli priblíženým skutočnostiam uvediem, že za skutočné farnosti (teda najnižšie samostatné územnosprávne cirkevné obvody, v rámci ktorých boli uplatňované plné farské práva⁴² a vykonávaná *cura animarum* obyvateľstva – farníkov jedného alebo viacerých prifarených sídiel), farské kostoly a ich farárov (bez ohľadu na označenie v písomnostiach a na to, či ide o privilegované alebo neprilegované farnosti) je možné považovať len tie obvody, chrámy a správcov, ktorí boli samostatní. Teda neboli súčasťou inej farnosti. Svätyňa nebola podriadená inému farskému kostolu (v pozícii materského kostola – *ecclesia matrix*) a ich správca nebol subordinovaný farárovi materského, farského kostola.⁴³ Zatiaľ čo podriadenosť je ľahšie určiteľná, lebo bývala neraz zdôrazňovaná, samostatnosť chrámu nebývala vždy priamo uvádzaná (za výnimku je možné považovať napr. vymanenie z filiality, povýšenie filiálnej svätyne na farský kostol; alebo pochopiteľne informáciu o exempcii z jurisdikcie vyšších stupňov cirkevnej správy). Teda aj nezmienenie podriadenosti nepriamo naznačuje (ale automaticky stále nepotvrďuje) samostatné postavenie. Mimo označenie *plebania* a *plebanus* je potrebné pre bezpečnejšie určenie samostatnosti farského kostola a farnosti sledovať v prvom rade vzťahy k ďalším chrámom vo farnosti (ak boli postavené). Skutočné farské postavenie kostola (a jeho správcu) približuje subordinácia iných svätýň a kňazov voči nemu,⁴⁴ a to rezervovaním vybraných farských práv pre farský kostol,⁴⁵ uvedením povinností filiálky voči farskému kostolu, resp. farárovi, či iným deklarováním jeho pozície materského kostola (*ecclesia matrix*). Azda ešte lepším dokladom nezávislosti je uvádzanie vzťahu (povinností či naopak vymanením sa z nich) k stredo- a vyššie stupňovým cirkevným inštitúciám (vicearcidiakonátom,⁴⁶ arcidiakonátom, kapitule, prepoštovi, (arci)biskupovi). Pochopiteľne nesmel byť uvedený akýkoľvek zachovávací sa vzťah či povinnosti voči inému farskému kostolu. Na skutočné farské postavenie poukazuje aj odkazovanie sa na práva iných farností, farských kostolov či farárov. Taktiež je možné spomenúť proces udeľovania (farského) benefícia, na ktorom sa nepodieľal (pri výbere, prezentácii, schvaľovaní či investitúre)⁴⁷ iný farár.⁴⁸

⁴² Pod farskými právami sa rozumie: starostlivosť o duše farníkov (*cura animarum*), právo na pochovávanie (*ius funerandi*), právo na krstenie (*ius baptisandi*), právo na príjem z územia farnosti (cirkevný desiatok, resp. jeho podiel a iné výnosy), ale aj právo na celebrowanie bohoslužieb (v danom chráme), právo na kázanie, žehnanie, udeľovanie sviatosti zmierenia a sviatosti pomazania chorých. Pozri a porovnaj: Doležalová 2020, 240; Jokeš 2011, 9, 11-14, 19-20; Šotník 2001, 46; Sullivan 1987, 411, 414-415; Vargha 2022, 33-35.

⁴³ K definícii farnosti, farského kostola a farára pozri Filo 2024, 221-223; Filo 2025, 131-133. K definícii farnosti porovnaj napr.: Jokeš 2011, 11-21; Hledíková 2007, 24-27; Doležalová 2020, 238-240; Wiśniowski 2004, 18-19; Pounds 2004, 3-6.

⁴⁴ Porovnaj na príklade stredovekej západnej Moravy: Jokeš, *Farní organizace*, 20.

⁴⁵ Doplním, že chrám nedisponujúci nejakým z farských práv nie je možné považovať za farský kostol. O držbe farských práv skutočného farského kostola mohla, ale nemusela byť žiadna informácia. Mal ich z pozície svojho cirkevnoprávneho postavenia.

⁴⁶ Najpravdepodobnejšie aj zastávanie úradu vicearcidiakona poukazuje na držbu úradu farára. K úradu vicearcidiakona pozri: Marek 2015, 78-105.

⁴⁷ K procesu udeľovania farského benefícia pozri: Filo 2023.

⁴⁸ Naopak, ak bolo pri filiálke zriadené samostatné benefícium, na procese jeho obsadzovania kňazom sa podľa kánonického práva podieľal farár ako hlavný správca farnosti (Liber Extra. Lib. 3. Tit. 48. Cap. 3: CIC II 1959, 652-653).

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Mgr. Jozef Filo, PhD.

Constantine the Philosopher University

Faculty of Arts

Institute for Research of Constantine and Methodius' Cultural Heritage

Štefánikova 67

949 01 Nitra

Slovakia

jfilo2@ukf.sk

jozef.filos@gmail.com

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-0618-8513

WOS Researcher ID: GRN-7784-2022

SCOPUS Author ID: 57814061500

TRANSLATING LITURGICAL TEXTS AND MUSIC INTO THE VERNACULAR: THE HEIRMOI OF THE ENTRY AND THE ANNUNCIATION OF THE THEOTOKOS IN THE SLOVAK GREEK CATHOLIC CHURCH¹

Samuel Škoviera

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Abstract: ŠKOVIERA, Samuel. *Translating Liturgical Texts and Music into the Vernacular: The Heirmoi of the Entry and the Annunciation of the Theotokos in the Slovak Greek Catholic Church*. The principle that every nation should praise God in its own language is foundational to every Byzantine church. Unlike the Roman Church, Byzantine missions to neighbouring nations included the deliberate translation of the entire rite into local languages. This is evident, among other sources, in the zealous debates of the Slavonic apostles Constantine and Methodius with Roman scholars who accepted only three liturgical languages. What these hagiographies do not mention is that alongside the translation of texts, music also needed to be addressed. Medieval Slavonic manuscripts with musical notation show that hymns were translated in tandem with liturgical music. This interplay of word and melody remains relevant today. While translation studies is a developed field, musicology lacks a branch to explore this parallel phenomenon in music. Consequently, each church tends to adopt its own approach.

This paper analyses this process within the Slovak Greek Catholic Church, focusing on Slovak translations and Slavonic musical traditions in the heirmoi of the canons for the feasts of the Entry and the Annunciation of the Theotokos. A detailed analysis may offer guidelines for developing a more systematic method for future translation projects – or for reassessing existing ones – helping to preserve both the living tradition of liturgical music and text, and their inherent unity.

Keywords: *Liturgical translation, Byzantine rite, Slovak Greek Catholic Church, Slavonic Chant, Carpathian Plainchant, Prostopinije, Heirmos*

1. Introduction

The translation of liturgical texts into vernacular languages is an ongoing phenomenon in various churches around the world. It was characteristic of the Byzantine rite long before the translation of the liturgy in the Roman Catholic Church started. The Byzantine Rite is also characterised, even today, in comparison to the Latin Rite, by the fact that almost all of the texts read aloud are chanted – whether they are prayers, liturgical dialogue, readings, or hymns. In translating the liturgy into vernacular languages, therefore, the musical component of the liturgy cannot be omitted. Nor, therefore, can we speak only of a translation but of a conversion of both the textual and the musical components of the liturgy. Despite the fact that this is such a fundamental part of the worship of the Byzantine rite, there is no uniform approach to conversion – translation and

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musical adaptation.² Different churches approach the issue in different ways and with different attention to detail.

In this study we will focus on an approach to the conversion of liturgical hymns in the Slovak Greek Catholic Church. Before analysing this approach, we would like to underline a few basic concepts.

Let us begin with the question of why it is important to translate the liturgy into the native languages of the various ethnic groups at all (until recently a sensitive issue for the Latin rite). One biblical event may serve as an answer: the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. At the moment of the descent, as described in the Acts of the Apostles (Acts 2:1-21), all those present began to understand each other, even though they spoke different languages. The diversity of tongues, which at the building of the Tower of Babel had led to division and misunderstanding, becomes at the moment of Pentecost a manifestation of unity in praise to God. It is as if by this act the diverse languages were blessed by the Holy Spirit. Thus, we can and should each praise God in our own language. This is how St. Basil the Great describes it:

“Let the tongue sing, let the mind interpret the meaning of what has been said, that you may sing with your spirit, that you may sing likewise with your mind.³ Not at all is God in need of glory, but He wishes you to be worthy of winning glory.” (St. Basil the Great. Homily on Psalm 28; Basil 1963, 210)

This short passage affirms the need to understand what we pray and sing so that the whole person, heart and mind, is involved.

The second question is why we sing at all. The Byzantine hymn *Cherubikon*, which is sung at the Divine Liturgy during the transfer of gifts, leads us to this question:

“We who mystically represent the Cherubim, and sing to the Life-Giving Trinity the thrice-holy hymn, let us now lay aside all earthly cares that we may receive the King of all, escorted invisibly by the angelic orders. Alleluia” (Taft 1975, 54)⁴

This means that the people in the church become like cherubim during the service, make an offering of praise to God in the form of singing. Singing is therefore the basic form of recitation in the services of the Byzantine rite. To be close to the angelic ideal, this form should be as perfect as possible, and thus the text and music should be unified, something that was given great emphasis in the Byzantine rite (Wellesz 1947, 309-10). Music is a kind of liturgical garment or medium for the sacred texts. Or to put it in other words: the liturgical offering (that is what we bring to the altar in the church by our minds, souls, bodies and hearts) has two wings: words and music. But there is still kept an internal hierarchy: The liturgical rite on the first place is filled with words (prayers, readings, petitions, hymns, etc.) that are garmented with music. One without another is incomplete.

Liturgical hymns form the musical core of worship because they are the richest in terms of music and poetry. Gregorios Stathis defines them as follows:

² Principles for the musical adaptation of Slovak liturgical texts to melodies in the context of the Greek Catholic Church in Slovakia are presented in my recent publication (Škoviera 2025), especially in the chapter “Liturgický spev a text” (27-40).

³ Cf. 1 Cor 14:15.

⁴ See also a revised, updated, and expanded Italian edition published in collaboration with Taft's student Stefano Parenti (Taft and Parenti 2014).

“[...] the words of hymnography are wondrous Greek poetry written by the saints of the Church, as an outcome of their experiential relationship with God and the Theotokos.” (Stathis 2006, 5)

As Stathis points out, hymns are liturgical poetry, that is, they follow certain formal rules, unlike prose liturgical texts (such as prayers). In our case, the hymns are divided into strophes, the strophes into cola⁵ and the cola are governed by the number of syllables and the positions of the accents. Byzantine liturgical poetry often employs various poetic devices such as anaphora, contrast, parallelism, etc. In addition, hymns contain theological truths that are guaranteed by the spiritual life of the hymnographers, as described by Stathis. As such, the translation of the hymns is not a simple prose translation, nor is it a looser poetic translation, both of which are standard for translators. In the case of liturgical hymns, it is more a matter of remodelling, which should respect all their components – whether poetic, theological or prosaic – thereby preserving precision of meaning and aesthetic beauty.

When we come to musical adaptations, three conditions should be (or usually are) fulfilled: 1) preservation of theological and linguistic maxims, 2) preservation of musical and hymnographic tradition, and 3) preservation of melody. By the first point we mean that the musical component should be in harmony with the text⁶ and should preserve its propositional and theological clarity. By the second point we mean respect for the musical language of a given musico-liturgical tradition, which consists of some melodic units (formulae) or standard melodic progressions and grammar – rules for their use. By the third point we mean the preservation of the particular melodies of the hymns – not in the sense of a slavish retention of the tones and their rhythmic values, but with the degree of malleability that the melodies provide.

After this theoretical introduction, we can proceed to introduce the Church and the particular hymns.

2. Slovak Greek Catholic Church

As an example for the translation of hymns in the case of the Slovak Greek Catholic Church, we have chosen the form of *zadostoinik* (CSL. *зѧдостѡйникъ*),⁷ specifically two hymns: *zadostoinik* on the feast of the Entry of the Most Holy Theotokos into the Temple (21 November) and the feast of the Annunciation (25 March).⁸

⁵ This term colon from the Greek *kōlon* (κῶλον) represents the shortest (basic) textual unit set to a single melodic formula. The *kōla* (pl.) may be further combined into larger units in the manner of psalm verses, which are made up of two or three shorter sections.

⁶ The musical component should follow the phonological and grammatical features of the text. In the case of Slovak, the most important categories are the accent (on the first syllable of the word) and the quantity of vowels (short and long).

⁷ There is no analogous one-word term in English or Greek terminology. The term *zadostoinik* comes from Church Slavonic, meaning “in place of *Dostójno jést*”, i.e. *Axion estin*. In the liturgical books it is given with the heading *Εἰς τὸ Ἐξαίρετως*, i.e. “On the *Especially*” which is the first word of the priest’s exhortation, followed by the singing of the hymn *Axion estin*: *Ἐξαίρετως τῆς Παναγίας, ἀχράντου, ὑπερευλογημένης, ἐνδόξου, Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας*. [Especially for our most holy, pure, blessed, and glorious Lady, the Theotokos and ever-virgin Mary.] The counterpart of the term *zadostoinik* is greek ἀντὶ τοῦ «Ἄξιόν ἐστιν».

⁸ We list the feasts in this order according to the liturgical year of the Byzantine rite, which begins on September 1.

The *zadostoinik* is a hymn sung at the Divine Liturgy, which on some feasts⁹ replaces the hymn *Axion estin*,¹⁰ a part of the ordinary of the Divine Liturgy. The *zadostoinik* is usually the heirmos of the 9th hymn of the canon of the feast in question, together with the verse that is sung before the heirmos (if it has one; in this study we will deal only with the heirmos). Although the genre of heirmos occurs in the Divine Office, especially on the matins (*orthros*), in the case of the *zadostoinik*, it also occurs in the Divine Liturgy.

In the Slovak Greek Catholic Church, where the regular celebration of the Divine Office is not as widespread (the standard service is the Divine Liturgy)¹¹ the *zadostoinik* is the only liturgical position in which the heirmos genre occurs in the liturgy. Thus, if in some parishes matins are not served, the cantor (lead singer of the church) – and therefore the congregation – has no chance to encounter the hymnographic and musical richness found in matins. The position of the *zadostoinik*, however, makes it necessary to sing some of the heirmoi within the Divine Liturgy.

In this Church, the proper liturgical chant is the called *Carpathian Plainchant* or *Prostopiniye*.¹² This liturgical musical dialect is not homogeneous: we find several layers within it, defined mainly by its origin and degree of simplification. While the chants for the Divine Liturgy are simpler, many of the chants for heirmoi belong to a more archaic and therefore less simplified layer.

It is necessary to mention one more characteristic feature of the Carpathian Plainchant. Many of the melodies for the proper (the changeable parts of the service) are sung to model tunes (melodic types), which usually consist of a few melodic formulae; these are easily adaptable to the text and are iterative, so that almost any text can be sung to these tunes, both in terms of the length of the verses and their number. The choice of a hymn tune for a particular text depends on the hymn form¹³ and the *ichos*.¹⁴ In contrast, many heirmoi preserve an older style of chant that is not as simply adaptable as the model iterative chants described above. Each verse of the hymn is set to a single melodic formula that is governed by verse length and syllable accents. Thus, singing such a hymn requires more demanding preparation – it is not sufficient to sing only according to the text (i.e. without notes) with the application of a universal melodic model to the text in real time, which is standard way of chanting for hymns with model iterative melodies.

3. The text of hymns and their translations

In the following lines we will deal with the text of the hymns mentioned above. The heirmoi of the 9th ode of the Entry and Annunciation can be considered liturgical twins, as they share most of their text – and consequently, their melody. They differ only in the final verse, which is adapted to reflect the specific theme of each feast (table 1).

⁹ These are mainly the great feasts of the Lord (e.g. Nativity, Epiphany, etc.) and the feasts of the Theotokos (e.g. Annunciation, Dormition, etc.).

¹⁰ Gr. Ἀξιόν ἐστιν, CSL. Достойно ѣсть.

¹¹ In the great majority of cases it is the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.

¹² The term Plainchant is a translation of the Slavonic word *Простопѣніе*. For this type of chant see e. g. (Blahunková 2019; Marínčák 2015; Roccasalvo 1986; Reynolds 1979b; 1979a; 1980).

¹³ This type of chant is mainly associated with *troparia*, *kontakia*, *stichera* and *prokeimena*.

¹⁴ The *glas* or *ichos* (CSL. гласъ, Gr. ἵχος) is a category of liturgical singing of the churches of the Byzantine rite parallel to the Latin mode. On this category, see (Velimirović 2001; Jeffery 2001; Wellesz 1961, 71, 300-303). In addition to the *ichos* and form of the hymn, the choice of melody may be specified by the name of the automelon – the model hymn on which a given new hymn *prosomoion* was composed. This new hymn took over, in addition to the structure, the melody of the automelon. In the Carpathian Plainchant, several such melodies have been preserved, especially for *stichera*. On the technique of contrafacta in Byzantine hymnography, see (Troelsgård 2003).

As can be seen from the table, the Church Slavonic text faithfully follows the Greek original.¹⁵ Both heirmoi have six verses, the first three of which are divided into two cola and the last one into three cola.¹⁶

Slovak translations of hymns have a special status in the Slovak Greek Catholic Church. Mostly they are provisionals authorised by the local bishop for public use (*imprimatur*). Such texts are contained in the *Hore srdcia* hymnal/prayer book (Gradoš et al. 2002), which is currently the widely used basic collection of liturgical texts in the Slovak language for the Divine Liturgy. The translation we are working with comes from there (table 2).¹⁷

At the very first glance, the translation of the hymns raises points which need to be commented on. In the first place, it is evident that the translator(s) (or the editor(s) of the book) did not realise the connection of the two heirmoi, and therefore we see two completely different translations of different quality. This fact alone greatly affects the arrangement for singing, which should be almost identical for both hymns.

Let us, however, evaluate the translation in turn; first the heirmos for the Feast of the Entry. The first five lines follow the Church Slavonic text faithfully in terms of content, except for a minor inaccuracy: *ръка скверныхъ* “hand of the defiled” is translated as *poškvrnená ruka* “a defiled hand.” Next, the subject of the sentence – the 2nd person singular pronoun *ta* (whom the hand is not supposed to touch) – is also added to the translation, which is desirable for Slovak, although it does not come from the context.

This section follows approximately the same verse length and can be divided into cola. We see a more significant distortion of structure in the second colon of the third verse. This colon combines the meaning from the following verses, which creates an unevenness in the individual textual sections. To the word *hlasno* (“aloud,” from CSL. *немолчно*, “not being silent”), the translator adds *a s radostou* (“and with joy” – *съ радостію*) from the fifth verse, and consequently, originally a double phrase “*воспѣвають ... да вопіють*” is replaced by only one verb, *nech ... spievajú* (“let them sing”). The incorrect nominative/vocative case (*Bohorodička* instead of *Bohorodičke*, dative case “to Theotokos” – *Богородицѣ*) is probably a typographical error; if it were a deliberate vocative case, the word should have been separated by commas, i.e. *spievajú, Bohorodička, slová* (“they sing, O Theotokos, the words”). The result of combining these three cola is their disproportionate length, the loss of their original structure and poetic intent.

In the last verse we see an example where the verse structure is preserved, although the words within it are rearranged. Although such a solution may sometimes be necessary, at the beginnings and ends of hymns it is good to preserve the original arrangement of the words.¹⁸

Although the beginning of the heirmos faithfully follows the original structure of the hymn, the adaptation of the Slovak translation to the original melody can pose considerable obstacles, especially because of lines 3-5, where the translator has rearranged and shortened the text considerably.

¹⁵ A slight deviation is seen in the Church Slavonic text, where the word ἀμύητος (unconsecrated) is translated by *скверный* (defiled, unclean).

¹⁶ The division of the heirmos into verses and colas follows the textual-musical analysis of David Pancza (Pancza 2021, 69-77; 2008, 13-15).

¹⁷ The division of the hymn into lines is ours based on the original structure in the Greek/Church Slavonic original (as far as possible). The asterisks, which divide the hymn into verses, are part of the translation in the book *Hore srdcia* (Gradoš et al. 2002, 309, 368-396).

¹⁸ The beginning of a hymn often serves as a title, a characteristic designation. The automela are also referred to by their incipit. The end of a hymn, on the other hand, is often a typified phrase, a kind of remnant of the original refrain (*akroteleution*; e.g. Κύριε δόξα σοι “Glory to you, O Lord.”) that was used in the psalmody (Frøyshov 2013; Conomos 2012; Troelsgård 2001).

This addition could already be considered a new artistic creation. He renders the original **БѢЖЮ КЪАРХѢ** as *archa* (“ark”), likely to avoid repetition after introducing the new object in the second verse, and omits the word **УДЪШЕВЛЕННОМЪ** entirely. Furthermore, he translates **СКВѢРНЫХЪ** as *hriešnych* (“sinners”), which constitutes an unnecessary shift in meaning.

similarly, he has combined **воспѣвающе** and **да вопіють** into the word *spievaj* “sing!” He interpreted **гласъ** as a *pozdrav* “greeting,” which makes sense for the Annunciation, but less so for the Entry, where it is rather a more general “exclamation of the angel.”

We can summarise that the translation of the heirmos of the Annunciation failed in terms of both content and form. In terms of content, it departs considerably from the original meaning.

Currently there is no official printed manual of liturgical singing in Slovak. Partially notated chants can be found in the aforementioned prayer book *Hore srdcia*, but these are

²⁰ Bokšaj's *Heirmologion* was published for the needs of the Eparchy of Mukachevo, which became the mother eparchy of the Eparchy of Prešov, and thus of the entire particular Slovak Greek Catholic Church today. On the *Heirmologion*, see (Kandrác 2021, 180-185; Marínčák 2015, 307-309).

only the ordinary parts of the Divine Liturgy. In this study we use Slovak adaptations from the KANTORzKE portal (KANTORzKE 2025), which tries to cover the needs of the cantors of the Košice Eparchy and publishes notated materials on-line. This portal is based on the older website of the Košice Cathedral Choir (Katedrálny zbor 2025), specifically the section for cantors. This choir is also behind the cantorial courses for the Košice Eparchy, which have support from the Church hierarchy (Kantorský kurz 2025; Kolesárová 2006). The introductory text on the KANTORzKE website states that the musical model for the adaptations comes mainly from the Papp's *Heirmologion* and from materials prepared for the aforementioned cantorial courses.²¹ For this reason, we also consider these materials to be the closest to the official ones and thus suitable for the purposes of this study.

Let us now consider the musical aspect of the heirmos of the Entry and Annunciation. The heirmos for both feasts is given in Papp's *Heirmologion* for the Feast of the Entry, where there is a separately notated last verse (fig. 1). We will not comment in great depth on the structure and development of the chant; however, we may note that the melody is an obvious developmental descendant of the melody in the older Ruthenian heirmologion manuscripts (Pancza 2021), and retains the distinctive character of the older Znamenny Chant: the character of the melody is more complex (it contains a minimum of recitation on a single tone), it uses three rhythmic values: the quarter (which is the smallest and basic value for a syllable), the eighth (which mostly appears in clusters preserving the even meter of the melody), and the half. The tune also preserves the division of the text²² and respects the accents in the individual words.

In musical adaptations to the Slovak text, we are again surprised to find that the heirmoi of the two feasts are not set to the same melody. Let us begin with the Feast of the Entry (fig. 2). This adaptation more or less respects the division of the text found in the book *Hore srdcia*. In contrast to the aforementioned prayer book, the author(s) of the musical adaptation divides the fourth verse (*nech hlasno...*) into two halves. It is interesting to point out that although the adapter has made this change, he has not corrected the error *Bohorodička* instead of *Bohorodičke* (as discussed above).

The melody chosen by the adapter is not proper to this heirmos, but is taken from the heirmos of the 9th ode of the Sunday canon (i.e. Resurrectional) of the 4th ichos (fig. 3). Since it is one of the simplest melodies for the heirmoi in Papp's *Heirmologion*, it has established itself in practice as the universal melody for any heirmos sung in the place of the *zadostoinik*.²³ The melody is simpler: except for the last note, it uses only two rhythmic values – a quarter and a half – making it close to the standard melodic language of the *prostopiniye*.²⁴

If we compare the melody in Papp's *Heirmologion* and the adaptation from KANTORzKE, we find only two minor differences in the rhythmic values: the original half value has been changed to a quarter in two cases: the third note in the first verse and the second note in the fourth verse. Conversely, the fourth note from the end in the fifth verse has been changed from quarter to half. The final difference found between these versions is the cadence of the last verse, where the adapter decided to change the syllable division: they combined the notes of the third and second

²¹ We would add that for the Košice cathedral (the Greek Catholic Cathedral of the Nativity of the Most Holy Theotokos, Dominikánske námestie 575/2, Košice) uses a chant that is slightly different from that of Prešov in some melodies.

²² Less obvious is the division between the cola of the 2nd verse, where the melodic formula of the 1st verse is bridged into the next formula. On the other hand, the division between the 2nd and 3rd cola of the last verse has completely disappeared and been replaced by a formula with a simple recitation and cadence.

²³ This substitution is very likely related to the fact that most cantors are unfamiliar with the musical repertoire of the matins, as we wrote above.

²⁴ By this we mean in particular the basic chants for troparia, kontakia and stichera.

syllable from the end under one syllable, thus achieving an accentuation on the penultimate (i.e. first) syllable of the word *všetkých* “all.” These changes may reflect oral practice, but also an attempt to adapt the melody of the text.

Nevertheless, the textual accents were not followed everywhere in the melody. At the beginning of the third verse (*Ale ústa*, “but the mouth”) the accent is on the first syllable (a more appropriate accent would have been on the third syllable, i.e. beginning of the noun); at the end of the fourth verse *spievajú* the accent is on the second syllable instead of the first. In these cases, inspiration from other heirmoi of the same canon (Bokšaj – Malinič 1906, 17-19) or other hymns that use similar procedures would be appropriate.

Although the applied melody is not original to this text, after splitting the fourth verse the adapter achieved its formal suitability for this melody as well. Considering the deviations from the Church Slavonic model, this solution seems to be an acceptable compromise.

The situation with the Annunciation heirmos is different. Despite the fact that, according to our textual analysis, the text departs even more from the Church Slavonic text than in the case of the Entry, the adapter has chosen the melody inherent to the heirmos of the Annunciation, as we have seen it in Papp's *Heirmologion* (fig. 1). See also the Slovak adaptation (fig. 4) and a comparison of the Church Slavonic and the Slovak versions (fig. 5).

As we have seen above, the translation did not respect the original verse structure, which was mainly due to the loss of text in the verses 3-6. The consequence of this can also be seen when comparing the adaptation with the original: the adapter had to omit the fifth and sixth formula of the melody, which can be seen as a deviation from the musical tradition. Also, in order to make the syllables fit the melody better, the adapter divided the first verse between the noun and its adjective – *hriešna * ruka*, “sinful * hand” – which is not natural for Slovak.

When we look at the adaptation from the rhythmic side, we see a few differences from the original. In the very first colon on the syllables *-ko*, *-sme-* and *-la*, the adapter has changed the original pairs of eighth notes to quarter notes (thus doubling the original value); unfortunately we see no justification for this, and in fact it creates a departure from the original musical language and an imbalance in the alternation of the accented and unaccented parts of the melody. We see the opposite process on the first syllable *Ra-* of the penultimate colon: here the adapter has reduced the original rhythmic values by half.

In the following paragraph we will summarise how the adapter worked with the placement of syllables on the individual notes of the Church Slavonic original with regard to accents and vowel quantity. The adapter has tried to remain faithful to the model and has not significantly altered the original melody (except for the points concerning rhythm mentioned above). At no point do we see added melodic material. On the contrary, what we see here is mainly the joining together, the omission of some parts of the melody or their division into several syllables. The omission was made by the adapter in places where the recitation on one note appeared. This is noticeable in the eighth colon: the original four syllables of *rádostiju* became only one syllable *po-*; similarly, in the last colon. The merging of several notes that were originally assigned to separate syllables occurred in places where there was less text or where accent positions were changing.

The attention to word accent is nicely seen at the end of the first stanza (*hriešna*), where the accent was on the antepenultima (*-lénnomu*), but the adapter, by combining the two original syllables, has achieved that the accent has been put in the right place the penultima. At the beginning of the next colon he joined the two notes thus achieving the accent on the two-syllable word *ruka*. We also find a redistribution in favour of the accent at the beginning of the fourth colon. However, this caused an inappropriate accenting at the end of the verse: the three-syllable word *Božieho* thus gained an accent on the penultima. This discrepancy could have been resolved by adding a single tone for the syllable *-ku* (the *b-flat* tone), while the syllable *Bo-* would have had

a sequence of three notes (*a – g – f-sharp*). The modification in favour of the accent at the end of the seventh colon on the word *Cirkev* should also be highlighted.

There are also places in the adaptation that do not respect the accent or even place the melodic accent on explicitly unstressed syllables (such as the enclitics *sa* and *si*). Already in the very first colon, the adapter has divided the original melodic phrase into three syllables *Ako sa* and placed the melodic accent on the last one. We see the accent again on the enclitic on the third syllable of the third verse *tak nech sa*. This could also be corrected by inserting a single *g* or *b-flat* tone to the beginning of the colon, which would move the accent to the first syllable of *nedotýka*. This verse suffers from one more imperfection at its end. To fit all the syllables into the verse, the adapter split a pair of eighth notes on the last two syllables of the word *živého*. This created two problems. First of all, the first of the two syllables is a long one, but it found itself on the shortest rhythmic value, which goes directly against Slovak phonology. Secondly, the adapter has departed significantly from the musical grammar of the Znamenny Chant by this division, which (with few exceptions) does not allow syllables to be sung to single eighth-notes.

5. Summary and conclusions

On the basis of our analysis, we can summarise that for a suitable musical adaptation, first of all, a suitable translation is necessary. If the liturgical-musical tradition is to be preserved, thereby not reducing the natural space for innovation, it is necessary to respect all relevant aspects of Byzantine hymnography and its liturgical context. These include, in particular, the plain propositional and theological meaning of the text, its hymnographic form (with its liturgical function and internal structure), its musical grammar, and the flexibility of the various melodic formulae, which is also manifested in its subordination to the phonology of the text of the given hymn.

However, in the case of the heirmoi presented here, we have to conclude that many of these aspects have not been respected. The very first condition for a faithful translation of the content of the hymns has not been respected: we see words omitted, meanings added or changed. This is also related to the original verse structure of the heirmos and its poetic character: the translation has distorted the layout of the verses (their number and length), some double expressions and other poetic devices present. If in some places these poetic features have been preserved, this was probably unintentional. We consider it a fundamental problem that the translators did not realise the unity of the two heirmoi, resulting in two significantly different Slovak texts.

The musical adaptation is directly related to the text. Like two different translations, we also find two different adaptations. Although the adaptation of the heirmos of the Entry chooses a simpler and more adaptable melody, it departs from the proper melody of the heirmos, which retains its continuity from Greek sources.²⁵ The adaptation of the Annunciation's heirmos already uses its own melody, but because of a formally inappropriate translation, two melodic formulae had to be omitted. Aside from this, the adapter worked with the melody in a rather rigid manner, without any knowledge of the musical language of the Znamenny Chant. We observe a significant clinging to the individual notes of the melody: the melodic aspect of the hymn is thus not understood formulaically, with its structure and flexibility, but only as a sequence of notes. When adapting such melodies, a broader knowledge of the repertoire (especially the use of the same formulae in other hymns) would be beneficial, ideally also knowledge of older versions of the given heirmos or

²⁵ As it turns out according to the analyses of D. Pancza, most of the heirmologic repertoire in the Znamenny Rozpev (and hence in its Ruthenian dialect) preserves its continuity from its Greek antecedents. For heirmoi of the canons of the Entry and Annunciation, see (Pancza 2021, 69-71).

other chants. This ignorance also resulted in inconsistent application of textual accents and vowel quantity in the melody.

This study has attempted to show, through the example of the heirmoi of the 9th ode of the canons for the feasts of the Entry and Annunciation of the Theotokos, various aspects of the conversion of the musico-liturgical tradition from the original language to the new language. It was shown that the translation of the text and the melodic adaptation must go hand in hand. The text must respect the melodic structure of the hymn and the characteristics of the melody, as well as the melody must respect the prosodic characteristics of the text.

However, both sides cannot be approached in isolation. Whether we consider a corpus of liturgical texts or a corpus of melodies (with their melodic vocabulary and grammar), in both cases we find complex systems. These span both the breadth of the present tradition of the rite (in the synchronic dimension) and the connection of that tradition to its past (in the diachronic dimension). Because of that, for a satisfactory outcome of the conversion a thorough musicological, liturgical and hymnographic research have to take place. May this study contribute its part to the development of a consistent methodology for the appropriate conversion of hymns (with their text and melody) into Slovak or other languages.

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Prílohy / Appendix

	v.	Entry	Annunciation
Gr.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.	Ὡς ἐμψύχω Θεοῦ κιβωτῶ, ψανέτω μηδαμῶς χεῖρ ἀμνητῶν. Χεῖλη δὲ πιστῶν τῇ Θεοτόκῳ ἀσιγήτως. Φωνὴν τοῦ Ἀγγέλου ἀναμέλποντα, ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει βοάτω· Ὅντως ἀνωτέρα πάντων, ὑπάρχεις Παρθένε ἀγνή.	Ὡς ἐμψύχω Θεοῦ κιβωτῶ, ψανέτω μηδαμῶς χεῖρ ἀμνητῶν. Χεῖλη δὲ πιστῶν τῇ Θεοτόκῳ ἀσιγήτως. Φωνὴν τοῦ Ἀγγέλου ἀναμέλποντα, ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει βοάτω· Χαῖρε Κεχαριτωμένη ὁ Κύριος μετὰ σοῦ.
CSL	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.	Иѣкѡ ѡдѣшевѣлѣннѡмѢ Божію кѣвѡтѢ, да никѡкоже коснетсѧ рѣка скверныхъ, оустнѣ же вѣрныхъ Богородицѣ немолчнѡ гласъ ѡггѣла воспѣвѡице, съ радостію да вопіѣтъ: Истиннѡ вѣиши всѣхъ ѣси, дѣво чѣста.	Иѣкѡ ѡдѣшевѣлѣннѡмѢ Божію кѣвѡтѢ, да никѡкоже коснетсѧ рѣка скверныхъ, оустнѣ же вѣрныхъ Богородицѣ немолчнѡ гласъ ѡггѣла воспѣвѡице, съ радостію да вопіѣтъ: Рѣдѣса, Благодѣтнаѧ, Господь съ тобою.

Table 1. Irmosy na sviatok Vstupu a Zvestovania v gréckom (Gr.) a cirkevnoslovanskom (CSL.) jazyku rozdelené na verše (v.) a kóla / Heirmoi of the feasts of the Entry and the Annunciation in Greek (Gr.) and Church Slavonic (CSL.) divided into verses (v.) and cola.

	v.	CSL.	Sk.
Entry	1.	Ѣ́къ ѡдше́влѣнномѸ	Ako duchovného
		Бѣ́жію кѣ́вѣтъѸ,	Božieho stánku *
	2.	да́ нѣ́како́же кѣ́снетсѧ	nech sa ťa nikdy nedotkne
		рѣ́ка сквѣ́рныхъ,	poškvrnená ruka *
	3.	о́устнѣ́ же вѣ́рныхъ	Ale ústa veriacich *
		Богоро́дицѣ́ немо́лчнѡ	nech hlasno a s radosťou spievajú Bohorodička
Annunciation	4.	гла́съ ѡ́ггѣла́ воспѣ́вajúще,	slová anjela: *
	5.	съ́ ра́достію́ да́ вопі́ютъ:	---
	6.	Ѣ́стиннѡ́ вы́шши всѣ́хъ	Čistá Panna, naozaj prevyšuješ
		ѣ́си, Дѣ́во чѣ́стаѧ.	všetkých.
	1.	Ѣ́къ ѡдше́влѣнномѸ	Ako sa nesmela
		Бѣ́жію кѣ́вѣтъѸ,	hriešna ruka dotknúť archy, *
Annunciation	2.	да́ нѣ́како́же кѣ́снетсѧ	tak nech sa nedotýka
		рѣ́ка сквѣ́рныхъ,	živého stánku Božieho. *
	3.	о́устнѣ́ же вѣ́рныхъ	S nadšením spievaj Cirkev
		Богоро́дицѣ́ немо́лчнѡ	---
	4.	гла́съ ѡ́ггѣла́ воспѣ́вajúще,	pozdrav anjela: *
	5.	съ́ ра́достію́ да́ вопі́ютъ:	---
Annunciation	6.	Ра́дѣ́йсѧ, Благода́тнаѧ,	Raduj sa, Mária,
		Госпо́дь съ́ тобо́ю.	Pán s tebou!

Table 2. Slovenský (Sk.) preklad irmosov na sviatok Vstupu a Zvestovania s ich cirkevnoslovan-skou (CSL.) predlohou rozdelené na verše (v.) a kóla – The Slovak (Sk.) translation of the heirmoi of the feasts of the Entry and the Annunciation with the Church Slavonic (CSL.) original divided into verses (v.) and cola.

9 *mf*

Já - - ko o - du - šev - lén - no - mu Bó - ži - ju
 Ki - vó - tu, da ni - ká - ko - že kós - net - ja
 ru - ká skvér - nych; u - stñi že vír - nych
 Bo - ho - ró - di - ci ne mólě - no, hlás Án - he - la vos - pi -
 vá - ju - šče, srá - dos - ti - ju da vo - pi - jút: [is -
 tin - no výš - ši vsich je - sí, Dí - vo čis - ta - ja.]
 Na Blahovišćenije vmisto posľidnych slov v skobkach, spivajetsja:
 Rá - - duj - sja, bla - ho - dát - na - ja, Hós - pód s To - bó - ju

Obr. 1. Irmos Jáko oduševlěnnomu (ЇѦkw Ѡδσθεβλέννομς) deviatej piesne kánonu na sviatok Vstupu a Zvestovania v cirkevnej slovančine (Papp – Petraševič 1970, 155). / Fig. 1. Heirmos Jáko oduševlěnnomu (ЇѦkw Ѡδσθεβλέννομς) of 9th ode of the canon for the feasts of the Entry and the Annunciation in Church Slavonic (Papp – Petraševič 1970, 155).

Irmos, 4. hlas

A-ko du-chov-né-ho Bo-žie-ho stán - ku, nech sa ťa nik-dy ne-dot-kne
poš - kvr - ne - ná ru - ka. A - le ús - ta ve - ria - cích
nech hlas-no a s ra-dos-ťou spie-va - jú Bo-ho-ro-dič-ka slo-vá an-je - la:
"Čis-tá Pan-na, na-o-zaj pre-vy-šu-ješ všet - kých!"

Obr. 2. Slovenská adaptácia *Ako duchovného irmosu Jáko oduševlennomu* (Іѡκω ὡδὺσβελέννομῳ) deviatej piesne kánonu na sviatok Vstupu (Vstup 2025, 3). / Fig. 2. Slovak adaptation *Ako duchovného* of the heirmos *Jáko oduševlennomu* (Іѡκω ὡδὺσβελέννομῳ) of 9th ode of the canon for the feasts of the Entry (Vstup 2025, 3).

KÁ-meň ne - ru - ko - sič - nyj, ot ne - si - kó - my - ja ho - rý Te - bé, Ďí - vo,
kra - je - u - hól - nyj ot - si - čé - sja, Chris - tós so - vo - ku - pí - vyj
ras - to - já - šča - ja - sja jes - tes - tvá: ťím ve - se - ľá - šče - sja,
Ťa Bo - ho - ró - di - ce, ve - li - čá - jem.

Obr. 3. Irmos *Kámen nerukosičnyj* (Кáмень нерѹкосѣчный) deviatej piesne kánonu vzkriesenia 4. hlasu (Papp – Petraševič 1970, 70). / Fig. 3. Heirmos *Kámen nerukosičnyj* (Кáмень нерѹкосѣчный) of 9th ode of the Resurrectional canon of ichos 4 (Papp – Petraševič 1970, 70).

Irmos, 4. hlas



A-ko sa nes-me - la hrieš - na ru - ka dot-knúť ar - chy,
tak nech sa ne-do-tý - ka ži - vé - ho stán - ku Bo - žie - ho.
S nad-še - ním spie - vaj Cír-kev poz-drav an-je - la: "Ra - duj sa,
Má-ri - a Pán s te - bou!"

Obr. 4. Slovenská adaptácia *Ako sa nesmela* irmosu *Jáko oduševlénnomu* (Ἰᾶκω ὡδὸς οὐδυσσεύς) deviatej piesne kánonu na sviatok Zvestovania (Zvestovanie 2025, 3). / Fig. 4. Slovak adaptation *Ako sa nesmela* of the heirmos *Jáko oduševlénnomu* (Ἰᾶκω ὡδὸς οὐδυσσεύς) of 9th ode of the canon for the feasts of the Annunciation (Zvestovanie 2025, 3).

CSl. Já - ko o - du - šev - lén - no - mu Bó - ži - ju Ki - vo - tu,

Sk. A - ko sa ne - sme - la hrieš - na ru - ka dot - knúť ar - chy,

da ni - ká - ko - že kós - net - sia ru - ká skvér - nych.

tak nech sa ne - do - tý - ka ži - vé - ho stán - ku Bo - žie - ho

U - stní že vír - nych Bo - ho - ró - di - ci ne - mólč - no,

hlás Án - he - la vos - pi - vá - ju - šče, s rá - dos - ti - ju da vo - pi - jút: Rá - - dujsia

s nad - še - ním spie - vaj Cir - kev po - zdrav an - je - la: Ra - - duj sa,

bla - ho - dát - na - ja, Hos - pód' s to - bó - ju.

Má - ri - a, Pán s te - bou

Obr. 5. Porovnanie irmosov *Jáko oduševlénnomu* (ІѦКѦ ѠДШЕВЛѦННОМѦ) deviatej piesne kánonu na sviatok Zvestovania v cirkevnej slovančine (Papp – Petraševič 1970, 155) a slovenčine (Zvestovanie 2025, 3). / Fig. 5. Comparison of the heirmoi *Jáko oduševlénnomu* (ІѦКѦ ѠДШЕВЛѦННОМѦ) of the 9th ode for the feast of Annunciation in Church Slavonic (Papp – Petraševič 1970, 155) and Slovak (Zvestovanie 2025, 3).

Mgr. Samuel Škoviera
Slovak Academy of Sciences
Institute of Musicology
Dúbravská cesta 5819/9
841 04 Bratislava 4
Slovakia

Charles University
Faculty of Arts
Institute of Musicology
Nám. Jana Palacha 2
116 38 Praha 1
Czech Republic
samuel.skoviera@savba.sk
skoviera@gmx.com
ORCID ID: 0009-0000-1351-2089
WOS Researcher ID: PJC-2025-2026

THE RELEVANCE OF SLAVIC SPIRITUALITY IN THE CONTEXT OF ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE

Michal Hospodár

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Abstract: HOSPODÁR, Michal. *The Relevance of Slavic Spirituality in the Context of Artificial Intelligence*. Since the beginning of the third millennium, the lives of people in developed countries have been increasingly influenced by artificial intelligence (AI). It currently represents one of the most significant technological revolutions since the emergence of the Internet. It is a modern technology that in many ways resembles and imitates human activity, particularly creativity and decision-making processes. On the other hand, the risks of its overuse are also widely discussed in the professional world. The article first presents basic knowledge of Slavic spirituality, where the central role is played by the human person. Only a person is capable of a living relationship with another person and with God, as only a person possesses a “heart” capable of authentically and comprehensively perceiving surrounding reality. The second part briefly defines what artificial intelligence is and outlines the limits of its applicability. When comparing the capabilities of a human person and artificial intelligence, a person remains irreplaceable. Moreover, according to the document of the Church Magisterium *Antiqua et nova*, a person is rooted in an ethical and moral tradition that guides and binds human action, whereas AI technology itself does not possess this ability. Therefore, Christian, and especially Slavic, spirituality, as the article emphasizes, serves as a counterbalance and potential remedy for human entanglement in the unknown waters of increasingly advanced technologies.

Keywords: *spirituality, artificial intelligence, heart, person, communication*

Introduction

At the core of Slavic spirituality, which we want to discuss in this article, is the concept of the heart. The human heart is a symbol of the inner world that is invisible to physical sight. Moreover, only in the depths of this heart is real contact with God possible, which is the basis of personal spirituality. The French physicist and thinker Blaise Pascal expressed this idea as follows: “God, whom the heart feels” (Pascal 2002, 277-278). The creative activity of the heart is manifested not only in feelings, as is often expressed today in electronic communication through so-called emoticons.¹ In the biblical sense, the heart is the very center of a person, his reason (thinking) and will (decision-making), as well as the mysterious sanctuary that we call conscience.

The aim of this reflection is to provide an argumentative grounding for the claim that man, in his personal equipment and integrity, is irreplaceable and unique in the face of any technology. Artificial intelligence, as an increasingly sophisticated tool capable of imitating human beings, their appearance, voice, and aspects of the inner world, requires a factual and critical approach in this context, so that, instead of being a helpful aid, it does not turn into a force that undermines the “heart” of the individual and of humanity as a whole. The starting point for our investigation is the basic anthropological truth: man is a person, created in the image of God (Lat. *imago Dei*) and

¹ Emoticons are graphic signs used to express human emotions.

likeness (cf. *Gn* 1:27). All attempts to technically replicate or surpass human capacities necessarily fail, because man is a person (Lat. *naturae rationalis individua substantia*), elevated above all other creation. As such, man is oriented toward living in interpersonal relationships with other people and with God (Krupa 2024, 1-15). In this, his ontological greatness and responsibility are most evident (Řebíková 2025a, 53-67).

Spirituality and its specifics

At the beginning, it is necessary to define what we understand by the term spirituality, or the adjective 'spiritual'. Despite its antiquity, there is still a very lively discussion about the various forms and meanings of spirituality, and it is often not even clear what is hidden behind this term. Today, spirituality is considered to be everything that is not material or tangible. This is based on the etymology of the Latin word *spiritus* – spirit, which has both religious and secular semantic content. The religious concept of spirituality has its basis in the relationship of the human person to God (Plašienková 2013, 665-687; Adam – Trstenský 2024, 53-67).

It is therefore important to clarify the understanding of this term at the outset, or to try to define its Christian content in what follows. If we look at a person in his classical trichotomous structure (body, soul, spirit), then spirituality encompasses all three of these “levels” of the human person. Lexically, spirituality is defined “as every person’s inherent ability for self-transcendence, that is, the ability to overcome oneself in the form of one’s own desires or efforts [...]” (Ďurica 2015, 858). In other words, spirituality is the ability to enter into the depths of one’s own soul and use its power for a deeper, more beautiful, and more meaningful life, thereby transcending its material substance and limitations. Human spirituality is ambiguous; to a large extent, it is a subjective – personal and therefore also individually variable – side of human life (Hospodár 2025, 50-54; Maturkanič et al. 2023b, 20-32).

Christian spirituality belongs to the domain of theological science. It deals with the practical principles of real piety (spiritual theology, asceticism, mysticism). In doing so, we distinguish between early Christian, eremitical, monastic, medieval, and *devotio moderna* spirituality; we also differentiate between Western and Eastern spirituality, and within its framework we identify Slavic or Cyrillo-Methodian spirituality. The expert on the East, Tomáš Špidlík (1919–2010), used to say that: “The goal of Christian life is the perfect spiritualization of man: his mind, will, emotions, and body. And this is also the goal of human society” (Špidlík 1993, 13).

In the tradition of the Christian East, spirituality is understood as a way of life in the Holy Spirit. The presence of the Holy Spirit and His mysterious workings in the soul (the ‘breathing’ of the Spirit) constitute an inexhaustible source of spiritual dynamics. Through the gift of infused grace, the Holy Spirit elevates man to a supernatural level and conforms his life to that of Jesus Christ. The human subject is expected to cooperate humbly and not to resist the action of the Holy Spirit. Tomáš Špidlík, a great authority on the subject, states that the Eastern Fathers identified Christian spirituality with monastic spirituality in terms of both its goals and its means. They considered it a mistake to overemphasize the differences (Ambros – Karcubová 2010, 161). The spirituality of the laity is not fundamentally different in character from the spirituality of the clergy; both grow from a common source, which is the Gospel, and differ only in the conditions of their realization and in the forms of spiritual life (Maturkanič et al. 2023a, 58-72). The diversity of types of Christian spirituality is not harmful; on the contrary, it is enriching.

In summary, it can be said that the basis of every spirituality that claims to be Christian is the effort to faithfully follow the Son of God, Jesus Christ in the power of the Holy Spirit. The degrees of this perfection can be recognized:

- according to the desire to know God through study, prayer and contemplation (Gr. *θεωρία*);
- according to the effort to overcome imperfection;
- according to a virtuous life (Gr. *πρᾶξις*).
- holiness is a synthesis of *theoria* and *praxis*.

In the Christian West, holiness is usually viewed through morality moral lens. In the East, however, holiness is understood ontologically, because God is Holy,² and the holy person is the one who bears the Holy Spirit within.

Slavic spirituality

Christian spirituality in our territory is linked to the evangelizing mission of the brothers Constantine-Cyril and Methodius to Moravia in the second half of the 9th century (Hetényi – Ivanič 2017, 77-91). It was deeply rooted in the Eastern, Byzantine tradition, combining intellectual education with an ascetic life and missionary zeal (Adam 2025, 132-143). Its key elements were:

1. Eastern spirituality (a way of life in the Holy Spirit);
2. Liturgy in a living vernacular language (Old Church Slavonic, Church Slavonic, Slovak);
3. Unity with the Roman Apostolic See – with respect for subordination to the Roman Pope (Vasil' 1999, 5).

This spirituality is alive and promising even today (Ďurková – Kondrla 2025, 144-153). Its roots are common to both the East and the West, but just as we see specific features among individual nations, we should also characterize the distinctive features of Eastern and Western spirituality in the same way. Its importance and meaning result from its subject, i.e., the pursuit of supernatural perfection. Building Christian perfection means creating a concrete model of inner work that is able to direct the efforts of the soul (Kondrla – Ďurková 2023, 1433). From an emotional point of view, Slavic nations are more similar to Eastern nations and share their inclinations toward poetry, singing, music, and reflective thought. This spiritual quality has also penetrated into church life, the external manifestation of which is reflected precisely in the rite. In the Western (Roman) rite, by contrast, rigor, determination, and practicality are manifested. There is much less emotional expressiveness in the Western rite than in the Eastern rite. It seems that in Slovakia we are precisely at the frontier where these two models intersect. The liturgy, which is a celebration of God, has a theocentric character. The liturgy should also include a contemplative attentiveness that goes through two stages: contemplation of God's glory, which prepares the Christian for perfect communion, and contemplation of the beauty of nature, which presents the world to us as an "endless ocean of symbols" (Clément 2004, 211). The earth appears as an infinite sacred relic, as the tomb in which Christ was buried, or as the earth from which He rose from the dead to give us new life. It is the tree of the cross, which has become the tree of life. Through it, the earth is mystically identified with the land of Paradise and brings into our awareness the sacredness of things.

At the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), the Western Church greatly appreciated the beauty of the Eastern tradition (cf. PO 16; LG 69), emphasizing this appreciation by adopting some Eastern elements, rich in theological symbols, into the Western liturgy, such as the solemn elevation of the Gospel book in a theocentric manner (Judák et al. 2025, 104-118).

² Currently, there is increasing interest in ontological theology in the West as well (cf. Coda 2022).

Spirituality of the heart is personal

The concept of “heart” occupies a central position in the mysticism, religion, and poetry of all nations (Komorovský 2011, 365). This symbolic concept appears in the Bible more than a thousand times. The heart thinks, considers, makes plans, makes decisions, leads to action, and assumes responsibility. The heart is the seat of moral and religious life. The heart feels the fear of God. Even though the heart is hidden, a person’s behavior reveals something about it. We recognize a person by the expression of their face and by their actions (Máhrík et al. 2024, 34-43). In the Holy Scripture, the heart integrally encompasses the fullness of spiritual life, and this includes the whole person with all their abilities. Loyalty to God resides in the heart. “In a concrete and global biblical anthropology, the heart of a person is the very source of their unconscious, cognitive, and free personality, the place of their choice and decisions, the place of the unwritten law of God (cf. *Rom* 2:15) and the mysterious activity of God” (Léon-Dufour 2015, 812).

We encounter the term “heart” particularly often in the works of spiritual authors of the Christian East. They speak of guarding the heart, of attention focused on the heart, of purity of the heart, of the prayer of the heart, of God’s presence in the heart, etc. Cardinal Špidlík emphasized that the ability to perceive reality with the heart in a special way characteristic of Slavic peoples (Šatura 1995, 23-31). Everything is marked by a personal relationship, where the heart is an organ that feels everything that touches a person. “In the theology of the Christian East, and especially in the Slavic East, the heart takes on a dual meaning: it is both the center of human existence and the place of encounter between the human being and God. The heart is thus at the same time the place of the ecstasy of the human person, who overcomes *φιλαυτία* (love of self), and it is also the place of the “transcendence” of God, of his kenosis, where God becomes close to the human person” (Mojzeš 2018, 98).

In the article *Lidské srdce ve spiritualitě křesťanského Východu* [Man’s heart in the spirituality of the Christian East], Špidlík mentions a similar “admirable difference” between spiritualities when he writes that if we compare Eastern spirituality with books on morality widespread in the West, we can conclude that Eastern spirituality is increasingly focused on the state of the heart [...]. Western moralists often analyze the perfection of concrete moral acts without taking into account the personality as such. The Christian East is characterized by a kind of ontological spirituality (Ambros – Karczubová 2010, 74). Špidlík emphasizes the central role of the human person and convincingly demonstrates this based on Russian religious philosophers in his work *Russian Idea*. “Russian thinking is anthropocentric [...]” (Špidlík 1996, 14). “An unusually characteristic peculiarity of Eastern Christianity lies in the fact that for it the mind, intellect, and reason are never the ultimate basis or the foundation of life; rational reflection on God is not the true source of religious reception. The Eastern Church Fathers and Russian monks-elders give the following instruction for a true, genuine religious experience: ‘The mind should dwell in the heart’” (Komorovský 2011, 371).

Artificial intelligence and its risks

Technical progress and the development of contemporary civilization, which is characterized by the dominance of technology, require an adequate development of moral life and ethics in the diverse practice of life (Králík et al. 2024, 44-52; Řebíková, 2025b). Therefore, it is important to focus our attention primarily on the human person within these achievements of our time, as Pope John Paul II already expressed in his first encyclical *Redemptor hominis* in 1979: “As we observe these processes and share in them, we must not allow ourselves to be carried away by excessive

enthusiasm, nor by one-sided zeal for what we have achieved. Rather, all of us must honestly, objectively and with a sense of moral responsibility ask the fundamental questions concerning man's situation today and in the future" (RH 1979, 15).

In recent years, we have also included artificial intelligence, often referred to as a new global technical revolution, among these developments. Artificial intelligence (AI) is a field of computer science that seeks to imitate human thinking and decision-making through computer systems. Unlike humans, it works with large amounts of data rather than its own intelligence. The year 2022 marked a turning point in the advancement of AI applications, as the American research laboratory OpenAI released ChatGPT, a publicly accessible generative language model. ChatGPT, which stands for Generative Pre-trained Transformer, is an AI-based chatbot capable of generating contextually appropriate and coherent texts based on user prompts, and of maintaining interactive communication (Andok et al. 2025, 3).

It should be emphasized that artificial intelligence is not a person; it does not have a mind or consciousness. Nevertheless, it has significant potential for practical application. From this perspective, AI poses new challenges for humanity, which were succinctly expressed by the late Pope Francis when he called artificial intelligence and peace the two most important issues of our time (Francis 2023). We will not describe in detail here the advantages and possibilities of AI applications. Rather, let us focus on the argument supporting the thesis under consideration, namely, that AI cannot replace humans in their integral value and integrity.

The leading Slovak AI scientist Daniela Vacek clearly rejects the anthropomorphization of artificial intelligence. "It is a technologically complex tool with great potential for use. It is not a person or a moral actor, it does not understand, it does not have real intentions, it does not have a mind, it is not conscious," she emphasizes. According to her, the problem arises when we assign to AI roles that it cannot actually carry out. "I mean roles such as a friend, partner, advisor, or therapist" (Dzurjovčinová 2026). When asked what the ideal relationship between a person and AI should look like, she answers straightforwardly: "Ideally, it would be the relationship I have with my coffee maker, washing machine, or laptop. Thanks to them, I do not have to grind coffee in the morning with my eyes barely open, I do not have to wash in the stream or write articles on a typewriter. Similarly, artificial intelligence should serve as a useful tool" (Dzurjovčinová 2026).

AI leaders abroad have found a new strategy: to scare investors. By portraying AI as a technology that can bring humanity to its knees, they are also positioning themselves as the only ones capable of controlling this force. The latest example is Dario Amodei, co-founder of Anthropic. Amodei's main thesis is alarming: "In 2026, we are significantly closer to real danger than we were in 2023" (Amodei 2026). In his text, he tries to alert humanity and defines the main risks that threaten us if the development of AI gets out of control:

- Biological weapons: AI could help develop dangerous pathogens or "enhanced" military technologies.
- Loss of control: A scenario in which AI gains control over human decision-making.
- Global totalitarianism: Countries with technological superiority could establish a "global totalitarian dictatorship" and dominate other nations.
- Economic collapse: Massive job losses and an extreme concentration of wealth in the hands of a handful of companies (Murgáš et al. 2024, 10045; Kučera 2025, 250-263.)

The integration of AI into theological education has sparked both optimism and critical reflection among scholars and practitioners. Guo et al. (2021, online) explored the incorporation of AI technologies into classroom teaching, academic research, and pedagogical strategies, highlighting their growing influence in educational settings. López-Sánchez et al. (2023) underscored the potential of AI-driven tools—such as chatbots and virtual tutors—to personalize learning

experiences and enhance student engagement. At the same time, they emphasize that while AI can assist pedagogically, it cannot replicate the relational, dialogical, and formative dimensions essential to faith development, which require human accompaniment and personal witness (Corpuz 2025, 4).

The teaching of the Church's Magisterium on AI

The current Holy Father, Leo XIV, follows his predecessor and actively intervenes in the area of the ethical regulation of artificial intelligence. In his media message in defense of the human person, he writes: "Faces and voices are sacred. They were given to us by God, who created us in his image and likeness and called us to life through the Word he addressed to us" (Leo XIV 2026). From this perspective, the protection of human faces and voices has a deep spiritual meaning. It is not just a question of ethics or the regulation of technology, but of protecting that which carries the trace of God's presence in the human person (Plašienková 2020, 505-510).

This development is followed by another risk that the Pope considers particularly serious: the uncritical entrustment of authority to artificial intelligence as if it had answers to everything. It is a shift in attitude towards knowledge, not just a change of tool: "A naïve and uncritical trust in artificial intelligence as a 'friend' that knows everything can further weaken our ability to think analytically and creatively, to grasp meaning, and to distinguish between syntax and semantics" (Leo XIV 2026).

At the same time, digital environments are increasingly blurring the line between authentic relationships and their imitations. In the US, it is estimated that over one million people have a "deep" personal relationship with AI. In everyday communication, it is increasingly difficult to distinguish who is on the other side. The Holy Father warns of this fact: "It becomes increasingly difficult to determine whether we are interacting with other human beings or with 'bots' or 'virtual influencers'" (Leo XIV 2026).

Leo XIV also appealed to responsibility in his first meeting with journalists after being elected head of the Church, when he said: "To promote a communication that can lead us out of the 'Tower of Babel', out of the chaos of loveless, often ideological and biased languages. Communication is not only the transmission of information, but it is also the creation of a culture, of human and digital environments that become spaces for dialogue and discussion. And given technological development, this mission becomes even more urgent. I am thinking in particular of artificial intelligence and its enormous potential, which, however, requires responsibility and discernment, so that these tools are directed towards the good of all and benefit all humanity" (Gaeta 2025, 109-110).

The result of the joint effort of the Dicastery for the Doctrine of the Faith and the Dicastery for Culture and Education is a note on the relationship between artificial and human intelligence. The note, entitled *Antiqua et nova*, was published in January 2025 and summarizes the teaching of the popes in this area to date. It states that intelligence in the true sense belongs to human beings, not machines. According to the note, the characteristics of human intelligence and the differences in comparison with artificial intelligence are clearly evident. The note states that "[...] the very use of the word 'intelligence' in connection with AI can prove misleading and risks overlooking what is most precious in the human person. In light of this, AI should not be seen as *an artificial form* of human intelligence but as a *product* of it" (Hospodár 2025, 35). The human person has the ability to relate, to feel, to perceive, to seek truth, etc. The human person is rooted in an ethical and moral tradition and, in addition, has the ability to enter into a relationship with God.

The note devotes a separate Chapter V to the positive use of AI in various areas of life. The most serious applications appear to be its use in healthcare, especially in diagnostics, in education, and in environmental protection, etc. At the same time, it can replace qualified jobs. Specifically in the area of work, it is stated that while on the one hand artificial intelligence has the “potential” to increase skills and productivity, on the other hand it can “deskill workers, subject them to automated surveillance, and relegate them to rigid and repetitive tasks” (Hospodár 2025, 67).

Conclusion

The Church is obliged to watch over the entrusted treasure of faith and to seek the signs of the times and their interpretation in order to fulfill its mission. Even in today's digital age, many people hunger for God, or rather for a life grounded in personal relationships and truth. The use of AI does not replace the building of a personal relationship with either God or the human person. In fact, AI is unable to behave like a human in solving certain types of problems. One of the significant results of the theory of computability (theory of algorithms) states that there are strictly more mathematical functions (problems) that are not computable by a computer or a Turing machine than those that are computable (Rogers 1987). This result does not prevent competent authorities from seeking possibilities for its broad application. On the other hand, however, the use of AI calls for ethical regulation in accordance with the Decalogue and the true good of the human person. Artificial intelligence will always remain an imperfect human work that will not surpass its creator.

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doc. ThDr. Michal Hospodár, PhD.
University of Prešov in Prešov
Faculty of Greek-Catholic Theology
Department of Systematic Theology
Ul. biskupa Gojdiča 2
080 01 Prešov
Slovakia
michal.hospodar@unipo.sk
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-0934-266X
WOS Researcher ID: ODO-0259-2025
SCOPUS Author ID: 60056086000

RELIGIÓZNY CESTOVNÝ RUCH V OBCI LITMANOVÁ¹

Religious Tourism in the Village of Litmanová

Alfred Krogmann – Hilda Kramáreková – Zuzana Dvořáková Líšková –
Franciszek Mróz – Ester Čorbová

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Abstract: KROGMANN, Alfred – KRAMÁREKOVÁ, Hilda – DVOŘÁKOVÁ LÍŠKOVÁ, Zuzana – MRÓZ Franciszek – ČORBOVÁ, Ester. *Religious Tourism in the Village of Litmanová*. In the broader context of Christian pilgrimage, religious tourism represents a special form of movement in sacred space. The essence of this is not only a physical journey to a specific place, but also a spiritual journey for individuals and communities. Within the European cultural and religious landscape, Marian devotion has played a significant role in shaping pilgrimage traditions and the spiritual identity of places that have become centres of long-standing religious practice. In the Slovak Republic, the year 1989 saw the renewal and revitalisation of religious tourism in the form of pilgrimage, related to the re-establishment of religious freedoms and a return to traditional expressions of popular piety. This paper aims to analyse the historical development and current potential of the Marian pilgrimage site in Litmanová, one of the youngest centres of Marian devotion in Slovakia. The area's potential is assessed through a comparative analysis of selected relevant documents using statistical and graphical methods, taking into account both objective and subjective perspectives. Sources of information also included field research combined with perception research based on questionnaires. The results of this study assess the importance of Marian pilgrimage in preserving spiritual heritage and religious memory in Litmanová, while identifying opportunities for further developing religious tourism in a way that respects the site's sacred nature and the authenticity of Marian devotion.

Keywords: *religious tourism, pilgrimage, Marian devotion, sacred space, Litmanová, regional development*

Úvod

Religiozita je na Slovensku hlboko zakorenená a je jednou z typických kultúrnych charakteristík obyvateľov našej krajiny. Prekonala aj obdobie totalitného Československa, ktoré začalo ovládnutím moci komunistickými predstaviteľmi vo februári 1948. Totalitný komunistický režim nielen u nás veľmi rýchlo identifikoval v cirkvi svojho hlavného ideologického nepriateľa. Preto sa štátna moc usilovala eliminovať cirkev zatvorením cirkevných škôl, likvidáciou kláštorov a pod., resp. ovládnuť cirkev lojálnymi ľuďmi. Štát sa v tomto období snažil oslabiť aj púte ako masové náboženské prejavy. Prostriedkami na uskutočňovanie týchto zámerov boli kompetentnými úradmi vydávané zákazy prenajímajúc štátnych, resp. družstevných autobusov pre potreby prepravy pútnikov alebo organizovanie atraktívnych protiakcií orientovaných na mladých ľudí. Účasť kňazov na púťach bola

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tiež schvaľovaná príslušnými štátnymi orgánmi, kázne podliehali cenzúre, kňazi, ktorí spovedali počas konania púte, museli mať na tento termín udelený štátny súhlas (Dlugoš 2000). Prirodzene, akákoľvek výstavba, resp. rozširovanie pútnického areálu, bola v tomto období znemožnená, úrady často bránili aj základným rekonštrukčným prácam. Po roku 1989 sa však situácia zmenila – aj na Slovensku začal postupne rásť záujem o religiózny cestovný ruch a začali vznikať aj nové pútnické miesta. Cieľom príspevku je analýza historického vývoja a súčasného potenciálu mariánskeho pútnického miesta Litmanová ako jedného z najmladších centier mariánskej úcty na Slovensku.

Religiózny cestovný ruch v slovenskej literatúre

Rok pred prevzatím moci komunistami bola publikovaná pionierska slovenská práca v oblasti pútnictva (Matlovič 2011, 50). Jej autorom bol Štefan Fekete (1947, 127-128), ktorý z časového hľadiska konštatuje významný vplyv rekatolizačného obdobia na vznik slovenských pútnických miest. Z priestorového hľadiska upozorňuje na nerovnomerné rozmiestnenie pútnických miest, pričom za hlavné príčiny tohto stavu pokladá polohu, reliéf, religióznu štruktúru v rôznych regiónoch a charakter sídelnej štruktúry. Vyššie uvedené vzťahy medzi štátom a cirkvou, ktoré boli projektované po roku 1948, znamenali absenciu v bádaní a publikovaní v problematike náboženstva, religiozity obyvateľstva, religiózneho turizmu a pútnictva (Hronček – Gregorová – Weis 2022, 571). Na dokreslenie tohto stavu uveďme aspoň fakt, že religiozita sa štatisticky evidovala v sčítaniach do roku 1950. V ďalších sčítaniach už nebola vôbec zahrnutá a tento stav zotrval až do r. 1991 (Očovský 1993, 171). To znamenalo absenciu elementárnej štatistickej databázy, ktorá predstavuje základ vedeckého bádania. Preto na dlhé desaťročia zostala už skôr zmienená práca Feketeho prakticky osamotená.

Tento stav zmenili politicko-spoločenské zmeny v Československu uskutočnené v novembri 1989. Paralelne s obnovou náboženských slobôd oživali aj pútnické miesta, a tak sa tento fenomén prirodzene stal aj cieľom vedeckých bádání. Od tohto obdobia vznikali práce, ovplyvnené najmä krakovskou školou geografie religii. Ako príklady možno uviesť viaceré práce, ktoré túto tému spracovávali na rôznej priestorovej úrovni. Pútnické miesto Staré Hory v lokálnej mierke študoval Čuka (1998, 99-109), so zameraním sa na históriu a kult, priestorový aspekt reflektoval v analýze infraštruktúry a spádovitosti pútnického miesta. Podobne sú na konkrétnu lokalitu zamerané aj práce ďalších autorov, napr. Bubelíny (2011, 33-40), Krogmann (2010, 90-94), Veselovský (2014, 154-167), Pasternák – Verba (2018, 139-149). Regionálnu mierku reprezentujú práce spracované na úrovni kraja (Krogmann 2007; Oremusová – Nemčíková 2025, 230-242), resp. diecézy (Krogmann – Kramáreková – Petrikovičová 2020). Problematika religiózneho cestovného ruchu je spracovávaná aj v celoštátnej mierke. Ide napr. o práce autorov Jesenský et al. (2024, 1801-1821), Krogmann et al. (2017, 178-190), Chvátalová – Danielová (2010, 345-350), Matlovič (2005, 53-64).

Okrem prác, reflektujúcich pútnické miesta ako lokality bodového charakteru, sa pozornosť venuje aj pútnickým trasám, ktorých trend kreovania, resp. ich revitalizácie bol motivovaný (aj) vytváraním turistických produktov s religióznou tematikou naprieč Európou. K takým patria práce zamerané na potenciálne možnosti vytvorenia siete svätajakubských ciest v regióne V4 (Mróz – Mróz – Krogmann 2019, 57), resp. pre slovenský priestor signifikantnej siete Cyrilo-metodskej cesty² (Ivanič et al. 2023, 15-30, Krogmann et al. 2023, 78-91). Pútnické miesta i pútnické trasy sa tak stáva-

² Známe je aj používanie adjektíva *cyrilometodský* bez spojovníka, pričom takéto podoby sa používajú aj v pomenovaniach ulíc či inštitúcií. Pravopisným podobám zápisu tohto adjektíva sa venoval P. Petráš (2017, 251-261).

jú jedným z potenciálnych nástrojov udržateľného rozvoja najmä vidieckeho priestoru. Prirodzene aj táto problematika je spracovaná a reprezentovaná napr. prácami autorov Matlovič (2001, 92-95), Eliašová (2004, 230-238), Hronček – Gregorová – Weis (2022, 571-582) či Petrikovičová et al. (2024, 148-154).

Základné informácie o obci

Litmanová sa nachádza v severovýchodnej časti Slovenska, v regióne Severný Spiš v Lubovnianskej vrchovine. Administratívne patrí do Prešovského kraja, do okresu Stará Ľubovňa. Predmetné územie susedí na západe s obcou Kamienka a na východe s Jarabinou, ktoré sú taktiež súčasťou okresu Stará Ľubovňa. Severná hranica obce je zároveň štátnou hranicou s Poľskom. Obec vznikla na valašskom práve ako poľnohospodársko-pastierska usadlosť. Najstaršia správa o obci pochádza podľa Verbu s Pasternákom (2016, 8) z roku 1412 a jej názov súvisí s menom zakladateľa – šoltýsa Litmana. Od tohto roku bola obec ako súčasť lubovnianskeho panstva v zálohu v Poľsku. Väčšina obyvateľov sa živila poľnohospodárstvom, drevorubačstvom, sklárstvom a drotárstvom. Z obce sa najmä koncom 19. storočia vysťahovalo veľa jej obyvateľov do zámoria, najmä do USA (Zajícová-Nádaská 2004, 300).

Podľa Sčítania obyvateľov, domov a bytov v roku 2021 žilo v obci 633 obyvateľov. Väčšina obyvateľov sa hlási ku gréckokatolíckej cirkvi (519 obyvateľov; 81,99 %). V obci ďalej žijú obyvatelia s rímskokatolíckym vierovyznaním (45; 7,11 %), 19 s pravoslávny (3,00 %), 29 je bez vyznania (4,58 %) a 21 tvoria ostatní (3,32 %). Tomu zodpovedá aj príslušnosť obce k cirkevnej administrácii – obec je spravovaná miestnym gréckokatolíckym farským úradom, ktorý je súčasťou Prešovskej archieparchie. Z hľadiska dopravy je obec koncová – jej dostupnosť je zabezpečená cestou III. triedy, ktorá vychádza z okresného mesta Stará Ľubovňa a ktorá v obci končí. Absencia tranzitnej dopravy spolu s kvalitnými lokalizačnými predpokladmi tak predstavujú dôležité skutočnosti pre rozvoj cestovného ruchu v obci. V rámci foriem cestovného ruchu v nej tak dominuje religiózny turizmus, turistika a zimné športy v stredisku Litmanová resort. Potrebám turistov i pútnikov v predmetnom území slúži aj turistická infraštruktúra, ktorú reprezentujú ubytovacie zariadenia s celkovou kapacitou 172 lôžok, či pútnicko-informačné centrum s ponukou informačných materiálov, spomienkových predmetov a pod.

Minulosť a súčasnosť pútnického miesta

Litmanová patrí k mladším pútnickým miestam na Slovensku. Pútnická tradícia sa začala budovať od 5. augusta 1990, kedy sa na hore Zvir, neďaleko Litmanovej, deťom – Ivete Korčákovovej a Kataríne Češelkovej (s ňou bol pri zjaveniach aj jej brat, ale on ich nevidel) zjavila Panna Mária, ktorá vyslovila pranie, aby sa toto miesto stalo miestom modlitby pre široký okruh ľudí. Tieto zjavenia pokračovali v mesačných intervaloch vždy v nedeľu po prvom piatku až do 6. augusta 1995 (Krištof 2019, 76). Pri poslednom zjavení Matka Božia slúbila, že na hore Zvir ostáva stále prítomná. Pri každom zjavení tlmočila Iveta Korčáková posolstvá od Panny Márie, ktoré sa týkali čistoty srdca, pokánia, vzťahu k Ježišovi, odpúšťania, pokore, lásky k Bohu a blížnemu a dôrazu na duchovný život (Verba – Pasternák 2016, 11). Počas zjavení, ale aj po nich, sa na toto miesto začali schádzať veriaci pútnici z celého Slovenska i zahraničia.

Pre rozvoj pútnického miesta je veľmi dôležité schválenie cirkevnými autoritami. Vzhľadom na neutíchajúci záujem zo strany veriacich, na mnohé žiadosti z ich strany a po vypočutí mienky príslušných eparchiálnych komisií, bola hora Zvir ustanovená 6. augusta 2004 za Miesto modlitby

a kaplnku zjavenia, ktorá bola dobudovaná k bývalému majdanu (drevený zrub, pozostávajúci z izby pre rodinu, senníka a miesta pre dobytok – <https://horazvir.sk/historia-putnickeho-miestal-itmanova/>), zasvätili Nepoškvrnenému Počatiu Presvätej Bohorodičky (Verba – Pasternák 2016, 11). Na základe veľkého záujmu pútnikov zo Slovenska i zahraničia, ako aj na základe mnohých svedectiev potvrdzujúcich, že putujúci do Litmanovej nachádzajú stratený pokoj duše, čerpajú Božiu pomoc a po sviatosti zmierenia začínajú novú etapu života, bol 7. septembra 2008 pútnický areál vyhlásený prešovským arcibiskupom a metropolitom Jánom Babjakom za pútnické miesto Prešovskej gréckokatolíckej archieparchie.

Ďalším významným medzníkom pútnického miesta bolo slávnostné zverejnenie dekrétu o ustanovení duchovného príbuzenstva s pápežskou Bazilikou Santa Maria Maggiore v Ríme (8. augusta 2010), čím Litmanová získala výsadu úplných odpustkov. V dňoch 2. – 3. augusta 2025 sa na hore Zvir v Litmanovej uskutočnila výnimočná 35. výročná odpustová slávnosť. Táto púť bola mimoriadne významná nielen preto, že bola pripomienkou 35 rokov od mariánskych zjavení, ale aj pre historickú udalosť, ktorou bolo oficiálne ohlásenie dekrétu o udelení *Nihil obstat* (nič neprekáža) pre mariánsku úctu na tomto pútnickom mieste. Dekrét udelilo Dikastérium pre náuku viery Svätej stolice. Tento významný moment potvrdil duchovnú hodnotu hory Zvir a stal sa míľnikom v jej histórii (<https://svatomarianskaput.sk/put-litmanova-2025/>).

Pútnickému miestu na hore Zvir dominuje Sanktuárium Nepoškvrneného Počatia Presvätej Bohorodičky, pre potreby pútnikov slúžia aj Kaplnka zjavenia, Eucharistická kaplnka, Hlavný liturgický priestor pre slávenie sv. liturgii v prírode, Spovedný dom bl. Metoda Dominika Trčku s Aulou sv. Jána Pavla II., krížová cesta i prameň sv. Jána Krstiteľa (<https://horazvir.sk/slovo-arcibiskupa/>). Na okraji pútnického areálu sú lokalizované priestory na parkovanie, sociálne zariadenia a predaj devocionálií. Schéma pútnického areálu na hore Zvir v Litmanovej je znázornená na obrázku 1.

Pútnické miesto ponúka pútnikom pestrý duchovný program, ktorý je rozložený počas celého roka (obr. 2), prirodzene, najvýznamnejšia akcia sa koná v auguste pri príležitosti mariánskych zjavení.

Vnímanie religiózneho turizmu obyvateľmi obce

Poznanie názorov obyvateľov na akúkoľvek realizovanú (nielen turistickú) aktivitu v mieste ich bydliska je jedným zo základných predpokladov vyváženého rozvoja územia z pohľadu vzťahu domáci obyvateľ – návštevník. Na získanie informácií je vhodným prostriedkom aj anketový prieskum. Do ankety, ktorá sa uskutočnila v roku 2024, sa zapojilo 59 obyvateľov (9,5 % k stavu 623 obyvateľov k 31.12.2023).

Prvá časť dotazníka bola zameraná na základnú charakteristiku vzorky respondentov – z hľadiska ich štruktúry podľa pohlavia dominovali ženy (37 osôb; 62,71%), počet mužov bol 22 (29, %).

Dominantná veková kategória bola skupina obyvateľov vo veku od 25-34 rokov (17 osôb; 28,81%), nasledovaná kategóriou 45-54 rokov (14 osôb; 23,73%). V kategórii 55-64 rokov bolo zastúpených 9 respondentov (15,25 %). Vekovú štruktúru respondentov dokumentuje graf 1.

V rámci vzdelanostnej štruktúry (graf 2) mali prevahu anketovaní so stredoškolským vzdelaním (33 osôb; 55,93 %). Vysokoškolské vzdelanie dosiahlo 21 osôb (35,59%). Na ankete sa v najmenšom počte zúčastnili osoby so základným vzdelaním (5 osôb; 8,47%).

Ďalšia časť ankety bola zameraná na zaznamenanie postojov domácich obyvateľov ku konaniu pútnických akcií (graf 3). Prostredníctvom prvej takto tematicky zameranej otázky sme zisťovali postoj rezidentov k výroku „Organizovanie púti tvorí pozitívny imidž obce“. S výrokom vyjadrilo

úplný súhlas 28 obyvateľov (47,46 %), čiastočne s výrokom súhlasilo 23 opýtaných (38,98 %). K možnosti skôr nesúhlasím sa priklonili 4 obyvatelia (6,78 %) a rozhodne nesúhlasili 3 obyvatelia (5,08 %). Neutrálnu odpoveď vyjadril jeden respondent (1,69 %).

K výroku „Organizovanie pútí spôsobilo rozvoj podnikania miestneho obyvateľstva“, respondenti odpovedali prevažne negatívne (graf 4). Najviac opýtaných (20; 33,90 %) vyjadrilo svoj postoj k výroku ako rozhodne nesúhlasím a skôr nesúhlasné stanovisko vyjadrili 10 opýtaní (16,95 %). Na výrok v pozitívnom zmysle reagovali 9 respondenti (15,25 %) pre alternatívu skôr súhlasím a 6 opýtaných (10,17 %) vyjadrilo rozhodný súhlas. Neutrálne stanovisko k výroku zaujalo 14 respondentov (23,73 %). Nižšia miera zastúpení súhlasných reakcií s výrokom je ovplyvnená skutočnosťou, že pútnické akcie sú síce rozptýlené počas celého roka, ale sú viazané len na niekoľko dní.

Pre ďalšie rozvíjanie tejto formy cestovného ruchu boli zaujímavé aj stanoviská respondentov k výroku „Ďalší rozvoj religiózneho turizmu vnímam pozitívne“. K výroku zaujalo kladné stanovisko 39 respondentov (66,10 %). Väčšina z nich (25; 42,37 %) s výrokom rozhodne súhlasila, 14 respondentov (23,73 %) s výrokom skôr súhlasilo. K neutrálnej alternatíve sa priklonilo 13 respondentov (22,03 %). Negatívne stanovisko zaujali k výroku 3 respondenti (5,08 %), ktorí sa priklonili k skôr nesúhlasnému stanovisku, 4 respondenti (6,78%) uviedli, že s výrokom rozhodne nesúhlasia (graf 5).

Možnosť vyjadriť vlastný návrh na zlepšenie pútnického miesta využilo 13 osôb (22,03 %). Väčšina návrhov súvisela s dopravou. Obyvatelia obce by posilnili spoje hromadnej dopravy počas víkendu a výročia zjavenia, zlepšili by parkovanie a opravili komunikácie. Podľa niektorých by bola vhodná samostatná cesta na pútnické miesto, pretože cesta v obci je poškodená, úzka, občas je cez ňu z dôvodu preplnenosti narušený prejazd a dopravný ruch spôsobuje otrasy domov. Objavili sa tiež myšlienky organizovať zaujímavé stretnutia v oblasti vzdelávania a zvýšiť transparentnosť financovania. Traja respondenti vyjadrili nesúhlas s konaním pútí – uprednostnili by primárne financovať obec, nie pútnické miesto, deklarovaný bol aj názor, že v obci je zvýšený pohyb cudzincov a mimo intravilánu obce aj pohyb po súkromných pozemkoch obyvateľov.

Pútnické miesto v rozvoji obce

Religiózne cestovný ruch predstavuje jeden z významných prvkov rozvoja územia. V súčasnosti sa jeho body (napr. Lurdy vo Francúzsku, Jeruzalem v Izraeli) alebo línie (napr. Svätajakubská cesta, Via Francigena) stali globálne navštevované už nielen primárne z religiózneho dôvodu.

V obci Litmanová sa nachádza lokálne, relatívne mladé, 35 ročné pútnické miesto. V roku 2025 bola súčasťou púte aj prezentácia projektu Svätomariánska púť (<https://svatomarianskaput.sk/>), ktorý spája mariánske pútnické miesta v Prešovskom kraji a v Poľsku, vrátane Litmanovej. Tento projekt sa stal významným impulzom rozvoja pútnického areálu, pretože aj farnosť Litmanová sa do neho zapojila. Projekt „Svätomariánska púť (Svetlo z východu)“, spolufinancovaný Európskou úniou z prostriedkov Európskeho fondu regionálneho rozvoja v rámci programu cezhraničnej spolupráce Poľsko – Slovenská republika 2014 – 2020. Tento projekt zahŕňal nielen výstavbu pútnicko-informačného centra, infraštruktúru a turisticko-pútnické úpravy vrátane rozšírenia turistickej ponuky okolo hory Zvir vo výške 452 700 EUR (https://keep.eu/projects/22193/Marian-Pilgrimage-Route-Lig-EN/?utm_source=chatgpt.com), ale aj vytvorenie stratégie rozvoja pútnickej cesty, jej značky i viacerých marketingových produktov.

Zaujímavosťou je aj fakt, že vo svätostánku v Litmanovej začína Beskydská cesta svätého Jakuba – pútnickej trasy Camino de Santiago. Pútnici môžu v informačnom centre v obci získať

pamätnú pečiatku do svojho pútnického pasu. Beskydská cesta svätého Jakuba vedie z Litmanovej cez vrchol Eliášovka (1024 m n. m.), ďalej cez Stary Sącz, Podegrodzie, Myślenice, Kalwariu Zebrzydowsku, Wadowice, Szczyrk a Cieszyn a končí v Olomouci v Českej republike (526 km). Úsek Beskydskej cesty svätého Jakuba z Litmanovej do Starého Sącza – známy ako Prológ – bol slávnostne otvorený 29. augusta 2015 v Litmanovej, na vrchole Eliášovka a v obci Piwniczna (Mróz 2018, 266).

V aktuálnych v strategických dokumentoch rozvoja územia vytvorených pre roky 2021 – 2030 sa však obec Litmanová, resp. pútnické miesto, vyskytuje sporadicky. V rozsiahlom dokumente Program hospodárskeho rozvoja a sociálneho rozvoja Prešovského samosprávneho kraja na roky 2021 – 2030 sa len v jeho analytickej časti spomína iba ako obľúbené pútnické miesto na hore Zvir (str. 190), resp. pút v Litmanovej je zaradená medzi významné kultúrne podujatia v kraji (str. 217) bez deklarovanej finančnej podpory. V koncepcii rozvoja cestovného ruchu v Prešovskom kraji na roky 2024 – 2030 je obec Litmanová opäť uvedená len ako pútnické miesto (str. 242). V Programe hospodárskeho a sociálneho rozvoja obce Litmanová na roky 2023 – 2030 sa medzi faktormi hlavného rozvoja obce uvádza využitie geografickej polohy obce a miestnych bodov záujmu turistov z hľadiska potenciálu pre ďalší rozvoj CR, založeného na báze atraktívneho prírodného prostredia, existujúceho centra pútnického turizmu (hora Zvir) a viacerých kultúrno-historických pamiatok v obci a v okolitom regióne (str. 42) a konkrétna Aktivita: 1.3.1 Podpora rozvoja pútnického turizmu a rozvoja cestovného ruchu v rezorte Litmanová (str. 62).

Napriek týmto strohým odkazom na obec i pútnické miesto finančné prostriedky do územia prúdia. Napr. v roku 2023 Úrad vlády SR poskytol priamu dotáciu Pútnickému centru Hora Zvir v Litmanovej vo výške 50 000 EUR (<https://www.crz.gov.sk/zmluva/7751853/>). Či obec alebo farnosť kontinuálne podporuje prostredníctvom dotácií aj Prešovský samosprávny kraj (<https://psk.sk/domov/samosprava/vyzvy-granty-a-dotacie/poskytovanie-dotacii/>).

Podľa Záverečného účtu obce Litmanová za rok 2024 (str. 5) obec evidovala v rámci rozpočtu aj príjmy z „Pútnického centra Hora Zvir“ vo výške 3 973,07 EUR, čo zahŕňa finančné prostriedky, ktoré obec získala za služby súvisiace s pútnickým miestom a jeho prevádzkou.

Aktuálne z hľadiska marketingu územia je pútnické miesto súčasťou informačného portfólia Krajskej organizácie cestovného ruchu Severovýchod Slovenska (<https://www.severovychod.sk/vylet/litmanova-hora-zvir/>) ako aj Oblastnej organizácie cestovného ruchu Severný Spiš – Pieniny (<https://visitspis.sk/destinacie/litmanova/>).

Záver

V Slovenskej republike sú pútnické miesta a náboženské slávnosti dôležitou súčasťou historickej a kultúrnej identity mnohých obcí. Aj v obci Litmanová religiózny turizmus predstavuje komplexný fenomén, ktorý spája duchovný, kultúrny a ekonomický rozmer miestnej komunity. Pútnické miesto a mariánske slávnosti poskytujú návštevníkom priestor pre hlboké duchovné prežívanie a zároveň prispievajú k rozvoju lokálnej ekonomiky prostredníctvom ubytovania, gastronómie a doplnkových služieb. Autenticnosť rituálov a kompaktnosť obce robia z Litmanovej atraktívnu destináciu pre návštevníkov vyhľadávajúcich kultúrne a duchovné zážitky, pričom tieto fenomény zároveň posilňujú komunitnú identitu a pocit spolupatričnosti obyvateľov. To zvyšuje hodnotu Litmanovej ako destinácie pre tzv. „slow tourism“.

Rozvoj religiózneho turizmu však vyžaduje citlivé a strategické riadenie, aby sa zachovala rovnováha medzi rastom návštevnosti a ochranou duchovného a kultúrneho dedičstva. Prioritami sú kvalitná infraštruktúra, koordinovaná propagácia a ochrana kultúrneho a duchovného

dedičstva, aby sa zachovala autenticita pútnického miesta a súčasne sa umožnil udržateľný rast návštevnosti.

Vzhľadom na relatívne mladú, iba 35-ročnú tradíciu pútnictva sa Litmanová tak môže stať modelom pre iné malé obce, kde náboženský potenciál môže byť premenený na dlhodobo udržateľný turizmus, prinášajúci ekonomické, sociálne a kultúrne benefity. Budúce empirické štúdie by mali doplniť kvantitatívne merania dopadov, aby sa ešte presnejšie vyhodnotili prínosy, limity a perspektívy religiózneho turizmu v malých komunitách s vysokou duchovnou hodnotou. Tento fenomén tak potvrdzuje, že duchovná a kultúrna autenticita môže byť zároveň kľúčovým motorom udržateľného regionálneho rozvoja.

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Doc. RNDr. Alfred Krogmann, PhD.
 Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra
 Faculty of Natural Sciences and Informatics
 Department of Geography, Geoinformatics and Regional Development
 Tr. A. Hlinku 1
 949 01 Nitra
 Slovakia
 akrogmann@ukf.sk
 ORCID ID: 0000-0002-1032-6157
 WOS Research ID: AAC-7693-2020
 SCOPUS Author ID: 57198777453

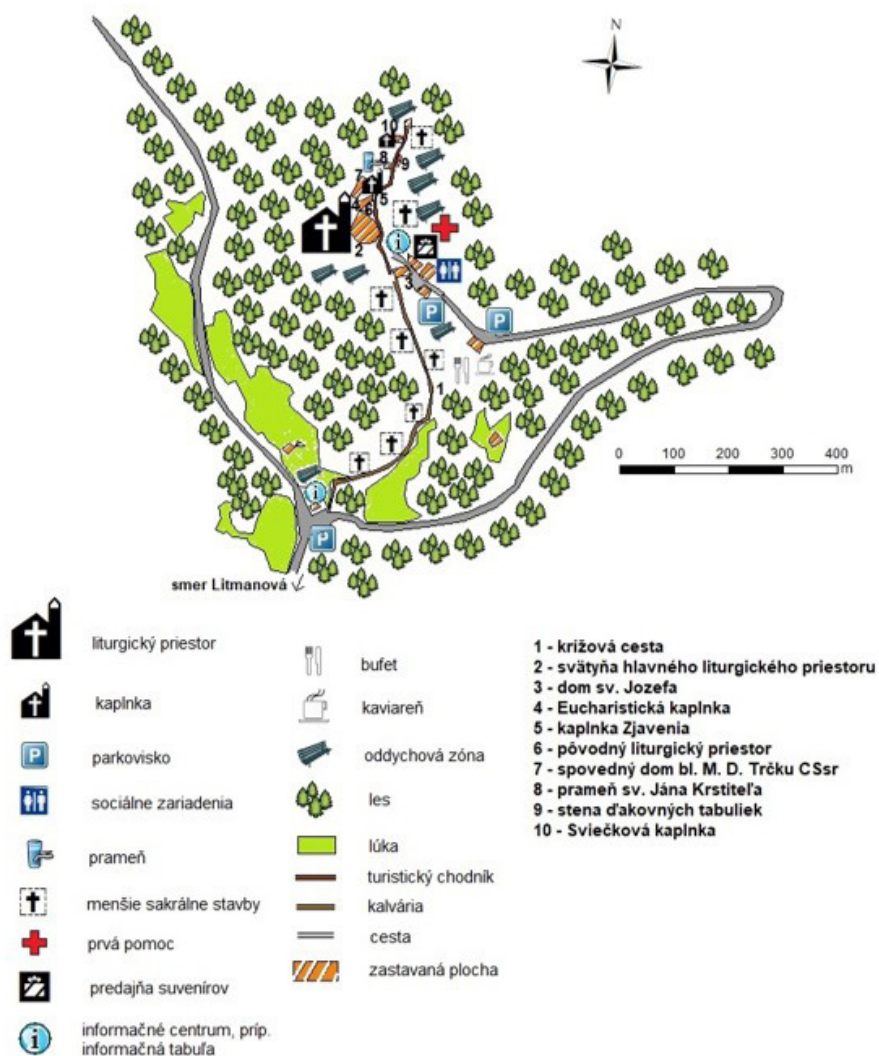
RNDr. Hilda Kramáreková, PhD.
 Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra
 Faculty of Natural Sciences and Informatics
 Department of Geography, Geoinformatics and Regional Development
 Tr. A. Hlinku 1
 949 01 Nitra
 Slovakia
 hkramarekova@ukf.sk
 ORCID ID: 0000-0003-4503-3634
 WOS Research ID: AAC-5488-2020
 SCOPUS Author ID: 37028493900

Doc. RNDr. Zuzana Dvořáková Líšková, Ph.D.
University of South Bohemia in České Budějovice
Faculty of Economics
Department of Regional Management
Studentská 787/13
370 05 České Budějovice
Czechia
zuli@ef.jcu.cz
ORCID ID: 0000-0003-1788-6808
WOS Research ID: G-3160-2019
SCOPUS Author ID: 55618870400

Dr. Franciszek Mróz, PhD.
University of the National Education Commission
Ul. Podchorążych 2
31-922 Krakow
Poland
franciszek.mroz@uken.krakow.pl
ORCID: 0000-0001-6380-387X
WOS Research ID: ABG-2352-2020
SCOPUS Author ID: 57198770556

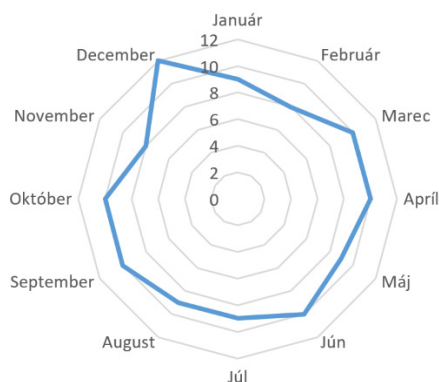
Bc. Ester Čorbová
Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra
Faculty of Natural Sciences and Informatics
Department of Geography, Geoinformatics and Regional Development
Tr. A. Hlinku 1
949 01 Nitra
Slovakia
ester.corbova@student.ukf.sk

Prílohy/Appendix

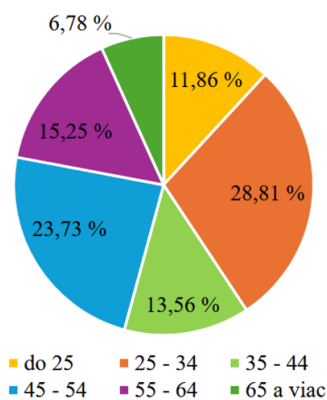


Jakub Černek, 2023, ArcGIS 10.2.1

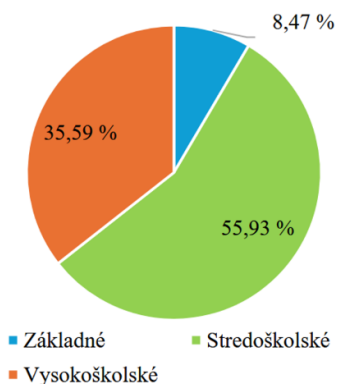
Obr. 1: Schéma pútnického areálu na hore Zvir v Litmanovej (Černek 2023, 133). / Fig. 1: Diagram of the pilgrimage site on Mount Zvir in Litmanová (Černek 2023, 133).



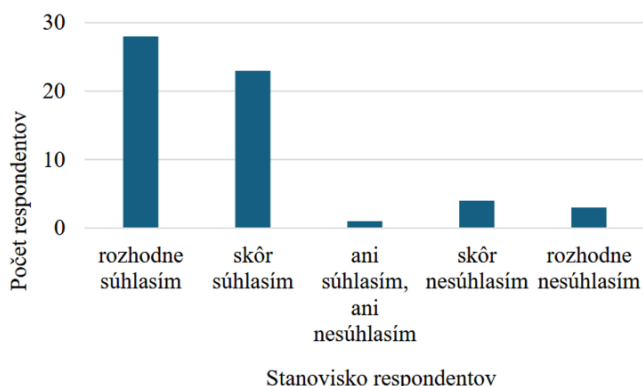
Obr. 2: Pútnické akcie v Litmanovej v roku 2025 (<https://horazvir.sk/sviatky-a-pute-2020/>, vlastné spracovanie). / Fig. 2: Pilgrimage events in Litmanová in 2025 (<https://horazvir.sk/sviatky-a-pute-2020/>, own processing).



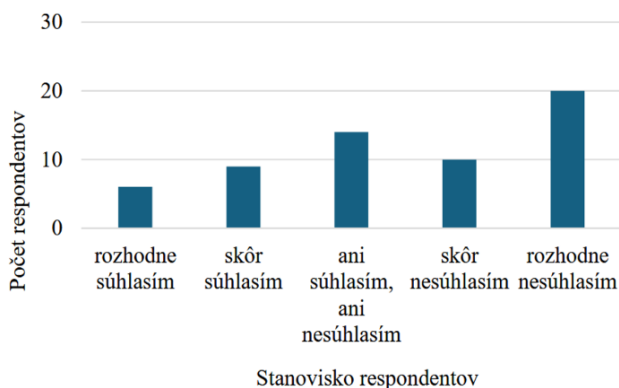
Graf 1: Štruktúra respondentov podľa veku. / Graph 1: Structure of respondents by age.



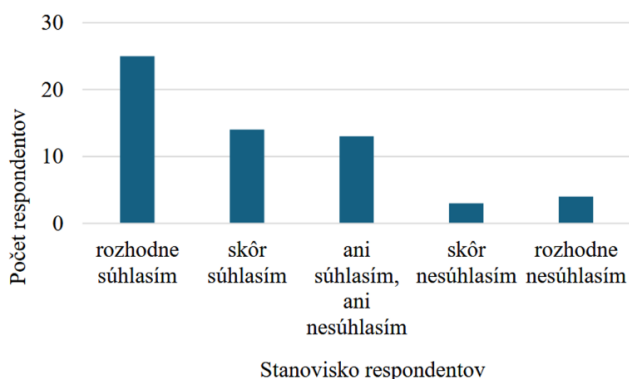
Graf 2: Štruktúra respondentov podľa vzdelania. / Graph 2: Structure of respondents by education.



Graf 3: Stanovisko respondentov k výroku „Organizovanie pútí tvorí pozitívny imidž obce“. / **Graph 3:** Respondents' opinion on the statement „Organizing pilgrimages creates a positive image of the village“.



Graf 4: Stanovisko respondentov k výroku „Organizovanie pútí spôsobilo rozvoj podnikania miestneho obyvateľstva“. / **Graph 4:** Respondents' opinion on the statement 'The organization of pilgrimages has led to the development of local residents' businesses'.



Graf 5: Stanovisko respondentov k výroku „Ďalší rozvoj religi6zného turizmu vnímam pozitívne“. / **Graph 5:** Respondents' opinion on the statement „I perceive the further development of religious tourism positively“.

FENOMÉN MARIÁNSKÝCH ZJAVENÍ NA HORE ZVIR VO FILMOVOM SPRACOVANÍ

The Phenomenon of Marian Apparitions at Zvir Mountain in Film

Diana Starinská Kacarová – Ján Gallik

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Abstract: STARINSKÁ KACAROVÁ, Diana – GALLIK, Ján. *The Phenomenon of Marian Apparitions at Zvir Mountain in Film*. This study provides a comparative analysis of two documentary films capturing the same event: the Marian apparitions on Mount Zvir in the 1990s. Given the significant differences in how Czech and Slovak societies perceive religiosity and Catholicism, the study aims to compare the Czech and Slovak approaches to the theme of supernatural and spiritual experience. Vít Janeček's Czech film, *Ivetka a hora*, focuses on the intimate, subjective evolution of one of the visionaries, Ivetka. Janeček avoids investigative scepticism, instead treating the apparition as a psychological and spiritual "given". The study identifies elements of the "spiritual film" style in Janeček's work: the use of long, contemplative shots, the framing of characters within natural landscapes, and a soundscape dominated by nature and silence rather than institutional religious music. Paradoxically, the Czech filmmaker portrays the Slovak periphery as a "God's garden" – a place of pure, non-institutional spirituality that serves as a complementary counterpoint to the rational, urbanized, and secular Czech society. In contrast, Jaro Vojtek's Slovak film, *Vtedy na východe*, adopts a more sociological and critical perspective. Vojtek focuses on the village of Litmanová as a site of social exclusion and economic migration. He contrasts the "pilgrimage of faith" (people coming to the mountain) with the "pilgrimage of necessity" (locals leaving for the West to find work). Unlike Janeček's poeticized view, Vojtek employs irony and "othering" through "desacralization".

Keywords: *Spiritual film, Marian apparitions in Litmanová, Imagological comparison, National identity, Documentary film, Central European religious discourse*

Úvod

Spoločenské vedy už od polovice 20. storočia pozorovali sekularizáciu západnej európskej spoločnosti, potvrdenú aj empirickými zisteniami, a privatizáciu náboženstva – presun do súkromnej sféry. Dlhodobu sa predpokladalo, že tento trend je nezvratný – spoločensko-politický význam náboženstva klesá. V 90. rokoch 20. storočia však prichádza obrat – resakralizácia postmodernej spoločnosti, deprivatizácia náboženstva, návrat do verejného života, do politickej sféry, a to rovnako v západných spoločnostiach, USA aj v postkomunistických krajinách. Francúzsky sociológ Gilles Kepel v tomto kontexte hovorí o „rechristianizaci, rejudaizaci a reislamizaci“, zdola, ktorá sa sice snaží o jakousi nostalgickú obnovu tradičnej spoločnosti, ale využíva k tomu zcela moderné, technologické prostriedky, rovnako ako sú prínajmenejším inovatívni i jej veruoučné a nábožensko-praktické názory“ (Nešpor 2004, 11).

Za príklad takéhoto procesu môžeme považovať aj mediálne realizácie záujmu o novodobé mariánske zjavenia v postkomunistických krajinách. Zvestovanie posolstiev, zhromaždenia veriacich, sväte omše, rozhovory s vizionárkami nachádzajú nové cesty ako sa dostať do verejnej sféry, či sú to fotografie, reportáže, audiovizuálne záznamy, rozhlasové rozhovory. „S pomocou masovej mediálnej komunikácie, rastúcej mobility a nových foriem dopravy v 20. storočí sa Ona ako Matka Ježiša stala vedúcou postavou globálnych misijných aktivít, pričom svojimi verejnými a celosvetovo adresovanými posolstvami spája svet“¹ (Zachar Podolinská 2019, 18).

Najväčší priestor si na území Slovenska a Česka bezpochyby získalo mariánske zjavenie z Litmanovej. V roku 1990 v dedinke Litmanová, na severovýchode Slovenska, dve deti oznámili rodičom zjavenie na hore Zvir. Panna Mária sa dievčatám zjavovala ďalších 5 rokov, teda do roku 1995, a mladé vizionárky v pravidelných intervaloch zvestovali rôzne posolstvá. Z dovtedy neznámej dedinky sa stalo pútnické miesto a cieľ náboženskej turistiky (Krogmann et al. 2026, 79-91).

Hora Zvir postupne nadobudla nadregionálny význam, ktorý presahuje rámec samotných zjavení. Jej duchovný priestor sa stal miestom syntézy mariánskej úcty a hlbokkej zakorenenosti v byzantsko-slovanskej tradícii, ktorú reprezentuje cyrilo-metodské dedičstvo. Tento duchovný prienik sa výrazne manifestoval počas archieparchiálnych odpustových slávností, napríklad v roku 2013, kedy si cirkev pripomínala 1150. výročie príchodu sv. Cyrila a Metoda na Veľkú Moravu. Prítomnosť vladyku Stepana Meňuka CSsR, donecko-charkovského apoštolského exarchu z Ukrajiny, vladyku Atanáza Orosza, apoštolského exarchu z Miškolca v Maďarsku, a vladyku Kira Stojanova, apoštolského exarchu zo Skopje v Severnom Macedónsku na odpustovej púti podčiarkla ekumenický a transnacionálny charakter lokality, čím sa Hora Zvir etablovala nielen ako centrum mariánskej úcty. Práve vladyka Kiro Stojanov vyjadril svoju radosť z toho, že práve v Jubilejnom roku 1150. výročia príchodu sv. Cyrila a Metoda na naše územie tu mohol prísť zo zeme svätých slovanských vierozvestcov (Petrík 2013).

Fenomén mariánskych zjavení na danej hore zaujal aj dvoch etablovaných dokumentaristov. V roku 2000 bol vo vtedajšej STV odvysielaný televízny film slovenského režiséra Jara Vojteka *Vtedy na východe*. V roku 2008 prišla do kín česká verzia, celovečerný dokument *Ivetka a hora*, od etablovaného českého tvorca Víta Janečka.

Ako potvrdzuje český sociológ Martin Staněk, v českom prostredí bolo mariánske zjavenie v Litmanovej „velice populární, možná i díky tomu, že stála v podobné linii jako Medžugorje. I zde se bylo lze setkat s posvátnou horou a pramenem, poselství ovšem hovořilo i o nadcházejících duchovních změnách ve světě a o pohromě, která hrozí Slovensku pro jeho úpadek víry“ (Nešpor 2004, 64).

Rozdielnosť medzi českou a slovenskou spoločnosťou v otázke religiozity bola vždy jedna z dominujúcich deliácií čiark medzi „bratskými národmi“. Vychádzajúc z výsledkov sčítania obyvateľstva z roku 2023, patrí Česká republika k najnenáboženskejším krajinám sveta.² V českých krajinách dlhodobo pokračuje odchod od oficiálnych cirkví a klesá počet veriacich. Nenáboženský postoj však nemusí okamžite znamenať ateistický. O neinštitucionalizovanom prežívaní viery dáta nevypovedia všetko, pretože pri sčítaní obyvateľstva bola v Čechách otázka

¹ “With the help of mass-media communication, growing mobility and new forms of transport in the 20th century, She, as the Mother of Jesus, became the leading figure of global missionary activities, enchainning the world with her public and globally addressed messages.” Preklad do slovenčiny Diana Starinská Kacarová.

² Údaje a citácie čerpáme z webovej stránky <https://prometheus.sk/co-prinieslo-scitanie-obyvatelov-v-krajinach-v4/>.

o náboženskom vyznaní označená ako dobrovoľná.³ A viac ako 30 percent opýtaných na ňu teda vôbec neodpovedalo. Dáta napriek tomu potvrdzujú vyššie zmienený odklon od inštitucionalizovaného náboženstva. Len rímskokatolícka cirkev prišla v posledných desiatich rokoch o jednu tretinu českých veriacich.⁴ Pokles ľudí, ktorí sa hlásia k cirkvám, vidíme rovnako aj na Slovensku – pri poslednom sčítaní obyvateľstva z roku 2023 ide o viac ako 8 %. Napriek tomu je tu stále významná množina obyvateľstva, ktorá sa hlási k niektorej cirkvi, pričom dominuje rímskokatolícka, viac ako 55 %, ⁵ gréckokatolícka 4 %. Už len tento letný štatistický náčrt definuje obraz protestantského, ateistického, dokonca antiklerikálneho českého národa, a religiózneho, katolíckeho, veriaceho Slovenska.

O to zaujímavejšie je analyzovať dva pohľady – český a slovenský – na moderné mariánske zjavenie na hore Zvir. Na to, aby sme mohli reflexiu tejto udalosti komparovať v celku, by sme potrebovali skúmať omnoho širší korpus diel: reportáže, články, výstupy v rôznych typoch médií.⁶ Pre potreby danej štúdie sa však sústredíme len na dve dokumentárne snímky a okrajovo sa pozrieme aj na komparáciu recenzií v českých a slovenských médiách.

Z imagologického hľadiska nachádzame v oboch filmoch dve výskumne produktívne témy, na ktoré sa chceme zamerať: obraz spirituálneho „nadprirodzeného“ zážitku a obraz vidieka – periférie. Ako výskumné otázky sme si definovali: Ako sa prejavuje odlišný prístup k inštitucionalizovanej religiozite v Česku a Slovensku v audiovizuálnom spracovaní nadprirodzeného zážitku? Aké sú vizuálne reprezentácie slovenského vidieka – periférie, v českom a slovenskom ponímaní?

Mariánske zjavenia

Podľa Katolíckej cirkvi sa ako mariánske zjavenie označujú zjavenia Panny Márie, ktoré sa udiali na viacerých miestach na svete a niekedy sa označujú ako náboženský či psychologický fenomén. Mariánske zjavenia neprinášajú nové pravdy, ale s materinskou láskou upozorňujú na podstatu Božieho zjavenia. Panna Mária nám cez zjavenia pripomína, čo Ježiš povedal a ako dobrá matka nás vyzýva, aby sme počúvali a prijímali Ježišove slová (pozri Vatikán čoskoro stanoví nové štandardy 2024). Najznámejšími sú zjavenia vo Fatime, Lurdoch, Guadalupe. Najmladším cirkvou uznaným zjavením Panny Márie je zjavenie z argentínskeho mestečka San Nicolás de los Arroyos v roku 1983. Momentálne sa štandardy na oficiálne uznanie mariánskych zjavení a ďalších nadprirodzených udalostí prehodnocujú vo Vatikáne. Zjavenie v Litmanovej nie je momentálne uznané ako autentické. Je v procese posudzovania pravosti na prešovskom Gréckokatolíckom arcibiskupstve, kde je pre neho zriadená zvláštna komisia. Na webových stránkach, ktoré sa venujú zjaveniu v Litmanovej, sa spomínajú okrem posolstiev aj zázračné uzdravenia, rôzne prírodné úkazy, „snečný zázrak“, ktoré sú údajne zachytené aj fotograficky.⁷

Dve vizionárky, Katka a Ivetka, sú dnes dospelé ženy. Obe sú už vydaté, stali sa matkami, Katka odišla žiť do USA, k zjaveniam sa už roky pre médiá nevyjadruje. Ivetka sa vydala a žije s rodinou v Anglicku, vystupovala vo viacerých filmoch, reportážach a dokonca aj v talk show Jana Krausa.⁸

³ Otázka: Aké je Vaše náboženské vierovyznanie? V Českej republike, Maďarsku aj Poľsku bola označená ako dobrovoľná. Na Slovensku bola povinná.

⁴ Momentálne sa k rímskokatolíckej cirkvi hlási 7 % českého obyvateľstva.

⁵ Pre porovnanie sa k pravoslávnej cirkvi hlási 0,93 % a k evanjelikom 5,27 %.

⁶ V ČR vyšla napríklad kniha Mareka Šmida *Mariánske zjavenia modernej doby* (2021), ktorá sa venuje aj zjaveniu v Litmanovej.

⁷ Pozri napr. <https://horazvir.sk/hora-zvir/>, <https://litmanova.info>.

⁸ Dostupné na <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eLMNSZHQVcA>, vystupuje tu už po vydaji s novým priezviskom ako Iveta Hudáková.

Dedinka Litmanová je obec v Prešovskom kraji, ktorá má 623 obyvateľov. Hora Zvir je oficiálne uznaná ako gréckokatolícke pútnické miesto. Dedinka je dlhodobo postihnutá vysťahovalectvom, čo je dôsledkom zlej ekonomickej situácie v regióne.

Český režisér Vít Janeček patrí k tzv. prvej generácii Vachekových študentov⁹, venoval sa esejistickým dokumentom, reflexii českej spoločnosti, a jeho metódu charakterizoval chladný konceptuálny prístup. *Ivetka a hora* je jeho prvý film zo slovenského prostredia a zároveň jeden z jeho najúspešnejších. Získal napríklad aj hlavnú cenu na prestížnom Jihlavskom festivale dokumentu a bol s úspechom distribuovaný v zahraničí. V českom kontexte je Janeček považovaný za intelektuálneho filmára a pedagóga. Jeho voľba religiózneho námetu bola pre mnohých prekvapivá. K slovenskej téme sa vrátil Janeček s filmom *Obliehanie mesta* (2019) o ťažbe zlata v Kremnici.

V tomto bode stojí za zmienku transnacionálnosť českého filmu. Českí dokumentaristi sa sporadicky, a aj umelecky produktívne, vydávajú tematicky do zahraničia. Spomeňme za všetko dva oceňované filmy režiséra Martina Marečka ako *Zdroj* (2005), odohrávajúci sa v Azerbajdžane, či *Pod sluncem tma* (2011), z prostredia africkej Zambie. Obe snímky charakterizuje žáner tragikomédie a ironický odstup. V poslednom období, od r. 2000, vzniklo v českom prostredí aj niekoľko filmov, ktoré sa venujú slovenskej téme. Slovenská režisérka Tereza Nvotová počas štúdií na FAMU natočila film *Ježíš je normální!* (2008), ktorý sa venuje problematike náboženskej výchovy na Slovensku, česká režisérka Erika Hníková sa vydala za témou do východoslovenskej vymierajúcej obce vo filme *Nesvadbovo* (2010), Jan Gebert spracoval fenomén slovenského nacionalizmu, proruských sentimentov vo filme *Až přijde válka* (2018), v ktorom skúmal paramilitantnú skupinu *Slovenských brancov*. Ak sa českí dokumentaristi vydajú na Slovensko, zaujímajú ich bizarné a zvláštne fenomény, ktoré sa tematicky spájajú práve s religiozitou a/alebo slovenským vidiekom. Záujem Víta Janečka o mariánske zjavenia v pohraničnej slovenskej obci, v kontexte týchto iných českých transnacionálnych filmov, nie je teda nijako výnimočný, skôr potvrdzuje nastolený trend.

Metodologické východiská

Korpus diel, ktoré sa venovali skúmaniu česko-slovenských vzťahov, kultúrnych a hlavne literárnych je dostatočne bohatý. Menej je toho už v parametroch audiovizuálneho spracovania, vo výskume obrazov slovaciny v českom filme. Čerpať budeme teda z doterajšieho výskumu literárno-historických vzťahov a zahrnieme aj sociologické východiská. Ako metodológiu sme zvolili prístup imagologickej komparácie.

Imagológia pôvodne študovala obraz vlastného (autoimage) a cudzieho (heteroimage), národné a etnické stereotypy, kliše, mýty a predsudky v literárnych umeleckých textoch. Reflexia imagotypov sa ale dá rovnako aplikovať na texty neliterárne, utilitárnej povahy, cestopisy, reportáže,

⁹ Karel Vachek (1940 – 2020) bol významný český dokumentárny filmár, pedagóg a mysliteľ, ktorý pôsobil najmä na FAMU (Filmová a televízna fakulta v Prahe). Jeho tvorba sa vyznačuje originálnym prístupom k dokumentu – prepájal politiku, filozofiu, históriu aj osobnú reflexiu, často s iróniou a esejistickou formou. Neusiloval sa o „objektívny“ dokument, skôr o hľadanie pravdy cez otázky, dialógy a montáž rôznych perspektív. Ako pedagóg bol veľmi vplyvný – viedol študentov k samostatnému mysleniu, kritickému pohľadu na spoločnosť a k tomu, aby film chápali ako nástroj poznania, nie len rozprávania príbehov. Označenie „Vachekovi študenti“ sa používa pre jeho žiakov (napr. známych českých dokumentaristov), ktorí prebrali niektoré jeho princípy: autorskú slobodu, esejistický štýl, dôraz na spoločenské otázky a osobnú angažovanosť. Nejde o formálnu školu, ale skôr o neformálnu „tradíciu“ či okruh tvorcov ovplyvnených jeho prístupom.

reklamné texty, alebo aj kinematografické diela. Práve filmová imagológia predstavuje dôležité výskumné pole, ktoré zahŕňa priamy prístup k vizuálnym zobrazeniam Iných a proces produkcie takýchto štandardizovaných obrazov.

V súčasnosti jedna vetva imagológie smeruje viac ku kultúrnej či vizuálnej antropológii, dejinám mentalít a etnopsychológii. Skúma etnoobrazy určené sociologickými východiskami a zohľadňuje aj výsledky postkoloniálnych štúdií. V línii zakladateľov imagologického výskumu, H. Dyserincka i Pageuxa, a nadväzujúcou prácou Bellera i Leersena, môžeme konštatovať, že obrazy nereprezentujú realitu, v zmysle mimetického odrazu, kultúrny priestor „cudzieho“ sám o sebe nejestvuje. Texty a filmy realitu spoluvytvárajú, nie sú len sprostredkovateľmi. Obrazy sú výrazom fikcie, konštruované mocenským a intelektuálnym diskurzom. Spisovatelia si ako objekt svojho zobrazenia vyberajú cudzincov alebo cudziu krajinu, aby zdôraznili nielen blízkosť a porozumenie, ale najmä hodnotovú a estetickú „inakosť“ či dokonca nadradenosť. Jednotlivci i skupiny teda v procese poznania objektívne nezachytávajú segmenty alebo podstatu mimotextovej skutočnosti, ale prostredníctvom metapozície, t. j. jazykovo-syntaktických opisov formujú ideologickú konštrukciu sveta (Gáfrik – Zelenka 2025).

Obraz „iného“ vzniká procesom symbolizácie, predovšetkým metaforizáciou, označujúci subjekt „cudzie“ pozoruje, hodnotí a zároveň konštruuje, aj pomocou aplikovania „otheringu“ čiže scudzovania. Vzniká imagotyp a ten slúži obecnstvu aj na sebadefinovanie – konštituovanie autoimage. Tvorca môže obrazy inakosti dekonštruovať, alebo ich len automaticky prebebrať, petrifikovať na stereotyp, a tým kanonizovať pozíciu svojho národa voči cudziemu. Môže sa vnímať ako nižší, podriadený, nadradený, alebo vnímať vzájomný vzťah ako afirmatívny, komplementárny.

V medzivojnovom období, v čase vzniku československej kinematografie, presiakli reprezentácie slovenských postáv z literatúry, cestopisov aj do nového, a ako sa neskôr ukáže, veľmi vplyvného média – do kinematografie. Reprezentáciám slovenskosti v súčasnom českom filme sa venovala napríklad filmová teoretička Jana Dudková v štúdii *Milý iný: Slovenská identita v českom filme po roku 1993* (Slovenské divadlo 2009), vzťahom slovenskej a českej identity sa venoval slovakista Robert Pynset a Stanislav Holubec. O obraze „slovenskosti“ v topose drotára ako dominantnej v dobovej beletrii 19. storočia píše napríklad Anna Zelenková. Všimá si, že sa pri ňom uplatňuje „rousseauvský preromantický mýtus ‚pôvodného človeka‘, žijúceho v súlade s božím poriadkom prírody“ (Zelenková 2018, 39), ktorý v sebe koncentroval romantický prvok, motívickú exkluzívnosť, a okrem sociálneho aspektu biedy stelesňoval charakterovo čistého človeka z ľudu, a to najmä s kladnými povahovými vlastnosťami a národným cítením. V 19. storočí, v období spolužitia Slovákov a Čechov v monarchii, v tzv. „žaláre národov“, česká spoločnosť Slovákov vnímala veľmi kladne, ako „bratov“ a už vtedy nachádzame autostereotyp Čechov ako ochrancov Slovákov pred Maďarmi: „Slováky, resp. podľa mnohých slovenský kmen českého národa, vnímala česká verejnosť pravdepodobne poněkud paternalisticky a s malou empatií pro jejich specifika“ (Holubec 2015, 70). Tento heteroobraz pokračuje aj po vzniku spoločného štátu, prvej republiky. Holubec konštatuje, že už v tomto období Albert Pražák formuluje české stereotypy o typických vlastnostiach Slovákov: fatalizmus, odpor k realite, zvaľovanie viny na iného, impulzívnosť, myšlienkový a citový primitivizmus (2015, 71).

Pokiaľ sa pozrieme na kinematografické diela, prvé výrazné obrazy zo slovenského sveta sa objavujú v Plickových dokumentárno-etnografických filmoch *Zem spieva* (1932), kde pozorujeme atribúty romantizmu a exotizmu. Dudková ich nazýva „bezpečným exotizmom“ (2009), podobne ako sebaaprezentácie slovenskej identity v medzivojnových filmoch Martina Friča (ide o filmy *Jánošík* (1935) a *Hordubalové* (1937) so slovenským hercom Paľom Bielikom v hlavnej úlohe). Tieto reprezentácie vo filmoch nadväzujú na vývojovo staršie heteroimages, ktoré nájdeme v literatúre, cestopisoch a publicistike.

Sociológ Holubec konštatuje, že negatívny obraz Slovenska je vytváraný v českej tlači od roku 1991 a vrcholí v čase po rozpade spoločného štátu, prítomná je často irónia (2015, 155), pričom identifikuje tieto naratívne stratégie scudzovania – othering slovenskej inakosti: religionizácia, feminizácia a gerontizácia, komunizácia, cigánizácia, ruralizácia, zobrazovanie Slovákov ako nacionalistov, tematizácia opilstva, exotizácia, orientalizácia, emocionalizácia a iracionalizácia.

Po rozdelení spoločného štátu v roku 1993 vznikajú aj dve samostatné národné kinematografie, ale stále spojené historicky a umeleckými konexiami. Česká spoločnosť má veľký záujem o konštituovanie vlastnej autoimage a veľký dôraz kladie predovšetkým na kategórie Západ – Východ, centrum kontra periféria, pričom samých seba umiestňuje na Západ a do centra. „Reprezentácia Slovákov v českom filme úzko súvisí s hľadaním vhodných obrazov seba samých, s národnou sebaidentifikáciou, pre ktorú je videnie Slovákov ako sympatických, ale väčšinou sociálne, kultúrne a ekonomicky slabších, dôležitým prvkom podporovania vlastného národného sebedovedomia“ (Dudková 2009, 11).

Ale pozícia Čechov ako reprezentantov rozumu i mužskosti a Slovákov ako ženského princípu má oveľa hlbšie historické korene. Objavujú sa už v písaní o Slovákoch v dielach autorov z obdobia prvej republiky. Vladimír Macura konštatuje vo svojom diele *Český sen* (2005), že v spôsobe ako Česi vnímajú Slovákov je niečo feminínne. Atribúty, ktoré im pripisujú sú iracionalita, prírodnosť, spontánnosť. Feminizáciu Slovenska ako naratívnu stratégiu „otheringu“ v písaní o Slovensku v 90. rokoch 20. storočia spomína aj Holubec. Český autostereotyp a slovenský stereotyp sa vytvára pomocou binárnych opozícií racionálny/emocionálny, mužský/ženský, urbánny/viediecky, západný/východný, centrálny a periférny. Konštituovanie českého sebaobrazu prebieha pomocou petrifikácie slovenského imagotypu ako ženského, východného a iracionálneho.

Spirituálny film

Okrem imagologickej perspektívy si budeme všimnúť aj geneologické i žánrové parametre oboch filmov. Keďže ide o námet výrazne dotovaný religióznymi motívmi, pozrieme sa na to, či môžeme v týchto filmoch identifikovať vlastnosti spirituálneho diela. Vychádzajúc budeme predovšetkým z práce českého filmového teoretika Jaromíra Blažejovského, opierajúc sa o jeho definíciu, že spirituálny film je dielo „v němž posvátno není jen věcí tématu, nýbrž i stylu: jedná se o filmy, které diváka přivádějí k náboženské zkušenosti pomocí jistých strukturních kvalit“ (2006, 12) a jeho kategorizáciu na duchovný film, náboženský film a spirituálny film. Duchovný film je korpus diel, ktoré sa vzťahujú k viere a náboženstvu. Náboženský film definuje ako žánrovú adaptáciu posvätných textov a sfilmovanú hagiografiu. Pomenovanie spirituálny film navrhuje len pre tie diela, ktoré dosahujú duchovného účinku špecifickým použitím výrazových prostriedkov. Blažejovský nadväzuje na štrukturalistické a hermeneutické teórie a vymedzuje korpus spirituálneho filmu nasledujúcimi bodmi: „a) film disponuje špecifickými prostriedky k vyjádreniu posvätna; b) tyto prostředky lze popsat jako specifický styl (Ayfre, Schrader); c) klíčovou kategorií tohoto stylu je čas (Valušiak, Deleuze, Florenskij); d) produktem tohoto stylu je jistý narativní modus (Fraser), jenž uvádí diváka do zvláštního recepčního stavu; e) existuje tvrdé jádro spirituálních filmů (Marczak), jejichž analýzou lze výše uvedené teze doložit“ (2006, 63).

Ďalej zavádza vlastné termíny ako transcendentný čas, transcendentný priestor a modus pasivity. Modelovanie transcendentného sveta nachádza v príznakovom uplatnení času záberu, teda vytváraním tzv. transcendentálneho času „dlhouhými, zdánlivé zbytočnými či prečnávajúcimi záběry, také záběry typu metafyzické jízdy či zátiší, jednak v mizanscéně“ (Blažejovský 2006, 98). Tieto postupy dopĺňa zvuková stopa, hudba v kategórii kultúrnych citátov, alebo prírodné zvuky. Hudobná zložka pomáha navodzovať aj ďalší znak spirituálneho filmu – atribút pasivity.

Ten Blažejovský chápe ako kompozičný faktor, spôsob snímania a rámcovanie postavy v zábere. „Pohyb postavy je rámován s väčšou distanciou, než je distance nepříznaková. Časť akcentu se přesouvá z postavy na prostředí, které ji obklopuje“ (Blažejovský 2006, 107). Podstatný je aj spôsob snímania – uhol kamery, ktorá zaberá postavu z takého nezvyčajného uhlu, ktorý by mohol byť hľadiskom transcendentnej entity. Budeme si teda všimnúť, či sa práve tieto atribúty nachádzajú v analyzovaných dielach.

Interpretačná analýza a imagologická komparácia filmov *Ivetka a hora* a *Vtedy na východe*

Ako spomína sám autor, Vít Janeček, k téme mariánskych zjavení na Hore Zvir sa dostal ešte počas štúdií na FAMU v 90. rokoch 20. storočia. O „Ivetce, které tenkrát bylo 17 let, točil můj spolužák z režie Stano Kunda materiál pro cvičení nazvané Zpověď“,“¹⁰ a k príbehu sa vrátil až po rokoch, keď zas našiel záznam hrubého materiálu.¹¹ Načasovanie bolo ideálne, „protože v životě Ivetky se zrovna děly zásadní předěly“¹². Zlomové okamihy, o ktorých režisér hovorí, spočívali v tom, že Ivetka – hlavná hrdinka, odišla z kláštorného spoločenstva, zasnúbila sa a rozhodla sa žiť „obyčajným životom“, vydať sa a založiť si rodinu. Film ju zachytáva práve v období príprav na sobáš a prechodu zo stavu „detskej vizionárky“ do stavu manželského, ide aj o jej ženské dozrievanie a uzatvorenie jednej kapitoly života. Vo filme sledujeme dve dominantné línie: súčasnosť – prípravy na sobáš, ktoré vyvrcholia svadbou. A líniu spomínania, bilančného monológu, v ktorej hlavná hrdinka rekapituluje svoj život od skúsenosti zjavenia, mediálny ošial, vstup do kláštora, spirituálnu krízu a útek z cirkevného spoločenstva k laickému životu. Retrospektívna línia je komponovaná zo spovedného Ivetkinho monológu a archívnych materiálov. Slovo spoveď nie je náhodné. Dominantným obrazovým motívom tejto linky je práve detail Ivetkinej tváre, kde sa vracia reflexívne k všetkému, čo prežila a čo viedlo k fikčnej súčasnosti filmu. Rozprávajúce hlavy, teda statický detail tváre, kde postava „iba“ hovorí na kameru, sa všeobecne v dokumentaristike používa takmer pejoratívne. Je znakom, že tvorca nedokázal zachytiť autentické situácie, vizualizovať tému a približuje film skôr k publicistike. O problematike „mluvící hlavy“ v dokumentárnom filme pojednáva aj Janečkova habilitačná prednáška, v ktorej mimo iného zdôvodňuje, prečo je v jeho filme taká dominantná línia Ivetky rozprávajúcej v detailnom zábere. „Ač je v církevní praxi protějškem zpovídaného zpovědník, skutečná zpověď nesměřuje k druhému člověku, ale kamsi hlouběji do nitra, k Bohu, kterému se zpovídající otevírá a skládá účty. Ve filmu *Ivetka a hora* jsme ve strižně narazili na problém, že rozvíjení Ivetčina vyprávění formou vizuálních situací začalo oslabovat vyznění jejího svědectví. A tak mizely některé situace na úkor „mluvící hlavy“, která vcelku filmu osciluje mezi modelem svědectví a zpovědi“ (Janeček 2014). Janeček vymedzuje hovoriace hlavy v dokumentárnom filme na základe ich použitia na hlavy rétorické, podávajúce svedectvo, popisné a racionálne. Ivetkina línia bilančného retrospektívneho rozprávania patrí do kategórie spovede, podáva svedectvo, ale zároveň sa spovedá z vnútorného prežitku. Práve v tejto línii nachádzame niektoré atribúty, ktorými definuje Blažejovský spirituálny film. Ivetka je v spovednom monológovi komponovaná do prírodného prostredia, rozpráva s očami uprenými kdesi do neznáma, neďáva sa do kamery, ani na režiséra, rozpráva ticho a pokorne, úprimne ako v spovednici, v pozadí vidíme prírodnú scenériu,

¹⁰ Rozhovor s Vítom Janečkom z roku 2008 v Aktuálně.cz s názvom *Jak žít se zjevením, táže se Ivetka a hora*: <https://magazin.aktualne.cz/kultura/film/jak-zit-se-zjevenim-taze-se-ivetka-a-hora/r~i:article:619013/>.

¹¹ Práve tento filmový surový materiál, či ďalší videoamatérsky materiál na VHS, je využitý vo filme *Ivetka a hora*. Ide o záznamy rozhovorov, ale aj amatérske zábery modliacich sa dievčat, tranzu atď.

¹² Rozhovor s Vítom Janečkom z roku 2008 v Aktuálně.cz s názvom *Jak žít se zjevením, táže se Ivetka a hora*: <https://magazin.aktualne.cz/kultura/film/jak-zit-se-zjevenim-taze-se-ivetka-a-hora/r~i:article:619013/>.

sošku Panny Márie vo výklenku skaly, a jediný hudobný sprievod sú zvuky tečúcej vody, šum lesa a spev vtákov. Vo vrcholnej scéne tejto línie, kedy sa Iveta vyznáva z pokusu o samovraždu, znie v pozadí surový a drásajúci zvuk píly režúcej drevo. Kamera je trpezlivá, zostáva na tvári Ivetky aj vtedy, keď sa snaží nájsť správnu formuláciu, aj vo vypätých chvíľach, keď už mlčí. Nenájdeme tu zvláštny uhol, ktorý by nás dostával do pozície vyššej entity, ktorá Ivetku sleduje, ale rámcovanie postavy v prírodnej scenérii a celkové vyznenia týchto scén, navodzujú dojem, že počúvame spoveď, ktorá nebola určená priamo nám, ani filmu, či režisérovi, ale pravdepodobne priamo Bohu. Už samotný názov filmu *Ivetka a hora* referuje, že tematicky pôjde o intímny portrét hlavnej hrdinky a jej vzťah k tomu, čo sa na hore stalo. Hora konotuje viacero významov: je to Hora Zvir, na ktorej Ivetka prežila spirituálnu skúsenosť, ktorá jej zmenila život. Hora, ktorá k nej prišla, na ktorú ona musí vystúpiť, s krížom, bremenom. „*Skauti idú na horu a nesú si svoje bremená*“, hovorí Ivetka v jednej scéne. Sisyfovská hora, s ktorou hrdinka márne bojuje v ubíjajúcej absurdite každodennosti, hora, ktorá vo vertikále neustále prevyšuje všetkých žijúcich v jej tieni. Film otvára línia súčasnosti – príprav na svadbu, pohľad na Horu Zvir, hornatá príroda v pohraničí a folklórna rusínska pieseň, ktorú spievajú tri ženy sediace pod náboženským obrazom. Línia súčasnosti sa najviac približuje etnografickému exotizmu, režisér akcentuje krásu divokej letnej slovenskej prírody, folklórne piesne, zvykoslovie, rituály, modlitby a výjavy z púte, malebnú letnú provinčnosť zapadnutej dediny. Niektoré scény, najmä tie, v ktorých vystupujú dedinské mužské postavy, sú jemne komediálne, alebo dojímavovo tragikomické, autor sa ale vyhýba karikatúre a ironii. Obraz periférie je láskavý, takmer poetický. Exotiku slovenského vidieka ešte podčiarkuje nutnosť českému obecnstvu otitulkovať postavy rozprávajúce rusínskym nárečím. Prvé slová, ktoré Ivetka venuje režisérovi/divákovi sú: „*Vidno Tatry, podte sa pozrieť!*“, pričom nasleduje záber na slovenské veľhory. Už v prvých piatich minútach filmu je teda vytváraný typický obraz Slovenska, ktorý pozostáva z rurálnych motívov, obrazu Tatier, folklóru, naivity, hôr a religiozity. Keď Holubec (2015) spomína feminizáciu ako jednu zo stratégií „otheringu“ slovacity v českých médiách, tak ju môžeme pozorovať aj v tomto filmovom diele. Janeček si všíma predovšetkým ženské postavy. Muži sú vo filme oveľa menej prítomní, v scénach, kde vystupujú, pôsobia skôr submisívne, nemotorne či zakríknuto (Ivetkin snúbenec), komediálne (Ivo, Ivetkin kamarát) či naivne až smiešne (chlapci na motorkách).

Zo životopisných údajov o Ivetke vieme, že po opustení kláštora pracovala v zahraničí, Rakúsku, Nemecku a Anglicku, takisto sa naučila hovoriť nemecky aj anglicky. Režisér opomína túto jej rovinu, nevidíme ju napríklad v žiadnom urbánnom prostredí, film sa sústreďuje len na jej prítomnosť v dedinke Litmanová. Priestory, v ktorých ju film ukazuje, sú takmer vždy rurálne: dedinský dom, kuchyňa, dvor, záhrada, poličko, a predovšetkým ju usádza do prírodných scenérií – na pozadí lesa, hôr a skál.

Keď sme na začiatku pomenovali tento námet ako príbeh s tajomstvom, pristavme sa bližšie pri topose zázraku. Jedna z neodbytných otázok, ktoré si kladie divák pri sledovaní filmu je: Veriť či neveriť? Bolo zjavenie Panny Márie halucinácia, psychologický fenomén, alebo naozajstné zjavenie? Klamali dievčatá a klamú dodnes, alebo naopak, prežili niečo autentické a hovoria pravdu? Janečkov film však na túto otázku neodpovedá. Lepšie povedané, ani si ju nekladie. Jeho film nie je investigatívnym skúmaním pravdivosti zjavenia, „klíčový fenomén mariánskeho zjavení pro něj zůstává nepopíratelným dogmatem, zjevením „věci o sobě“, uzavřeným jakémukoli dotazování“ (Pivoda 2008). Autora zaujíma len to, ako zjavenie život hrdinky zmenilo, pričom túto otázku má aj v anotácii filmu: Ako žiť so zjavením? Film buduje akoby detektívnu zápletku s otázkou čo sa vlastne stalo. Postupne, trpezlivo odpovedá, priam kontemplatívne vedie diváka príbehom od momentu zjavenia po súčasnosť. Nespochybnuje ale nadprirodzenú skúsenosť Ivetky. Hlavnou otázkou detektívky je otázka, čo nasledovalo po zjavení a akou cestou Iveta prešla, aby sa dostala do bodu, v ktorom ju zachytáva film. Časť kritiky a diváckeho obecnstva ocenila tento empatický

rešpekt režiséra voči Ivetinej nadprirodzenej skúsenosti, ale v niektorých prípadoch bol práve nedostatok investigatívneho pohľadu kritizovaný.

Paradoxne, ani Vojtekov film *Vtedy na východe* investigatívne neskúma autenticitu zjavení, neproblematizuje samotný fenomén zázraku. Vojteka nezaujíma ani osobné prežívanie vizionáriek, oveľa viac sa sústreďuje na sociálny kontext dediny, a to je najvýznamnejší rozdiel oproti Janečkovmu prístupu. Práve tento fenomén vyľudňovania zaujal aj režiséra Jara Vojteka, ktorý sa dlhodobo vo svojej tvorbe venuje témam periférie, sociálnej exklúzie, vysťahovalectva, ľuďom na okraji spoločnosti a rómskej komunite.¹³ Ako konštatuje filmový teoretik Martin Palúch, téma „púte v zmysle vysťahovalectva z Litmanovej do Ameriky za lepšou prácou a s tým súvisiacimi materiálnymi výhodami v kontraste s témou púte ako prisťahovalectva do Litmanovej sú základnými nosnými piliermi obsahovej osnovy Vojtekovho dokumentu“ (2013, 423). Vojtek postupmi ankety spovedá miestnych dedinčanov, ale aj prichádzajúcich pútnikov a poskytuje axiologickú analýzu ich motivácií. Niektorí prichádzajú na horu Zvir, aby získali duchovnú potravu, druhí odchádzajú z Litmanovej, aby si našli lepšie platenú prácu. Na rozdiel od českého pohľadu, Vojtek ako domáci tvorca, citlivo vníma a ukazuje zaostalosť kraja, ekonomickú biedu. Na rozdiel od Vojteka, u Janečka vidíme idylickú priamu Božiu záhradu slovenskej prírody, jeden z recenzentov trochu ironicky komentoval efektnosť formálnej stránky filmu: „Záběry Braňa Pažitky jako strížené ze Želár, střihy lidové znějících ceremoniálních vícehlasů do nájezdů kamery z mimoobrazového pole“ (Pivoda 2008). Vo Vojtekovej verzii Litmanovej vidíme zimné aj pochmúrne scenérie, s akcentovaním surovej dedinskej prírody, sociálnej a kultúrnej zaostalosti či materiálnej chudoby. Nevyhýba sa kritickým komentárom nízkej dedinskej religiozity a ľudovej zbožnosti. Časté sú ironizujúce kritické vizuálne komentáre na stánky plné gýčových sošiek a ružencov, obchodíky, výmena náboženských predmetov, ružencov za bankovky. Naproti tomu Janeček vníma komparz veriacich na púti s rešpektom, ich citové pohnutie poníma ako úprimné.

Aj tu sa prejavuje rozdielnosť postojov. Zatiaľ čo Vojtek pomenúva nízku dedinskú religiozitu, pútnikov ako vyprázdnenú tradíciu, či dokonca fanatizmus, Janeček je úprimne fascinovaný spirituálnym prežitkom veriacich. Vníma ho ako niečo komplementárne k ateistickej českej spoločnosti. Vojteka viac zaujímajú sociálne kontexty vysťahovalectva a na mozaike príbehov stavia rôzne postoje k duchovnému/sakrálnemu a materiálnemu/sociálnemu na vymedzenom výseku z reality, pričom buduje kontrast svetských a sakrálnych motivácií človeka v priestore pútnického miesta, symbolické a metaforické významové konotácie vo vzťahu k religiozite i k viere v osobné alebo duchovné sily človeka (Palúch 2013, 423).

Už názov Vojtekovho filmu *Vtedy na východe* konotuje jednak ironickú alúziu na western *Vtedy na Západe*, teda na koncept „divokého východu Slovenska“, zaostalej a vôbec nie malebnej periférie, kde je ešte možné nájsť aj ľudí, ktorí veria nadprirodzeným zjaveniam. Odkiaľ ľudia utekajú za prácou, ale kam zas prichádzajú ľudia z mesta. Jeden z dotazujúcich príde žiť z Bratislavy, iný sa vráti až z Austrálie v spirituálnej kríze, alebo ako útek od „civilizácie“ a materiálneho sveta.

Topos zázraku

Jedným z ťažiskových motívov tohto príbehu je práve nadprirodzená skúsenosť a zázrak na Hore Zvir. Pozrime sa na to, ako vizualizovali a modelovali tento ťažiskový topos obaja režiséri. Vo Vojtekovom filme o zjavení rozprávajú obe vizionárky. Ivetka, v čase nakrúcania filmu ešte

¹³ Natočil napríklad filmy *Hranica* (2009) o slovensko-ukrajinskej pohraničnej obci Slemence, *My zdes* (2012) o kazašskej rodine imigrantov na Slovensku, rómskej problematike sa venoval vo filmoch *Rómovia idú do volieb* (2005), *Tretí koniec palice* (2023) a problému vysťahovalectva sa venoval aj vo filme *Turnus* (2022). Televízny film *Vtedy na východe* (2000) je jeho druhým dlhometrážnym filmom.

novicka, sedí v interiéri kostolnej kaplnky, v pozadí vidíme oltár a náboženské výjavy, v mníšskom rúchu a precítene, ale zautomatizovane rozpráva o zjavení. Väčší priestor venuje Vojtek druhej vizionárke, ktorá u Janečka už nevystupuje – Katke.

Katka sa medzitým vydala, je matkou a režisér ju sníma v polocelku, sedí v domácom oblečení, s prekríženými nohami, v pozadí je neútulný priestor izby a radiátor. Je tu snaha odsakralizovať motív mariánskeho zjavenia. Jej viac menej naučený a zautomatizovaný monológ o tom „ako sa to stalo“ pôsobí v chladnom prostredí spálne takmer absurdne a nepatrične. Prítomný je anketový princíp, scudzenie, scivilnenie, odstup. Vojtek sa zámerne vyhýba tomu, aby vyvolával u diváka spirituálny zážitok zjavenia. Ponecháva si odstup a implicitne nadprirodzenú skúsenosť desakralizuje a zbavuje emocionalitu. Naproti tomu, český tvorca kľúčovú scénu zjavenia v chatke inscenuje. O problematike zobrazovania nadprirodzeného píše aj Jaromír Blažejovský a pomáha si analógiou s fantastickým žánrom. Zobrazenie nadprirodzeného v spirituálnom filme je problematické, pretože sa „nejedná o záležitosť klidnou ani nevinnou, neboť nejde o nic menšího než o přechod na jinou ontologickou rovinu. Analogii k tomuto procesu známe z thrillerů a hororů, které dosahují napínavého či hrůzostrašného efektu právě znejistěním ontologického statusu fikčního světa“ (2006, 71). Aj Janeček tento metafyzický obrat vo filme intertextuálne prepája s fantastickým žánrom. Ivetkinu sugestívnu výpoveď preruší „flashbackom“ – inscenáciou pohľadu dievčat z chatky, s hororovou zvukovou stopou, počujeme zrýchlený dych a mysteriózne zvuky. Scéna v chatke je zručne implementovaná medzi autentický archívny materiál a režisér tak vytvára ilúziu, že záber je tiež súčasťou archívu, používa žánrový postup *found footage* hororu. Film sa takisto končí žánrovou alúziou na hororový a thrillerový filmový žáner. Zatiaľ čo v dome je veselá svadobná hostina, kamera odchádza temnou cestou z dedinky Litmanová, do surreálnej až hororovej noci a rámcuje film mysteriózne.

Modelovanie obrazu religiozity

Film *Ivetka a hora* bol v českej odbornej aj diváckej reflexii prijímaný vysoko pozitívne. Vzhľadom na vyššie uvedené skutočnosti o ateistickej povahe českého národa to možno vyznieva paradoxne. Janeček religiozitu vo svojej snímke modeluje v troch plánoch. Prvým plánom je priestor samotnej hlavnej hrdinky, druhým je komparz – viera a religiozita pútnikov, dedinčanov, Ivetkinho okolia, a tretím plánom je religiozita cirkevných hodnostárov.

Ivetkine prežívanie náboženskej skúsenosti je od jej prvých viet modelované ako autentické, hlboké a úprimné. Už v prvých minútach filmu ju exponuje ako človeka, ktorému sa priechi pokrytectvo a vyprázdnená zautomatizovaná tradícia, a ktorý je dokonca v istej opozícii voči autoritám: „Náboženský život, ktorý viedli moji rodičia, bol viac menej tradícia. Nič viac. Ja si pamätám, že ako dieťa ma zraňovala táto neúprimnosť. Som si hovorila, že ja keď vyrastiem, nebudem chodiť do kostola. Nevidela som zmysel toho. Keď sa žije ináč.“¹⁴ V priebehu filmu ďalej hovorí o týchto témach: konflikt s rodičmi, medzigeneračný problém – dospelí jej neverili, že videla Pannu Máriu, obviňovali ju, že si vymýšľa, detské sklamanie z rehoľníkov, o svojom vstupe do kláštora Ivetka implicitne hovorí, že ju do toho zmanipuloval a dotlačil kňaz, keď vyjadrila svoje pochybnosti o povolání mníšky, kňaz ju presviedčal, že ide o „diabolské pokušenie“, v kláštore robila všetko preto, aby ju vyhodili, zámerne porušovala pravidlá. V pohnutej spovedi o tom, že, paradoxne, „v kláštore to bolo peklo“, režisér necháva znieť výpoveď mimo obraz vo zvukovej stope, kamerou sníma prírodu Litmanovej cez priezor klieťkovej výplne – ktorá konotuje väzenie. Vo vrcholnej scéne, kde Ivetka priznáva pokus o samovraždu, aby unikla rehoľnému životu, počujeme v pozadí drásavý zvuk pily.

¹⁴ Citácie z filmu – od minúty 8:35.

Ivetku film nezobrazuje pri odriekaní kanonizovaných cirkevných textov, v interiéroch kostola, úradných budov, v dialógu s cirkevnými predstaviteľmi, pri svätej omši, s rekvizitami, málokedy hovorí o Bohu a Ježišovi, dominantne rozpráva o svojej skúsenosti s Máriou a vízií. Práve tým modeluje jej religiozitu ako mimo inštitucionálnu, autentické prežívanie viery, ktoré je možno dokonca v opozícii, alebo v rebélii voči oficiálnym cirkevným autoritám. Druhý plán religiozity buduje režisér na výjavoch pútnikov a dedinčanov. Recenzenti oceňovali, že sa film neposmieva „davu poutníkov proudících na horu Zvir za nadějí i posvěcenou vodou, jestli nejsou náhodou pouhé ovce (nikoliv ovečky pastýře Hospodina)“ (Procházka 2008), využíva úprimné prejavy viery, ľudí vystupujúcich vo vertikále na horu Zvir, nesúcich si svoje bremená, či to je sklamanie zo života, plastová fľaša na zázračnú vodu, alebo igelitka z obchodného domu, Janeček nekritizuje, a na rozdiel od Vojteka, ani nepoužíva detail ako ironický komentár. V tomto pláne zaujíma skôr etnografický postoj a využíva davy pútnikov ako predeľujúci chór spievajúci nábožné piesne.

Najviac ironický modus využíva Janeček v rozhovoroch s cirkevnými hodnosťami. Muži – kňazi, sedia ako úradníci za stolom obklopený sakrálnymi predmetmi, vyjadrujú sa alibisticky, ich prejav je plný fráz a dogiem. Najironickejší moment nájdeme v závere filmu, keď sobášiaci kňaz nemotorne použije v kázni analógiu neautentickejši filmového umenia a života.

Reflexia spirituálnej témy *Ivetka a hora* v českých médiách

Reflexiu Janečkovho filmu sme skúmali na korpuse recenzií a mediálnych výstupov, a to predovšetkým z internetových denníkov. Konštatujeme, že takmer všetky recenzie a analýzy boli afirmatívne, ale väčšina z nich si všímala najmä samotnú postavu Ivetky, pričom sa málo venovali formálnemu prevedeniu filmu. Záujem získala predovšetkým charizma hlavnej postavy. „Vždyť tajemství toho filmu je i v tom, že ona se stává jakousi ‚Panenkou Marií‘ – tedy nadějí něčeho duchovního pro ostatní v našem světě. [...] Janečkovi se jasným vymezením tématu a volbou hrdinky podařilo ukázat, jak moc v dnešní době chybí zdánlivě samozřejmá lidská добрta a usilování o ní“ (Procházka 2008).

Takéto napospol afirmatívne prijatie filmu aj toho, že vynecháva kritické stanovisko skúmania pravdivosti ale nezostalo bez kritiky: „Ovšem z filmu, který měl potenciál kritického přístupu k fenoménu zjevení, což přinejmenším zahrnuje prezentaci alespoň dvou stran – ‚věřící‘ a ‚nevěřící‘ (mezi nimiž však bezpochyby existuje pozoruhodné spektrum těch, kteří jedno či druhé činí pouze částečně), se stalo cosi jako religiózní či turistické PR. [...] Proč ve filmu nevystupuje nikdo z ‚opačného‘ názorového tábora? Třeba psycholog, psychiatr, filosof, fyzik nebo přírodovědec? Je z jejich pohledu vůbec možné, aby k takovéto události došlo? Jaká je skutečná povaha fenomenality tohoto fenoménu?“ (Pivoda 2008).

Je pozoruhodné, že ide len o jednu reakciu, a bolo by nanajvýš podozrivé, ak by nezaznela z českej strany. Napriek tomu, afirmatívne prijatie celého Janečkovho konceptu v médiách môžeme považovať za prejav komplementárneho vzťahu českej a slovenskej spoločnosti. Môžeme sa len domnievať, že ak by k podobnému príbehu došlo v Českej republike, mariánske zjavenie by bolo zo strany českých dokumentaristov podrobené prísnemu oku kritického a ateistického rozumu, ironizácii a investigatívnemu skúmaniu. Slovenský vidiek je tak konštituovaný ako „bezpečná exotika“, rozprávko-malebný priestor, pri ktorom je akceptovaný aj nadprirodzený fenomén.

Záver

Dokumentárny film *Víta Janečka* a imagémy slovacity, ktoré v ňom nachádzame, nadväzujú na líniu Plickových dokumentárnych filmov fascináciou slovenskou horskou prírodou, čistotou slovenského rurálneho človeka a mágiou periférie. Tieto imagémy potvrdzujú aj heteroobrazy slovacity v českých filmoch ako rurálnej, nevinnej, prírodnej identity, komplementárnej k urbánnej ateistickej českej spoločnosti. Vo Vojtekovom filme sa zas objavujú obrazy – autoimage, sebaexotizovania a sebakolonizácie, či kultúrnej zaostalosti, tak ako ich môžeme nájsť aj v iných dokumentárnych filmoch toho obdobia, ktoré sa venujú obrazom periférie z východného Slovenska, napr. *Osadné* (2004) od Marka Škopa.

Janečkov film vykazuje niektoré atribúty spirituálneho filmu, stráca príznačný „český humor“, prvky absurdity, naopak, dokonca sa zľahka norí do jemného páťosu a dojatia. Vojtekov filmov v niektorých scénach modeluje skôr tragikomickosť a iróniu.

Ako spomína jedna z českých recenzií, naráža tak predovšetkým na české predsudky a anti-klerikálne resentimenty: „Ivetka boří všechny předsudky, které bychom mohli vůči hlavám pomazaným, okázalým a svatým mít“ (Procházka 2008). A zdôrazňuje: „Vždyť tajemství toho filmu je i v tom, že ona se stává jakousi ‚Panenkou Marií‘ – tedy nadějí něčeho duchovního pro ostatní v našem světě“ (Procházka 2008). Pričom tí „ostatní v našom svete“ sú, pravdepodobne, českí občania, ktorých sme spomínali vo vyššie zmienených štatistikách. Tento postoj môže vyzeráť kontroverzne a paradoxne. Na druhej strane však treba pripomenúť vyššie zmienené štatistiky v úvode príspevku. Nenáboženský neznamená automaticky ateistický. V Česku je prítomný hlad po spiritualite, čo sa prejavuje aj v popularite náboženských siekt. Tak sa zdá, že spirituálne a nadprirodzené zážitky nie sú časti českej spoločnosti vôbec proti srsti, dokáže ich prijímať, problémom je u nich inštitucionalizované náboženstvo a katolícka cirkev predovšetkým. Ale film sa volá *Ivetka a hora*. Režisér napriek všetkému modeluje Ivetku skôr ako vizionárku, človeka, ktorý prežil spirituálnu krízu, teda nie ako poslušnú „ovečku“. Hora konotuje prírodné, vzostupné, vertikálu, je to aj biblický motív, hora je miesto kam treba vystúpiť. A zároveň aj emblematický obraz hornatého Slovenska. V týchto kontextoch úspech českého filmu o slovenských mariánskych zjaveniach nepôsobí až tak prekvapivo.

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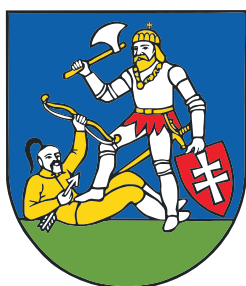
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Mgr. art. Diana Starinská Kacarová
Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra
Faculty of Central European Studies
Institute of Languages and Cultures of Central Europe
Dražovská 4
949 01 Nitra
Slovakia
diana.starinska.kacarova@ukf.sk

Doc. PhDr. Ján Gallik, PhD.
Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra
Faculty of Central European Studies
Institute of Languages and Cultures of Central Europe
Dražovská 4
949 01 Nitra
Slovakia
jgallik@ukf.sk
ORCID ID: 0000-0003-4125-8887
WOS Research ID: AAE-2806-2020
SCOPUS Author ID: 56800822900



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