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The Church During the Pandemic

When I was writing the editorial to the second issue of the Wrocław Theological Review, I was not aware, much like the rest of the world, of the gravity of the petition expressed in the *Supplications*: "From the air, hunger, fire, and war... Save us, Lord!" Today, as we face a genuine threat to the health and even the lives of many, there are also abundant, controversial opinions on the role that the Church should assume in such a time. I ask myself: what should theologians, as people who ask various types of questions about God, be doing now? Should they be performing spectacular deeds that would put them on the covers of magazines? Should they undertake less glamorous activities that would lay solid, efficient foundations for future evangelization? It seems the latter will be necessary once the churches cease being desolate for fear of infection. People easily become used to comfortable settings, watching church services in the media. They are often unaware that sacraments can only be truly experienced within a community, not in front of a monitor. It will take a lot of effort to direct the post-pandemic situation towards building, developing, and strengthening the faith. These challenges also must be reflected in the research of theologians, regardless of specialization.

For this reason, the editors of the Wrocław Theological Review have continued their work despite the pandemic. Being aware of the role of theology in evangelization, we present the results of these theological explorations in this issue of the Wrocław Theological Review. Researchers of biblical theology, systematic theology, spiritual theology, pastoral theology, and Church history made every effort to share their analyses of the often detailed matters of their research. Such research may seem far from daily life, some critics have emphasized this point particularly strongly both during the pandemic and while encouraging theologians to abandon their studies in favor of charity services. I believe that such an approach is incorrect on all accounts, not because we are not obliged to be merciful towards our brethren (on the contrary!), but because future evangelization must have strong foundations in scholarship, especially of the

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Bible. This topic is discussed in the first two papers written by the researchers from Florence (Facoltà Teologica dell'Italia Centrale) and Lublin (John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin). Without a well-deciphered Church doctrine, it is impossible to spread the Gospel. Additionally, detailed research results in a systematic strengthening of the faith, which could be compromised during the pandemic.

As to systematic theology, we have access to the thoughts of academics from Rome (Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Pontificia Università di Santa Croce, Pontificia Università Antonianum), Opole (Faculty of Theology at the University of Opole), Lugano (Facoltà di Teologia a Lugano), Warsaw (Pontifical Faculty of Theology in Warsaw), and Wrocław (Pontifical Faculty of Theology in Wrocław). Studying the doctrine, although inarguably important, is not sufficient to ensure the proper functioning of the Church, especially as regards the spiritual and pastoral aspects of the community. Research into spiritual theology is discussed by representatives from Katowice (Faculty of Theology at the University of Silesia). Analyses in pastoral theology are shared by researchers from Wrocław (Pontifical Faculty of Theology in Wrocław) and Katowice (Faculty of Theology at the University of Silesia). The foundation becomes more stable with each conclusion drawn from historical events. Research in this discipline allows us to establish the best path for further development of the Church community and to bring it closer to its Founder. To this end, we have also included the examinations of researchers from Hildesheim (Universität Hildesheim), Wrocław (Pontifical Faculty of Theology in Wrocław), and Szczecin (Faculty of Theology at the University of Szczecin).

We would like to share with you the latest issue of the Wrocław Theological Review, and another one written in English. It is a source of great satisfaction that more and more foreign authors want to publish their research with us. It forecasts greater recognition of our periodical not only within the country but also abroad. We sincerely hope that the pandemic that affects us all will allow us to gain deeper insight into theological issues so that we can emerge well-prepared to undertake evangelization after the restrictions are lifted.

Father Sławomir Stasiak
Editor-in-Chief

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Jesus Christ and Contemporary Bible Teaching: Questions about the Jesus of History*

Jezus Chrystus i współczesne nauczanie Biblii. Kwestia Jezusa jako postaci historycznej

Abstract: When defending the divinity of Christ, it is very easy to highlight and criticize the tendency to reduce or transform Jesus into a mythical symbol or a timeless archetype, and thus to slip into crypto-monophysitism. There is a risk in this approach of obscuring or neglecting the true and full humanity of Christ, including His Jewishness. The Gospels are a necessary source when investigating the historical person of Jesus, in order to, as J.P. Meier said, "prevent a bourgeois form of Christianity from domesticating Jesus (...). The reader who wanted to know the real Jesus should close this book immediately because the historical Jesus is not the real Jesus or the easy way to Him. The real Jesus is not accessible and will never be" (English transl. by WTR). This quotation confirms the importance of an accurate study of the New Testament texts. Through the witnesses of the events transmitted to us, we are able to meet the real Jesus Christ, the one who is the subject and the object of the Gospel.

Keywords: Gospel, Gospels, evangelist, historicity, monophysitism, witness, witnesses, biblical sciences

Abstrakt: Broniąc boskości Chrystusa, łatwo podkreślać i krytykować tendencję do redukowania lub przekształcania Jezusa do postaci mitycznego symbolu czy ponadczasowego archetypu, co prowadzi na terytorium kryptomonofizytyzmu. Podejście, w którym przesłania się lub zaniedbuje aspekt prawdziwego i pełnego człowieczeństwa Chrystusa, w tym Jego żydowskie pochodzenie, niesie za sobą pewne ryzyko. Ewangelie są niezbędnym źródłem podczas prowadzenia badań nad Jezusem jako

* The article is based on the text of the speech delivered during the International Scientific Conference on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Pontifical Faculty of Theology in post-war Poland "Theology in the World of Science," which was held at the Pontifical Faculty of Theology in Wroclaw on 22–23 June, 2018.

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postacią historyczną. Jak ujął to J.P. Meier, mają „zapobiegać udomowieniu Jezusa przez burżuazyjną formę chrześcijaństwa (...). Czytelnik, który chce poznać prawdziwego Jezusa, powinien natychmiast zamknąć tę książkę, ponieważ Jezus jako postać historyczna nie jest ani prawdziwym Jezusem, ani łatwą drogą do Niego. Prawdziwy Jezus nie jest dostępny i nigdy nie będzie" (tłum. wyd.). Ten cytat potwierdza znaczenie precyzyjnych badań nad tekstami Nowego Testamentu. Patrząc oczami świadków przekazywanych nam wydarzeń, możemy spotkać prawdziwego Jezusa Chrystusa, przedmiot i podmiot Ewangelii.

Słowa kluczowe: Ewangelia, Ewangelie, ewangelista, historyczność, monofizytyzm, świadek, świadkowie, biblistyka

> Many people in the Western world, highly educated, including many sincere non-believers, often raise questions about the historical reality of the Jesus announced by the Church… Not to engage with these serious historical researchers at the academic level would be to fail in our duty to them and would leave many educated Catholics to question the historical foundations of their faith.

This is how the American scholar J.P. Meier expressed himself at a conference at the Faculty of Theology at the Pontifical Lateran University on the theme of the historical Jesus.[1] This premise introduces new perspectives on the study of the figure of Christ in the disjointed panorama of secularization and de-Christianization in the present day. We must ask ourselves what impact this issue of engagement can have on the way we teach about Jesus Christ in biblical science subjects.

Christ and the witnesses[2]

First of all, I believe that we should wisely resume the assumption that the Gospels were not born in test tubes. All the Gospels, both those that ended

1 It should be added, however, that if "the Jesus of history [unlike prophets such as Amos and Isaiah] refuses to be involved in today's political or economic programs" this shows that "when the Word was incarnated, it was not incarnated in an astorical or aseptic way." Cf. J.P. Meier, *La distinzione tra cristologia e ricerca sul Gesù storico*, [in:] *Ricerca storica su Gesù. Bilanci e prospettive*, N. Ciola, A. Pitta, G. Pulcinelli (eds.), SB 81, Bologna 2017, pp. 199–216, cf. 212.

2 Cf. J.D.G. Dunn, *Gli albori del cristianesimo. 1. La memoria di Gesù. 1. Fede e Gesù storico*, Intr. St Bib Suppl. 29, Brescia 2006; idem, *Gli albori del cristianesimo. 1. La memoria di Gesù. 2. La missione di Gesù*, Intr. St Bib. Suppl. 30, Brescia 2006; idem, *Gli albori del*

up in the New Testament canon and the apocryphal ones, reveal an important relationship with the object to which they refer: Jesus Christ. It is a relationship constantly linked to faith in Him, although expressed in completely different ways. However, we can also say that "when we open an ordinary Gospel, the first person we meet is not Jesus, but the writer/evangelist, who plays a role as a witness of faith."[3] Consequently, "what we have today are the memories of the first disciples, not Jesus Himself, but Jesus remembered." And this is no minor point.

There is the potential here to immediately highlight the tendency to reduce or transform Jesus into a mythical symbol or a timeless archetype, and thus slip into crypto-monophysism.[4] Further, in defending the divinity of Christ, there is a risk of obscuring or neglecting the true and full humanity of Christ, including His Jewishness.

Therefore:

> It is not enough to confess that Jesus is a true man: it is too general a statement. Man means that the personality of each person can be defined by the individual cultures that make up diversity. Now Jesus is not only a man, He is a Jew, a fact of reality that needs to be strongly reaffirmed: He whom we call Our Lord is a Jew. Incarnation is humanization, but it is also historicization and inculturation. So, this is the incarnation that is to be taken seriously.[5]

Thus, the Gospels are a necessary source when investigating the historical person of Jesus, in order to "prevent a bourgeois form of Christianity from

cristianesimo. 1. La memoria di Gesù. 3. L'acme della missione di Gesù, Intr. St. Bib Suppl. 31, Brescia 2007; idem, *Gli albori del cristianesimo. 2. Gli inizi a Gerusalemme, 1. La prima fase*, Intr. St Bib Suppl. 52, Brescia 2012; F. Manns, *L'ebreo di Nazareth. Indagine sulle radici del cristianesimo*, Milano 2019.

3 R. Penna, *La fede cristiana alle sue origini!*, Cinisello Balsamo 2013, p. 93.

4 With regard to monophysism, I deliberately choose the definition given by the Treccani Encyclopedia: "A doctrine that admitted only one nature in Jesus Christ, Son of God incarnate. It was one of the most important theological currents of the V–VI centuries, which with its fierce controversies weighed heavily on the religious and civil history of the Eastern Roman Empire and then of Byzantium. There were numerous varieties of monophysism, which distinguished themselves essentially on the basis of the theological meaning given to the word *physis* («nature»): the true monophysites, giving it the value of *ousia* («essence»), solved the problem of the relationship between human nature and divine nature in Christ by confusing the one and the other in the most complete way" (Treccani, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/monofisismo_%28Dizionario-di-Storia%29/ [access: 1.05.2020]). Unless otherwise noted, all English translations are by the WTR.

5 R. Penna, *La lettera di Paolo ai Romani. Guida alla lettura*, Bologna 2018, p. 133.

taming Jesus, that is, transforming Him into a comfortable support for our way of life."[6] However, this does not necessarily mean that there should be differences, as some research presupposes, between the "Jesus of history" and the "Jesus of faith" (or the "Christ of faith," as others prefer to say).

The "Jesus of history" and the "Jesus of faith"

It is not unimportant that the term that brachilogically holds the meaning of Christian preaching – "Gospel," *εὐαγγέλιον* – starting from the very *incipit* of the Gospel of Mark ("The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God"),[7] and even from the first words that Jesus pronounced in this writing ("Now after that John was put in prison, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of the kingdom of God, and saying: «The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe the gospel»"),[8] takes its definitive meaning in the four librettos of Mark, Matthew, Luke and John, the four canonical Gospels.[9]

It should be noted here that only in authors of the second century AD (for example, Appiano, Lucian of Samosata, and Chariton of Aphrodisias) does the term *εὐαγγέλιον* appear with the meaning of "good news."

In an inscription from 9 BC discovered in Priene – a Greek city of Asia Minor situated on the bends of the river Meander – *εὐαγγέλιον* (the plural of *εὐαγγέλιον*) is used instead:

> If the birth day [γενέθλιος ἡμέρα] of the most divine Caesar [τοῦ θειοτάτου Καίσαρος] [the original Latin, found in fragments in Apamea, only says here: principis nostri] bring more joy or advantage [5] we rightly equate it with the beginning of all things [τῶν πάντων ἀρχῆ] (…) [10] Therefore this fact will rightly be considered as the beginning of life and existence [ἀρχὴν τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς ζωῆς], which marks the limit and the end of repentance [τοῦ μεταμέλεσθαι] of being born [ὅτι γεγέννηται]. And since no day can one derive happier opportunities for society and for the benefit of the individual than for the one who is happy [εὐτυχοῦς] for all, and since also for the cities of Asia the most favourable time for entry into government offices falls in it [καιρὸν εἶναι τῆς

6 Cf. J.P. Meier, *La distinzione tra cristologia…*, op. cit. pp. 212–215.
7 Mk 1:1.
8 Mk 1:14-15.
9 Cf. G. Stanton, *Gesù e il «vangelo»*, Studi Biblici 180, Brescia 2015; C. Spicq, εὐαγγελίζομαι, [in:] idem, *Note di lessicografia neo-testamentaria*, I, Brescia 1994, pp. 649–662.

> εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰσόδου], [15] (…) and since it is difficult to thank adequately [κατ᾽ ἴσον εὐχαριστεῖν] for its many benefits, unless we come up with a new form of thanks for all this… [20] it seems right to me [the person speaking is the proconsul of Asia 'Paolo Fabio Massimo' [line 44] in the name of the city] that all the congregations [πολειτηῶν] have one identical New Year's Eve, the genethliac of the most divine Caesar, and that all the administrators enter their offices in it. [32] For the providence which divinely disposes our lives… [35] gave us and our descendants a gift of a savior [σωτῆρα χαρισαμένη] to put an end to the war and bring about peace, and Caesar once appeared exceeded the hopes of his predecessors, the good announcements of all [εὐανγέλια πάντων], not only going beyond the benefits of those who had preceded him, but without leaving to those who would follow him the hope of an overcoming, [40] and the genethliac day of the god [τῶν δι'αὐτὸν εὐανγελί[ων ἡ γενέθλιος ἡμέ]ρα τοῦ θεοῦ] was for the world the beginning of the good announcements connected to him [ἦρξεν δὲ τῶι κόσμωι τῶν δι᾽ αὐτὸνεὐανγελί[ων]].[10]

From this example, we can rightly say that the literary genre of "Gospel" is therefore independent of the Hellenistic and Palestinian world, and has no models to which it refers, apart from the four books of our Gospels. The only possible points of reference – but only in certain aspects – are found in the genre of biographies of the Greek-Roman tradition. Mark "begins" a new literary genre and creates a genuine "principle" (ἀρχή) through his narration; that is, he clears the path that will lead through those narrations to arrive at the Gospels we know.

If, in the beginning of the book of Mark (Mk 1:1: "Beginning of the Gospel [τοῦ εὐαγγελίου] of Jesus, Christ, Son of God"), the sense of the genitive is both objective and subjective, then the sense of the Gospel is accentuated in Jesus' word: "convert and believe in the Gospel (Mk 1:15: μετανοεῖτε, καὶ πιστεύετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ)." Even before the Gospel is a book and the preaching of Jesus Himself, the Gospel is Himself. It is in Him that the movement is generated that will lead His disciples to preach about Him and then to write about Him.[11]

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10 Cf. *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, W. Dittenberger (ed.), Lipsiae 1903, p. 458. Cf. E. Ernst, *Marco. Un ritratto teologico*, Brescia 1990, p. 19. And R. Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses. The Gospels as Eyewitness Testimony*, Grand Rapids – Cambridge 2006; R.A. Burridge, *Che cosa sono i Vangeli? Studio comparativo con la biografia greco-romana*, Brescia 2008; S. Guijarro Oporto, *εὐαγγέλιον alle origini del cristianesimo*, "Rivista Biblica" 64 (2016), pp. 189–208; R. Penna, *Vangelo e Inculturazione. Studi sul rapporto tra rivelazione e cultura nel Nuovo Testamento*, Cinisello Balsamo 2001, pp. 231–251; idem, *Vangelo*, Assisi 2014.

11 Cf. *Dei Verbum* 18–19 (Second Vatican Council, *Costituzione dogmatica* Dei Verbum *sulla Divina Rivelazione*, 18 November 1965: *Enchiridion Vaticanum* 1, pp. 872–911); *Sancta*

The literary genre "Gospel"

For Jesus Christ, we have hardly any serious historical accounts beyond the four books of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, which has a number of consequences for our understanding of His life. This element is so important that J.P. Meier, in the first volume of his monumental work *Un ebreo Marginale* (A Marginal Jew), published for the first time in the original language in the now distant year of 1991,[12] explicitly states that "the reader who wants to know the real Jesus should close this book – adds the American scholar – immediately, because the historical Jesus is not the real Jesus nor the easy path that leads to Him. The real Jesus is not accessible and never will be."[13]

Nevertheless, as Paul writes in his letter to the Romans: "Now I say that Jesus Christ was a minister of the circumcision for the truth of God, to confirm the promises made unto the fathers" (Rom. 15:8). The same letter adds that "Seeing it is one God, which shall justify the circumcision by faith, and uncircumcision through faith" (Rom. 3:30), and, with regard to Abraham, that:

> [11]And he received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had yet being uncircumcised: that he might be the father of all them that believe, though they be not circumcised; that righteousness might be imputed unto them also: [12]And the father of circumcision to them who are not of the circumcision only, but who also walk in the steps of that faith of our father Abraham, which he had being yet uncircumcised (Rom. 4:11-12, KJV).

The Apostle is more than entitled to pronounce these statements, as one who was "Circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew of the Hebrews; as touching the law, a Pharisee" (Phil. 3:5). The universal character of Jesus' Jewishness is highlighted here.[14] This is even what Jesus says about Himself, for example, in the Gospel of Matthew: "But

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Mater Ecclesia 2 (Pontificia Commissione Biblica, *Instructio Sancta Mater Ecclesia*: AAS 56 [1964], p. 715; see also: *Enchiridion Biblicum*, § 644–659). Cf. J.D.G. Dunn, *Dal Vangelo ai Vangeli. Storia di una continuità ininterrotta*, Cinisello Balsamo 2012.

12 It should be noted that this volume came out for the first time in translation (ed. edition) and in Italian only ten years later in 2001.

13 J.P. Meier, *Un ebreo marginale: Ripensare il Gesù storico. 1. Le radici del problema e della persona*, Brescia 2001, p. 27.

14 This idea is based "on the fact that the historical Jesus never went to preach outside the borders of Israel. Jesus was a Jew from beginning to end. He lived for Israel, He was a servant of the circumcised" (R. Penna, *La lettera*..., op. cit., p. 133).

he answered and said, I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Mt 15:24). For this reason, the post-Easter missionary mandate, which has an obvious universal character, is emphasized:

> [19]Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: [20]Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world. Amen (Mt 28:19-20, KJV).

Meier adds that along with other characters of antiquity, Jesus and Simon Peter are simply not accessible to us today with historical research, nor will they ever be.[15] Significantly, the paradoxical situation of Paul of Tarsus and Ignatius of Antioch[16] is highlighted, because in the letters they left – thirteen letters of the New Testament canon are attributed to Paul,[17] and seven letters attributed to the original martyr of Antioch[18] – are more accessible to the modern historian than the persons of Jesus Himself and the Apostle Peter.[19]

It is therefore beyond question that any research on Jesus cannot disregard the Gospels, and with them the faith of those who have transmitted them to us, beginning with their authors.

There are also sources external to the Gospels, including those preserved in the New Testament writings, as well as extra-Biblical sources,[20] such as those reported by historians of antiquity. For example, in the writings of Suetonius, we find the following passage:

> We report here the testimony of the historian Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus (69-122), taken from the life of Claudius: "The Jews who continually tumbled

15 Cf. J.P. Meier, *Un ebreo marginale…*, op. cit., p. 29. The same author indicates the five main criteria (alongside secondary criteria) for determining the historicity of the evangelical material: the criteria of contradiction (or embarrassment), discontinuity, multiple attestation, consistency, and the criterion of rejection and execution. Cf. ibidem, pp. 157–184.

16 35–107 d.C.

17 Within the corpus, seven authentic letters and six pseudo-epigraphs can be distinguished, according to most scholars. Cf. *Dizionario di Paolo e delle sue lettere*, G.F. Hawthorne, R.P. Martin, D.G. Reid (eds.), Cinisello Balsamo 1999; A. Pitta, *L'evangelo di Paolo. Introduzione alle lettere autoriali*, Graphè 7, Torino 2013.

18 In addition to the seven letters (*Efesini*, *Magnesi*, *Tralliani*, *Filadelfiesi*, *Romani*, *Smirnesi*, *Policarpo*), other pseudopigraphic letters must be added.

19 Cf. J.P. Meier, *Un ebreo marginale…*, op. cit., p. 29, no. 9.

20 R.E. van Voorst, *Gesù nelle fonti extrabibliche. Le antiche testimonianze sul Maestro di Galilea, Studi sulla Bibbia e il suo ambiente*, Cinisello Balsamo 2004.

at the instigation of [a certain] Cresto [*impulsore Chresto*], he [Claudius] drove them out of Rome."[21]

Publius Cornelius Tacitus (55/58–117/120), for his part, mentions both Pontius Philatus, the Emperor Tiberius and Judea, as well as his *supplicium* (a generic term that alludes to a death sentence):

> In order to silence every rumour, Nero declared guilty and condemned to the most refined torments those whom the people called *Crestiani* [*chrestianos appellabat*], who were hateful for their wickedness [*per flagitia invisos*]. They took their name from Christ, who had been tortured by the procurator Pontius Philatus under the empire of Tiberius; repressed for a short time, that fatal superstition [*exitiabilis superstitio*] now regained strength not only in Judea, the place of origin of that evil, but also in the City, where all atrocities and shames converge on every side and find followers [*cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque*]. Those who confessed [to being Christians] were arrested at first, then, on their revelations, others in large numbers were condemned not so much as incendiaries as haters of mankind [*odio humani generis*] (…) affixed to crosses [*crucibus adfixis*] and burned.[22]

These testimonies transmit to us only very scattered elements, or accounts of events a step removed from the Gospels and mediated by the testimony of the first disciples, those who are, in the words that Peter pronounced at Caesarea in the house of the centurion Cornelius:

> The witnesses of all the things He did in the region of the Jews and in Jerusalem. And He commanded us to proclaim to the people and to testify that He is the judge of the living and the dead, constituted of God They killed Him, hanging Him on a cross, but God raised Him up on the third day, and He wanted Him to manifest Himself, not to all the people, but to witnesses chosen by God, to us who ate and drank with Him after His resurrection from the dead And He has ordered us to announce to the people and to testify that He is the judge of the living and the dead, constituted by God.[23]

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21 Suetonius, *Vita di Claudio*, 25.4.

22 Tacitus, *Annali* 15, 44, 2–4. Cf. R. Penna, *L'ambiente storico culturale delle origini cristiane*, Bologna 2012, pp. 275–277; idem, *Le prime comunità cristiane. Persone, tempi, luoghi, forme, credenze*, Saggi 61, Roma 2011, p. 18.

23 Act. 10:39-42.

We should not overlook the fact that "it was faith that assured Jesus to history, since no one who had not been His disciple took the slightest interest in Him, let alone handed down His memory."[24] On the other hand, "tradition itself in its most ancient form is… creation of faith (…) for us the point is that the saying or story shows the influence (*impact*) had by Jesus."[25]

Here another element also comes into play: the canonical Gospels, unlike the Apostle's letters, become part of the canon without the author's name. The "fact of the anonymity of the Gospels is very important: the author hides behind the figure of Jesus, the protagonist of the story, as well as behind the respective Christian community, of which he is the bearer of the word."[26] In addition, it should be pointed out that "the current names… are due only to the later tradition starting from the second century. None [of the true authors] refers to either the time or the place of their composition." In fact, "it is as if only the image of Jesus that they transmit counted."[27]

The letters of Paul and the canonical Gospels: a study grounded in New Testament canon

To complete the argument made in these notes, we must address one important gap. There is an interesting text in Paul's letters, in the first letter to the Corinthians, which requires us to examine the Gospel tradition: "The Lord has disposed that those who proclaim the Gospel live by the Gospel."[28]

24 R. Penna, *Ricerca e ritrovamento del Gesù storico. Alcune considerazioni*, "Rivista Biblica Italiana" 60 (2012), pp. 371–395, 375.

25 J.D.G. Dunn, *Gli albori del cristianesimo – I. La memoria di Gesù – 1. Fede e Gesù storico*, op. cit., p. 144 (cf. pp. 207–270).

26 R. Penna, *Vangelo*, op. cit., p. 102.

27 R. Penna, *La formazione del Nuovo Testamento nelle sue tre dimensioni*, Cinisello Balsamo 2011, p. 50.

28 1 Cor. 9.14 Cf. also 1 Thess. 4:15: "For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep;" 1 Cor. 7:10: "And unto the married I command, yet not I, but the Lord, Let not the wife depart from her husband;" 1 Cor. 7:25: "Now concerning virgins I have no commandment of the Lord: yet I give my judgment (…);" 1 Cor. 11:23: "For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread;" 1 Cor. 14:37: "If any man think himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you are the commandments of the Lord;" 2 Cor. 12:9: "And he said unto me, My grace is sufficient for thee: for my strength is made perfect in weakness. Most gladly therefore will I rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me."

The Apostle made this clear in his own thinking: "If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we shall reap your carnal things?"[29] Further, this work was identified at the very beginning of the section of the same letter: "Am I am not an apostle? am I not free? have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord? are not ye my work in the Lord?"[30]

The Apostle presents reasoning which is even more compelling. Referring to Scripture,[31] Paul asks himself: "Doth God take care for oxen? Or saith he it altogether for our sakes? For our sakes, no doubt, this is written: that he that ploweth should plow in hope; and that he that thresheth in hope should be partaker of his hope."[32] This is an argument said a *fortiori*: if God takes care of creatures "without reason," there is all the more reason for God to take care of a rational creature.[33] Additionally, in one of the pastoral letters, the same Old Testament text is used: "Scripture says: «You shall not muzzle the trembling ox», and «He who works is entitled to his reward»."[34] It is precisely this last element that is in harmony with the instructions given by Jesus to the apostles in their mission, as the Gospel according to Matthew tells us: "for the workman is worthy of his meat."[35]

The Pauline *kerygma* that we find in the first letter to the Corinthians also provides us with an important clue:

> For I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures; And that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day according to the scriptures: And that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve (1 Cor. 15:3-5).[36]

29 1 Cor. 9:11.

30 1 Cor. 9:1.

31 Dt 25:4: "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn."

32 1 Cor. 9:9-10.

33 Martin Luther wittily noted that the text of Deuteronomy was not written for oxen, since "oxen cannot read."

34 1 Tim. 5:18.

35 Mt 10:10. As is well known, however, Paul decides to give up this complex of elements linked to a reward: "But I have used none of these things: neither have I written these things, that it should be so done unto me: for it were better for me to die, than that any man should make my glorying void" (1 Cor. 9:15). To reach this conclusion, Paul argues, in the name of the Gospel: "Nevertheless we have not used this power; but suffer all things, lest we should hinder the gospel of Christ. Do ye not know that they which minister about holy things live of the things of the temple? and they which wait at the altar are partakers with the altar? Even so hath the Lord ordained that they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel" (1 Cor. 9:12-14).

36 E. Best, *Mark's use of the Twelve*, ZNW 69 (1978), pp. 11–35; G. Brambilla, *Il crocifisso risorto*, Brescia 1998; R.E. Brown, *Introduzione alla Cristologia del Nuovo Testamento*,

There is no doubt that the reference to Cephas[37] – the name Paul always used for Peter – is the same as we find in Luke's Gospel when the Eleven met the disciples of Emmaus: "And they rose up the same hour, and returned to Jerusalem, and found the eleven gathered together, and them that were with them, saying, the Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon" (Lk 24:33-34). Matthew also uses Paul as a source of inspired Scripture. In fact, as has been noted, "Paul conveys to us a thought of Jesus about twenty years before the Synoptics."[38]

We have only touched upon a few examples,[39] but these confirm the importance of an accurate study of the New Testament texts. Through the witnesses of the events transmitted to us, we can arrive at an effective encounter with Jesus the Christ, the one who is the subject and object of the Gospel.

The *Dei Verbum* states:

Brescia 1995; P. Danove, *The Characterization and Narrative Function of the Women at the Tomb (Mk 15,40-41.47; 16,1-8)*, "Biblica" 77 (1996), pp. 375–397; S.T. Davis, D. Kendall, G. O'Collins, *The Resurrection. An interdisciplinary Symposium on the Resurrection of Jesus*, Oxford 1997; W. Marxsen, *Il terzo giorno risuscitò… La risurrezione di Gesù: un fatto storico?*, Torino 1993; J.P. Meier, *Un ebreo marginale*, op. cit.; U.B. Müller, *L'origine della fede nella risurrezione di Gesù. Aspetti e condizioni storiche*, Assisi 2001; R. Penna, *I ritratti originali di Gesù il Cristo. Inizio e sviluppi della cristologia neotestamentaria*, I, Studi sulla Bibbia e il suo ambiente, Cinisello Balsamo 1996; idem, *La fede cristiana…*, op. cit.; idem, *"He died for our sins" 1 Cor. 15:3b: due categorie culturali intrecciato*, [in:] idem, *Parola Fede e Vita. Stimoli dal Nuovo Testamento*, Roma 2013, pp. 103–113; idem, *Le apparizioni del Risorto, fondamento della fede pasquale*, [in:] idem, *Parola Fede e Vita. Stimoli dal Nuovo Testamento*, Roma 2013, pp. 115–122; idem, *"Ultimo fra tutti apparve anche a me" (1 Cor. 15.8). Paul and the Apparitions of the Risen One, Foundation of the Paschal Faith*, [in:] *Il paradosso della risurrezione. Alle origini della fede cristiana*, A. Landi (ed.), Bologna 2019, pp. 115–142; B. Prete, *L'annunzio dell'evento pasquale nella formulazione di Luca 24,5-7*, [in:] *L'opera di Luca. Contenuti e prospettive*, Leumann 1985, pp. 281–306; H. Schlier, *Sulla risurrezione di Gesù Cristo*, Brescia 2005.

37 Cf. 1 Cor. 1:12; 3:22; 9:5; Gal. 1:18; 2:9, 11, 14.

38 *Le parole dimenticate di Gesù*, M. Pesce (ed.), Milano 2004, p. 504.

39 We could include in this passage the clues provided by the Gospel of Mark (cf. Mk 6; Mk 11) from which we can see the evidence of two springs in the narrative. This makes it possible to extend the duration of Jesus' ministry to a period of time congruent with the narrative of the Fourth Gospel: "and they continued there not many days. And the Jews' passover was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem" (Jn 2:12-13). In Jn 5:1 there is talk of an unspecified feast, perhaps *Shevuôt*; in Jn 7:2-10 there is talk of a feast of the *Capanne* (*Sukkôt*, in the month of *Tishri*, between the end of September and the beginning of October); in 10:22-23 there is talk of a feast of the *Dedicazione* (*Hanukkah*, around mid-December). Cf. R. Penna, *Un solo corpo*, Roma 2020, p. 57; J.P. Meier, *Un ebreo marginale…*, op. cit., pp. 402–441.

> Drawing both from his own memory and from his memories [*ex sua propria memoria et recordatione*] and from the testimony of those who 'from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word' [*ex textimonio illorum 'qui ab initio ipsi viderunt et ministri fuerunt sermonis'*], they wrote with the intention of letting us know the truth [*veritatem*] of the teachings on which we have been taught.[40]

Jesus Christ, the subject and object of the Gospel

Jesus wanted to be met in the living voice of the church, which transmits from generation to generation "all that it is and all that it believes."[41] For this reason, Christ spoke the following resounding words to the disciples:

> Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world. Amen.[42]

The premises mentioned above therefore lead to an awareness of using exegesis in the New Testament, especially in the case of the Gospels, although as we have seen, not only the Gospels, but throughout the tradition that refers to them and that must be compared with them – the best possible testimony that witnesses have given us:

> Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us. Even as they delivered them unto us [οἱ ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς], which from the beginning were eyewitnesses, and ministers of the word [οἱ τοῦ λόγου]; It seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest know the certainty of those things, wherein thou hast been instructed.[43]

The Council states:

40 DV 19; cf. pp. 872–911.
41 DV 8.
42 Mt 28:19-20.
43 Lk 1:1-4.

> It escapes no one that among all the scriptures, even those of the New Testament, the Gospels possess a well-deserved superiority [***merit excellěre***], for they are the principal testimony concerning the life and doctrine of the Word incarnate, our Savior.[44]

Conclusion

If, as we have seen, "the real Jesus is not accessible" and probably "never will be,"[45] and that it will be the faith of the witnesses of His origins that will transmit to us the image of Christ that accompanies us, it follows that current teaching on Jesus Christ in the faculties of theology must now, more than ever, become a historically-founded testimony and therefore the object of analysis in the biblical sciences. We must follow in the footsteps of the early Church in its progression from oral testimony to mass dissemination of written works.

It was the faith of witnesses that transferred into the bedrock of history that constant claim, beginning with the testimony of Peter before the centurion Cornelius at Caesarea Marittima, transmitted to us by the book of the Acts of the Apostles:

> And we are witnesses of all things which he did both in the land of the Jews, and in Jerusalem; whom they slew and hanged on a tree: Him God raised up the third day, and shewed him openly; Not to all the people, but unto witnesses chosen before God, even to us, who did eat and drink with him after he rose from the dead (Acts 10:39-41).

This testimony is based on historical reality, proportionate to the singularity of the events that have been transmitted to us, and which we find in only four canonical Gospels:

> The Holy Mother Church has held and believes firmly and most constantly [*firmiter et constantissime tenuit ac tenet*] that the four above-mentioned Gospels, whose historicity [*quorum historicitatem incunctanter affirmat*] faithfully transmits [f*ideliter tradere*] what Jesus Son of God, during His life among men, actually worked and taught [*fecit et docuit*] for their eternal salvation, until the day He was taken up into heaven. The apostles then, after the Lord's ascension, transmitted to their

44 DV 18
45 Cf. J.P. Meier, *Un ebreo marginale…*, op. cit., p. 27.

> listeners what He had said and done, with the most complete understanding that they, instructed by the glorious events of Christ and enlightened by the light of the Spirit of truth, enjoyed. And the sacred authors wrote the four Gospels, choosing some things from the many handed down by word of mouth or already in writing, drawing up a summary of the others or explaining them with regard to the situation of the churches, finally preserving the character of preaching, but always in such a way as to report true and sincere things about Jesus. They, in fact, drawing both from their own memory and recollection [*ex sua propria memoria et recordatione*] and from the testimony of those who 'from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word' [*ex testimonio illorum 'qui ab initio ipsi viderunt et ministri fuerunt sermonis'*], wrote with the intention of making known to us the 'truth' [*veritatem*] of the teachings on which we have been instructed.[46]

Without the four canonical Gospels, and using only the remaining letters of the apostles, starting with the thirteen written by the Apostle Paul and the tradition linked to him, we would have no news about Christ's actions.[47] His teaching, or part of it, would have been passed on to us, but not the consistency of those actions that accompany His words, and the context in which those actions take on their specific meaning and their perennial relevance.

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[46] DV 19.

[47] The "economy of Revelation includes intimately connected events and words [*gestis verbisque intrinsece inter se connexis*], so that the works, accomplished by God in the history of salvation, manifest and strengthen the doctrine and the realities signified by the words, while the words proclaim the works and illustrate the mystery contained therein" (DV 2).

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Hermeneutical Introduction to *Allegoriae in universam Sacram Scripturam* by Pseudo-Garnier of Langres: Critical Edition, Polish and English Translations*

Wstęp hermeneutyczny do *Allegoriae in universam Sacram Scripturam* Pseudo-Garniera z Langres. Edycja krytyczna oraz polski i angielski przekład

Abstract: The article contains a critical edition with Polish and English translations of the hermeneutic introduction into the medieval glossary of the biblical symbols *Allegoriae in universam Sacram Scripturam* by Pseudo-Garnier of Langres. A discussion on the assumed symbolic-allegorical interpretation of the Bible that emerge from the text preceded the critical edition and translations.

Keywords: Bible, medieval interpretation, Garnier of Langres, allegory, biblical hermeneutics

Abstrakt: Artykuł zawiera edycję krytyczną wraz z polskim i angielskim tłumaczeniem wstępu hermeneutycznego do średniowiecznego glosariusza symboli biblijnych *Allegoriae in universam Sacram Scripturam* Pseudo-Garniera z Langres. Edycja i tłumaczenia zostały poprzedzone omówieniem założeń symboliczno-alegorycznej interpretacji Biblii, jakie wyłaniają się z publikowanego tekstu.

Słowa kluczowe: Biblia, interpretacja średniowieczna, Garnier z Langres, alegoria, hermeneutyka biblijna

* The article is based on the text of the speech delivered during the 6th Congress of Polish Medievalists (20–22 September 2018, Wrocław).

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Introduction

The medieval glossary of biblical symbols, to which a detailed article in the previous issue was devoted, contains in manuscripts belonging to the two oldest families of manuscripts (β from the first half of the 12th century and γ – a slightly later one) provides several interesting hermeneutical remarks. Therefore, it is possible to realize what the symbolic-allegorical interpretation of the Bible as understood by Pseudo-Garnier of Langres was.

This article presents the assumptions and characteristics of the hermeneutical introduction to the glossary and its critical edition based on the oldest manuscripts and manuscript tradition preserved in the Czech Republic and Poland. Together with the Latin text, the translations into Polish and then English have been prepared.

Hermeneutical assumptions of symbolic-allegorical interpretation of the Bible in the introduction to *Allegoriae in universam Sacram Scripturam*

The foundation of the symbolic-allegorical interpretation of the Bible as understood by Pseudo-Garnier of Langres is the quadruple meaning of the inspired text: historical, allegorical, moral and anagogical. This division was present in the commentaries long before the famous distich by Augustine of Dacia: *Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria, moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia* ("The historical sense teaches about events, allegorical – about what you have to believe in, moral – what you have to do, anagogical – what you have to do"). Its timeless validity has been confirmed by the Catechism of the Catholic Church (point 118).

Pseudo-Garnier begins his commentary by introducing the reader to the four meanings of the Bible using metaphors. The first one shows them as four daughters of wisdom. Perhaps the inspiration was the image – taken from the tradition of the Eastern churches – of the three daughters of wisdom, namely faith, hope and love. It was based on the message about the martyrdom of the daughters of St Sophie, named Pistis, Elpis and Agape. Moreover, the names of all senses – history, allegory, tropology and anagoge – are of a female kind. Following the commonly accepted symbolism that sees feeders in females, the four senses of the Bible also give spiritual food: history – milk, allegory – bread, tropology – delicacies, anagoge – wine.

The interpretation of the meanings of the Bible as food has been widely used. The reference of milk to the historical sense, that is, to that which is available to simple

Christians, relates to St Paul (1 Corinthians 3:2: "I gave you milk, not solid food, for you were not ready for it"), while the other foods of the individual authors were interpreted differently. Gregory the Great, based on the symbolic interpretation of the pericope of the miracle in Cana of Galilee, calls the historical sense water, and the allegorical sense wine.[1] Alain de Lille[2] (died 1203), on the other hand, describes the historical sense as milk, allegorical as bread, and tropological (moral) as honey. In turn for Honorius of Autun (died 1158) milk is history, while honey is an allegory.[3]

The second metaphor reaches to the image of the building: historical sense is the foundation, allegory is the walls, anagoge is the roof, while tropology is the interior and exterior decor. This picture has been taken – even in the textual layer – from Gregory the Great's introduction to *The Moralia*.[4] Pseudo-Garnier develops the symbolism of decoration: the inner beauty of the house is achieved through the love of God, while the outer – through the neighbour's love. The beginnings of this metaphor, however, should be sought in St Hieronymus, who in his prologue to the commentary on the Book of Zechariah, referring to a building erected on a rock and not on the sand of Mt 7:24-27, writes about building an interpretation on a rock, which is the historical meaning of the biblical text.[5] The image of the meaning of the Bible as an architectural element returns – based on Gregory the Great – in many medieval writers' works. It can be found in *De tripartito taberbaculo* by Adam Scotus[6] (died 1212), who almost literally quotes Gregory the Great, and in Alain de Lille,[7] who, however, entrusts the construction of the roof to tropology and omits anagoge, thus advocating the triple meaning of the Scripture.

1 *Et aquam nobis in vinum vertit, quando ipsa historia per allegoriae mysterium in spiritalem nobis intelligentiam commutator* (Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*, 6,7, PL 76, 0831C).

2 *Hoc pane reficiuntur tres viri, scilicet, maiores, mediocres et minores; minoribus proponitur lac historiae; mediocribus mel tropologiae, maioribus solidus panis allegoriae* (Alain of Lille, *Sermo 4 De Pascha*, PL 210, 209D).

3 *Mel est dulcis doctrina allegoriae, quae doctis congruit: Lac vero est simplex doctrina historiae, quae parvulis, id est, indoctis convenit* (Honorius of Autun, *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum, ad*, PL 172, 42B).

4 *Quo ordine singulos sensus explicet. Allegorico interdum necessario inhaerendum – sciendum vero est, quod quaedam historica expositione transcurrimus, et per allegoriam quaedam typica investigatione perscrutamur; quaedam per sola allegoricae moralitatis instrumenta discutimus; nonnulla autem per cuncta simul sollicitius exquirentes, tripliciter indagamus. Nam primum quidem fundamenta historiae ponimus; deinde per significationem typicam in arcem fidei fabricam mentis erigimus; ad extremum quoque per moralitatis gratiam, quasi superducto aedificium colore vestimus* (Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job, Epistola in qua operis sui tempus, occasionem, divisionem, institutum ac dicendi et interpretandi modum explicat*, 3, PL 75, 513B).

5 Hieronymus, *Commentaria in Zachariam*, prologue, PL 25, 1415C.

6 Adam Scotus, *De tripartito tabernaculo, Prooemia* 2, *Epistola Ioannis abbatis* 7, PL 198, 627A.

7 Alain of Lille, *Distinctiones dictionum theologicalium*, PL 210, 773A.

Pseudo-Garnier attaches importance to the multiplicity and relativity of biblical senses. Not only does he stress that the same literary motif can have different meanings, but that these meanings can even be contradictory depending on the context. He quotes water as an example since, in some contexts, it means faith coming from the heart, in others a threat to human life. The next one is the camel that plays a negative role in the parable of the needle ear, and as the one on which Rebecca (the symbol of the Church) comes to Isaac (the type of Christ) – a positive one. Finally, the most striking example is the lion that announces the Messiah as a sign of the generation of Judah, while in 1 Peter 5:8 it symbolizes Satan. The relativity and variety of meanings of biblical motifs require accuracy, precision and intellectual effort, which is why Pseudo-Garnier uses the expressions *studiose considerandum est* (to be recognized in full detail), *omnia* (...) *duce ipsa veritate indagaverimus* (everything will be studied, guided by the truth) and *studiose perscrutur* (to be studied thoroughly) in this context. This is to avoid arbitrariness and excessive subjectivity that can pose a significant threat in the spiritual interpretation of the Bible.[8]

In his prologue, Pseudo-Garnier pays special attention to the Hebrew and Greek names, whose etymology was considered a carrier of spiritual meaning. In this regard, medieval biblical hermeneutics was based primarily on the works of Hieronymus, especially *De nominibus hebraicis*, and the compilations of Isidore of Seville (died 636). Despite the focus on the significance of the etymology of proper names in the prologue, it is not the leading theme in the glossary. Only some of the more critical names and geographical expressions have gained symbolic meaning, and this is due to the context of the narrative rather than the Hebrew or Greek etymology itself.

Tradition and authority are essential criteria for the legitimacy of specific symbolic interpretations.[9] Hence Pseudo-Garnier stresses that he included "interpretations (...) which we managed to find in the explanations of the Holy Fathers" [*interpretationes* (...) *quae in sanctorum Patrum expositionibus invenire poterimus*] in his work. Unfortunately, our author does not provide the sources he drew from, nevertheless one can find paraphrased fragments of Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory the Great. Sometimes, the interpretations are presented in a form shortened to such an extent that they become incomprehensible without reference to the work from they were derived.

8 For more on the opportunities and threats of symbolic-allegorical interpretation see: K. Bardski, *Patrystyczna egzegeza alegoryczna – użycie czy nadużycie tekstu biblijnego?*, "Vox Patrum" 23 (2003), 44–45, pp. 49–64.

9 See: K. Bardski, *Symboliczno-alegoryczna interpretacja Biblii*, Krakow 2016, pp. 137–144.

At the end of the prologue, Pseudo-Garnier presents an overview of the Bible books, thereby grouping them into sections. In the beginning, however, he made an important statement:

> As for the various meanings of these phrases whose authorship is attributed to God, one can find them in the explanations of the books of the Old and New Testaments given by right-believing scholars. Those books are placed here together with the phrases.
>
> [*De harum vero dictionum diversis significationibus, prout eas ab orthodoxis doctoribus in libris tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti expositas invenire poterimus, auctore Deo loquemur, quos etiam libros hic una cum ipsis dictionibus ponimus*].

Pseudo-Garnier assigns divine origin not only to the text of the Bible but also to the interpretations given by "right-believing scholars." Ancient and medieval writers share this opinion. For them, the symbolic-allegorical interpretation was not a creative effort on the part of the interpreter, but discovering, unveiling, finding meanings which the Divine Author included in the text. And this is probably what makes it different from the approach of contemporary biblical commentators, for whom only the historical sense is genuinely a biblical sense intended by God. At the same time, a spiritual interpretation – which can also come subjectively from Him – is not a biblical sense in the strict and objective sense.

Lastly, the attention is focused on the classification of the biblical books. Pseudo-Garnier refers to the division according to the Hebrew tradition, which distinguishes The Five Books of Moses, accounts the books from Joshua to the Kings for a prophetic corpus, and describes the other writings as *ketuvim*, which the thinker of Langres calls *libri hagiographorum*. Besides, he also quotes the Hebrew names of the books. He found the Solomon-like solution for deuterocanonical books. In one breath he states that those are the books of the Old Testament – and thus inspired – but not counted in the canon (*Sunt et alii Veteris Testamenti libri, qui tamen in canone non sunt*).

A critical study of the Latin introduction to *Allegoriae in universam Sacram Scripturam* by Pseudo-Garnier of Langres

This critical study of the introduction to *Allegoriae in universam Sacram Scripturam* by Pseudo-Garnier of Langres was developed as part of the work to publish the entire glossary. Nevertheless, it includes not only the most important manuscripts, which were used to prepare the edition, from the 12th and 13th centuries but also textual variants of three later manuscripts, essential for the authors of the study for regional reasons – namely two Wrocław manuscripts (*W* and *V*) and one Prague manuscript (*P*). In total, the authors consolidated 11 versions of the text, 10 of which belong to the β family (nine manuscripts and the Migne edition) and one to the γ family (manuscript *F*).

The list of the manuscripts that have been included in the study:

S Paris, Sorbonne, P588 (12th century)
Q Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale de France, lat. 13411 (12th century)
H Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, 868 (12th century) (only terms beginning with A)
E Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, 539 (13th century)
R Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale de France, lat. 589 (13th century)
T Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale de France, lat. 599 (13th century)
P Praha, Národní Knihovna Ceské Republiky, VIII.B.27 (1442–1443)
W Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I.F.97 (1400–1450)
V Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I.F.265 (1464)
F Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, 1697 (13th century)
m Migne, Patrologia Latina, vol. 112 (based on an unidentified manuscript)

The critical apparatus has been developed as a whole in accordance with the guidelines contained in *Instructions and Style-Book for the Publication of Texts in Corpus Christianorum*.

Hermeneutical Introduction to *Allegoriae in universam Sacram Scripturam* by Pseudo-Garnier of Langres: Critical Edition, Polish and English Translations

Incipit prologus in libro de diversis significationibus quarumdam rerum et de interpretationibus quorumdam nominum tam[10] Graecorum quam Hebraeorum.[11]

The beginning of a prologue to a book about different meanings of certain things and explanations of specific names, both Greek and Hebrew.

Początek prologu do księgi o różnych znaczeniach pewnych rzeczy i o wyjaśnieniach niektórych nazw zarówno greckich, jak i hebrajskich.

10 tam] *om. R* sed suppl. sup. l. R$^{a.m.}$*
11 Incipit – Hebraeorum] *QHER*, *om. STPWVm F*

Quisquis ad sacrae Scripturae notitiam desiderat pervenire, primo[12] diligenter[13] consideret[14] quando historice, quando allegorice, quando tropologice, quando vero[15] anagogice[16] suam narrationem contexat. Has namque quatuor[17] intelligentias, videlicet historiam, allegoriam, tropologiam,[18] anagogiam,[19] quatuor matris[20] sapientiae filias[21] vocamus, ad cujus acquisitionem[22] cum[23] plena ipsarum agnitio,[24] totius,[25] quod ei inest, secreti[26] sit[27] manifestatio nisi illarum prius acquisita[28] cognitione, pertingere nequimus.

Anyone who wishes to attain a knowledge of the Scripture should first look carefully at the interweaving of historical, allegorical, tropological and anagogic meanings in the text. These four meanings, namely, historical, allegorical, tropological and anagogical, are called the four daughters of wisdom. One will not be able to possess it with their full understanding, nor will one be able to possess everything that would be an expression of the mystery contained in it, except after they have first become acquainted with them.

Ktokolwiek pragnąłby osiągnąć poznanie Pisma Świętego, najpierw powinien uważnie przyjrzeć się, kiedy w jego tekście przeplatają się znaczenia historyczne, alegoryczne, tropologiczne i anagogiczne. Te bowiem cztery sensy, mianowicie historyczny, alegoryczny, tropologiczny i anagogiczny, nazywamy czterema córkami mądrości. Nie zdołamy jej posiąść wraz z ich pełnym zrozumieniem, ani wszystkiego, co byłoby wyrazem tajemnicy w niej zawartej, inaczej jak tylko po uprzednim zapoznaniu się z nimi.

12 primo] prius *m*
13 diligenter] *om. T*
14 consideret] considerat *F* sed emend. sup. l. F*
15 vero] *om. m*
16 quando tropologice quando anagogice] quando anagogice quando tropologice *m*
17 quatuor] *om. SPV*
18 tropologiam] et *add. WV*
19 videlicet historiam allegoriam tropologiam anagogiam] *om. P*; quatuor intelligentias videlicet historiam allegoriam tropologiam anagogiam] *om. F* (*homoioarcton*)
20 videlicet historiam allegoriam tropologiam anagogiam quatuor matris] *om. Q*
21 sapientiae filias] filias sapientiae *R*
22 acquisitionem] inquisitionem *RP*
23 acquisitionem cum] inquisitionem *m* (*sub pag. notam habet* Locus corruptus)
24 agnitio] cognitione *P*
25 totius] totus *WV*
26 secreti] sacramenti *P*
27 sit] sunt *WV*, sic *m*
28 acquisita] ad cognita *WV*, inquisita *m*

Mater[29] quippe Sapientia per has[30] adoptionis filios[31] pascit,[32] conferens[33] incipientibus[34] quidem et[35] teneris potum in lacte historiae; in fide autem proficientibus,[36] cibum in pane allegoriae; bonis etiam[37] strenue[38] operibus[39] insudantibus,[40] satietatem in sapida [0849B] refectione[41] tropologiae; illis denique qui et ab imis per contemptum terrenorum[42] suspensi, et ad summa per coelestium sunt[43] desiderium[44] provecti, sobriam theoricae[45] contemplationis ebrietatem in[46] vino anagogiae.[47]

For Mother Wisdom feeds her foster children with these four meanings. Beginners and young people are watered with the milk of history. The faithful are fed with the bread of allegory. Those who are zealous in making good are saturated with tasty food of tropology. Finally, those who, due to the contempt of temporal things, have been captivated by the desire for heavenly things from what is earthly to what is upward, are drunk with refreshing contemplation thanks to the wine of anagoge.

Bowiem Matka Mądrość tymi czterema znaczeniami karmi swoje przybrane dzieci. Początkujących i młodych poi mlekiem historii. Utwierdzonych w wierze karmi chlebem alegorii. Tych, którzy gorliwie trudzą się, czyniąc dobro, syci smakowitym pokarmem tropologii. Tych w końcu, którzy dzięki wzgardzie rzeczy doczesnych zostali porwani pragnieniem rzeczy niebieskich od tego, co ziemskie, ku temu, co w jest w górze, upaja orzeźwiającą kontemplacją dzięki winu anagogii.

29 Mater] Modo *WV (ut vid.)*
30 has] hos *m*
31 filios] filias *P*
32 pascit] *om. WV*
33 conferens] et *add. WV*
34 incipientibus] insipientibus *m* (*in parentesi habet* incipientibus)
35 quidem et] atque *m*
36 proficientibus] pervenientibus *V*
37 etiam] et *P*, *om. WV*, vero et *m*
38 strenue] sternuis *P*, operantibus et *add. m*
39 operibus] bonis *add. m*
40 operibus insudantibus] insudantibus operibus *R*
41 refectione] refectionis *WV*
42 terrenorum] mundanorum *PWV*
43 per coelestium sunt] sunt per coelestium *R*, supernorum *P*; sunt] *om. WV*
44 sunt desiderium] desiderium sunt *P*; caelestium sunt desiderium] caeleste desiderium sunt *m*
45 sobriam theoricae] sobria *P*
46 in] *om. WV*
47 in vino anagogiae] anagogiae in vino *F*

Historia ad apertam[48] rerum gestarum[49] narrationem pertinet, quae et[50] in[51] superficie litterae continetur, et sic intelligitur sicut legitur. Allegoria vero aliquid in se plus continet, quia[52] per id[53] quod loquitur[54] de[55] rei veritate aliud[56] quiddam dat intelligendum[57] de fidei puritate, et sanctae Ecclesiae mysteria,[58] sive praesentia, sive futura, aliquando dictis, aliquando vero[59] factis,[60] semper autem figuratis[61] et[62] velatis ostendit.[63] Tropologia quoque[64] et ipsa,[65] sicut[66] allegoria, in figuratis, sive dictis, sive factis, constat:[67] sed in hoc

The historical sense means telling openly about things and events that are contained in the literal layer and are understood in this way when one reads about them. Allegory, on the other hand, contains something more, because by what different things express, it implies something else, which concerns the faith and the mysteries of the Holy Church, both present and future. Sometimes it shows this in words, sometimes through events, but always through figures and in a hidden way. Tropology, like allegory,

Sens historyczny dotyczy otwartego opowiedzenia rzeczy i wydarzeń, które zawarte są w warstwie literalnej i tak są rozumiane, jak się o nich czyta. Alegoria zaś zawiera w sobie coś więcej, gdyż przez to, co różne rzeczy wyrażają same w sobie, daje do zrozumienia coś innego, co dotyczy samej wiary oraz tajemnic Kościoła świętego, zarówno obecnych, jak i przyszłych. Czasem ukazuje to słowami, czasem zaś poprzez wydarzenia, zawsze jednak za pomocą figur i w sposób ukryty. Tropologia, podobnie jak alegoria, odwołuje się do figur wyrażonych zarówno w słowach,

48 apertam] aptam *m*
49 apertam rerum gestarum] *om. W* sed suppl. in. marg. W*
50 et] *om. S*
51 in] *om. R* sed suppl. sup. l. R*[a.m.]
52 quia] quod *m*
53 id] hoc *m*
54 loquitur] legitur *P*, locus *m* (*in parentesi habet* F. loquens)
55 de] *om. W* sed suppl. sup. l. W*
56 aliud] ad *m*
57 intelligendum] intelligentibus *P*
58 misteria] mysterio *S*, *om. WV*
59 vero] *om. TWV*
60 aliquando dictis aliquando vero factis] aliud dicens aliud significans *m*
61 figuratis] figmentis *m*
62 et] aut *WV*
63 ostendit] cernit *WV (ut vid.)*
64 quoque] *om. W*
65 quoque et ipsa] et ipsa quoque *P*
66 sicut] et *add. P*
67 constat] quidem *add. W*

ab[68] allegoria distat quod[69] allegoria quidem[70] fidem, tropologia vero [0849C] aedificat moralitatem. Anagogia[71] autem,[72] sive velatis,[73] sive apertis dictis, de aeternis supernae patriae gaudiis[74] tractat,[75] et quae merces vel fidem rectam, vel vitam maneat[76] sanctam, verbis vel apertis, vel opertis[77] demonstrat.

Historia itaque[78] per[79] sanctorum[80] exempla quae narrat, legentem ad imitationem excitat sanctitatis;[81] allegoria in revelatione fidei[82] ad cognitionem veritatis; tropologia[83] in[84] instructione morum ad amorem virtutis;[85]

refers to figures expressed in both words and events, but it differs from the allegory in that it builds faith, while tropology – morals. Anagoge treats the joys of the eternal heavenly homeland both in a hidden and literal way. It shows in secret and in open words, what reward waits for the rightfulness and holy life.

Therefore, history owing to the examples of the saints it tells about, encourages the reader to follow their holiness. While, allegory, through the revelation of the truths of faith, to know the truth, tropology, through the study of

jak i wydarzeniach, lecz tym różni się od alegorii, że ta buduje wiarę, tropologia zaś moralność. Anagogia zaś, zarówno w sposób ukryty, jak i dosłowny, traktuje o radościach wiecznej ojczyzny niebieskiej. Ukazuje zarówno w słowach tajemnych, jak i jawnych, jaka nagroda czeka za prawowierność i święte życie.

Historia zatem, dzięki przykładom świętych, o których opowiada, zachęca czytelnika do naśladowania ich świętości. Alegoria, dzięki objawieniu prawd wiary – do poznania prawdy. Tropologia, dzięki nauce obyczajów – do

68 ab] *om. W*
69 quod] quia *P*, *om. W*; Tropologia quoque et ipsa sicut allegoria in figuratis sive dictis sive factis constat sed in hoc ab allegoria distat quod] *om. V*
70 allegoria quidem] *om. S**, allegoria *S a.m. sup. l.*
71 Anagogia] Anagia *S* sed suppl. sup. l. S a.m.*
72 autem] vero *P*
73 velatis] velantia *P*
74 gaudiis] gaudens *P*
75 aeternis supernae patriae gaudiis tractat] aeternae patriae supernis gaudiis contractat *WV*; tractat] constat *m*
76 maneat] moneat *P*
77 opertis] apertos *W*; vel opertis] *om. V*; apertis vel opertis] opertis vel apertis *m*
78 itaque] namque *Pm*
79 per] *om. S* sed suppl. in l. S a.m.*
80 per sanctorum] perfectorum *m*
81 excitat sanctitatis] sanctitatis excitat *m*
82 revelatione fidei] fidei revelatione *m*
83 tropologia] *bis scr. T*
84 in] *om. S*
85 virtutis] et *add. Q*

anagogia in manifestatione supernorum[86] gaudiorum[87] ad desiderium aeternae[88] felicitatis. In nostrae ergo animae domo historia fundamentum ponit, allegoria parietes erigit, anagogia tectum superponit,[89] tropologia vero tam interius per affectum purae mentis[90] quam exterius per effectum boni operis, variis ornatibus[91] depingit.[92]

Dum enim[93] haec,[94] de qua loquimur, [0849D] sacra Scriptura verba historiae simpliciter narrat, quasi[95] inchoando fundamentum aedificii[96] jactat,[97] et [0850A] dum per allegoriae[98] exercitium fidei mysteria pandit, fabricam mentis in arcem[99] veritatis extollit: dum vero per anagogiae[100] sublimitatem

customs, to the virtues of love, and anagoge, by revealing the joy of heaven, to the desire for eternal happiness. Thus, in the house of our soul, history lays the foundation, allegory erects walls, anagoge lays the roof, and tropology decorates both the interior, thanks to the attitude of a pure heart, and the surroundings, thanks to the effects of good deeds.

When the Scripture tells with historical words about what is being discussed, it lays the foundation of a building, to begin with. Furthermore, when it teaches the mysteries of faith using allegories, the workshop of the heart raises to the heights of truth. When, thanks to the subtlety of anagoge, it

cnót umiłowania. Anagogia, dzięki ukazaniu radości nieba – do pragnienia wiecznej szczęśliwości. Zatem w domu naszej duszy historia kładzie fundament, alegoria wznosi ściany, anagogia kładzie dach, tropologia zaś upiększa ozdobami zarówno wnętrze, dzięki postawie czystego serca, jak i otoczenie, dzięki skutkom dobrych uczynków.

Gdy więc to, o czym mówimy, Pismo Święte słowami historii po prostu opowiada, wówczas na początek kładzie fundament budowli. Gdy zaś dzięki zastosowaniu alegorii wykłada tajemnice wiary, wtedy warsztat serca wznosi na wyżyny prawdy. Gdy dzięki subtelności anagogii rozprawia o wiecznych radościach

86 supernorum] sempiternorum *m*
87 supernorum gaudiorum] gaudiorum supernorum *WV*
88 aeternae] supernae *T*
89 superponit] *QSRTP F*, supponit *EHWVm*
90 purae mentis] *om. m*
91 ornatibus] ornamentis *P*
92 depingit] depurget *W sed emend. sup. l. W*[n.m.], depurgit *V*
93 enim] vero *W*
94 haec] hoc *F* sed exp. et emend. sup. l. F*
95 quasi] *om. WV*
96 aedificii] *om. P*
97 jactat] jacit *P*
98 allegoriae] allegoriam *P*
99 arcem] amorem *m*
100 anagogiae] anagogiam *P*, veritatem *add. V*

de aeternis supernae patriae gaudiis disserit,[101] quodammodo tectum superponit:[102] dum autem[103] mysticum in tropologia intellectum per contemplationem[104] investigat, erectum[105] hoc[106] de quo loquimur, spirituale aedificium diversis virtutibus, tam his quae[107] intus[108] ad Dominum[109] quam[110] his[111] quae[112] extra pertinent[113] ad proximum, per moralitatis[114] venustatem[115] quasi distinctis pulchrorum colorum varietatibus ornat.[116]

Cum igitur[117] constet has quatuor[118] sacrae[119] Scripturae intelligentias, omne quod ei[120] inest

talks about the eternal joys of the heavenly homeland, it is as if it were laying the roof. When, on the other hand, through tropology, it explores the mystical sense through contemplation. Having erected what is being talked, it adorns the spiritual edifice with various virtues both those that concern the Lord inside and the neighbour outside. Due to the charm of the moral life, they are reminiscent of a variety of beautiful colours.

Therefore, assuming that the four senses of the Scripture reveal the whole mystery that is contained

niebieskiej ojczyzny, w pewnym sensie jakby kładło dach. Gdy natomiast dzięki tropologii zgłębia sens mistyczny poprzez kontemplację, wówczas po wzniesieniu tego, o czym mówimy, zdobi duchową budowlę różnorodnymi cnotami, zarówno tymi, które wewnątrz dotyczą Pana, jak i tymi, które na zewnątrz odnoszą się do bliźniego. Dzięki urokowi moralnego życia przypominają one różnorodność wielorakich pięknych kolorów.

Gdy zatem uznamy, że te cztery sensy Pisma Świętego objawiają całą tajemnicę, która jest w nim zawarta,

101 disserit] disputat *R* sed sup. l. emend.* $R^{a.m.}$, deserit *V*
102 superponit] supponit *V F*
103 autem] vero *R*
104 contemplationam] contemplationum *m*
105 erectum] exercitium *WVm*
106 hoc] *om. RTm*
107 quae] qui *V F*
108 quae intus] *om. W*
109 Dominum] Deum pertinent *P*, Deum *WV*
110 quam] tam *R*
111 his] *om. m*
112 quae] qui *F*
113 pertinent] *om. P*
114 moralitatis] mortalitatis *S**(*sed eras.* -t- *S*)*m*
115 moralitatis venustatem] moralitatem *P*
116 ornat] ornatis *P*
117 igitur] his *F* sed exp. et emend. in marg. F*
118 quatuor] *om. WV*
119 sacrae] *om. P*
120 ei] eis $E^{a.c.}$, et *m* (*in parentesi habet* F. ei)

secretum[121] revelare, studiose[122] considerandum nobis[123] est[124] quando secundum unam solam, quando secundum duas, quando vero[125] secundum tres, quando etiam secundum [0850B] omnes simul quatuor intelligi velit.

Cumque primum[126] haec omnia hoc[127] modo, duce[128] ipsa[129] veritate, indagaverimus: secundo necesse est ut quibus quotve modis res de quibus tractat accipere possimus,[130] studiose[131] perscrutemur.[132] Pro eo namque quod una nonnunquam eademque[133] res non[134] nihil sibi naturaliter[135] insitum[136] habere solet.[137] Quod[138] quantum ad humanum dumtaxat

therein, it ought to be examined inquisitively when it is to be understood in one only, two, three, and when in all four senses at once.

If we, guided by the truth, examine everything in this way, the second necessary step is to investigate carefully how and in how many ways the thing in question can be interpreted. It is because the same thing often has numerous references by nature. Due to usefulness or harm to human life or because of praise or condemnation, the same thing may not

wówczas należy docieklliwie zbadać, kiedy należy je rozumieć w jednym tylko sensie, kiedy w dwóch, kiedy w trzech, a kiedy we wszystkich czterech naraz.

Gdy w ten sposób, kierując się samą prawdą, wszystko zbadamy, należy w drugiej kolejności uważnie przeanalizować, jak i na ile sposobów rzecz, o której jest mowa, możemy interpretować. A to ze względu na to, że często jedna i ta sama rzecz miewa z natury liczne odniesienia. Czy to ze względu na przydatność lub szkodliwość dla ludzkiego

121 secretum] *om. S* sed suppl. sup. l. S*[a.m.]
122 studiose] *om. Rm*
123 considerandum nobis] nobis considerandum *m F*
124 nobis est] est nobis *WV*
125 vero] *om. m*
126 Cumque primum] Cum primo *P*
127 hoc] *om. P*
128 duce] ducet *P*
129 ipsa] *om. V*
130 possimus] possumus *S*
131 studiose] studiosius *P*
132 perscrutemur] *om. WV*
133 eademque] eadem *S* sed supp. sup. l. S*[a.m.]
134 non] *om. m*
135 naturaliter] ultra *P (ut vid.)*
136 insitum] in *V*
137 solet] solent *P*; habere solet] habet *m*
138 Quod] Quidem *T*

corporale commodum et[139] incommodum spectat, et[140] probari et[141] reprobari valet: ipsa nimirum una[142] eademque res non solum diversam,[143] sed et[144] adversam[145] aliquando in[146] Scriptura sacra[147] significationem habere potest.

Ut enim, exempli causa, de[148] innumeris[149] tria[150] proferamus: est[151] aqua,[152] cujus flumina fluunt[153] de ventre[154] credentis,[155] est[156] et[157] aqua contra[158] quam Psalmista[159] orat, ne eius[160] eum tempestas[161] demergat;[162]

only have a different but even opposite meaning in the Scripture.

Of the countless others, three examples will be cited. There is the water whose currents flow from within the believer, and there is the water with the violence that the Psalmist begs not to plunge him. There is

życia, czy ze względu na pochwałę lub potępienie, jedna i ta sama rzecz może mieć w Piśmie Świętym nie tylko odmienne, ale nawet przeciwne znaczenie.

Spośród niezliczonych innych przytoczymy trzy przykłady. Jest woda, której nurty wypływają z wnętrza człowieka wierzącego, i jest woda, przeciwko której Psalmista błaga, aby jej gwałtowność nie

139 et] vel *P*
140 et] *om. F*
141 et] ac *E*
142 una] *om. R*
143 diversam] diversa *V*
144 et] *om. S* sed suppl. sup. l. S, om. WV*
145 adversam] adversa *V*
146 in] *om. S* sed suppl. sup. l. S*
147 Scriptura sacra] *QSRm,* sacra Scriptura *HETP F*
148 de] *om. P*
149 innumeris] universis *WV*
150 de innumeris tria] tria de innumeris *T*
151 est] et *m*
152 aqua] aquae *m*
153 fluunt] afluunt *R* sed exp.* a- *R*
cujus flumina fluunt] quae fluit *P*
154 ventre] corde *R,* vel ventre *add. sup. l. R*[a.m.]
155 credentis] *om. W* sed suppl. in marg. W*[a.m.]
156 est] *om. S*
157 et] *om R*(sed add. sup. l. R*[a.m.]*) m*
158 contra] *om. R*
159 Psalmista] propheta *P*, psalmus *m* (*in parentesi habet* Psalmographus)
160 eius] aquae *m*
161 eius eum tempestas] me tempestas eius *P*
162 tempestas demergat] demergat tempestas *V*

[0850C] est[163] item camelus, qui per foramen acus transit,[164] est et camelus de quo Rebecca, viso Isaac, descendit: est quoque leo qui vicit de tribu Juda; est[165] et[166] leo qui circuit, quaerens quem devoret. Quis enim nesciat, quantum horum trium significata ad[167] invicem distent,[168] cum tamen unumquodque significantium unum ac[169] idem[170] sit. Cum itaque[171] sacram[172] Scripturam de rebus loquentem audimus, proprietates qualitatum eisdem[173] rebus naturaliter[174] insitarum[175] studiose[176] inspiciamus, et tunc evidenter scire poterimus, quo modo[177] sive in bona videlicet[178] sive in mala

a camel that passes through the needle ear and one which Rebecca gets off at the sight of Isaac. There is a victorious lion from the generation of Judah, and there is a lion that circulates, seeking whom it would devour. Doesn't anyone know how widely the meanings of things differ in these three examples? Nevertheless, each of the meanings is the same. Thus, when one hears that the Scripture speaks of certain things, they should carefully examine the proper features inherent in its nature. Then they can know better whether to understand a thing in a good or bad sense, depending upon

pogrążyła go. Jest wielbłąd, który przechodzi przez ucho igielne, i jest wielbłąd, z którego schodzi Rebeka na widok Izaaka. Jest zwycięski lew z pokolenia Judy i jest lew, który krąży, szukając, kogo by pożarł. Czyżby ktoś nie wiedział, jak bardzo w tych trzech przykładach znaczenia rzeczy różnią się między sobą? A jednak każda z rzeczy oznaczających jest jedna i ta sama. Gdy więc słyszymy, że Pismo Święte mówi o określonych rzeczach, powinniśmy uważnie zbadać właściwe cechy wpisane w ich naturę. Wówczas będziemy mogli lepiej poznać, czy to w dobrym, czy złym znaczeniu należy

163 est] et *WVm*
164 transiit] transit *m*
165 est] *om. T*
166 et] *om. WVm*
167 ad] ab *TPWV F*
168 distent] et *add. T*, distant *P*
169 unum ac] ac unum *S*, unum atque *m*
ac] et *W*
170 idem] est seu *add. V*
171 Cum itaque] Cumque ita *m*
172 sacram] sanctam *F*
173 eisdem] iisdem *m*
174 naturaliter] *om. P*
175 insitarum] visitare *m* (*in parentesi habet* insitas)
176 studiose] *om. WV*
177 quo modo] qua *m*
178 videlicet] *om. WV*

significatione,[179] juxta id[180] quod narrationis quam[181] contexit[182] series exigit, eas accipere[183] debeamus.

Tertio oportet ut quibus quotve modis[184] nomina[185] de quibus tractat, tam hominum quam locorum,[186] Hebraica [0850D] sive Graeca interpretari debeant,[187] perquiramus, quia[188] magnam[189] nobis interpretationibus propriorum nominum [0851A] aedificationem proponit.

De his autem rerum significationibus et nominum interpretationibus modo[190] secundum duas suas intelligentias,[191] modo[192] secundum tres, modo vero[193] secundum omnes simul quatuor ad nostram aedificationem tractat.

how it is woven into the narrative.

Thirdly, one should examine how and in how many ways the Hebrew and Greek names of people and places are to be understood, since their interpretation can be very edifying.

It would be about the meanings of things and the interpretation of names sometimes in two, three, or all four senses at once to build us up.

daną rzecz rozumieć, w zależności od tego, jak została wpleciona w tok narracji.

Po trzecie powinniśmy zbadać, jak i na ile sposobów nazwy własne, zarówno ludzi, jak i miejsc, hebrajskie i greckie, mogą być rozumiane, gdyż interpretacja imion może być dla nas bardzo budująca.

Chodziłoby więc o znaczenia rzeczy i interpretację imion czasami w dwóch sensach, czasami w trzech, a czasami we wszystkich czterech naraz w celu naszego zbudowania.

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179 videlicet sive in mala significatione] significatione sive in mala *P*
180 id] *om. m*
181 quam] *om. WV*
182 contexit] texit *R*
183 accipere] exigere *m*
184 modis] nominibus *P*
185 nomina] vel *add. T*
186 hominum quam locorum] locorum quam hominum *WV*
187 debeant] *om. W*
188 quia] quod *m*
189 magnam] magna *V*
190 modo] vel *WV*, *om. m*
191 duas suas intelligentias] duas intelligentias suas *S*, suas duas intelligentias *m*
192 modo] vel *WV*
193 vero] *om. P*

Quia[194] vero de quatuor his[195] intelligentiis breviter superius quaedam[196] diximus, plerasque[197] quarumdam hujusmodi[198] rerum, quae ad praesens animo occurrere poterunt,[199] proponere[200] simul et exponere decrevimus diversitates, et quasdam hujusmodi nominum in medium proferre[201] interpretations,[202] ut ex his quae[203] in[204] sanctorum Patrum expositionibus[205] invenire poterimus, nostram nostrique similium, si qui tamen[206] sunt, imperitiam instruamus.

Ut autem Lector quaesita citius[207] possit invenire, dictiones[208] ad eas pertinentes res [0851B] de quarum diversis significationibus loqui proponimus, secundum[209] ordinem alphabeti

As the four ways of understanding had been briefly discussed, the variety of many things that may come to mind at any time was decided to be presented and explained according to these principles. Moreover, the interpretation of names based upon what had been found in the explanations of the holy fathers who instructed us and others like us, if any, was to be cited.

To help the readers find what they are looking for the individual phrases for things whose meanings are going to be explained have been arranged in alphabetical order and

Skoro omówiliśmy pokrótce cztery sposoby rozumienia, postanowiliśmy następnie przedstawić i wyjaśnić według tych zasad różnorodność licznych rzeczy, które mogą w danej chwili przyjść na myśl, jak również przytoczyć interpretację imion na podstawie tego, co zdołaliśmy odnaleźć w wyjaśnieniach świętych Ojców, aby pouczyć nas samych oraz podobnych nam, o ile tacy się znajdą.

Aby zaś Czytelnik z łatwością mógł odnaleźć to, czego szuka, poszczególne hasła dotyczące tych rzeczy, których znaczenia zamierzamy wyjaśnić, ułożyliśmy w porządku alfabetycznym

[194] Quia] Quaedam *WV*, Quod *m*
[195] quatuor his] his quatuor *W*
[196] breviter superius quaedam] quaedam breviter superius *P*, breviter quaedam superius *m*
[197] plerasque] pluresque *m*
[198] hujusmodi] *om. T*
[199] poterunt] poterint *P*, potuerunt *m*
[200] proponere] ponere *m*
[201] proferre] protrahere *WV*
[202] interpretationes] propositiones *S sed corr. s. l. S*[a.m.]
[203] quae] qui *T*
[204] in] ex *P*
[205] expositionibus] propositionibus *HE*
[206] tamen] *om. WV*
[207] citius] totius *m* (*in parentesi habet* F. ocius)
[208] dictiones] docens *m* (*in parentesi habet* F. voces)
[209] secundum] *om. T*

et secundum illum[210] etiam[211] ordinem[212] quo litterae semivocales et mutae vocalibus conjunguntur, hoc modo ponimus.[213]

De harum[214] vero dictionum diversis significationibus, prout eas ab orthodoxis doctoribus in libris tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti expositas invenire poterimus, auctore Deo loquemur, quos etiam libros hic una cum ipsis dictionibus[215] ponimus.

Vetus Testamentum libros continet legales, libros prophetarum, libros hagiographorum. Libri legales quinque sunt:[216] Bresith,[217] qui et Genesis dicitur, Hellesmoth,[218] qui Exodus, Vagecra,[219] qui Leviticus, Vagedaber, qui Liber[220] Numeri, Addabarim,[221]

according to the order in which the semi- and silent sounds are combined with the sonorous ones, in the following way.

As for the various meanings of these terms whose authorship is attributed to God, one can find them in the explanations of the books of the Old and New Testaments given by the right-believing scholars. The books are placed here together with the phrases.

The Old Testament contains the books of the Law, the books of the prophets, the books of hagiographers. There are five books of Law: *Bereshit*, which is called Genesis, *Elleh Shemot* – Exodus, *Vayicra* – Leviticus, *Bamidbar* – Numbers, *Devarim*

oraz według tej kolejności, w jakiej zgłoski półdźwięczne i nieme łączą się z dźwięcznymi, w następujący sposób.

Co zaś tyczy się różnych znaczeń tychże haseł, których autorstwo przypiszemy Bogu, to będziemy mogli je odnaleźć w wyjaśnieniach ksiąg Starego i Nowego Testamentu podanych przez prawowiernych uczonych, które to księgi zamieszczamy w tym miejscu wraz z hasłami.

Stary Testament zawiera księgi Prawa, księgi proroków, księgi hagiografów. Jest pięć ksiąg Prawa: *Bereszit*, która zwie się Księgą Rodzaju, *Elleh Szemot*, czyli Księga Wyjścia, *Wajjiqra*, czyli Księga Kapłańska, *Wajedabber*, czyli Księga Liczb, *Haddebarim*, czyli Księga

[210] illum] *om. WV*
[211] etiam] et *m*
[212] et secundum illum etiam ordinem] *om. P*; alphabeti et secundum illum et ordinem] *om. m* (*homoioteleuton*)
[213] ponimus] proponimus *m*
[214] harum] earum *P*
[215] dictionibus] de omnibus *P*
[216] quinque sunt] sunt quinque *P*
[217] Bresith] Brisith *W*, Vrisith *V*
[218] Hellesmoth] Heslemoth *E*, Helesmoth *P*
[219] Vagecra] Vagechra *T*
[220] Liber] *om. WV*
[221] Addabarim] Addabarum *E**, Addabarun *post rasuram E*, Elle addabarim *F*, Alledabarim *W*, Alledamarum *V*

qui[222] Deuteronomius, id est[223] secunda lex dicitur.[224] Hi sunt quinque libri Moysi, quos Hebraei Thorath,[225] id est legem appellant.

Libri prophetarum octo sunt, quorum primus est liber Josue, secundus Sothim, qui et Iudicum, tertius Samuel, qui Primus et Secundus est Regum, quartus[226] Malachim, qui[227] Tertius et Quartus Regum, quintus Isaiae,[228] sextus Jeremiae,[229] septimus Ezechielis,[230] octavus Liber[231] Duodecim Prophetarum, qui Thareasra[232] dicitur, quorum haec sunt nomina: Osee, Joel, Amos, Abdias, Jonas, Micheas, Naum, Abacuc, Sophonias, Aggeus, Zacharias, Malachias.

Libri hagiographorum, id est sanctorum scriptorum novem sunt, quorum primus liber[233] est Job, secundus Psalmorum, tertius

– Deuteronomy or the Book of the Second Law. Those are the five books of Moses, which the Hebrews call the Torah, or Law.

There are eight books of the prophets, containing the work of Joshua, Judges (*Shoftim*), Samuel – the first and second books of Kings, Malachi – the third and fourth books of Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the Book of the Twelve Prophets (*Tre Asar*): Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi.

There are nine books of hagiographers, i.e. holy writers, including the Book of Job, the Book of Psalms, the Book of

Powtórzonego Prawa, to znaczy drugiego prawa. To jest pięć ksiąg Mojżesza, które Hebrajczycy nazywają Torą, czyli Prawem.

Ksiąg prorockich jest osiem, pierwszą z nich jest Księga Jozuego, drugą *Szoftim*, czyli Księga Sędziów, trzecią Księga Samuela, która jest Pierwszą i Drugą Królewską, czwartą Melachim, która jest Trzecią i Czwartą Królewską, piątą Księga Izajasza, szóstą Jeremiasza, siódmą Ezechiela, ósmą Księga Dwunastu Proroków, zwana *Tre Asar*, których imiona brzmią: Ozeasz, Joel, Amos, Abdiasz, Jonasz, Micheasz, Nahum, Habakuk, Sofoniasz, Aggeusz, Zachariasz, Malachiasz.

Jest dziewięć ksiąg hagiografów, czyli świętych pisarzy, wśród których pierwszą jest Księga Hioba, drugą Księga Psalmów,

222 qui] numerus *add. F* sed eras. F*
223 id est] et *V*
224 dicitur] Heslemoth qui Exodus *add. E*, Hellesmoth qui Exodus *add. H*
225 Thorath] *in WV forma contaminata*
226 Samuel qui Primus et Secundus est Regum quartus] *om. FP*
227 qui] primus secundus *add. P*
228 Isaiae] Isaias *P*
229 Jeremiae] Jeremias *P*
230 Ezechielis] Ezechiel *P*
231 Liber] Libri *WV*
232 Thareasra] Thareasea *P*, Thareasram *WV*
233 liber] *om. PWV*

Proverbiorum Salomonis, quem[234] Graeci Parabolarum, Hebraei Masloth[235] appellant, quartus Coeleth,[236] quem Graeci Ecclesiasten,[237] Latini Concionatorem dicunt, quintus Sirasyrim,[238] quem nos[239] Cantica Canticorum vocamus, sextus Liber est Praetermissorum, quem Hebraei Dabreiamin,[240] Graeci Paralipomenon nuncupant, septimus est Liber[241] Danielis,[242] octavus Esdrae,[243] Nonus Hester.

Sunt et alii Veteris Testamenti libri,[244] qui tamen in canone non sunt, Liber scilicet Sapientiae, quem Judaei Phylonis[245] esse affirmant, Liber Ecclesiasticus, quem composuit Jesus filius Syrac,[246] Liber Tobiae et Judith et duo Libri Machabeorum.

Proverbs of Solomon, which the Greeks call the *Book of Proverbs* and the Hebrews – *Meshalo*t, the Kohelet, which the Greeks call *Ecclesiastes* and the Latins – *Preacher*, the Shir Hashirim, which is called the *Song of Songs*, Book of Chronicles, which the Hebrews call *Dibre Jamim* and the Greeks – *Paralypomenon*, the Book of Daniel, the Book of Ezra, the Book of Esther.

There are other books of the Old Testament that do not belong to the canon, namely, the Book of Wisdom, which the Jews attribute to Philo, the Ecclesiastes that Jesus the son of Syrah wrote, the Book of Tobias and Judith, and the two Maccabean Books.

trzecią Księga Przysłów Salomona, którą Grecy nazywają Księgą Przypowieści, a Hebrajczycy *Meszalot*, czwartą Kohelet, którą Grecy zwą Eklezjastesem, a Łacinnicy Kaznodzieją, piątą *Szir Haszirim*, którą my nazywamy Pieśnią nad Pieśniami, szóstą Księga Kronik, którą Hebrajczycy zwą *Dibre Jamim*, a Grecy Paralipomenon, siódmą jest Księga Daniela, ósmą Ezdrasza, dziewiątą Estery.

Są też inne księgi Starego Testamentu, które jednak nie należą do kanonu, mianowicie Księga Mądrości, którą Żydzi przypisują Filonowi, Eklezjastyk, który napisał Jezus syn Syracha, Księga Tobiasza i Judyty oraz dwie Księgi Machabejskie.

234 quem] quoque *P*
235 Masloth] Malloth *W*, Mallath *V*
236 Coeleth] Melath *WV*
237 Ecclesiasten] Ecclesiastem *HP F*
238 Sirasyrim] *QSRm*, Syrasirim *HE F*, Sirasirim *T*, Syrasyrim *P*, Nirasirim *WV*
239 nos] Ecclesiasten Latini Concionatorem dicunt *add. sed exp. P*
240 Dabreiamin] Drabreciamym *P*, Dabreianijm *V*
241 Liber] *om. WV*
242 est Liber Danielis] Liber est Daniel *P*
243 Esdrae] Hesdrae *T F*
244 Veteris Testamenti libri] libri Veteris Testamenti *P*
245 Phylonis] Phylo *P*
246 Syrac] Syrach *FP*, Isaac *WV*

Novum Testamentum continet libros Evangelistarum, qui quatuor sunt:[247] liber Mathaei, Marci, Lucae et Johannis. Continet etiam libros[248] apostolorum, qui et ipsi quatuor[249] sunt: Liber Actuum Apostolorum,[250] quem Lucas Evangelista scripsit, Liber Epistolarum[251] Pauli quae quatuordecim[252] sunt, Liber septem Epistularum Canonicarum, quarum una est Jacobi, Petri duae, Johannis tres, Judae[253] Jacobi[254] una, liber quoque Johannis Apostoli, qui Apocalipsis inscribitur.[255]

Scripta quoque Patrum ideo in canone non[256] sunt, quia non tam novum[257] aliquid adiciunt, quam[258] ea quae prius dicta[259] sunt latius exponunt[260]

The New Testament consists of four books of the Evangelists: Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. It also contains four books of the Apostles: the Acts of the Apostles by Luke the Evangelist, fourteen Paul's Letters, seven Canonical Letters, of which one is by Jacob, two by Peter, three by John, and one by Judah, and the book of John the Apostle entitled Revelation.

The writings of the Fathers of the Church do not belong to the canon since they bring nothing new but only explain more thoroughly what has been said before.

Nowy Testament składa się z ksiąg Ewangelistów, których jest cztery: księga Mateusza, Marka, Łukasza i Jana. Zawiera również księgi apostołów, których również jest cztery: Dzieje Apostolskie, które napisał Łukasz Ewangelista, księga listów Pawła, których jest czternaście, księga siedmiu Listów Kanonicznych, z których jeden jest Jakuba, dwa Piotra, trzy Jana, jeden Judy, oraz księga Jana Apostoła zatytułowana Apokalipsa.

Pisma Ojców Kościoła nie należą do kanonu, gdyż niczego nowego nie wnoszą, a jedynie wyjaśniają obszerniej to, co wcześniej zostało powiedziane.

247 sunt] scilicet *P*
248 libros] *om. WV*
249 quatuor] ipsi *T*
250 qui et ipsi quatuor sunt Liber Actuum Apostolorum] *om. P* (*homoioteleuton*)
251 Epistolarum] Apostolorum *V*
252 quatuordecim] duodecim *WV*
253 Judae] et *add. WV*
254 Jacobi] *om. P*
255 inscribitur] dicitur *P*
256 non] *om. P*
257 non tam novum] jam novum non *W*, jam non novum *V*
258 quam] sed *WV*
259 dicta] dedita *P*
260 De harum – exponunt] Explicit prologus Incipit distinctionum capitula in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi amen *S*, *om. Rm*

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Importance of Ecclesiastical Universities for the Church and the World of Science

Znaczenie kościelnych uczelni wyższych dla Kościoła i świata nauki

Abstract: The assessment of the importance of ecclesiastical universities depends on the attitude to the Church and its mission, as well as understanding the relationship between it and the world. The word "world" is not unambiguous. The Bible sees the world as the place of God's action, and, on the other hand, it calls "the world" everything that opposes God. Therefore, religious universities must discern when to cooperate or wrestle with the world. One of the planes is recognising the truth and the way leading to it. The problem appears to be urgent since today, in many academic circles, the so-called post-truth has been held in high esteem, or the concept of truth is reduced to arbitrarily indicated areas. Under these circumstances, ecclesiastical universities should promote interdisciplinary reflection open to reality in all its dimensions of reason, experience, and faith. Their models depend on ecclesiology models. A certain pluralism is possible and necessary here. However, it is essential that the Church, through its universities, is not afraid to speak with its own voice, sometimes going against the current, but it is ready for dialogue with unlike-minded ones. In every model of the university, quality is crucial, which is also a dimension of ecclesiology. It is precisely the quality of Church high schools that decides whether they will be able to play a significant role in the world of science. The article present the importance of this goal, the paths that the Church can take towards it and the difficulties that can be encountered.

Keywords: ecclesiastical universities, the world, truth, ecclesial models, quality of ecclesiastical universities

Abstrakt: Ocena znaczenia uczelni kościelnych zależy od stosunku do Kościoła i jego misji, a także od pojmowania relacji pomiędzy Kościołem a światem. Słowo „świat" nie jest jednoznaczne. Biblia z jednej strony widzi świat jako miejsce i przedmiot zbawczego działania Boga, a z drugiej nazywa „światem" wszystko to, co Bogu się sprzeciwia. Uczelnie kościelne muszą zatem rozeznawać, kiedy ze światem przyjaźnie współpracować, a kiedy należy się z nim wadzić. Jedną z płaszczyzn owego dialogu

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lub sporu jest rozumienie prawdy oraz dróg do niej prowadzących. Jest to szczególnie palący problem, gdyż dziś w wielu środowiskach akademickich hołduje się temu, co nazwano postprawdą, albo redukuje się pojęcie prawdy do arbitralnie wskazanych dziedzin. W tej sytuacji uczelnie kościelne powinny propagować interdyscyplinarną refleksję otwartą na rzeczywistość we wszystkich jej wymiarach rozumu, doświadczenia i wiary. Modele uczelni kościelnych zależą od modeli eklezjologii. Możliwy i potrzebny jest tu pewien pluralizm. Ważne jest jednak, by Kościół poprzez swe uczelnie nie bał się mówić własnym głosem, idąc niekiedy pod prąd, a jednocześnie był gotowy do dialogu z inaczej myślącymi. Ponadto w każdym modelu uczelni istotna jest jakość, która stanowi także wymiar eklezjalności. Od jakości uczelni kościelnych zależy, czy będą one w stanie odegrać znaczącą rolę w świecie nauki. W artykule przedstawiona zostaje nie tylko doniosłość tego celu, ale także drogi, jakimi Kościół może ku niemu podążać oraz możliwe do napotkania trudności.

Słowa kluczowe: uczelnie kościelne, świat, prawda, modele eklezjalne, jakość uczelni kościelnych

The perception of the Church-world relationship is one of the points on which the Catholics are dissimilar. Numerous possible attitudes exist between the extremes, that is, on the one hand, the vision of the Church as a fortress to fight the world and, on the other hand, the Church that wants to be recognised by the world and consequently blurs in it. These differences stem from various concepts of the Church, but perhaps even more so from different perceptions of the world. This is hardly surprising since we already see an ambiguous understanding of 'the world' in Saint John's work. On one side, Jesus tells his disciples: "If you were of the world, the world would love you as its own. However, because you are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of it, the world hates you" (J 15,19). The "world" appears as everything that opposes God, that is covetousness, the pride of this life (cf. 1 Jn 2,16). On the other side, we proclaim that "For God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son (...). For God [the Father] did not send His Son into the world to condemn the world, but to save the world through Him" (J 3,16-17). This twofold perspective is also present in thinking of the ecclesiastical universities, which are the meeting place of the Church and the world, science and faith. The role of religious schools is, in fact, defined and put into practice depending on how we understand the relationship between the Church and the world, in which dialogue, witness, and confrontation interweave.

Looting Egypt's wealth

The first Jesuits at first did not think about setting up schools, universities. They wanted to be a kind of "light cavalry" without too much institutional burden. Nevertheless, as early as 1548, eight years after the approval of the Society of Jesus, the first Jesuit high school in the world was established in Messina. Then other secondary and higher schools appeared. In 1640, the Jesuits ran 521 universities in Europe alone. Why did they consider education as one of their primary missions? I think that the principle of the "more universal good," formulated by Ignatius and written in the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, played the critical role here. The idea was to choose the works and places where a universal good can be expected.

> For this reason, the first place must be given – as the Jesuit Constitutions read – to work among large nations, such as India, or the leading ones, and in the universities where many people usually stay; for if help is provided to them, they themselves will become workers and help others.[1]

We see, therefore, that the founder of the Jesuits saw universities as places through which souls can be effectively helped for the greater glory of God. Although today the situation is different than in the 16th/17th century, the above idea of Ignatius is still valid. The other question is whether it is alive in the universities run by different ecclesiastical entities.

One of Ignatius of Loyola's letters contains another appealing thought:

> As for us – writes the founder of the Jesuits – theology could do without so much Cicero and Demosthenes. However, just as St Paul *omnia omnibus factus est, ut omnes lucrifaceret*, our Society in its desire to help souls loot these riches of Egypt to turn them into the greater glory of God.[2]

The metaphor of the "plundering Egypt" can already be found in St Augustine, who in his "Christian Doctrine," commenting on the Jews' departure from Egypt, states:

1 Konstytucje Towarzystwa Jezusowego, Krakow–Warsaw 2001, no. 622, p. 219. Unless otherwise noted, all English translations are by the WTR.

2 Ignatius of Loyola, Epist. Ign. VIII, 618, the letter from 30 of may 1550, [in:] *Monumenta Ignatiana, ex autographis vel ex antiquioribus exemplis collecta. Series prima: Sancti Ignatii de Loyola Societatis Iesu fudantoris epistole et instructiones*, vol. 1, G. Lopez del Horno (ed.), Matriti 1903.

> The Egyptians had not only the idols and the great burdens that the people of Israel cursed and wanted to escape from, but also gold and silver dishes and ornaments, and clothing. The Jewish people coming out of Egypt decided to appropriate all these things and make a sort of better use of them. The same applies to all the teachings of the Gentiles that contain not only false superstitious thinking (…). They also contain liberated teachings which are more appropriate for the use of truth (…) and some very useful moral commandments, and some truths concerning the worship of the only God can be found in them. Hence, it is as if the pagan gold and silver, not just invented by the Gentiles themselves, but only as if it was extracted from the mines of omnipresent God's Providence (…) – the Christian when separating himself in spirit from their miserable community should take it away from them and turn it to the righteous use of preaching the Gospel.[3]

Origen referred to similarly the texts mentioned above from the Book of Exodus even before Augustine. He emphasised that it was necessary to take over those sections from Greek philosophy and Roman law that gave general education and, at the same time, constitute preparation for Christianity. After all – as Origen states – God ordered the Israelites to plunder the Egyptians so that they could make objects of worship of God.[4] Old Testament Judith is a metaphor analogous to the looting of Egypt, since, as Jesuit Antonio Possevino wrote, she adorned herself with various pagan objects, not for the sake of vanity, but to defeat Holofernes.[5]

3 St Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana* II, 40, 60, PL 34, 63. Cited after: J. Domański, *Patrystyczne postawy wobec dziedzictwa antycznego*, [in:] idem, *Philosophica. Paraphilosophica. Metaphilosophica. Studia i szkice z dziejów myśli dawnej*, Krakow 2008, p. 183, tranls. by WTR.

4 See: Orygenes, *Filokalia*, transl. K. Augustyniak, Warsaw 1979, pp. 63–64; J. Domański, *Patrystyczne postawy…*, op. cit., pp. 181–182.

5 "Indeed, as for the gifts which naturally or supernaturally have been granted by God, it depends on His immeasurable goodness to make them more productive and make them grow, since the Religious who have abandoned all things and are no longer serving their likes and dislikes, but the glory of God and the salvation of those for whose eyes and souls they gain use and beauty. For like Judith [Jt 8:10], the righteous woman who, to conquer the enemy Holofernes, considered it appropriate to use not only prayers, penance, and fasting, as she had done before, but also to decorate herself with earrings, sandals, and rings on her fingers and, finally, with all the feminine decorations. God bestowed upon her grace and grandeur, for all her adornment was intended not for lust, but for virtue, so the pronunciation and knowledge of the Religious are like servants brought by them to the fortress as if they were puppeteers for the recompense of enemies who

Objectives of the ecclesiastical universities

Even if the metaphor of "the looting of Egypt" concerning pagan science sounds too aggressive today, it does contain some clues to return to. It is about opening to anything that can be put to good use. It is also about awareness of one's own Catholic identity and a clear goal, which is "the benefit of preaching the Gospel." This approach is in line with the principles we find in the *Spiritual Exercises* by St Ignatius: seeking and finding God in all things and the *tantum quantum* principle that he preaches: "Man should use them [created things] to the extent that they assist him in the pursuit of his purpose [i.e. praising, worshipping and serving God], and should dispose of them to the degree that they interfere with his purpose."[6]

Two questions arise here: How do we formulate the goals of church universities today? How do these high schools want to confront a world that is sometimes friendly, but sometimes indifferent or even hostile to the Church? The most precise illustration of the latter possibility, namely hostility, remains the protests of some professors and students against the visit to the Roman university of La Sapienza paid by Benedict XVI, one of the greatest intellectuals of our time. In the various documents and statements of the popes of recent decades, including the most recent Constitution on universities and ecclesiastical faculties *Veritatis gaudium*, we find three interrelated fundamental objectives of ecclesiastical universities:

1. Systematic reflection on issues directly or indirectly related to Christian Revelation in the context of old and new challenges.
2. Shaping people ready to take on different responsibilities in the Church and in society.
3. Assisting the universal Church and the local churches in the work of evangelization.

These three objectives could be summarised: truth, formation, evangelization. It seems, therefore, that little has changed since the time of Saint Ignatius Loyola: it is still a matter of combining reason and faith to fulfil the missionary mandate of Christ: "Go and make disciples of all nations (...). Make disciples observe all I have delivered to you" (Mt 28,19).

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would storm the Church of God." A. Possevino, *De cultura ingeniorum*, Paris 1605, XLI, pp. 115–116.

6 I. Loyola, *Ćwiczenia duchowne*, transl. M. Bednarz, Krakow 2002, no. 23, English translation by WTR.

Nevertheless, the situation is different. Mainly because of a change in the understanding of concepts such as "truth" and "science." In many academic environments, there is a prevalence of ideas that belief in Revelation is incompatible with scientific inquiry into the truth. Ignatius of Loyola had no complexes about "pagan wisdom" and truly appreciated them. He was convinced that by putting Jesus Christ, who is the truth, at the centre, nothing is taken for granted. Today, on the other hand, Catholic circles sometimes seem too shy, withdrawn, as if they did not believe that they had something important to say from within their identity or were afraid that they would not be able to repel the accusation of a lack of science. Meanwhile, such accusations are often made by those who are not afraid to be guided in their search by world-view beliefs, including the so-called political correctness, as we see in the world success of the so-called gender studies. Therefore, the role of ecclesiastical universities depends to no small extent on understanding what their careful and dignified investigation into the truth is. In this regard, the Encyclical *Fides et ratio*, whose 20th anniversary we are celebrating this year, is still the fundamental – moreover, more topical than ever – Church document.

Reason and faith in the service of the truth

In an interview with André Frossard, the Polish Pope was asked which sentence from the Gospel he would have chosen if he had to convey only one. The response was quick and decisive: "The truth will set you free" (J 8,32).[7] Let us note that even Faustina Kowalska, Apostle of Mercy, confesses in her diary: "I have the greatest joy in my soul when I learn the truth."[8] Indeed, truth gives inherent meaning to all words and sentences.

On the other hand, there is no lack of currents that are more or less close to Pilate's sceptical statement: "What is the truth?" (J 18,38). Even if the truth exists, how to get to it?

The undoubted problem is that in seeking the truth, we come to different, sometimes contradictory conclusions. An even more significant problem seems to be the replacement of the very concept of "truth" with what is useful in achieving individual goals. Hence, in the public debate, there is less pointing to documented facts and more referring to fashions, circulating opinions, and beliefs. In this sense, there is talk of post-truth. However, perhaps the most

7 See: A. Frossard, *Portret Jana Pawła II*, transl. M. Tarnowska, Krakow 1990, p. 72.
8 F. Kowalska, *Dzienniczek*, Krakow 2016, no. 410, p. 245.

severe problem in contemporary academic life is arbitrary restrictions on the scope of the inquiry into the truth and the methods that serve it. The victim of such arbitrary, ideological choices is most often the question of God and the meaning of human life. That is why John Paul II, in his Encyclical *Fides et ratio*, convinces in various ways that one should not limit oneself to partial, empirically verifiable truths. After all, man by his nature

> is heading for a more profound truth that can show him the meaning of life; this search can, therefore, only achieve the goal in the absolute. The inborn enables man to think, find, and recognise this truth (…) not only by reasoning but also by trusting others who can guarantee the certainty and authenticity of this truth.[9]

This is how faith and reason, trust and scientific criticism meet in search of the truth.

In his speech delivered on 30 June 2011 during the Ratzinger Prize award ceremony, Benedict XVI referred to St Bonaventure that, in the prologue to his *Commentary to the Sentence*, pointed out a twofold use of reason: one that is incompatible with faith and one that even belongs to the essence of faith.[10] Following Bonaventure, Ratzinger states that there is a despotism of reason (*violentia rationis*), which is considered the ultimate judge of all reality, including God. When in Psalm 95(94),8-9 God speaks to his people: "In the desert (...) your ancestors tested and experienced me, even though they saw my work," this is precisely the example of the reason that wants to put God to the test, to experiment. It is the reason that is incompatible with faith. However, there is also another reason, namely one that

> refers to what is "personal," to the great issues of human existence. (…) When this way of using reason is lacking, the great issues of humanity escape from the realm of what is rational and become the prey of irrationality. This is why authentic theology is so important.[11]

In the latter sense, reason wants to meet other people, including God, but it knows that it cannot do this by appropriating them, locking them in some of

9 John Paul II, *Fides et ratio* 33.

10 See: Benedict XVI, *Rozum, który kieruje się wiarą, wypełnia swoje powołanie*, a speech at the Ratzinger Prize award ceremony, 30 June 2011, https://opoka.org.pl/biblioteka/W/WP/benedykt_xvi/przemowienia/nagroda_30062011.html [access 21.07.2018].

11 Ibidem.

its schemes. Thus, without giving up the rigor of rationality, it remains open to Revelation.

In the Apostolic Constitution on Catholic Universities *Ex corde Ecclesiae* published in 1990, John Paul II emphasised:

> The Catholic University has the honour of dedicating itself entirely to working for the truth. (…) Without giving up on acquiring useful knowledge, the Catholic University is distinguished by the freedom to seek all truth about nature, man, and God. (…) In the spirit of a specific universal humanism, the Catholic University devotes itself to the complete study of all aspects of truth in their essential relationship with the Supreme Truth which is God (no. 4)[12].

Last year, the Catholic University of Lublin held an interesting debate entitled "God at the University – what for?" which referred to the Constitution *Ex Corde Ecclesiae*. One of its participants, Prof. Krzysztof Góźdź, pointed to the tendency to throw God out of the public domain and close Him in the private sphere. In his opinion, the trend can be observed at universities, including Catholic ones. Prof. Stanislaw Janeczek regrets that today education is put on the pedestal in the meaning of *science* and rejects philosophical cognition, not to mention religious one. At the same time, he noted that paradoxically throwing away faith in God has shaken the position of reason, which gives way to various ideologies and superstitions.[13]

Let us note that the root of the problem does not lie in negating the existence of God and, consequently, the deeper, eternal meaning of human life. The problem is that the very question about God and the more profound sense of humanity are denied at the starting point or attempted to be entangled with morally evil intentions, thus showing religion as a source of violence or a tool of control. Furthermore, if one already accepts some religious themes, they are reduced, for example, to reflect on how different religions and faiths can harmoniously contribute to a pluralistic society. In this way, the discourse about faith and religion is brought down to an element of the search for social multi-cultural order.

As can be seen, the task – undertaken in *Fides et ratio* – of convincing people to open to various aspects of the truth and distinct ways of reaching it is still

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[12] John Paul II, *Ex corde Ecclesiae*.

[13] See: *Bóg na uniwersytecie – po co? Debata „Ex Corde Ecclesiae,"* "Gość Niedzielny," https://lublin.gosc.pl/doc/3999667.Bog-na-uniwersytecie-po-co-Debata-Ex-Corde-Ecclesiae [access: 21.07.2018].

crucial. It must be shown that it is not the scientific approach to reduce science and its methods to natural studies and that there are different types of science and rationality. It can be successfully depicted that, for instance, theology is a formal science, more like mathematics than to empirical sciences.[14] According to Canadian clinical psychologist Jordan Peterson, it might be Christianity that gives us the maximum of what we can expect from a man in terms of rationality.[15] It seems essential in this context to distinguish (not to separate!) between natural cognition and sapiential cognition.[16]

When referring to the Church's social teaching in *Caritas in veritate*, Benedict XVI notes that it has an important interdisciplinary dimension, which "allows faith, theology, metaphysics and scientific disciplines to find their place in cooperation in the service of man."[17] He then stresses that it is precisely in this regard that "the social teaching of the Church embodies its dimension of wisdom."[18] At this point, Ratzinger refers to Paul VI, who in *Populorum progressio* pointed out that one of the causes of underdevelopment is a lack of wisdom which exceeds the useful but partial data of various sciences.[19] The fragmentary nature of knowledge, the arbitrary rejection of theology as a partner in scientific dialogue is, according to Benedict XVI, harmful "since in such cases it is more difficult to see the whole good of man in the various dimensions that characterise them." It is, therefore, necessary to expand "the concept of reason and its use."[20] It is a task for ecclesiastical universities, not only in the sphere of social sciences but in all other matters that are the subject of academic research.

Pope Francis refers to *Caritas in veritate* in the Introduction to *Veritatis gaudium*. When addressing the issue of the wise dimension of cognition, he states emphatically:

> It is where the mission entrusted to the system of ecclesiastical studies takes place. This precise and directing indication of the way not only explains the real,

14 See: Ł. Remisiewicz, *Teologia jako nauka formalna*, "Analiza i Egzystencja" 32 (2015), pp. 113–142.

15 See: K. & A. Zybertowiczowie, *Ciała i umysły*, "Sieci" 25 (2018), p. 98.

16 See: A. Lekka-Kowalik, *Kryteria racjonalności postępu naukowego: skuteczność czy mądrość*, [in:] *Społeczno-kulturowe konteksty racjonalności*, Z. Drozdowicz, S. Sztajer (eds.), Poznań 2012, pp. 13–25.

17 Benedict XVI, *Caritas in veritat* 31.

18 Ibidem.

19 See: Paul VI, *Populorum progression* 40.

20 Benedict XVI, *Caritas in veritate* 31.

> truthful meaning of the system of religious studies but also indicates, especially today, their real cultural and humanising meaning.[21]

In the above context, Francis points to the principle of interdisciplinarity understood not as mere multidisciplinarity, but as a transdisciplinarity. In the Christian perspective, it appears as location and development of "all knowledge within the space of Light and Life offered by Wisdom that emanates from the Revelation of God."[22] Such openness to all dimensions of truth, a common search for it in all areas of knowledge, brings about the real *gaudium de veritate* of which Saint Augustine spoke. One could say that the importance of the ecclesiastical universities in the world of science lies in the constant pointing out of the joy of searching for the truth, not limited to some initial reduction assumptions.

Today, the attachment or the starting points for a joint search for the whole truth can be the Tertullian *anima naturaliter christiana* – the idea that the human soul is naturally Christian. Although it seems that the notion of nature has fallen into disgrace of the academics worldwide, it returns through ecology, i.e., the postulate of respecting nature and living in harmony with it. Church universities can take advantage of a kind of fashion for everything that is "ecological," "natural," but without being associated with ideological ecology. They ought to selectively treat matters of ethics and bioethics or those hostile to man and proclaim that a man is the most significant parasite on earth destroying the environment. Entering through someone else's door, it may be possible, however, to leave through own door of integral ecology, which will put human nature linked to the rest of creation and yet irreducible to it as it is open to the supernatural Mystery, at the centre.

Models of the Church and the role of Catholic universities

As the name suggests, church universities grow out of the life of the Church and are to be closely connected with it. Thus, the assessment of their role and importance depends on the understanding of nature and mission of the Church. Let us, therefore, refer to Avery Dulles and his famous book *Models of*

21 Francis, *Veritatis gaudium*, no. 4c.
22 Ibidem.

the Church.[23] The American cardinal pointed to its five models: an institution, a mystical community, a sacrament, a hero (herald), and ta servant. It is worth remembering that models are only models and rarely realise themselves in their pure form, and they undoubtedly simplify the reality they describe. However, they are useful as they allow us to perceive various aspects of reality better.

The model of the Church as an institution emphasises the visible structures of the Church, especially the ones of power and law. Ecclesiological institutionalism has developed as a reaction to the Reformation, which attacked the papacy and the ecclesiastical hierarchy. For example, the first draft of the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church prepared by the First Vatican Council, which states that the Church is a perfect community, stands above all other human societies and as such is not part of or a member of any of them, is vital for the "institutionalist" way of thinking. In the perspective of this model, religious high schools should be strong within themselves and, as far as possible, independent of external non-church structures institutions that explain, promote and defend Catholic teaching, while keeping a certain distance to the world and focusing on their own identity. It does not necessarily mean an incapacity for dialogue. Quite the contrary, since only strong beliefs allow establishing a real dialogue, to present one's own and accept others' arguments. Today, this becomes especially important in the context of proclaiming somewhat utopian omnipotence: you can be who you want to be. Such a view leads, in fact, to a loss of identity.

The second model indicated by Dulles is the Church as a mystical community. What unites the Church in the institutional model is the professing of the same doctrine, the importance of celebration of the sacraments, and obedience to the validly established shepherds, while in the community model it is above all the internal grace and gifts of the Holy Spirit. In the first model, the Church is a benefactor to its members, with the mission to make those outside its institutional form members. In the community model, the concept of "member of the Church" is no longer clearly defined in juridical terms. The idea of "invisible membership" clearly emerges here. In this perspective, the role of an ecclesiastical university would be mainly to lead a diverse Catholic community, which would be part of an interfaith, interreligious, and intercultural community, towards the experience of a pluralistic community with God and other people. The transdisciplinarity, as above mentioned, seems to be in harmony with the mystical-community model. Let us also note that the

[23] See: A. Dulles, *Models of the Church*, New York 1978.

perspective of a "mystical community" is an invitation to cultivate a theology of spirituality as a response to spiritual hunger in lost societies.

One of the weaknesses of this model is the lack of clarity about the relationship between the spiritual and visible dimension of the Church, which in turn can lead to a weakened Catholic identity. Hence the efforts of the Second Vatican Council to integrate these two aspects. In *Lumen Gentium*, we read:

> A community equipped with hierarchical organs and the Mystical Body of Christ, a visible congregation as well as a spiritual commonality, the earthly Church and the Church abundant in heavenly goods – cannot be understood as two separate things, but form one complex reality in which the human and divine elements grow together.[24]

The institutional and community-mystical aspects are united to some extent in the sacramental Church model, which could be summarised as follows: Christ is the sacrament of God, the sign and at the same time the bearer and giver of God's grace; in Him, the invisible grace takes on a visible form. However, as a sacrament, He wants to be visible to every human being in every generation, which is why he established the Church as a historically tangible sign of His salvific grace. Therefore, as a sacrament, the Church has two aspects: internal (grace) and external (institution). In this way, the sacramental model of the Church constitutes a bridge between the institutional and mystical-community model. It combines the need for the visible Church to exist with the action of invisible present grace, even beyond the visible boundaries of the Church as an institution. An ecclesiastical university, seen in the light of the above model, should combine the vision of an institution with a strong identity with the dimension of building a broad community of experience operating through and outside the institutions of grace. Furthermore, the religious school ought to continually purify itself and deepen itself to become a humble sign of the Wisdom that is revealed in the Word incarnate and that permeates the universe. One element of this being a sign is the quality of the university.

Another Dulles' model describes the Church mainly as a hero (herald) and gives priority to the "word" over the "sacrament." The Word of God constitutes the Church, and at the same time, its mission is to preach the Word. This kind of ecclesiology, which is especially close to the various currents of Protestantism, focuses on Jesus Christ and the Bible as the testimony of Christ. The promoter of this model, Karl Barth, stressed that the Church is not the owner of the

24 Second Vatican Council, *Lumen Gentium* 8.

Word, but something that is updated whenever the Word is proclaimed. Barth distinguishes between the theology of glory and the theology of the cross. The former takes place when the Church identifies itself with what is divine and points to itself as the owner of what it preaches. In Barth's view, this attitude is the primary sin of Catholicism. The Church should, according to the Protestant theologian, point beyond itself, at Christ and His Kingdom. The Second Vatican Council creatively took up some themes of the Protestant theology of the Word. In the Constitution *Dei verbum*, we read: "The Magisterium is not above the Word of God, but serves it by teaching what has been transmitted."[25] In the "Herold" model, the Church would be a sort of congregation. Every local part of it would be an entirely true Church if the Word of God occurs in it. It seems that in the light of this kind of ecclesiology, religious universities should not preach a strong concept of truth. For truth would be a point event, happening here and now, without the necessary continuity with other events. Moreover, a special place for it to appear would be the commitment to the poor.

The models of the Church presented so far, although they differ, they generally see its position as, in a sense privileged to the world. Here the Church is an active subject, whose object is a world in need of change. Nevertheless, since the Enlightenment, the world is becoming increasingly independent of the Church. In the face of the even greater secularisation, many people are emphasising that the Church is to get rid of exaggerated ambition for the world. It should not be above the world but should be its servant. Service is precisely the Church's mission.

The supporters of this model could refer to the Council Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, in which we read: "The Church is not guided by any earthly ambition, but pursues one goal (...) to continue the work of Christ, who came into the world to bear witness to the truth, to save, not to condemn; to serve, not to be served."[26] The Church should, therefore, watch the world and support the good, beautiful and just rather than criticize and condemn. In the model of servant, what unites the Church is not so much a common doctrine or sacraments shared but a sense of fraternity among those who undertake Christian service to the world (ecumenism of action). For the Church would be only one of the communities that contribute to building the Kingdom of God. In this perspective, ecclesiastical universities should follow what is happening in the world and support mainstream thinking and action, such as that proposed by the United Nations or the European Union.

25 Second Vatican Council, *Dei verbum* 10.
26 Paul VI, *Gaudium et spes* 3.

Five models of the Church by Avery Dulles are one of the possible proposals. Nonetheless, the question "what ecclesiastical universities?" implies the question "what ecclesiology?" The Apostolic Constitution *Veritatis gaudium* indicates, as already noted, that one of the tasks of the religious high schools is to "actively help – in conformity with its nature and in close connection with the hierarchy – both the particular churches and the universal Church in the whole work of evangelisation." However, this task cannot be problematised without ecclesiological reflection. The problem, or perhaps the chance, is that today we have many different ecclesiologies.

In conclusion – quality

The need for quality has been mentioned above in the context of the Church and ecclesiastical universities understood as a sign of God's grace and wisdom. Father Franco Imoda, a Jesuit, for many years the President of the Holy See's Agency for the Evaluation and Promotion of the Quality of Ecclesiastical Universities and Faculties (AVEPRO), has repeatedly addressed this issue. He entitled one of its conferences as "Quality as a Dimension of Ecclesiality."[27]

Father Imoda formulates the questions as follows: What is the relationship between quality and "being the Church" of ecclesiastical universities? How can the ecclesiastical dimension contribute to building quality? How can the process of evaluating and improving the quality of religious high schools be an expression of the very nature of the Church? In his search for an answer, the head of AVEPRO referred precisely to the models of the Church according to Dulles, and mainly to the sacramental model, that is, to the mutual correlation between the supernatural order and human (res et sacramentum). After all, one must avoid "monophysical" heresy and "Nestorian" heresy, namely, drowning in a purely spiritual perspective or blurring in the life of society.

Imoda notes that in *societas humana*, the elements related to quality include: achieving specific goals, using instruments, means, commitment, deeper motivation for work. In the case of a religious university, all this is important, but it cannot be reduced to function, technical utility, and effectiveness. It is about how – as an ecclesiastical university – to be the Church, i.e., a visible sign of invisible grace. In this perspective, following Father Imoda, the most relevant term for quality is "appropriateness in relation to purpose, mission."

[27] F. Imoda, *La Qualità come dimensione della Ecclesialità*, "Educatio Catholica" 3 (2017), pp. 63–75.

The mission of the religious higher school is to be inscribed in the mission of the Church.

Imoda states that each university has such dimensions as the institution, service, community, system. The institution is organisation, means, and management. The service relates to authority, hierarchy, leadership. The community is belonging and motivation. The system refers to values, norms, law. A religious higher school is supposed to take care of the quality of these dimensions, thus referring them to similar dimensions of the Church. In this way, the quality will serve ecclesiality, and ecclesiality will build quality. The idea is that the authority of the university should be a service, not a domination, the means of the university not an end but indeed for more universal purposes, norms not only a rigid law but a spirit that expresses the most profound values, belonging not only to a community of individual interests but to an authentic, reciprocal sharing in community.

Quality understood in this way is one of the elements necessary for religious universities to be genuinely ecclesial and, as such, to effectively oppose the four harmful tendencies present in academic life as indicated by John Henry Newman: utilitarianism, fragmentation, secularism and rationalism.[28] Moreover, above all, to make them able to respond, as Pope Francis put it, "«to the great cultural, spiritual, and educational challenge, which means a long process of revival» also for universities and ecclesiastical faculties."[29]

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29 Francis, *Veritatis gaudium*, introduction, 6.

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The Problem of Method in Theology*

Problem metody w teologii

Abstract: The problem of method (methods) in theology is connected to the understanding of theology as a science as well as to the understanding of its identity. In theology understood as a science there is no single scientific method, because there are many theological disciplines and each of them uses its own methods. Therefore, we speak in fact of the pluralism of the theological methods. In this paper the Author limited the analysis of the methodological issues of theological studies to showing the basic methodological elements: first, to those which are common to all theological disciplines and second, he presented one of the most important hermeneutic methods, i.e. the linguistic one, which is a method of analysing texts, used mainly in biblical, liturgical and patristic sciences. In the last part of the paper he refers to some of the newest works concerning the methods used in different theological disciplines.

Keywords: theology, theological studies, methodology of theology, scientific research, hermeneutics, linguistic hermeneutics

Abstrakt: Problem metody (metod) w teologii wiąże się z rozumieniem teologii jako nauki, a także z rozumieniem jej tożsamości. W teologii jako nauce nie istnieje jedna metoda naukowa, bo jest wiele dyscyplin teologicznych i każda posługuje się własnymi metodami – stąd też mówimy o pluralizmie metod teologicznych. W omawianiu problematyki metodologicznej nauk teologicznych autor ograniczył się jedynie do ukazania podstawowych elementów metodologicznych, najpierw wspólnych wszystkim dyscyplinom teologicznym, a następnie szczegółowiej omówił jedną z podstawowych metod hermeneutycznych, to jest lingwistyczną, czyli metodę analizy tekstów stosowaną głównie w naukach biblijnych, liturgicznych i patrystycznych. W ostatniej części

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natomiast wskazał najnowsze opracowania dotyczące metod stosowanych w poszczególnych dyscyplinach teologicznych.

Słowa kluczowe: teologia, nauki teologiczne, metodologia teologii, badania naukowe, hermeneutyka, hermeneutyka lingwistyczna

The problem of method (methods) in theology is connected to the understanding of theology as a science as well as to the understanding of its identity. We are dealing with a broad, difficult and ambiguously defined issue here. At the beginning it should be stated that there is no single scientific method in theology, as there are many theological disciplines, hence we are talking about pluralism of theological methods.

From a scientific point of view, methodology is always one of the central problems, because one cannot actually do any science without full awareness of what it does, why and for what purpose, as well as what research means and instruments it has at its disposal. This also applies to theology, which must constantly specify the subject under examination, define objectives and tasks, and select methods that correspond to both the subject and the adopted goals.[1]

We are witnessing the emergence of new scientific disciplines, which is due to the improvement of research tools. Consequently, more and more narrow scientific specialisations are developing. In addition, interdisciplinary studies are carried out, which require appropriate research methods. This is taking place in almost every scientific field, including theology. Scientific methods are therefore constantly evolving and becoming more precise.

In the developing theological studies today, theology cannot be narrowed down mainly to systematic theology. Within the framework of theology, a whole range of disciplines have emerged, which use their own research methods. These methods are being constantly improved, but often are unfortunately little known to theologians of other disciplines, which does not favour objectivity of their own research. It should also be noted that we are observing poor methodological knowledge of theological studies, which can be seen especially in theses and publications written for further academic advancements.

The timeframe does not allow for even a cursory discussion of all the rich methodological issues of theological studies, so we will limit ourselves to examining only the fundamental methodological elements common to all theological disciplines (1); then we will discuss one of the basic hermeneutic

1 See: M. Rusecki, *Wprowadzenie*, [in:] *Metodologia teologii*, "Studia Nauk Teologicznych PAN," idem (ed.), vol. 2, 2007, p. 5.

methods, i.e. the method of text analysis, used primarily in biblical, liturgical and patristic studies (2); while in the last part we will present the latest studies on the methods adopted in all theological disciplines (3).

Basic methodological elements common to all theological disciplines

First of all, we must remember that every specific theological discipline is a theology that was formerly defined, in accordance with the etymology of the word, as the science of God. Nowadays we also claim that theology is concentrated on God, who gives salvation to man. This God's activity and God's word, or Revelation, has been realised in history and continues on in the Church, where it is constantly updated (made present). Theology explores the Revelations, explains and systematises them, and at the same time tries to adapt to the spirit of the times and the mentality of the era. It shows God as someone close to man who acts for his good. Theology is to make man know himself in the light of Revelation as well as understand the meaning of life and the final fulfilment of hope. In the process of implementation of these tasks, individual theological disciplines use the achievements of other sciences, especially natural sciences and humanities, and do so to varying degrees depending on their objectives.[2]

In theological studies, there are two methodological assumptions, namely:

a) about the rationalisation of faith (Revelation) – we determine what we believe in and how the Holy Bible and Tradition see it;[3]
b) "revelationalisation" of the world and emerging problems, e.g. abortion and *in vitro*. We ask what Revelation says about these issues.[4]

Stanisław Napiórkowski (OFM Conv) defines these assumptions differently and speaks of two ways of theological cognition (about two approaches of theologians to the word of God), namely the bottom-up way, i.e. from the word of God to man, and the top-down way – from man to the word of God.[5] This is applied differently in individual theological studies. In all scientific disciplines,

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[2] Ibidem, pp. 6–7.

[3] See: W. Granat, *Nauki teologiczne*, [in:] W. Granat, *Dogmatyka katolicka*, introductory volume, Lublin 1995, p. 27.

[4] The main representative in Poland is S. Kamiński. See: idem, *Epistemologiczno-metodologiczne uwagi o teologii*, [in:] *Teologia nauką o Bogu. Kongres Teologów Polskich 1976*, M. Jaworski, A. Kubiś (eds.), Krakow 1977, p. 46.

[5] S.C. Napiórkowski, *Jak uprawiać teologię*, Wrocław 1994, pp. 60–63.

including theological ones, the ability to use the right method or methods is always a major problem.

First, let us recall what a method is. There are different definitions. M. Rusecki considers the definition provided by S. Kamiński as the most comprehensive: "A method is generally considered to be a systematically applicable mental selection and arrangement of activities provided to achieve the most economical objective."[6] Another assertion is that there is no single method for all theological disciplines. However, in the light of contemporary methodological awareness, it is possible to establish the fundamental structural elements and research stages in all methods used in particular disciplines of theology. These stages are: theological cognition, explanation, justification, element of criticism and element of systematisation.

Here is a brief overview of these five research stages:

1. Theological cognition: the object of cognition is God's Revelation fully realised in Jesus Christ and passed on in the Church. All salvific events have the structure of a sign, that is, the visible, historical and empirical element together with the invisible and supernatural element. This implies two kinds of cognition: sensual-intellectual and one achieved through fate.
2. The second stage of the theological method (as in all other sciences) is explanation. This point is to show the specific meanings of particular concepts. Revelation, found and transmitted in the Scriptures and Tradition, is the foundation (base) on which a theological explanation is given.
3. The third stage is justification – cognition and explanation must be justified. The idea is that the opinions and claims should be certain or highly probable and credible. In theological sciences we do not talk about evidence in the strict sense of the word, but about justification (truths of faith cannot be proven). Theology draws the premises for justification from the Holy Bible, Tradition, Church teachings, history, philosophy and ancillary sciences. Harmonious cooperation of reason and faith is necessary in a theological justification.
4. The fourth stage is scientific criticism; it is an essential element of research in any field of science. Theological scientific criticism checks whether problems in question are legitimately addressed, whether it is original, the sources sufficient and credible, and whether they are properly used. Scientific criticism also needs to answer the question of what new theological research has brought to science.

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6 M. Rusecki, *Problematyka metody w teologii*, [in:] *Tożsamość teologii*, A. Anderwald, T. Dola, M. Rusecki (eds.), Opole 2010, pp. 64–82, transl. by WTR; S. Kamiński, *Metoda w teologii*, [in:] *Dogmatyka katolicka*, W. Granat (ed.), Lublin 1965, pp. 147–162.

5. The last stage is systematisation, which includes a systematic approach to the research to date and its systematic presentation. Science cannot be based on making arbitrarily juxtaposed claims. Individual theories must be justified, consistent and critically evaluated.[7]

After a brief presentation of the common methodological elements found in research on every theological discipline, the methods used by individual theological studies ought to be discussed in more detail. First, however, one of the hermeneutic methods – linguistic – should be examined.

The hermeneutic-linguistic method in theological sciences

There are several reasons why special attention should be paid to hermeneutic methods in theological studies, focusing primarily on the method of text interpretation, i.e. linguistic. The main reason is that the method is used, to a greater or lesser extent, in many theological disciplines, and especially in studies that analyse theological texts: biblical, liturgical, patristic and of the Magisterium of the Catholic Church. Rev. Prof. Andrzej Bronk, an expert on the subject, claims that hermeneutics is a proper method for all theology, and every theologian is a hermeneut.[8] Addressing this method seems justified especially in Wrocław, as the father of modern hermeneutics, professor of philosophy and theology, Protestant preacher and co-founder of Humboldt University of Berlin – Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834), was born there.[9]

I must admit that the most important reason for me, however, is that the linguistic method has found wild application in teachings about liturgy or, in other words, in liturgical theology. I deliberately avoid the term "in the liturgy" because this concept is being removed from today's scientific methodology. It is a common perception that "liturgy" is associated with a not very scientific/theological subject, related to the old concept of "rubricism." Nowadays, the terms "liturgical science" and "liturgical theology" are used in world literature.[10]

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7 See a more comprehensive discussion of these issues in: M. Rusecki, *Problematyka metody w teologii*, op. cit., pp. 66–82.

8 A. Bronk, *Hermeneutyka*, EK 6, pp. 770–774; C. Bartnik, *Hermeneutyka katolicka*, EK 6, pp. 774–779.

9 S. Koza, *Schleiermacher Fridrich*, EK 17, pp. 1241–1243.

10 A. Gerhards, B. Kranemann, *Einfürung in die Liturgiewissenschaft*, Darmstadt 2006, pp. 24–42; H.B. Meyer, *Liturgie als Hauptfach. Erwägungen zu Stellung und Aufgabe der Liturgiewissenschaft im Grenzen des theologischen Studiums*, ZKTh 88 (1966), pp. 315–335. Cf.

Scientific analysis of liturgical texts requires the correct application of various research methods, which are also defined in different ways. This refers to the integral method[11] that others complement with general theological principles.[12] There are also authors who speak of the gradual or progressive study of texts.[13]

In hermeneutic studies of biblical and liturgical texts, the linguistic method is primarily used today. This method examines the historical and cultural context of texts, their creation, development, construction and structure. In a final study, however, in-depth theological content is examined.[14]

Such scientific analysis covers all liturgical texts, not only euchological ones. The biblical texts are of particular importance in the liturgy, as the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy clearly states:

> The Bible is of great importance in the liturgical celebration. The readings explained in the homily and the psalms intended for singing originate from it. Petitions, prayers and liturgical songs also draw their inspiration and their spirit from the Bible. One must seek the meaning of actions and signs from them (CL 24).

Likewise, the liturgical texts are examined in the context of the whole ritual, as they are its integral part. It is necessary to analyse who utters the liturgical texts, to whom they are addressed and what gestures and attitudes (standing, kneeling or sitting) accompany them, as well as in what sacred space the text is spoken. The fundamental principles of the linguistic method are applied in research on the texts themselves.

From a scientific point of view, in research on liturgical texts, which are essentially based on biblical texts, we try to take into account the methodological indications found in the instruction of the Pontifical Biblical Commission[15]

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also Italian *scientia liturgica*, see: five volumes of the textbook: *Scientia liturgica. Manuale di Liturgia*, A. Chupungo (ed.), Pontificio Istituto Liturgico Sant'Anselmo, vol. 1–5, Casale Monferrato 1998.

11 See: F. Nakagaki, *Metodo integrale. Discorso sulla metodologia nell'interpretazione dei testi eucologici*, [in:] *Fons vivus. Miscellanea liturgica in memoria di Don Eusebio M. Vismara*, A. Cuva (ed.), Bibliotheca Theologica Salesiana, vol. 1, issue 6, Zürich 1971, pp. 269–286.

12 M. Auge, *Principi di interpretazione dei testi liturgici*, [in:] *Anamnesis*, vol. 1, Torino 1974, pp. 167–179.

13 A.M. Triacca, R. Farina, *Studio e lettura dell'eucologia. Note metodologiche*, [in:] *Teologia, Liturgia, Storia. Miscellanea in onore di Carlo Manziana, Vescovo di Cremona*, C. Ghidelli (ed.), Brescia 1977, pp. 197–224.

14 See: H.J. Sobeczko, *Pluralizm metod stosowanych w nauce o liturgii*, [in:] *Metodologia teologii*, op. cit., pp. 251–269.

15 *Die Interpretation der Bibel in der Kirche*, Città del Vaticano 1993.

issued in 1993, as well as the contemporary achievements of biblical sciences. Fr. J. Czerski,[16] a biblical scholar from Opole, presented in his work a relatively successful attempt at a comprehensive discussion of the methods of interpreting the New Testament books. We also apply his findings to a large degree in research on liturgical texts. On the basis of scientific world literature, especially Italian, we can conclude that the methods of scientific procedure aimed at explaining liturgical texts are divided into two groups: historical-critical (diachronic) and literary (synchronous) ones.

We use the following stages (steps) in linguistic studies of liturgical texts:

1. First, the historical-critical method is applied. Texts are examined using scientific methods of historical sciences. Attempts are made to recreate the genesis and history of a text preceding its final editing. The historical period of its composition is then determined, reaching back to the oldest original texts. In the Roman liturgy, there are especially Latin texts of ancient sacramentaries. This method is a critical analysis of texts, but it does not determine the interdependence of individual elements of a text.[17]
2. The next research step is intertextual (contextual) analysis – we ask what the source of a text is or what its inspiration is. These are often biblical texts.[18] The specific Latin language of liturgical prayers should also be taken into account. In Christian antiquity, when most of the liturgical prayers still used today were created (4th–6th century), this language differed from the language of official documents. It was hieratic and avoided any expressions or phrases that could suggest pagan worship, e.g. the word *caritas* or *dilectio* was used instead of *amor*, and the term *ecclesia* instead of *templum*.[19] This linguistic specificity should be borne in mind particularly when analysing the texts of renewed liturgical books translated into modern languages. Over the centuries liturgical books have been shaped by specific cultural and pastoral conditions. The Roman Missal and other liturgical books, in spite of the post-Trent and post-Vatican reform, largely contain the texts of the oldest sacramentaries (Gelasian and Gregorian).

16 J. Czerski, *Metody interpretacji Nowego Testamentu*, Opole 1997.
17 See more: H.J. Sobeczko, *Pluralizm metod…*, op. cit., pp. 253–255.
18 See more on this subject: M. Augé, *Principi di interpretazione…*, op. cit., pp. 162–170.
19 There is a rich literature on the Latin language of the oldest liturgical texts. See: W. Dürig, *Pietas liturgica. Studien zum Frömmigkeitsbegriff und zur Gottesvorstellung der abendländischen Liturgie*, Regensburg 1958; A. Blaise, *Le vocabulaire latin des principaux themes liturgiques*, Turnhout 1966; A. Dumas, *Pour mieux comprendre les textes liturgiques du Missel Romain*, “Notitiae” 6 (1970), pp. 194–213.

3. Linguistic analysis is conducted only after determining the genesis of a text and after separating it from the context (liturgical prayers are inherently separated from the context and constitute integral units in literary terms). Linguistic analysis is carried out in three stages:
   a) first, a syntactic analysis is conducted – it deals with studying the linguistic shape of a given text, i.e. the relations between individual language elements (characters) present in studied texts and the principles on the basis of which these elements were introduced into the text;
   b) next, a semantic analysis is carried out, which examines the meaning of individual characters, that is, words, sentences and whole texts, and seeks an answer to the question of what a particular text wishes to express and how to understand individual expressions and sentences in it;
   c) finally, a pragmatic analysis is conducted – it explores the communicative functions of language. The task of language and written text is communication. Language is directed at the recipient and aimed at conveying some information.[20]
4. Linguistic analysis is followed by intertextual analysis. This method assumes that each text is built on the pattern of a mosaic, which consists of various fragments (quotations).[21] Intertextuality refers to a relationship between texts. In the horizontal dimension, this relation consists of: author's text – text received by the reader; in the vertical dimension: later text – original text.[22]

In liturgical texts we can very often observe the entire chain of interdependence of texts. This chain includes biblical and patristic texts, especially the texts of the oldest sacramentaries. Individual structural elements of a text, its vocabulary, syntax and semantics share their characteristic features with other texts. The theory of intertextuality focuses not only on literary texts, but all other, as well as every expression used in daily life. These references have to do in a particular text with structures, codes and semantic systems found in earlier texts. Literary studies understand codes as sources, any influences, quotations or allusions to them, paraphrases, imitations, translations, adaptations etc.[23]

In intertextual analysis, there are five groups of possible relationships between texts (text references to original texts). These are:

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[20] A detailed description of the different stages. See: J. Czerski, *Metody interpretacji…*, op. cit., pp. 125–149; H.J. Sobeczko, *Pluralizm metod…*, op. cit., pp. 253–255.

[21] Intertextual analysis was introduced into the literary theory by J. Kristeva, *Sémeiotiké. Recherches pour une sémanalyse*, Paris 1969, pp. 143–173 (cited after: J. Czerski, *Metody interpretacji…*, op. cit., p. 225).

[22] J. Kristeva, *Sémeiotiké…*, op. cit., p. 145.

[23] See more in: J. Czerski, *Metody interpretacji…*, op. cit., p. 227.

a) intertextuality – the coexistence of two or more texts, where the presence of one text in another must be perceptible (in the form of quotations, allusions and plagiarisms);
b) paratextuality – the relationship between a text and its title, introduction or ending;
c) metatextuality – the commentary or critical evaluation of an original text;
d) hypertextuality – is based on using a text as a cliché or background for a second text (in the form of imitation, adaptation, parody or complement);
e) architextuality – the relations regarding the genres of a given text.[24]

The method of linguistic hermeneutics presented above seems complicated, but its application allows for a fuller insight into the content of a particular text. In this case, it is about extracting theological depth, for example, through the oration of given liturgical periods or celebrated holidays we become familiar with their theology.

In Poland, the hermeneutic-linguistic method of interpretation of liturgical texts is at the stage of constant clarification and improvement, especially in terms of its greater usefulness in studies of liturgical theology. This is done to a greater or lesser extent by successive studies.[25] In these works, however, we can observe various scopes of application of contemporary interpretation methods. We can also see a considerable lack of clear and consistent interpretation rules. The use of linguistic methods in research on liturgical texts is often discouraged by the absence of sufficient knowledge of Latin, as research can only be conducted on original texts. Although this problem concerns other researchers too, not just liturgists.

The pluralism of methods used in theological disciplines

The methodological elements discussed above apply to a greater or lesser extent also in individual theological studies. However, it should be kept in mind that while exploring the methodological issues of theological research, care ought to

24 G. Genettes, *Palimpsestes: La littérature au second degré*, Paris 1982, p. 7, cited after: J. Czerski, *Metody interpretacji…*, op. cit., p. 228.

25 S. Czerwik, *Prefacje o misteriach Chrystusa w Mszale Rzymskim Pawła VI. Geneza i teologia*, Warsaw 1984; A. Durak, *Treści uczestnictwa we mszy świętej w świetle formuł euchologicznych Mszału rzymskiego dla diecezji polskich (Niedziele Wielkiego Postu i Paschy)*, Piła 1992; J. Miazek, *Misterium Wielkiego Postu w modlitwach mszalnych dawnej i współczesnej liturgii rzymskiej. Studium liturgiczno-teologiczne*, Warsaw 1997; A. Żądło, *Eklezjologiczny wymiar kolekt adwentu w Mszale Rzymskim Pawła VI. Studium lingwistyczno-teologiczne*, Krakow 2002.

be taken to maintain the unity of theology, despite its division into different theological disciplines.

The classifications of theological studies known to date are varied and depend on the time of their separation from general theology. The following classification of theological studies is commonly accepted and is divided into three groups: 1) historical (biblical sciences: introduction, exegesis and biblical theology; history of the Church); 2) doctrinal (theologies: dogmatic, fundamental and moral with spirituality and mysticism); 3) practical and pastoral (liturgical and pastoral theology, homiletics, catechism, canon law; in addition, the following auxiliary sciences: pedagogy, psychology and pastoral medicine). However, the divisions into theological disciplines are changeable and cannot be dogmatised, especially in the currently transforming faculty and institutional structures. Moreover, this division does not take into account the latest developments of theological disciplines, existing sub-disciplines or contemporary trends (e.g. comparative and ecumenical theology). Despite the diversity, however, theology should not lose its unity and identity.[26]

It is impossible to discuss all methods used in individual theological disciplines in a short presentation. In addition to the above, I would like to refer to the latest studies, particularly two studies published as part of the series of the Committee on Theological Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

The first study, titled *Methodology of Theology*, discusses twenty-two topics devoted to the methodology of particular theological studies.[27] In the introduction, the editor of this collective issue, an outstanding expert on the subject Fr. Prof. M. Rusecki (John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin), characterises all the articles published in the following manner:

> In all these studies we can observe the great care taken by the authors to show not only the current state of research, but also the ongoing substantive changes within the subject and the processes of adapting the shape of a practised field to the needs and requirements of contemporary mentality and the spirit of the times. We invited eminent Polish theologians and experts in the field to work on these difficult but vital issues. These theologians are recognised authorities in the country and some have an international reputation. Therefore, they guarantee a high level of this study.[28]

26 See: M. Rusecki, *Problematyka metody w teologii*, [in:] *Tożsamość teologii*, A. Anderwald, T. Dola, M. Rusecki (eds.), Opole 2010, pp. 54–56.

27 *Metodologia teologii*, op. cit., p. 403.

28 Ibidem, p. 7, transl. by WTR.

In the second collective study, titled *Identity of Theology*, published by the Committee on Theological Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences together with the Faculty of Theology in Opole,[29] Rev. Prof. M. Rusecki briefly describes respective theological disciplines and discusses the methods of scientific research applied in them.[30] The author clearly states that very distinct research methods are used in theological studies simultaneously. Among them are also methods borrowed from other fields of research based on which they were developed. Common methods or only some of their elements are used in different disciplines. This applies principally to the following methods: historical, theological, critical, genetic, empirical, hermeneutic, analytical, synthetic, sociological, psychological, comparative and dialogical.[31]

In conclusion, it should be acknowledged that the use of pluralism of methods in theological disciplines ensures the scientific status of theology, as it meets the criteria for science as such. It should be borne in mind, however, that theology as a science is different from the so-called natural or secular sciences, because its research subject is supernatural reality, i.e. the reality of Revelation. Theology speaks of God who saves mankind, and thus speaks of God, man and the world. Sometimes it is also said that theology deals with interpreting all of reality in the light of God's Revelation, which reached its fullness and peak in Jesus Christ.

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Theology as a Christian Gnosis in the First Three Centuries*

Pojęcie teologii jako gnozy chrześcijańskiej w pierwszych trzech wiekach naszej ery

ABSTRACT: During the second and third centuries A.D., challenges from various gnostic groups forced mainstream Christianity to deepen its understanding of its core message. Partially reacting to gnostic teachings, Irenaeus of Lyon, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen all contributed to establishing the methods and contents of the authentic "gnosis," i.e., the orthodox doctrine of faith, in its relationship to historical knowledge and its moral and spiritual endeavor. The importance given to the *regula fidei* as *criterium veritatis* manifests the fundamental desire to be faithful to the original experience of Jesus Christ.

KEYWORDS: Gnosis, Gnosticism, Theology, *regula fidei*, Irenaeus of Lyon, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, authentic "gnosis," orthodox doctrine of faith, *criterium veritatis*

ABSTRAKT: W II i III wieku n.e. wyzwanie, jakim była działalność różnych grup gnostyckich, skłoniło przedstawicieli głównego nurtu chrześcijaństwa do pogłębienia rozumienia swojego najważniejszego przesłania. Po części w reakcji na nauczanie gnostyków Ireneusz z Lyonu, Klemens Aleksandryjski oraz Orygenes przyczynili się do opracowania metod i treści prawdziwej „gnozy", czyli ortodoksyjnej doktryny wiary, w jej relacji do wiedzy historycznej, a także wysiłków moralnych i duchowych. Znaczenie nadawane *regula fidei* jako *criterium veritatis* świadczy o fundamentalnym pragnieniu pozostania wiernym pierwotnemu doświadczeniu obecności Jezusa Chrystusa.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: gnoza, gnostycyzm, teologia, *regula fidei*, Ireneusz z Lyonu, Klemens Aleksandryjski, Orygenes, prawdziwa „gnoza", ortodoksyjna doktryna wiary, *criterium veritatis*

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The theology of the second and beginning of the third centuries was most deeply shaped by its encounter with the gnosis."[1] With these words, Cardinal Grillmeier characterized the connection between Gnosticism, understood as a heretical movement, and the theology of the Great Church in his monumental history of Christology. However, recent scholarship, for example, that of N. Brox, which approaches the phenomenon of heretical groups from a sociological point of view, understands its variety as the original phenomenon upon which doctrinal orthodoxy would later impose itself.[2] Yet his interpretive hypothesis does not do justice to those sources that bear witness to the desire to know and adhere to Christ's authentic message as an element that qualified Christian experience from its beginning. Orthodox thinkers sometimes used the terms gnosis and gnostic to define the authentic knowledge arising from the Revelation and the Christian who lived in full accordance with its principles, even if they preferred other terms to indicate Christian perfection from the third century on. In this paper, we will highlight some of the stages in which the heterodox gnosis, while provoking adverse reactions from Catholics, contributed to the birth and development of Christian theology which could be considered as the true gnosis.

Given the complexity of this theme, we will first focus on some terminological and methodological issues to avoid ambiguity. Then, we will analyze some fundamental aspects of Catholic theology in response to the gnosis through the examples of Irenaeus of Lyon, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. In conclusion, a critical position will be taken on some outcomes emerging from recent scholarship focusing on Ante-Nicene theology and an attempt will be made at assessing the actual relevance of these ancient models.

Preliminary Observations

When questioning the relationship between gnosis and theology in the first centuries of Christianity, it is first necessary to clearly define the relevant acceptation of these two terms from among their multiple meanings.

The noun "gnosis," that is, "knowledge," is frequently used in the Pauline letters, while the verb "to know" is employed very often in the Gospel of

1 Cf. A. Grillmeier, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche*, Bd. 1: *Von der apostolischen Zeit bis zum Konzil von Chalcedon (451)*, Freiburg 1990/2004, p. 189.

2 Cf. N. Brox, term: "Häresie," [in:] *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, XIII, Lieferung 98, F.J. Dölger (bearb.), T. Klauser, E. Dassmann (hrsg.), Stuttgart 1984, coll. 248–297.

John.[3] A specific reference to knowledge of the divine emerges alongside the common use of these terms, referring in Christian circles to the knowledge arising from the Revelation. It is, therefore, the result of a gift from God, an object of learning, and, at the same time, a human desire. The main content of such knowledge was made explicit through human words in the kerygma and soon after in the *regula fidei*, which became the *criterium veritatis*. Man accesses this consciousness as his own through faith. In this sense, one can say that a form of "gnosis" is contemporary to the Christian faith, because even the most immediate and straightforward forms of the *kerygma* require some form of conceptual processing. Gnosis is thus knowledge of divine mysteries.

Alongside this theological usage of the term gnosis, we also observe its emergence in sociological terms. In this context, it denotes a form of knowledge that distinguishes specific groups, which, by referencing elevated doctrines unknown to the masses while also borrowing elements of the Christian tradition, are characterized by a desire to differentiate and distance themselves from the Great Church.[4] This refers to the phenomenon of Gnosticism that, in its various permutations, presented the greatest intellectual challenge to the Church of the first centuries. If the Christian aspires to "know" the Revelation of God ever more deeply, claims regarding the knowledge of divine things cannot always be considered as authentic *per se*. Therefore, rationally-founded judgment found its place at the origin of Christian theology as a science.

As for the concept of "theology," leaving aside its ancient usage, which is not relevant here,[5] we note how some contemporary scholars tend to associate theology as the science of faith with systematic theology, disregarding historical and biblical theology as though they were not truly theology. From our point of view, this approach, which emerges from an overestimation of the systematic approach to teaching theology in academic faculties, is not able to do justice to the ancient reality and fully grasp the significance of the historical and exegetical methods in the work of the Fathers. Here, we understand "theology" not only as a theoretical reflection on the dogmas of the faith, but as any approach, whether historical, exegetical, or apologetic, to "give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you" (1 Pt 3:15).

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3 Cf. R. Bultmann, term: "ginōskō, gnōsis, epiginōskō, epignōsis," [in:] *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 1, G. Kittel (ed.), Grand Rapids 1964/1991, pp. 689–719.

4 Cf. I. Ramelli, term: "Gnosi-Gnosticismo," [in:] *Nuovo Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità Cristiane. F–O*, A. di Berardino (ed.), Genova–Milano 2007, cc. 2364–2380.

5 For a quick orientation on the evolution of the concept in antiquity, cf. B. Studer, term: "Teologia," [in:] *Nuovo Dizionario...*, op. cit., cc. 5284–5286.

The scientific reconstruction of the Gnostic doctrines presents a challenging undertaking: almost all the records we possess on the Gnostics of the first centuries consist of anti-heretical literature, which understandably must be approached with critical reservations. The discoveries of the famous texts of Nag Hammadi, which brought to light some original Gnostic works for the first time, have not provided the results previously hoped for. Indeed, these texts, often presented in Coptic translation, post-date the original works by several centuries. In addition, they do not infer a sufficiently elaborate and coherent doctrine, so that it is still necessary to use the information provided by the controversialist Fathers.[6] Although the works of the great Gnostic masters of the second and third centuries, such as Valentinus, Basilides, and others, seem lost forever, they nevertheless preceded – and inspired – the birth of Christian theology. It is worth noting that the first commentary on a text from the New Testament, the Gospel of John, was written by Heracleon,[7] a Gnostic author.

Theology as Christian "Gnosis"

If by "gnosis," we specifically mean the knowledge of divine things, then Christian theology is gnosis *par excellence*. In what follows, we will trace three examples of how Christian "Gnostics" reacted to heterodox gnosis and became integral aspects of the Christian theological tradition.

Irenaeus of Lyon (circa 130–202 AD)

Irenaeus of Lyon is justly considered to be one of the Fathers of Catholic theology. In his monumental work *Adversus haereses*,[8] he described and refuted the Gnostic doctrines, in particular, that of Valentinian. Irenaeus's fundamental contribution, beyond his specific arguments, consisted of drawing together the theological consequences of the principle of Incarnation. Gnostics doctrine denies the Incarnation, because it reduces salvation to a mere awareness of

6 I align myself here with the unsurpassed opinion of one of the top experts of Gnostic theology, cf. A. Orbe, *Cristología gnóstica. Introductión a la soteriología de los siglos II y III*, I, Madrid 1976, pp. XV–XVI.

7 Note that in this case as well, Heracleon's text has not been transmitted directly, but only through citations contained in Origen's commentary on John.

8 The complete Greek title of this work means: "On the Detection and Overthrow of the So-Called Gnosis."

the spiritual dimension of man, accompanied by a correlative contempt for bodily things. First of all, the true gnosis, the knowledge of divine things, is revealed in the flesh of the Son of God. The dynamics of Incarnation persist, in the transmission of the faith of the Apostles and their successors within the Church.[9] The authenticity of such a transmission, as summarized in the *regula fidei*, can be established through historical inquiry, that is, by analyzing the correspondence between the faith of various Churches and in particular the faith of the Roman Church.[10] This in turn became the standard of judgment to eliminate Gnostic doctrines that instead referred to otherwise unverifiable private revelations. In this way, Irenaeus refuted the Gnostic principle that the highest revelation is accessible only to an elite group and transmitted by secret means. Secondly, the principle of Incarnation allowed not only to refute the Gnostic cosmological and anthropological dualism but also to affirm the complete unity between the Old and New Testaments,[11] even if specific hermeneutical strategies had to be developed in order to provide the anthropomorphic and violent passages of the Old Testament with a Christian exegesis. The definitions of the canon of the Four Evangelists[12] and the apostolic succession are but the lasting materialization of the principle of the Incarnation.

With regards to the theological discourse, Irenaeus once and for all introduced the principle of the historicity of the Revelation and its transmission in a definitive manner. Theologians, who want to obtain an authentic gnosis, cannot overlook any element of the Christian tradition, nor refer to traditions outside of the Great Church, that is, the *Catholica*.

Clement of Alexandria (circa 150[?]–215 AD)

Clement of Alexandria was one of the first theologians to attempt to construct a systematic theology. His main achievement consisted of three works that outline a progressive approach toward an ever-heightened Christian gnosis. After his first work, the *Protrepticus*, an exhortation toward conversion, he composed the *Paedagogus*, which, as the title suggests, indicates the path to the growth of the Christian soul. The third part of the triptych, which appears to remain in draft form, is called *Stromata*, where he deals with the theme of Christian

9 Cf. Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* I, 10, 1–2.
10 Cf. ibidem, III, 3, 2–3.
11 Cf. ibidem, 18, 1.
12 Cf. ibidem, III, 11, 18.

perfection. Clement does not hesitate to identify Christian gnosis and true philosophy, the self-revealing truth,[13] and the call "Gnostic" the perfect Christian:

> The Gnostic, then, is impressed with the closest likeness, that is, with the mind of the Master; which He being possessed of, commanded and recommended to His disciples and to the prudent. Comprehending this, as He who taught wished, and receiving it in its grand sense, he teaches worthily "on the housetops" those capable of being built to a lofty height; and begins with the doing of what is spoken, in accordance with the example of life. For He enjoined what is possible. And, in truth, the kingly man and Christian ought to be ruler and leader. For we are commanded to be lords over not only the wild beasts without us, but also over the wild passions within ourselves. Through the knowledge, then, as appears, of a bad and good life is the Gnostic saved, understanding and executing "more than the scribes and Pharisees."[14]

In the cosmopolitan city of Alexandria, the main center of culture in the imperial era where the Gnostics sects competed with the Christian community, particularly in intellectual and aristocratic circles, Clement demonstrates how those ideals of total self-realization and aspiration for knowledge of and contact with the divine could be fulfilled in the Christian vocation to perfection. Christianity is thus both true philosophy and true gnosis, and the true Gnostic is the Christian who internalizes and fully lives according to the Gospel.[15]

Clement reminds theologians that the search for theological knowledge, if genuine, necessarily changes one's life and that this capacity for change even acts as a measure to gauge the validity of such knowledge. If it's true that the formation programme of the Christian Gnostic and, more generally, the living conditions referred to clearly reflects the elitist experience of the high class of society, it is also true that teaching and exhortation are in themselves addressed to everyone, in contrast to the Gnostics, who considered their message reserved for the select few.

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13 Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* I, 5.

14 Cf. ibidem, VI, 15, 115, 1–4, [in:] *Ante-Nicene Christian Library: Translations of the writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325*, A. Roberts, J. Donaldson (eds.), Edinburgh 1899, vol. 12 (Clement of Alexandria vol. 2), p. 371.

15 Cf. ibidem, VII, 10–14.

Origen (circa 185–253 AD)

In the past few years, the figure of Origen has been rediscovered. He has emerged as the primary Christian thinker of the first three centuries and as the figure who laid the foundations for an epistemologically coherent and informed theology. In the Alexandrian context of the first half of the third century, Origen desired to counter the influence of the Gnostic movements that had spread among intellectual elites and beyond, and to do so in an orthodox manner by responding to the need for a deeper, more critical and spiritually-committed faith. This desire led him to clarify how to develop a knowledge of divine things and why this should be done in the beginning of his treatise *De Principiis*. Christ revealed the truth necessary for salvation to His disciples, who then passed it on to their successors up until the present day.[16] Due to his numerous travels, Origen visited many Christian communities. Equipped with close knowledge of these groups, he was able to provide a quick summary of the truths believed by all the Churches, the so-called *regula fidei*. Divine providence did not wish to reveal all and left various questions vague and uncertain so that the believer could come closer to the Word of God by endeavoring to understand such uncertainties better through study, prayer, and a life conforming to the Gospel. The result of a study conducted in this manner could not contradict the *regula fidei*.[17] However, it is possible, according to the example provided by Origen, to hypothesize conflicting solutions to certain issues not defined by the *regula fidei*, provided that they remained in line with the faith of the Church. Origen's theological project was a response to the demands at the core of the Gnostic movement. In particular, he tried to address the demand for a level of knowledge and understanding that superseded a simple initial catechesis and led one increasingly closer to divine realities. At the same time, however, these needs are satisfied within the Great Church. Advancement of knowledge, if genuine, could never lead one outside of the teachings provided by the Church.[18] Origen raised a gentle but constant polemic against Christians who remained too simple, were lazy, and did not express any particular desire to study the Bible. Yet he categorically refused the Gnostic division of the nature of men into somatic and pneumatic types. For principles beyond the *regula fidei*, the systematic application of allegorical readings remained within orthodox standards.

16 Cf. Origen, *De Principiis* I, praefatio *Origenis*, 2–3.
17 Cf. ibidem.
18 Cf. ibidem, 4–10.

Origen's works, his scriptural commentaries, and his various exhortations, in addition to the much-discussed *De Principiis*, provided theological and spiritual nourishment for generations of Christians with intellectual inclinations in the Oriental world. Until the writings of the great Fathers of the fourth century, Origen served as a guide for the "Gnostic" Christian who aspired to a deeper understanding of the Scriptures, of Revelation, and moral and spiritual life, even if this term was no longer used due to its proximity to the so-called false gnosis. For Origen, the study of theology constituted a type of ascetic exercise that brought one closer to God.

With Origen, Christian theology achieved its maturity as a science. It constituted an alternate response to Gnosticism, even if some aspects of Origen's thought were no longer understood according to their context and original intention over the following centuries, arousing suspicions to such an extent that they were condemned in various ways – a response that arose partly because of unrelated ecclesiastical politics.[19]

Concluding Observations

The three figures that we examined, Irenaeus, Clement, and Origen, demonstrate how the Fathers responded to the challenges arising from the Gnostic movement and definitively established the bases for the development of the *Catholica* theology, clarifying the links between faith and historical knowledge on the one hand, and ethical concepts and theological and spiritual searching on the other. The need to refer to an original principal as a criterion of judgment emerges from all three authors: the rule of faith transmitted in the Church. Contrary to claims upheld by some recent literature,[20] the latter does not surface as a novel idea created by Irenaeus and others to suppress a multiplicity of original doctrines, but as an evaluative principle to allow for the concurrent development of knowledge of and fidelity to Christ. In this sense, these authors serve as a perennial example for those who want to conduct theology in the Catholic tradition.

19 Cf. H. Crouzel, E. Prinzivalli, term: "Origenismo," [in:] *Nuovo Dizionario…*, op. cit., cc. 3681–3686.

20 Cf. N. Brox, op. cit., coll. 248–297.

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Theological Epistemology and Trinitarian Ontology in Aquinas

Epistemologia teologiczna i ontologia trynitarna u Akwinaty

Abstract: Thomas Aquinas' theological epistemology is presented as a response to an aporia of classical metaphysical thought, which affirmed the relationality of the *episteme* but denied that of the First Principle. The path that led from a cause to another cause down to the ultimate cause thus remains without a true foundation. On the contrary, the Trinitarian ontology developed by the Fathers of the Church allowed Aquinas to recognize the foundation of the *episteme* with its immanent relationality of the triune God. This emerges from his rereading of John Damascene and from how Thomas – contrary to what happened in the thought of Boethius and Richard of Saint Victor – reworked the concept of person so that it could be applied both to man and to God. The very analysis of the act of faith and the rereading of the name *Verbum* in an exclusively notional sense reveal how Thomas developed a true Trinitarian epistemology as a reflection of his Trinitarian ontology.

Keywords: epistemology, Thomas Aquinas, trinitarian ontology, relation, faith–reason

Abstrakt: Epistemologia teologiczna Tomasza z Akwinu została przedstawiona jako odpowiedź na aporię klasycznej myśli metafizycznej, która potwierdzała relacyjność *episteme*, ale zaprzeczała Pierwszej Zasadzie. Droga, która prowadziła poprzez przyczyny do przyczyny ostatecznej, pozostawała bez fundamentu. W przeciwieństwie do tego, ontologia trynitarna rozwinięta przez Ojców Kościoła pozwoliła Akwinowi na uznanie fundamentu *episteme* wraz z jego relacyjnością w immanentnej relacji Boga Trójjedynego. Wynika to z ponownego odczytania Jana Damasceńskiego i z tego, że Tomasz – w przeciwieństwie do tego, co działo się w myśli Boecjusza i Ryszarda od św. Wiktora – zmienił pojęcie osoby tak, aby mogło być zastosowane zarówno do człowieka, jak i do Boga. Już sama analiza aktu wiary, a także ponowne odczytanie imienia *Verbum* w wyłącznym sensie pojęciowym ujawniają, jak Tomasz rozwinął prawdziwą trynitarną epistemologię jako odzwierciedlenie swojej trynitarnej ontologii

Słowa kluczowe: epistemologia, Tomasz z Akwinu, ontologia trynitarna, relacja, rozum–wiara

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Introduction

Since the beginning of Christian thought the epistemological dimension has been at the centre of dialogue with non-believers. It was not only a question of theoretical research, but above all it was an existential issue, as demonstrated by the works of the apologists. For them, the confrontation with the philosophical dimension was literally a matter of life or death. Were Christians "atheists" because they rejected the pantheon of the empire? Or polytheists because they spoke of three divine Persons? And were their angels not analogous to pagan gods? Why did their life clash radically with the *religio civilis*, to the extreme of martyrdom? Did faith not reduce everything to a superstition that had nothing to do with the scientific research of great metaphysicians?

These questions were gradually made explicit and addressed in the dialogue – at times even dramatic – that the Fathers of the Church carried out both *ad extra* and *ad intra*. In order to understand the strength of their proposal and the legacy on which Thomas built, it is necessary to start from one observation: in Greek thought the definition of the philosophical enterprise as a reconstruction of the necessary chain which leads to the ultimate cause encountered a checkmate. In fact, the episteme is defined precisely by this research which carried out through the intellect goes back little by little from the world towards the first principle, connected in a single finite and eternal ontological order. Think of the construction of the Aristotelian motors that lead to pure divine actuality of the unmoved motor as thought of thought. The epistemological roots are already constituted in Plato and in his answer to Parmenides, formulated in the *Sophist*. What is not Being is not necessarily not-being because there is the possibility of being something through participation while not identifying with the metaphysical purity of Being itself. Thus, the relationship between the one and the many goes through the whole search of human thought, as it refers to the existential, and therefore also religious, question of how to be and live in fullness.

The Aristotelian formulation, with its clarity, reveals an aporia. In fact, the Stagirite in his work of metaphysical purification arrives at identifying the first principle with the thought that thinks itself and, for this reason, is not related to anything, nor desires anything. It is an image of an autarchic and anorexic god, which, however, goes through a crisis precisely when confronted with the epistemic dimension. By definition science must belong to the relative because it refers to a known object and can be taught.[1] Instead, thought is not relative to

1 Cf. Aristotle, *Caegoriae*, 6b.5.

what is thought,[2] just as the first principle is not relational because the relation is an accident and, therefore, cannot be a pure act.

This is a constant in Greek metaphysical thought, as shown by the chain of "friends" introduced by Plato in his *Lysis*, where the aporetic leap is highlighted by the passage from the friend of the friend to the first friend. If I am a friend of wisdom it is because I participate in the friendship of another who is a closer friend than I am, so that I can learn from him. This greater friend of wisdom in turn will depend on the participation of another friend, from whom he has learned, and so on until the first friend who learns from no one, but only teaches. The relationality of the first friends is denied in the principle that originates with them, which, precisely because he is the first, contradicts his own name of friend. Thus, the last passage poses a discontinuity that puts in crisis the whole construction, which cannot continue indefinitely because the only metaphysical order that includes the world and God is for the Greeks finite.

The epistemological consequences are serious because the first principle, although necessarily connected to man, is different, equivocal with the search of the thought. In some way the Plotinus' outcome is here already implicit as he places the One beyond thought and the *logos*, precisely because the *logos*, which refers to a thinker or a speaker, should be intrinsically relational. The anthropological translation of the question also highlights its relevance and practicality: man has faculties and virtues, which are for him the way of accessing being, but Being itself, that is, God, has neither faculties nor virtues because these would imply a potential dimension. Both Aristotle and Plotinus fail to safeguard man's unity because they are obliged to consider his intellect or superior soul as divine realities and not properly human. Therefore, they do not really "descend."

This is the same acute observation that María Zambrano poetically describes as the irreconcilable tension between wonder, which moves the philosophical act in its concrete and existential beginning, and the consequent overcoming and abandonment of visible reality by the intellectual man to immerse himself in the purely intelligible reality beyond the world.[3] Once again, it is relationality that is faced with a crisis in the transition to the deepest regions of being.

The epistemological consequences are dramatic, or even tragic because in the end the one and the many have not really been reconciled, as neither has the particular and the universal. Precisely from the perception of this tension the literary output of the great Greek tragedians was born who paid homage

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2 Cf. idem, *Metaphysica*, 1021a.31–32.

3 Cf. M. Zambrano, *Filosofia e poesia*, Bologna 2010, pp. 39–40.

through the highest art to the victims of this clash, shrouding their humanity in the eternity of the sublime and the beautiful.

Clement of Alexandria will realize this epistemological incompleteness and will make use of it to show the scientific value of knowledge based on faith. He explicitly cites the affirmation of the relationality of the epistemology from Aristotle to show that even in his construction the principles remain indemonstrable because the first principle itself is absolute. The deepest knowledge is reached, instead, through the other, in that epistemic relation which is faith.[4]

The new metaphysical architecture

In the following centuries the Fathers of the Church, both Eastern and Western, developed the criticism of the original framework of Greek metaphysics, going so far as to reformulate the ontological question around certain principles:

1. The Triune God represents an infinite and eternal ontological order radically distinct from the finite creation and constituted in time by a free act of the Creator.
2. Thus, from a metaphysical conception characterized as a single level we move to two distinct levels, of which the first is necessary, i.e. absolute and eternal, while the second exists by participation, so that between them we find an infinite ontological gap or hiatus.
3. This induces a gnoseological reconfiguration because reality is no longer intelligible in itself, but only through its Creator, and in such a way that, since God is unknowable to man, then even the world in its truest ontological depth cannot be grasped and reduced to the conceptual dimension by the human being.

This new metaphysical architecture opens up two fundamental questions:

1. Theology cannot define God; rather, its proper domain is the relationship between God and the world.
2. Knowledge by faith is not a fallback but the only way capable of touching the depth of being because it is knowledge through relation.

Apophatism becomes, therefore, the fundamental epistemological criterion of theology, as a gnoseological reflection of the new ontological framework.

What does not seem to have been sufficiently highlighted is that the medieval project, even with its excesses,[5] was made possible precisely by this new

4 Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, II, 4, 13,4–14,1 (SCh 38, p. 43).

5 On the diverse attempts to establish a one-to-one correspondence between divine immanence and that of man in the Trinitarian context: Cf. R.L. Friedman, *Medieval Trinitarian Thought from Aquinas to Ockham*, Cambridge 2010.

perspective. In fact, as seen, Greek epistemological incompleteness prevented the human mind from seeing the cosmos as a whole endowed with its autonomous laws. The world was rather a degrading extension of the first principle, from which it was necessary to tear oneself away in order to ascend upwards. The abandonment of the cave to take refuge in the eidetic purity of hyperuranion, proposed by the myth of the Platonic cave, is a clear example. Here everything is finite and everything is necessarily connected, in such a way that the differentiation is only due to ontological degeneration. In a word, to be different from the first principle meant to be imperfect and incomplete. Only the renunciation of the human dimension and of one's own identity and autonomy could lead to perfection. Romano Guardini expressed the idea very well by writing that in Greek thought there was no absolute point of support (*Stützpunkt*) that could be a valid place from which to observe the cosmos in its entirety and in its relationality.[6]

The end of the patristic era led to a synthesis presented in Augustine's *De civitate Dei*[7] or John of Damascus's *De fide orthodoxa*.[8] It is no coincidence that these authors appear, respectively, about ten thousand and a thousand times in Aquinas' corpus. The bishop of Hippo, who witnessed the barbaric invasion in the western part of the empire, after having shown the way of interiority, rereads history "from within" precisely because he has an observation point outside it. The Syriac monk, within the context already marked by the confrontation with the Muslim world, therefore from a historical periphery, would write a text that can be considered inspiring for the medieval *summae*.

Paradoxically, therefore, the very perception of the absolute ontological distance between the Trinity and the world makes it possible to reread the latter as a unity and to appreciate its perfection as a creature. The point is central because the relationality of the Creator has as its effect the relationality of creation. In this way the ontological dialectic between God and the world is overcome.

Thus, thanks to the syntheses that characterize the end of the patristic era, the Middle Ages inaugurated a new unified vision of the world. If the Fathers had built a Christian culture, now an attempt is being made to build a Christian civilization in such a way that every aspect of reality naturally finds its place and its meaning in its reference to God. The phenomenon is evident when one

6 R. Guardini, *Das Ende der Neuzeit*, Würzburg 1950, p. 23.
7 On Augustine's epistemology, see: L. Ayres, *Augustine and the Trinity*, Cambridge 2010.
8 See, for an introduction: A. Louth, *St John Damascene: Tradition and Originality in Byzantine Theology*, Oxford 2002.

thinks of the medieval city, where everything revolves around the cathedral. The theological *Summae*, which seek the same unification, are the thought equivalent to cathedrals.

This new possibility will also involve a risk because the attempt to offer a unitary vision of the world, made possible by Christian revelation and be the point of observation it has offered, can close in on itself, in a claim to the autonomy of reason, which thus loses the relationship that finds the strength of its epistemology.

Vladimir Solovyov, in his doctoral thesis published in 1874 and entitled *The Crisis of Western Philosophy*,[9] diachronically reads medieval thought from the double Augustinian category of *auctoritas* and *ratio*: the former represents the tradition and teaching of the Church, while the latter refers to the thought of the individual subject. As can be seen immediately, once again the question revolves around the relationship between the one and the many. At first the primacy was assigned to *auctoritas*, since the *ratio* had to submit to the superiority of the received data. In the golden age of scholasticism, which coincides with Thomas' activity, this relationship is rebalanced because the primacy of *auctoritas* is recognized by *ratio* as authoritativeness, rather than as authority, therefore without submission. The two principles thus recall each other in a relational way because *auctoritas* founds the *ratio* and the latter expresses itself precisely in its capacity to recognize *auctoritas*. This involved constant work to bring out the convergence of *ratio* and *auctoritas* that purified and strengthened both.

To get a better picture of it, one can think of the narrative dimension of Aquinas' *Summa*, highlighted by Alasdair MacIntyre.[10] Here, Thomas does not simply demonstrate his own position, but feels a real need to ease tensions with respect to the authors who preceded him. The strength of the *sed contra* is precisely being a trace that gives the reader not only the point of arrival, but also the path made in history to reach it. This can be considered an intrinsically relational methodological element on which is also based the possibility that characterizes Thomist doctrine to be useful even where the conclusions have been questioned by subsequent research. It is, in fact, always possible to trace the theological path taken until one understands why Aquinas followed a different path at a certain crossroads.

While in the period of first scholasticism the *datum* automatically prevailed over the judgment of the *ratio*, with Thomas the centre of interest is precisely the relationship between *auctoritas* and thought, since the theological point of observation

9 Cf. V. Solovyov, *The Crisis of Western Philosophy*, Hudson NY 1996.
10 Cf. A. MacIntyre, *Three Rival Versions of Moral Inquire*, Notre Dame 1990, pp. 130–135.

of reality guarantees that the two perspectives cannot contradict each other. Research inspired by faith will better understand the data received by accepting it not as an imposition, but as a gift and foundation of one's own rational capacity.

Yet, according to Solovyov, the last part of scholasticism saw a break in this relational conception in such a way that reason itself came to be the judge of *auctoritas*, deciding what to keep and what to discard, as in the paradigmatic dynamic already present *in nuce* since *Sic et non* of Abelard, a title that means exactly "yes and no."

This outcome is made possible by the very medieval strength. In fact, the vision of the whole made possible by the perspective offered by the new Trinitarian point of view attracts reason in the enterprise of organizing everything around God, transforming the world and thought into a true icon. In order to arrange every element of society and culture around its Christological centre, thought must at times force interpretation by unconsciously jumping from the analogical dimension, which traces ontological participation at the cognitive level, to the metaphor, which instead operates at the subjective level. In the first case the relationship is highlighted *in re*, in the second – in *secundum rationem*. To give an example: in saying that a man is "as good as bread" there is a relationship between the goodness of a man and that of bread which is supposed to be more known and evident to the listener than the former. Everybody likes food as without it we cannot live. In a certain sense, there is a triangle between the two vertical and ontological relationships of bread and man with Goodness itself, that is God, as source of the goodness both in bread an in man, which as a bridge makes possible the link of the two at the level of language. Such a metaphor would not be comprehensible to an interlocutor who does not know bread, because he lives in a country where wheat does not grow but where potatoes or rice are commonly eaten.

Another liturgical example can clarify the point further. When the priest consecrates, he is Christ, ontologically, in a re-presentation in reality – and not mere representation as in a picture – of the Paschal Mystery. In the Middle Ages this coincidence between the culmination of Christ's life and the Eucharistic liturgy began to be extended to other elements, linking, for example, the priest in the sacristy with Jesus in Mary's womb. In this pious operation there is, of course, nothing wrong, but there is a substantial difference with the first because, while the Eucharistic identification is ontological and therefore not available from the point of view of the choices of the human intellect, the second identification could be realized in many different way according to the circumstances. For example, a priest who is afraid to preach could think of himself in the sacristy as Jesus in the Garden of Olives.

The point is that the desire to identify a one-to-one correspondence between that whole of life and the world perceived with the light of revelation and the very mystery that was the source of that light had unbalanced reason, leading it to overcome the limits of its own creatural being. From here began the voluntarist shift towards nominalism, which gave rise to the modern project.

The epistemological change is evident. Why does Aquinas instead remain in balance in the relationship between *auctoritas* and *ratio*? The thesis advanced here, also through some concrete examples, is that his theological epistemology is founded in a Trinitarian ontology.

Trinitarian Ontology

This term means, first of all, (a) the reinterpretation of metaphysics in the light of Trinitarian revelation to present the mystery of God. From this also comes (b) the reformulation of the relationship between God and the world, rethinking the latter from the place that Christ's revelation revealed, that is, from the bosom of the Father. In patristic terms one should speak of an original dimension of Trinitarian ontology which consists in the rethinking of metaphysics in its application to divine immanence (a), from which follows a re-understanding of the economy, that is, of the relationship between the unitary God and the world, between history and man (b).

To speak of Trinitarian ontology with regard to Aquinas is not an obvious or painless operation because several authors of Thomist circles have presented serious criticism of this approach.[11] And yet, from the Thomist realm itself, voices have been raised with respect to Trinitarian ontology itself.[12]

Perhaps it may be useful to read how Matthew Levering describes Trinitarian ontology to understand this dyscrasia: "In response to deist theological or philosophical depictions of God that make Christian revelation irrelevant,

[11] See, for example: D. Cunningham, *Participation as a Trinitarian Virtue: Challenging the Current 'Relational' Consensus*, "Toronto Journal of Theology" 14 (1998), pp. 7–25, and G. Emery, *Chronique de théologie trinitaire (V)*, "Revue Thomiste" 101 (2001), pp. 581–582, and his review to K. Obenauer, *Thomistiche Metaphysik und Trinitätstheologie: Sein-Geist-Gott-Dreifaltigkeit-Schöpfung-Gnade* (Münster 2000), in the same issue of the review, pp. 614–17.

[12] Cf. W. Norris Clarke, *Explorations in metaphysics: being-God-person*, Notre Dame 1992, and *The one and the many: a contemporary Thomistic metaphysics*, Notre Dame 2015. Interesting is also the Patristic reading in A. Lévy, *Le créé et l'incréé: Maxime le confesseur et Thomas d'Aquin: aux sources de la querelle palamienne*, Paris 2006.

Trinitarian ontology suggests that Christian revelation deconstructs and radically reconfigures any prior account of 'being' or 'God'."[13] He analyses the approach of Norris Clarke, Zizioulas and Hütter, Catholic, Orthodox and Lutheran respectively, to exemplify his own definition.

Obviously, if the perspective from which one approaches Trinitarian ontology is the one just stated, the reading of the relationship of Thomas' thought with it can only be dialectical. On the contrary, if the Trinitarian light does not erase the dimension of being, but transfigures it, without ever opposing the classical substantial dimension to the Christian relational or communional one, then the perspective changes. This is what happened in the relational ontology developed by the Fathers of the Church, particularly at the level of Trinitarian doctrine in confrontation with the fourth-century Arians, but also as relational ontology which was later collected in the synthesis of the Damascene.

In other words, no one denies that Aquinas reformulated the ontology of divine immanence, developing a first sense of Trinitarian ontology as extension of classical metaphysics. The question, instead, is whether this reinterpretation has had repercussions on the declination of the divine economy. Paradoxically, some of those scholars who criticize Trinitarian ontology can be cited as masterful examples of the study of this second dimension of Thomas' thought. Gilles Emery's works are admirable and paradigmatic examples of this approach.[14] What is claimed in reference to Trinitarian ontology is that:

1. It must be understood as an extension and not a deconstruction of classical metaphysics.
2. Such extension is an inescapable task of any theological enterprise.
3. Thomas is exemplary in this, so much so that it must be proposed as an epistemological paradigm.

The strength of the Thomist construction is, in fact, precisely the capacity to assume the data of truth transmitted by the philosophical tradition, to integrate them into one's own thought thanks to the power of epistemology generated by Trinitarian revelation. The narrative dimension of his method of exposition recalls precisely that *usus iustus* which characterized the approach to the non-Christian sources of the Fathers of the Church, analysed and explained by Christian Gnilka, who recognized it in Thomas himself.[15]

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13 M. Levering, *Scripture and Metaphysics: Aquinas and the Renewal of Trinitarian Theology*, Maiden 2004, p. 200.

14 G. Emery, *Trinity in Aquinas*, Naples 2008.

15 C. Gnilka, *Chrêsis: die Methode der Kirchenväter im Umgang mit der antiken Kultur: Der Begriff des "rechten Gebrauchs,"* Basel 2012. See also: idem, *Voraussetzungslose Wissenschaft?*, "Annales Theologici" 32 (2018), pp. 301–316.

The adjective *iustus* is fundamental here because it refers to a judgment which, in the light of Christian revelation, discerns what can be kept and what must be left of the ancient heritage, as well as the context in which these previous elements can be inserted and, therefore, used. Aquinas, therefore, had to necessarily and radically change the Greek metaphysical approach, as already highlighted. In fact, Christian revelation imposes a new ontological architecture, whose development required centuries and even dramatic efforts: from a single graduated ontological level, characterized by eternity and finiteness, the Christian thinker had to switch to a picture with two levels divided by an infinite metaphysical hiatus, an ontological gap which separates the Trinity, eternal and infinite, from creation, finite and temporal.

It should be noted here that the Greek tension between the one and the many illustrated at the beginning is revealed from the ontological-trinitarian perspective already in the simple assignment to the world and to God of the attributes of eternity and finiteness. The first, in fact, says unity, while the second refers to multiplicity. The eternal return held the two dimensions together, but aporetically they remained unconnected and irreconcilable. In this sense, the Trinitarian revelation is not added from the outside as a superstructure to classical thought, nor is it dialectically opposed to it, but comes to fulfil an aspiration and an impetus that inhabited its own most intimate dynamic.

In other words, it can be said that the new theological architecture frees metaphysical thought by completing its path. For this reason, it is necessary to highlight both the continuity and the discontinuity between Thomas and the Greek heritage. For example, the five ways to prove God's existence, present in different passages of Aquinas' work and dealt with in *Summa* in STh I, 2,5, cannot be uncritically compared with similar arguments present in Aristotelian thought or more generally in ancient metaphysics. In fact, the new ontological context radically changes its meaning from *a priori* to *a posteriori*.

The meaning of a text is always given by the relationship between the text itself and its context, so the way of perfection or that of movement does not say exactly the same in a theoretical framework transfigured by the doctrine of creation compared to what happened in Aristotle's graduated metaphysics. According to Thomas it is possible to go back from creation to the Creator because the Creator put the world into being, giving it existence through a free act of love. Instead, the first motionless motor is necessarily connected to the lower motors that are moved by it.

This question is fundamental for the epistemological perspective because according to the Greek approach, being identifies with the intelligible, so much so that for Aristotle the process of abstraction is infallible. The intelligible form is extracted from the intellect in an automatic way, while the possibility of error is only at the level of judgements, that is, it can result from the connection between the different forms. Instead, in the patristic perspective inherited by Aquinas, knowledge of both God and the world is limited by apophatism.

To know God, in fact, means to recognize His unknowability. Since it is the Trinity that creates the world, this means that the very meaning of the world and the truest depth of it cannot be drawn without faith, that is, without a sort of knowledge made possible by the personal relationship with the Creator.

From the Trinity to the World

Apophatism is precisely one of the fundamental epistemological elements that Thomas assumed from the Fathers. Leo Elders showed his points of contact with Mansūr Ibn Sarjūn, known in the West as John Damascene, which primarily concern apophatism and the affirmation of God's unknowability.[16] In this area emerges a rereading that is repeated in several points in Aquinas' thought.[17] This is the interpretation of the affirmation by this Father of the Church that the divine Persons are one, but are distinguished only by reason (*tres personae re idem sunt, ratione autem et cogitatione distinguuntur*).[18] The text is contained in *De fide orthodoxa*, a work translated from Greek into Latin by Burgundio of Pisa, and immediately used by Peter Lombard in his *Sententiae*.

Beyond the philological questions about the translation used by Aquinas, from a theological point of view it is extremely interesting how the text is reread. In fact, to the *auctoritas* cited in the first argument of the article, Thomas answers in the body:

> One must therefore know that the personal property, that is the relation (*relatio*) that is the reason of the distinctions, is identical *in re* to the divine essence, but differs from it according to reason, exactly as said with regard to attributes. It is precisely of the very nature of relation to place a relationship to another (*ut referatur ad alterum*). Therefore, the relation in the divine Persons can be considered in two senses: (i) in reference to the essence, therefore only as the attributes; (ii) in reference to what it refers to, from which, by the very nature of relation, it really differs. Persons are distinguished by the comparison of the

16 Cf. L.J. Elders, *Thomas Aquinas and his Predecessors: the Philosophers and the Church Fathers in his Work*, Washington 2018, p. 263.

17 Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *In I Sentiarum*, d. 2 q. 1 a. 5; *De Potentia*, q. 9, a. 5 e *STh* q. 30. a. 1.

18 John Damascene, *De fide orthodoxa*, I, 2.

> relation to its opposite correlative and not by the comparison of the relation with the essence. For this reason the plurality of Persons is real and not only a plurality according to reason.[19]

It is evident that one finds oneself at the heart of Trinitarian thought, therefore precisely in the maximum speculative depth of the metaphysical reformulation of the mystery of God in the light of revelation. It is a discourse in the line of the first sense of Trinitarian ontology introduced in the previous section. The point immediately has to do with the second sense, which articulates the relationship between the triune God and the world. Precisely this was a fundamental contribution of the Damascene, who connected the Christological *perichoresis* to the Intra-Trinitarian *perichoresis*. The need to affirm the real distinction of the two natures of Christ, which, however, could only be distinguished by thought, had led the Father of the Church to create such a profound synthesis, which avoided any possibility of reading in a Monophysite key by anchoring the distinction of natures in Christ to that between the divine Persons.[20] Thomas sees the question from the opposite perspective and is rightly concerned to clarify that the impossibility of separating the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit does not imply denying their real distinction.

The point is fundamental both from the epistemological point of view and for the relationship between epistemology and metaphysics. In fact, the solution will be to show how thought recognizes relationships within the perfect unity of essence. In fact, Thomas says in the corresponding *respondeo*:

> At the first point we can, therefore, answer that the authority of the Damascene must be understood in the following way: *ratione* is here understood as *relatione*, and the *ratio* is called relation in relation to the essence, as explained in the *corpus*.[21]

19 *Sciendum est igitur, quod proprietas personalis, scilicet relatio distinguens, est idem re quod divina essentia, sed differens ratione, sicut et de attributis dictum est. Ratio autem relationis est ut referatur ad alterum. Potest ergo dupliciter considerari relatio in divinis: vel per comparationem ad essentiam, et sic est ratio tantum; vel per comparationem ad illud ad quod refertur, et sic per propriam rationem relationis relatio realiter distinguitur ab illo. Sed per comparationem relationis ad suum correlativum oppositum distinguuntur personae, et non per comparationem relationis ad essentiam: et ideo est pluralitas personarum realis et non tantum rationis* (Thomas Aquinas, *In I Sentiarum*, d. 2 q. 1 a. 5, co.)

20 Cf. G. Maspero, *La perichoresis e la grammatica teologica dei primi sette Concili ecumenici*, "TheoLogica" 4/2 (2020).

21 *Ad primum ergo dicendum, quod auctoritas Damasceni sic intelligenda est. Ratione, idest relatione; et dicitur relatio ratio, per comparationem ad essentiam, ut dictum est, in corp* (Thomas Aquinas, *In I Sentiarum*, d. 2 q. 1 a. 5, ad 1).

Access to the thought of divine immanence requires, therefore, that the possibilities of recognizing relations and working with essences be affirmed for human knowledge at the same time. If apophatism expresses the consciousness of the radical impossibility of knowing the divine essence by conceptual means, the personal distinction is accessible *per viam relationis*. Hence the possibility of rereading the world in the Trinitarian light, that is the possibility of developing a Trinitarian ontology in the second sense. In fact, in the Thomist construction the divine *surplus* prevents the scholastic method from weakening the difference between the ontological and logical planes, as will later happen, paving the way to modern dialectics, in which *ratio* takes over *auctoritas*. The possibility to solve every question by introducing intellectual distinctions, in fact, is not for Aquinas an automatism and a method similar to what happens in the Porphyrian tree. The distinctions found by the intellect, instead, allow for recognizing the relational dimension, first of all in God and then in the relationship between the Trinity and the world.

This relationality intrinsic to the theological method also explains why Aquinas took a stand against Anselm and Richard of Saint Victor in the Trinitarian context. In the sort of theology developed in the abbeys all aimed at seeking a synthesis between philosophy and theology to offer that unique overall vision that was the true aspiration of the medieval spirit. Thomas is always careful to distinguish nature and supernature, not to separate them, but to recognize their relationship as a free relationship of gift. Thus, despite the *vestigia Trinitatis* present in the world, it is clear that the latter can never be the basis for a demonstration of God's unity.[22] The Trinity can only be reached *a posteriori*, through salvation history and the personal encounter with Christ and His Spirit.[23]

The redefinition of the concept of the person in Thomas can serve to illustrate the point. If one considers the history of the definitions of person, one observes an extremely interesting development for the question under consideration. The link with Trinitarian ontology is evident because it was precisely Christian revelation that made it possible for the first time to fully perceive this dimension of the *who* with respect to the simple *what* of Greek metaphysics.

A classical definition is that of Boetius, in the sixth century: *rationalis naturae individua substantia*.[24] The person would be the individual substance

22 Cf. *Summa Theologiae*, q. 32, a. 1, ad. 2 e *In Boetium*, q. 1, a . 4.

23 To understand what excesses Scholastic thought had reached, see: R.L. Friedman, *Medieval Trinitarian Thought from Aquinas to Ockham*, Cambridge 2010.

24 Boethius, *De duabus naturis* 3.

of rational nature. It is evident that this choice has a classical philosophical matrix that is well suited to the definition of man and the angel. However, if applied to the triune God, it presents a serious drawback because the three divine Persons could be understood as three substances.

The impossibility of applying the definition both to the first principle and to the creation contradicts the spirit of the Middle Ages, which always tries to present the world and its Creator in unitary terms. The synthesis between philosophy and theology developed with originality in the abbey led Richard of Saint Victor, in the 12th century, to propose a new definition of divine person, no longer based on the concept of substance, but on that of existence: *divinae naturae incommunnibilis existentia*.[25] If the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit cannot be distinguished at the substantial level, it will be necessary to move on the plane of existence, since their *sistere* is distinct from the point of view of the relationship indicated by the preposition *ex*. The progress is significant because we arrive at an elaboration that allows us to describe more properly the being of the triune God. It is essential to note, however, that we are not yet talking here of Trinitarian ontology, but only of the ontology of the Trinity. What is meant to say is that the result applies only to the first principle but by definition cannot descend to the created level and illuminate our world with the light of the Trinity.

For this reason, Thomas felt the need to modify the definition of Boethius in such a way as to make it valid in both ontologies, both the eternal and the created one. Aquinas defines the person *subsistens in rational nature*.[26] It is an ingenious operation that replaces the substance with the *subsistens*. As in Richard, the need is to move at the level of the subject, which here, however, is defined by the present participle of the verb *subsistere*, which means to really exist in oneself and not in another. In this way Thomas will obtain as a result that the divine Person will be defined as *distinctum subsistens in divine nature*[27] and, therefore, since the only distinction in God can be the relational one, he will conclude that the divine Person is the *relatio subsistens*.[28]

From the point of view of the relational ontology of the Fathers this constitutes a truly fundamental development because formally the *Ipsum Esse Subsistens* is identified with three eternal and perfect relations. Moreover, Aquinas goes so far as to affirm that he *abstracta relatione in Deo nihil manet*.[29] Surely this

25 Richard of Saint Victor, *De Trinitate*, IV, 22.
26 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* I, q. 29, a. 3, in c.
27 Thomas Aquinas, *De Potentia* q. 9, a. 4.
28 Idem, *Summa Theologiae* I, q. 29, a. 4, in c.
29 Idem, *In I Sentiarum*, d. 26, q. 1, a. 2, in c.

result is not extended to the created ontology as the difference with respect to the Trinity is always stressed. And yet the construction of the definition of the person as existing of rational nature in such a way as to pass vertically between the ontology of the Trinity and the created one seems to be considered a vertex and a model of Trinitarian ontology.

Thomas, in fact, recognizes that the task of theology is precisely that of elaborating a thought that not only can formulate the divine mystery, always preserving its excess to offer it to worship, but that in addition it can illuminate the created way and highlight the relationship between the two ontologies. The theological act can be said to be accomplished, then, when it succeeds in offering words and expressions that allow one to move from the Trinity to the world and vice versa.

It is true that the investigation of the creation's relationality was not developed by Aquinas. The deep rootedness of the creative act in eternal processions allows us to affirm that the true *ratio* of the world with its multiplicity is the intra-Trinitarian *relatio*.[30]

Trinitarian Epistemology

This is tantamount to considering the Trinitarian faith as an epistemological principle, i.e. as the source of light that allows us to observe the world from the perspective of its Creator's excess. For this reason, the analysis of faith itself is fundamental, particularly with regard to the formulation of its theology and its dual relationship with the intellect and the will. As is well known, Thomas dedicated the first 16 questions of the II-II of his *Summa* to this topic. Faith is presented as a theological virtue, since it is a supernatural habit that perfects the power of the intellect: "To believe is an act of the intellect which, under the impetus of the will moved by God through grace, gives its consent to divine truth."[31]

Thomas' strength is the defence, at the same time, of the theological dimension of faith, as an absolutely free gift of God to man, and of the effective perfection of human faculties, for faith is specific to the intellect. One can see how the ontological hiatus between the Trinity and man is here in action, affirming the divine excess without hurting man's relational autonomy.

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30 (...) *processiones personarum aeternae sunt causa et ratio totius productionis creaturarum* (Thomas Aquinas, *In I Sentiarum*, d. 14, q. 1, a. 1, co.).

31 *Credere est actus intellectus assentientis veritati divinae ex imperio voluntatis a Deo motae per gratiam* (idem, *Summa Theologiae* II-II, 2, 9).

Aquinas' analysis starts from the object of faith, identified in God himself as the first Truth. It affirms with radicality that we are talking about "an intellectual habit with which eternal life begins in us, and which makes the intellect adhere to realities that do not appear."[32] Although it is evident that in believing the whole man comes into play, with all his powers and his passions and inclinations, "nevertheless believing is directly an act of the intellect, having as its object truth, which belongs properly to intelligence."[33]

The vision is profoundly theological, since the Truth before it has an essentially Trinitarian dimension: faith is nothing other than participation in the knowledge that the Father has of Himself, knowledge that identifies with the eternal Word. To have faith then means to be identified with the Son, in Christ. It is not simply a matter of knowing in an abstract sense, but of being united in a personal way: in fact, "the act of faith does not stop at the enunciation, but reaches reality (*actus fidei non terminatur ad enuntiabile sed ad rem*)."[34]

Thomas moves from the Augustinian definition of faith as *cum assensione cogitare*,[35] where the verb is not intended rationally, but in the fullness of its meaning: *cogitare* indicates thinking as meditation and planning, that is, as a dynamic activity characterized by a "tendency towards." It is not simply intellectual activity because the verb expresses an extraordinary richness.

While following the Aristotelian gnoseology, Thomas remains perfectly faithful to Augustine in his analysis of the act of faith, as we see in q. 14, a. 1 of *De Veritate*: "in faith one has simultaneously assent and thought" (*In fide est assensus et cogitatio ex aequo*). In the same *questio* he discusses from the point of view of faith the five ways of human knowledge, starting from the principle that, in general, investigation (*cogitatio*) and assent (*assensus*) should be mutually exclusive. The analysis of the five ways is as follows:

1. *Doubt*: there is no assent and the possibilities for investigation are total, even if those who doubt do not actually investigate.
2. *Opinion*: a certain assent is given, accompanied by doubt, so the investigation can begin.
3. *Science*: assent is present because of the evidence reached through reasoning and which concludes the investigation.
4. *Evidence*: assent is immediate and there is no need for any investigation.

32 Idem, *Summa Theologiae* II-II, q. 4, a. 1, r.
33 Ibidem, q. 4, a. 2, r.
34 Ibidem, 1, 2, ad 2.
35 Augustine, *De praedestinatione sanctorum* 2,5.

5. *Faith*: it occupies an intermediate position because assent is not present due to the evidence, but because will pushes the intelligence to overcome the distance that separates credibility from faith. It is precisely credibility that is the object of investigation before assent. Then the investigation continues as a search for the *intellectus fidei* (theology). Precisely because the assent comes from will, the investigation does not end with assent.

	Doubt	***Opinion***	***Faith***	***Science***	***Evidence***
Cogitatio (investigation)	Absent	Incipient	Investigation before assent (credibility) and continuing after (theology)	Investigation before, culminating and ending in the evidence of the demonstration	Excluded
Assensus (Assent)	Excluded	A certain assent is given, but accompanied by doubt and fear	Total, full and sure, moved by the will because there is no evidence	Sure assent to the evidence reached through reasoning and demonstration	Immediate

Therefore, faith can be reduced neither to opinion nor to science, since assent is certain and reason shows that it is reasonable for the will to give assent. Scientific criticism has a role in theology because it avoids fideism, i.e. the recourse to the supernatural to explain the mere gnoseological aspect of the mystery. For faith concerns the mystery in an ontological sense, that mystery from which reason itself springs. Reason is indispensable both to draw on the true novelty introduced into history by Revelation and to welcome and deepen the content of Revelation itself. All the more so, since this content is inexhaustible and a source of infinite virtuality, so that, once the relationship between *fides* and *auctoritas* has been conceived in a harmonious way, the scholar cannot know boredom.

The point is that Trinitarian ontology shows how the recourse to assent does not consist in a limit of that knowledge which is reached through faith, but rather, on the contrary, it is the foundation of the metaphysical depth of this knowledge which is given through relations because the world is radically constituted by the relationship with the one and triune God that in Himself is relations.

The epistemological force of Aquinas is therefore based on the new relational picture of the relationship between the triune Creator and the creation, a picture that, thanks to the ontological hiatus that separates them, respects the autonomy of the world, precisely for the same reason that it presents creation as radically dependent on God. The ontological root of this epistemology can be found in the new metaphysical understanding of divine immanence, as demonstrated by the reworking of the Greek heritage by Thomas in relation to the Trinitarian *Verbum*. His first teachings in this area diverge, in fact, from the position taken in maturity. In the early *In I Sentiarum* it is said that *Verbum* is the name of both the second divine Person and the essence. In technical terms, *Verbum* is understood both as an essential name and as a notional name.[36]

Verbum is not considered a name that only says relationship, but it is stated that it also expresses God in his essence. It would be a name similar to good, eternal, etc., which, once purified through the triple path, can be applied to God. *Verbum* would not only be the name of the second Person.

This position on the Trinitarian level has an immediate gnoseological and anthropological reflection. The creation of man in the image and likeness of God, in fact, together with the identification of the faculties of the intellect and the will as the foundation of his uniqueness, imply that the change of conception at the Trinitarian level is linked by a double thread to a change in the conception of man's knowledge and understanding of his anthropological structure.[37]

Gilles Emery points this out in explaining that the interpretation of *Verbum* as an essential or only notional name is connected to the theory of knowledge that Thomas assumes from Aristotle, particularly to the fact that God knows Himself through his essence: knowing subject, cognitive act and object known in God coincide perfectly.[38]

Thus for the first Thomas' *Verbum* can indicate both the cognitive act and the personal relationship.[39] In *De Veritate* Thomas maintains this position, highlighting how *verbum* means the relationship to the mind that conceives it, a relationship that can only be of reason as in the case of God.[40] In *Summa Contra Gentiles*, however, he clearly distinguishes the cognitive act from the *verbum* as an expression of the known reality formed by the intellect: from

36 Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *In I Sentiarum*, d. 27 q. 2 a. 2 qc. 1 co.

37 To get an idea of how narrow the consciousness of interconnection was in the Middle Ages, see: R.L. Friedman, *Medieval Trinitarian Thought from Aquinas to Ockham*, Cambridge 2010.

38 G. Emery, *The Trinitarian Theology of Saint Thomas Aquinas*, Oxford 2010, pp. 209–214.

39 The problem is common in Scholastic time, as the cases of Albert and Bonaventure show.

40 Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *De Veritate*, q. 4, a. 2.

this perspective its existence is purely relative.[41] This change in the theory of knowledge implies that the term can now be recognized in all the ontological depth of its relational dimension, and applied univocally to the second Person of the Trinity. For this reason, in *Summa Theologiae*, Thomas affirms that *Verbum* is an exclusively notional name, predictable only to the second Person, while the divine substance cannot be defined as *Verbum*.[42]

This switch from the conception that sees *Verbum* as both an essential and a notional name to the affirmation that *Verbum* is an exclusively personal name marks a fundamental moment not only in Thomas' vision, but concerns all the Masters of Theology of Paris, who between 1270 and 1271 came together to condemn as contrary to the Fathers' and Augustine's teaching the affirmation that *Verbum* was also an essential name.[43]

In *Summa Theologiae* we see how Thomas criticizes Anselm and his intellectualism, clearly distinguishing *Verbum* and *intellectus* in God. The former is the second Person of the Trinity, while the latter, as an act, is identified with the divine essence. *In divinis*, in fact, *intellectus* and *intellectum* coincide perfectly, while being spoken implies an authentic relationship. The intellect knows only a necessary proportion which in itself can be – in God – nothing but identity. Different is the *Verbum*, which cannot be understood as *cogitatio* because there is no search of truth in God; it can only be thought of as an expression of the fruit of cognitive activity. Therefore, the fruit of knowing is distinct from the act of knowing and is indicated precisely by *Verbum*. The concept, fruit of God's self-knowledge, is thus, for Thomas, the conceived, that is, the *Verbum* who is the eternal Son of the Father. For this, Aquinas explains:

> As, properly speaking, Word in God is said personally, and not essentially, so likewise is to "speak." Hence, as the Word is not common to the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, so it is not true that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are one speaker. So Augustine says (*De Trinitate*. VII, 1): "He who speaks in that co-eternal Word is understood as not alone in God, but as being with that very Word, without which, forsooth, He would not be speaking." On the other hand, "to be spoken" belongs to each Person, for not only is the word spoken, but also the thing

41 Cf. idem, *Summa contra gentiles* I, c. 53 e IV, c. 11.

42 Cf. idem, *Summa Theologiae* I q. 34 a. 1 co.

43 Cf. M. Schmaus, *Der Liber propugnatorius des Thomas Anglicus und die Lehrunterschiede zwischen Thomas von Aquin un Duns Scotus*, II, Münster 1930, pp. 613–614, no. 40. The number of Masters, among whom was Thomas, was about 24. On the date see: F. Pelster, *Roger Marston O.F.M. (+1303), ein englischer Vertreter des Augustinismus*, "Scholastik" 3 (1928), p. 545.

> understood or signified by the word. Therefore in this manner to one person alone in God does it belong to be spoken in the same way as a word is spoken; whereas in the way whereby a thing is spoken as being understood in the word, it belongs to each Person to be spoken. For the Father, by understanding Himself, the Son and the Holy Ghost, and all other things comprised in this knowledge, conceives the Word; so that thus the whole Trinity is "spoken" in the Word; and likewise also all creatures: as the intellect of a man by the word he conceives in the act of understanding a stone, speaks a stone. Anselm took the term "speak" improperly for the act of understanding; whereas they really differ from each other; for "to understand" means only the habitude of the intelligent agent to the thing understood, in which habitude no trace of origin is conveyed, but only a certain information of our intellect; forasmuch as our intellect is made actual by the form of the thing understood. In God, however, it means complete identity, because in God the intellect and the thing understood are altogether the same, as was proved above (Question 14, Articles 4,5). Whereas to "speak" means chiefly the habitude to the word conceived; for "to speak" is nothing but to utter a word. But by means of the word it imports a habitude to the thing understood which in the word uttered is manifested to the one who understands. Thus, only the Person who utters the Word is "speaker" in God, although each Person understands and is understood, and consequently is spoken by the Word.[44]

The distinction is between 'saying/speaking" (*dicere*) the Word, which belongs only to the Father, and 'being spoken' (*dici*), which is convenient for all three divine Persons, because with the Word is also meant the signified reality. In this way all the Trinity and even every creature is spoken in the Word. This element is extremely significant because it reveals that the eternal *Verbum* is the foundation of every reality, even creatural reality. Everything is done through the Son and in view of the Son, so everything is spoken by the Father in the eternal relationship of Filiation. The meaning of everything is, therefore, the Son.

From this perspective God is known in the Word and the root of all knowledge is personal. The relationship with reality is founded on the level of personal relationship, and not of essential necessity, in such a way that the source of all knowledge is the Son in his being pure relation to the Father. Man by himself cannot access God because true knowledge is not played out on the level of essence. Essences cannot be translated into concepts, but the path

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44 St Thomas Aquinas, *The Summa Theologica*, New York 2007, p. 179 (I q. 34 a. 1 ad 3).

to them passes within the Trinity, in that immanent dimension which is not available to man except through the Gift of Self Revelation. The identification of the cognitive act and its fruit in the first epoch of Thomas is exposed to the intellectualist risk. Instead, it is possible to arrive at the heart of reality only through the relationship with the Son.

This is a radical critique of intellectualism, born of the extrapolation to the triune God of the essentialist vision of the one metaphysical level that characterized the approach of the Greek philosophers. As seen, for them the First Principle and the world are connected in a continuous way. Instead, in the Christian vision the uncreated ontology is original with respect to the created one and clearly distinct from it. The vision of participation is deeply different with respect to the Greek one, because the analogy is now based on the free act of the Creator and therefore on the metaphysical gap between the two ontological levels. There is no longer a continuum of degrees of being, but there is an unbridgeable hiatus, which only divine will and love can fill. Freedom and personal dimension demand apophatism that reality not be reducible to concepts, following the law of necessary proportion, but that true knowledge be given only on a personal level, in the relationship, simply because the First Principle is an eternal relation of love.

This is connected with a change in the theory of human knowledge: man knows in the word, but not through the word because the word is not the species, but the fruit in the mind of the knowing person of the cognitive act addressed to reality. For this reason, it is precisely the word that unites the knowing subject and reality. The human word has a function of relational mediation.

The transition is extremely relevant because it implies the understanding that the logical structure of creation is personal, and therefore that the deepest and most authentic thought is personal. The true meaning of the world is Christ, *Logos* incarnate, because creation itself is a prolongation of the eternal generation, according to the daring Thomist formula.[45]

From a purely dogmatic point of view, there are many reasons to deny that *Verbum* is an essential name: a first risk would be the possibility of thinking that the Son is generated by the essence and not by the Person of the Father, a proposition condemned in the 4th Lateran Council in 1215. To this is added precisely the question, seen in Aquinas' rereading of John Damascene, of the difference between the real distinction of relations between them and the distinction only of reason between relations and the substance *in divinis* which

45 (...) *processiones personarum aeternae sunt causa et ratio totius productionis creaturarum* (idem, *In I Sentiarum*, d. 14, q. 1, a. 1, co.).

the essential meaning of *Verbum* would overshadow. The most serious danger would be the possible confusion between nature and super-nature, which is of particular concern to Thomas, as can also be seen from his criticism of Richard of Saint Victor and Anselm.

If *Verbum* were an essential name, the knowledge that God has of Himself would prescind from the Spirit, from personal Love, without reference to the two processions with their mutual and inescapable interweaving. Thus, the statement that *Verbum* is only a notional name seems intimately connected with that vertex of the Thomist Trinitarian formulation of the *Verbum spirans Amorem*.[46]

Conclusion

In the proposed path we have tried to show how the strength of Thomas' thought is based on a Trinitarian epistemology that is made possible by a Trinitarian ontology that he inherited from the Fathers and in turn developed. Precisely this epistemology, which in its root can be defined relational, is what preserves Aquinas from the logical excesses that brought other authors of that time to pave the way for modern dialectics.

Although the talk of Trinitarian ontology in reference to Thomas may seem to contradict some positions of well-known Thomists, in the proposed perspective, the Middle Ages itself is the fruit of the Trinitarian ontology of the Fathers because the affirmation of an infinite hiatus between God and the world allows the human thought to reread the latter in its unity and autonomy from the new point of observation made accessible by faith. In this way men become aware of the possibility of drawing a unique picture of creation in order to praise the Creator and live in fullness their identity as children of God.

Trinitarian ontology is, therefore, an inescapable question in theology and especially when it comes to medieval theology. What we have tried to highlight is how Thomas' strength in this context depends on his epistemology, which is essentially Trinitarian because it links the relationship between *auctoritas* and *ratio* to the possibility of identifying relations corresponding to real distinctions in the unity of reality. This allows Aquinas to develop a thought capable of declining categories suitable for speaking about both God and the human being.

Thus, the metaphysical rereading of divine immanence by Thomas, which can be defined as Trinitarian ontology according to the first meaning cited,

46 Idem, *Summa Theologiae* I, q. 43, a. 5.

becomes in relation the foundation of the possibility of rereading creation in the light of the Trinitarian depth of its Creator. The example of the definition of person reveals precisely this possibility, which has its roots in the epistemological value of the theological faith. This in connected to the exclusively personal or notional rereading of the *Verbum*, for which the divine economy can be understood as a free expression of love of the immanent processions. The full sense of the world is, therefore, in God, without whom it cannot be thought of, not a *priori* because of a necessary connection, but only *a posteriori* for the constitutive relationship with the triune Creator.

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The Main Aspects of John Paul II's Encyclical *Fides et ratio* in the Current Historical and Theological Environment

Główne aspekty encykliki Jana Pawła II *Fides et ratio* w obecnym dyskursie historyczno-teologicznym

Abstract: The article presents the fundamental aspects of the encyclical *Fides et ratio* of John Paul II concerning the historical and theological context of contemporary culture. It indicates current problems in the harmonious existence of societies that function according to paradigms contrary to the absolute truth of the theological subject. The errors resulting from modernism (subjective rationalism, the cognitive negation of faith) and postmodernism (relativization of truth, atheism and antitheism, the reductionism of faith) are discussed. Further, the existential value of religious faith is demonstrated through the correlation of meaning/sense and truth. In doing so, this article serves as an apologetic for the rational nature of faith. Truth is emphasized as a gift both contained in and received from God's Revelation, a gift necessary for discovering the sense of human reality.

Keywords: truth, faith, knowledge, research of truth, sense, rationality of the faith

Abstrakt: Artykuł przedstawia fundamentalne aspekty encykliki *Fides et ratio* Jana Pawła II w odniesieniu do kontekstu historycznego i teologicznego współczesnej kultury. Wskazuje na aktualne problemy w harmonijnym egzystowaniu społeczeństw funkcjonujących według paradygmatów sprzecznych z prawdą absolutną stanowiącą przedmiot teologiczny. Omówione są tu błędy wynikające z modernizmu (subiektywny racjonalizm, poznawcza negacja wiary), postmodernizmu (relatywizacja prawdy, ateizm i antyteizm, redukcjonizm wiary). Wyjaśniono wartość egzystencjalną wiary religijnej jako ukazującej korelację sensu i prawdy, w ten sposób dokonując apologii racjonalnego charakteru wiary. Wyakcentowano prawdę jako dar zawarty w Bożym Objawieniu, niezbędny do odkrycia sensu ludzkiej rzeczywistości.

Słowa kluczowe: prawda, wiara, poznanie, poszukiwanie prawdy, sens, racjonalność wiary

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Introduction

More than twenty years have passed since the encyclical *Fides et ratio* appeared, dealing not only with the relationship between reason and faith in the development of Christian thought, but also with the lives of Christians, whose call it is to deepen their relationship with God and to know themselves, their nature, and their final destiny.

> Faith and reason are like the two wings with which the human spirit rises to the contemplation of truth. God has placed in man's heart the desire to know the truth and, ultimately, to know Him because, by knowing and loving Him, he can also reach the full truth about himself.[1]

Contemplating truth, in this case, means touching the mystery of being and experiencing the admiration and joy of being. The terms found at the beginning of the text such as "*diakonia* of truth,"[2] "wonder," "speculative capacity," "capacity of knowing God, the truth, the good," are fundamental to express the relationship between faith and reason.[3] The question of this mutual relationship lies in the close connection with the anthropological theme, in the light of which man, in and of himself, constitutes a mystery that cannot be fully understood without the Truth, which reveals itself through the gift of self. This gift is given to him and his reason, stimulating him to engage in a conscious, free, and responsible act of faith.

The main premise for reflecting on the content of the encyclical is its continuous novelty. Moreover, there is a kind of intellectual and spiritual anticipation of what is happening before our eyes in the Church, and in what man, society, and the world are facing in their defense of an elemental value such as Truth, which is the first form of love.

It is impossible to present all the threads and questions contained in the magisterial document in a single article. Thus, only those that are crucial for shaping the conscience of contemporary Catholic believers will be taken into consideration. These elements are linked to the problem of Truth (in fact, the very beginning *Fides et ratio* recalls this idea as part of the process of continuity

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1 Giovanni Paolo II, Lettera enciclica *Fides et ratio* (herefurther: FR), [in:] *Tutte le encicliche di Giovanni Paolo II*, Milano 2005, p. 1421. Unless otherwise noted, all English translations are by the WTR.

2 FR 2.

3 FR 4.

already dealt with in *Veritatis splendor*), the crisis of modern philosophy, the mystery of man, the question of meaning, and the theme of Revelation.

Truth in theology

> Both in the East and in the West, it is possible to discern a path, which, over the centuries, has led humanity progressively to meet and confront the truth. A journey that has taken place – nor could it have been otherwise – within the horizon of personal self-awareness: the more man knows reality and the world, the more he knows himself in his uniqueness, while the question of the meaning of things and of his own existence becomes increasingly urgent. What comes as an object of our knowledge becomes a part of our life itself. The warning 'Conosci te stesso' was carved on the lintel of the temple of Delphi, as a testimony of a basic truth that must be assumed as a minimum rule by every man eager to distinguish himself, in the midst of all creation, by qualifying himself as 'uomo' precisely as a 'conoscitore di se stesso.'[4]

In light of the words contained at the beginning of St John Paul II's encyclical letter *Fides et ratio*, the terms "fede" and "ragione" have their own meaning and proposition concerning the Truth. For Christian life and science, Truth is a fundamental aspect of love. By this, we do not mean simply telling the truth at the level of theoretical discussions or exchanging opinions and ideas between people. By "Truth," we mean the truth that defines and determines the being, reality, the human mystery, the ability to recognize and distinguish good from evil. The Truth presented in the encyclical letter is not abstract or theoretical but refers to the words of Christ: "I am the way, the truth, and the life" (Jn 14:6, KJV). He who allows himself to be embraced by the Truth, allows God to realize in himself a Salvation that was fulfilled in Christ once and for all.

There is, however, another way of perceiving each person in their relationship with God and their relationship to Truth and Salvation. Cardinal Gerhard Ludwig Müller[5] stresses an important element innate to human nature: the desire to seek the absolute and ultimate Truth. Therefore, not only the formula *l'homo capax Dei* but also *l'homo capax veritatis* is rationally accessible. The

4 FR 1.

5 *Benedykt XVI – wielki papież teolog*, interview of Krzysztof Tomasik with Gerhard Ludwig Müller, 10.04.2017, http://info.wiara.pl/doc/3811580.Benedykt-XVI-wielki-papiez-teolog [access: 1.04.2020].

latter, offering philosophical, anthropological, and theological perspectives all together – complementary and inseparable – expresses the full nature of man.

Having said this, a particular task of Christianity emerges; that of giving witness to the Truth through the commitment to enter patiently and respectfully into the world of questions and doubts, in the search for the Truth and the meaning of human existence.[6]

The teaching and correct interpretation of the *Magisterium* contained in *Fides et ratio* were repeatedly undertaken by Pope Benedict XVI, who, as he said in his pontificate, adopted the words "Collaboratori della verità" (*Cooperatores veritatis*). This expression is taken from the third epistle of St John the Apostle (3 Jn 1). St John knew that a Christian named Gaius was showing hospitality to the missionaries on the way. Therefore, he sent Gaius a letter full of words of gratitude, which were also an encouragement to continue to practice this attitude. St John writes:

> [They] have borne witness of thy charity before the church: whom if thou bring forward on their journey after a godly sort, thou shalt do well. Because that for his name's sake they went forth, taking nothing of the Gentiles. We therefore ought to receive such, that we might be fellow helpers to the truth. (3 Jn 1:6-8, KJV)

The motto "collaboratori della verità," which already had accompanied Joseph Ratzinger's episcopal ministry, expresses the desire to serve, which, on the one hand, is so often trampled upon in today's world, and, on the other, is the subject of the desires of many human hearts. Answering a journalist's question about his episcopal motto, Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger said:

> I am, as befits [my office], a zealous reader of the Bible, and the words that immediately fascinated me, which I came across, are found in the Third Letter of St John the Apostle (…) In the crisis of the times – in which there is a lively exchange of thoughts when it comes to the truth of the natural sciences, but subjectivity when it comes to important human issues – the search for truth and the courage to accept the truth have become our need again.[7]

6 Benedetto XVI, Messaggio per la XLVII Giornata Mondiale delle Comunicazioni Sociali, *Reti Sociali: porte di verità e di fede; nuovi spazi di evangelizzazione*, Domenica, 12 maggio 2013, https://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/pl/messages/communications/documents/hf_ben-xvi_mes_20130124_47th-world-communications-day.html [access: 1.04.2020].

7 Dialog serca miłości, kategoria: codzienny dialog, http://dialogsercamilosci.eu/category/codzienny-dialog/ [access: 1.04.2020].

The search for Truth on the part of modern man is not dictated only by pure curiosity. How often does the question of Truth take the form of a desperate cry of someone looking for meaning in their life? In this situation, finding the answer to the question of Truth becomes a question of the "to be, or not to be" of man.

Man is the only being on earth who can seek the Truth. A person who sincerely seeks the Truth with all his heart and a pure mind is already on the right track. It is worth quoting the words of St Teresa Benedicta of the Cross (Edith Stein).[8] This philosopher, born in Wroclaw into a Jewish family – and a collaborator of Edmund Husserl – dedicated her whole life to the search for Truth. This search led her to the discovery of Christ. Walking far along on the path of Truth, she decided to receive baptism, then entered the monastery, and died a martyr in the extermination camps at Auschwitz Birkenau. Referring to her own experiences, Edith Stein said, "God is truth. Whoever seeks the truth is seeking God, whether consciously or unconsciously."[9] But not all people are capable of going to seek the Truth alone, like Edith Stein. A touching expression, which brought out Pope Benedict's concern for those who are unable to set out on the path to Truth, was that of the image of a lost sheep, about which he spoke in his homily during the Holy Mass at the inauguration of his pontificate:

> The first sign is the pallium, woven in pure wool, which is placed on my shoulders. This very ancient sign, which the Bishops of Rome have worn since the fourth century, can be considered as an image of the yoke of Christ, which the Bishop of this city, the Servant of the Servants of God, takes on his shoulders. (…) In reality the symbolism of the pallium is even more concrete. The lamb's wool is meant to represent the lost sheep or even the sick and weak one, which the shepherd puts on his shoulders and leads to the waters of life. (…) The holy restlessness of Christ must animate the shepherd: for him it is not indifferent that so many people live in the desert. And there are many forms of desert. There is the desert of poverty, the desert of hunger and thirst, there is the desert of abandonment, of loneliness, of destroyed love. There is the desert of God's darkness, of the emptying of souls without any more awareness of

8 M.A. Kopiec, *La sintesi filosofico-teologica nell'antropologia cristiana di Edith Stein*, "Forum Teologiczne" 19 (2018), pp. 217–234.

9 M.A. Neyer, *Edyta Stein. Życie świętej Teresy Benedykty od Krzyża w dokumentacji i foton grafiach*, Krakow 2014, p. 71.

> the dignity and the path of man. External deserts are multiplying in the world because internal deserts have become so vast.[10]

These words testify that Benedict XVI understands his mission to reach even those who, because of their weakness, experience in life, or simply lack of goodwill, can no longer or do not want to seek the Truth. Every vicar of Christ on earth wants, like Christ himself, to remember lost sheep, including those lost in the search for the Truth.

This visualization was very dear to St John Paul II, for whom the greatest human bewilderment, misery, and poverty consisted in ignorance of Christ or reluctance to pursue the Truth. In this context, the evangelical concept of "poverty" and the Church's mission to enrich humanity with Christ and free man from this type of poverty emerge, which includes the possibility of participating in the "rich and abundant" encounter with Jesus Christ. From this perspective, different types of impoverishment and their gradual levels appear. Does the Church today really fulfill Christ's will for the missionary vocation entrusted to her and which is innate to her nature and identity?[11]

The Christian is aware of the meaning of life. The light of known Truth can illuminate even the darkest moments of his existence. Joy and gratitude for the gift of knowing the Truth should mobilize him to share the Truth entrusted to him with his other brothers, who then become his fellow helpers. This mission becomes even more urgent if one takes into account the present social, cultural, ideological, or religious context, in which the problem of seeking the Truth encounters many difficulties.

The current philosophical-anthropological context

In the encyclical *Fides et ratio*, St John Paul II, from the beginning of his presentation, indicates the threat of philosophical relativism, which becomes evident as soon as the ability of metaphysical and wise thought is removed from reason. The concrete forms that reduce human thought and the search for

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10 Benedetto XVI, *Omelia a Santa Messa imposizione del pallio e consegna dell'anello del pescatore per l'inizio del ministero petrino del vescovo di Roma*, Piazza San Pietro, Domenica, 24 aprile 2005, http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/it/homilies/2005/documents/hf_ben-xvi_hom_20050424_inizio-pontificato.html [access: 1.04.2020].

11 M.A. Kopiec, *Evangelizzazione nel recente magistero dei papi. Tra le sfide, il mandato e la carità*, Terni 2016.

Truth are identified in the final part when we talk about a crisis of meaning, eclecticism, historicism, scientism, pragmatism, and nihilism.[12]

Modernism

As we have seen, with the arrival of the modern era – whose multifaceted and extensive program in history is generally defined by the concept of modernism – the problem of the relationship between faith and reason on an epistemological level has become much more complex. This has raised many challenges to which responses are necessary.

a) Subjective rationalism

Modern thought has found its expression in the principle formulated by the Enlightenment *Sapere aude*: "Have the courage to use your own understanding."[13] In this way, philosophy and its new theory of knowledge has launched the axiom of "starting from the facts"[14] to arrive at evidence and clarity in the cognitive process with regard to the object of investigation. Something is, therefore, only knowable to the extent that it can be subject to reason and objective experience. Knowledge, in its new understanding, requires autonomy. *Ratio et experimentum* are the new criteria for true knowledge. Knowledge that would use a reference to any form of authority cannot be accepted uncritically.

In its cultural dimension, modern thought tends to recognize human reason as a necessary and definitive starting point, a criterion, and a type of judgment, by virtue of which the correctness of what is acquired as knowledge in reference to any object of research is established. Reason affirms its confidence in its own abilities and autonomy – independent of any other source of knowledge – thus affirming its indispensable self-sufficiency to explain reality, not only in its functional dimension but also in its ontological one. The existence of the world and life, the essence of being, and the essence of man can be explained autonomously, without having to refer to metaphysics.[15] As a result,

12 FR 86–90.

13 I. Kant, *Risposta alla domanda: che cos' è l' illuminismo*, [in:] idem, *Scritti politici e di filosofia della storia e del diritto,* Vigevano 1971, pp. 141–149.

14 E. Husserl, *Logische Untersuchungen II*, Heidelberg 1922, 6; M. Heidegger, *Sein und Zeit*, Tübingen 1960, p. 27.

15 G. Colombo, *Intelligenza umana e grazia della conoscenza del soprannaturale come realtà storica*, "Salesianum" 27 (1965), pp. 326–341.

the validity of the specific epistemology of classical philosophy and theology is weakened.

b) The denial of the cognitive nature of faith

By introducing the clear separation between rational knowledge and that of faith, modernity has uncritically accepted the conviction that *believing* means *not knowing* or, at most, knowing in an *unreliable*, *uncertain*, *unverifiable*, and *unfounded* way. On this arbitrary judgment rests the positivist assumption that only science in the natural sense guarantees certain knowledge since it is based on research, experience, verification, and empirical evidence.[16] Faith and its object, without epistemological principles of clarity, evidence, empirical repeatability, verification, and intellectual certainty,[17] cannot, therefore, belong to the field of objective knowledge. Moreover, as Emmanuel Kant says,[18] faith would be an inferior and dependent form of knowledge, a second-degree knowledge, imperfect, present, and useful only in the private, individual, ethical, and affective sectors of human life.[19]

Postmodernism

a) Reason and Truth

The epistemological principles introduced in the modern era have today been configured according to the even more "updated" and "advanced" form than that of postmodernism. While in modernism, the issue was one of "strong reason," in postmodernism, it appears as "weak reason," that is, being incapable of facing the Truth in its holistic and definitive dimension.[20] Postmodernism makes the relationship between faith and reason in reaching the Truth even more difficult and complicated. This is primarily because postmodernism alone

16 H. Fries, *Fede e sapere scientifico*, [in:] *Sacramentum Mundi* III, K. Rahner (ed.), Brescia 1975, p. 758.

17 W. Kasper, *Oltre la conoscenza*, Brescia 1989, pp. 20–22.

18 P. Coda, *Teo-logia. La Parola di Dio nelle parole dell'uomo, epistemologia e metodologia teologica*, Roma 1997, pp. 144–145.

19 W. Kasper, *Oltre la conoscenza*, op. cit., p. 21.

20 B. Mondin, *La metafisica, possibilità della ragione, esigenza della fede*, "Per la filosofia" 45 (1999), pp. 40–50.

cannot clearly define its identity.[21] It is an uneven and often contradictory current in itself. Postmodernism is not a philosophical system or a strictly defined worldview containing specific hypotheses or statements, but rather a style or way of reasoning characterized by an individual referring to freedom,[22] which inevitably leads to relativism. In the cognitive process, truth and freedom are separated and considered independent. This assumption eventually leads to deconstructionism (J. Derrida),[23] which absolutely rejects the role of any stable point of reference, affirming extreme individualism and anti-objectivism (H. Putnam, R. Rorty). This, in turn, rejects both faith in the autonomous subject of knowledge and in the world objectively existing in itself, somehow waiting for the subject to know it and allow is to create a mental interpretation about itself. There is no basis (in God, world, or man) and no neutral point of view that allows objective, certain, and ultimate Truth to be reached.[24]

In this sense, unlike modernism, which has still adopted the concept of truth as singular, universal, objective, independent of subjective decisions, and, above all, attainable by reason, postmodernism even surpasses this vision, defining truth as always being "produced and generated" scientifically and technologically, and being politically and culturally conditioned.[25] The neo-positivist approach defines truth more as constructed than accepted or read, which inevitably leads to agnosticism since it implies that no form of knowledge can claim the right to have cognitive and ideological prerogatives in a complete and definitive sense,[26]

21 The fact that the term "postmodernism" is not explicit and homogeneous is highlighted by divergences in its perception by the precursors, authors, interpretations of their theses, and, above all, in the variety of ways of dealing with the language problem and the possibility of universal communication. One may dare to say that the characteristic feature of postmodernism is the lack of uniformity, the lack of definition, the lack of a common language, and the lack of possibility of joint communication. A. Bronk, *Postmodernizm*, [in:] *Leksykon teologii fundamentalnej*, M. Rusecki (ed.), Lublin–Krakow 2002, pp. 929–935.

22 F. Testaferri, *Fede e ragione*, Assisi 2002, p. 16.

23 J. Derrida, *La scrittura e la differenza*, Torino 1971; J. Derrida, *Margini della filosofia*, Torino 1997.

24 A. Bronk, *Postmodernizm*, op. cit., p. 931.

25 S. D'Agostino, *Scienza e religione: per una nuova alleanza*, 2008, http://siba-ese.unisalento.it/index.php/idee/article/viewFile/3519/2916 [accessed: 1.04.2020], pp. 13–14.

26 From this point of view, it is necessary to understand the concepts of "ragione debole" of G. Vattimo, of "disfattismo della ragione" of J. Habermasa, or "restringimento della ragione" of von Wraighta. S. D'Agostino, *Scienza e religione: per una nuova alleanza*, pp. 8–12; J. Habermas, *La coscienza di ciò che manca. Su fede e ragione e il disfattismo della ragione moderna*, [in:] *Le religioni e la ragione. Il dibattito sul discorso del papa a Ratisbona*, K. Wenzel (ed.), Brescia 2008, pp. 57–69.

because its objectivity resides in the consensus of the scientific community authorized to recognize certain knowledge as scientific.[27]

In the epistemological dimension, methodological doubt becomes the principle of authentic knowledge in Kant's theory of falsifiability. Popper, who, to a certain extent, takes up Kant's ideas – i.e., the distinction between *noumenon* (the essence of a thing) and *phenomenon* (an observable fact or event) – affirms that true, cognitive, scientific theories are only those that assume as a condition the possibility of being denied and, consequently, refuted. Therefore, even in this case, the possibility of existing or achieving an objective, certain, and lasting Truth is rejected. In fact, falsifiability becomes a criterion for what is knowable and, therefore, scientific. While in the field of natural and empirical knowledge such a definition of science can be adopted, it does not seem right to apply it on a metaphysical, religious, or ethical level.[28]

After all, postmodernism is characterized by a sectorial and fragmented knowledge, the disappearance or uselessness of the categories of meaning and truth, and anti-metaphysicalism, rejecting the possibility of a definitive explanation of reality as such, in its entirety and excluding the existence of two orders: thought and reality, knowledge of the world and the world itself, the language to speak about the world and "pure" reality beyond linguistic categories, which are radically different both from the subject and the object of knowledge.[29] Postmodernism thus gives up the search for the foundation of reality in the sense of its constitutive causality and reason,[30] limiting the sphere of knowledge to the merely immanent dimension.

b) God and man

What distinguishes postmodernism, in particular, is anti-theism, which, contrary to a-theism, not only renounces the notion of God as Absolute Being but proclaims the negation of God in the name of human autonomy: the human being maintains his own identity while excluding God. Thus, God is the reason for man's alienation.[31] To this end, anti-theism becomes the ideology that is in continuity with the "masters of suspicion" of Feuerbach, Marx, Freud, and

27 A. Bronk, *Postmodernizm*, op. cit., p. 932.

28 M. Artigas, *Popper, Karl Raimund (1902–1994)*, [in:] *Dizionario Interdisciplinare di Scienza e Fede*, t. 2, G. Tanzella-Nitti, A. Strumia (eds.), Roma 2002, pp. 2055–2065.

29 A. Bronk, *Postmodernizm*, op. cit., p. 933.

30 G. Vattimo, *Dopo la cristianità. Per un cristianesimo non religioso*, Milano 2002, p. 8.

31 H. Waldenfels, *Teologia fondamentale nel contesto del mondo contemporaneo*, Cinisello Balsamo 1988, pp. 42–49; H. de Lubac, *Il dramma dell'umanesimo ateo*, Brescia 1981.

Nietzsche. It is the doctrine according to which, in the name of human freedom and independence, it is necessary to reject God, faith, and reason in their mutual relationship and the concept of meaning in a transcendent dimension. The new, or rather, pseudo-humanism not only denies God, but also the existence of the very nature of man, ontically constituted, immutable, and objective.[32]

Man can be considered mainly in his immanent dimension based on scientific data and, therefore, as a product of processes that took place in space-time limits. His mental and emotional world is to be considered the emergence of neurological processes, its spiritual sphere as an epiphenomenon of matter, and its complex mechanisms. While the positive dimension of empirical and natural discoveries and the results of all scientific research on human nature cannot be ignored, when they pretend to give a definitive explanation of the essence of man, it leads to reductionism and the actual alienation of his being.

c) The consequences for faith

A critical approach to the current context does not have the purpose of rejecting new ways of knowledge, nor of denying techno-scientific progress, but of emphasizing that, an absolute value has been erroneously given to human development understood exclusively in this way, which excludes other forms of knowledge and other aspects that are fundamental and constitutive for the integral development of the human person. By creating a vision of a closed and artificial world, which is only the result of production and value of which is measured on the basis of the criterion of pragmatic utility, a reduced concept of being and truth has been realized.[33] It may be convenient to reread in this perspective the current socio-cultural condition marked by a crisis of meaning, or even an anthropological crisis,[34] which leads to an abyss of nothingness in nihilism.[35]

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32 R. Guardini, *Mondo e Persona*, [in:] idem, *Scritti filosofici*, Milano 1964, vol. 2, pp. 3–133.

33 L. Oviedo, *Alle prese col naturalismo e il riduzionismo. Un resoconto della recente discussione*, "Antonianum" 84 (2009), pp. 377–396.

34 FR 80–81; A. Touraine, *Critica della modernità*, Milano 1993, p. 222; A. Sabetta, *Rivelazione cristiana, modernità, postmodernità*, [in:] *Teologia fondamentale. Contesti*, G. Lorizio (ed.), vol. 3, Roma 2005, p. 132.

35 E. Scognamiglio, *Il volto dell'uomo. Saggio di antropologia trinitaria*, Cinisello Balsamo 2006, p. 41; G. Vattimo, *Le avventure della differenza. Che cosa significa pensare dopo Heidegger e Nietzsche*, Milano 1980; G. Vattimo, *La fine della modernità. Nichilismo ed ermeneutica nella cultura contemporanea*, Milano 1985, pp. 170–175; I. Prigogine, *La fine delle certezze. Il tempo, il caos e le leggi della natura*, Torino 1997; V. Posenti, *Il nichilismo teoretico e la "morte della metafisica,"* Roma 1995; idem, *Terza navigazione: nichilismo*

Reductionism in defining reality and in the process of knowledge constitutes an element of today's culture, which, in its material approach to reality, differs from a worldview based on the principles of metaphysics and open to the transcendent horizon.[36] It dominates the secularized image of reality, in which the Christian form of the discourse on God has today become a foreign, incomprehensible, and abstract language. The problem not only concerns one truth or another of the faith but the very possibility of believing. With the loss of the dimension of faith, the dimension of mystery also disappears. In this context, theology, more than ever, feels the need for a profound reflection on faith and, above all, on its assumptions, on what guarantees its *raison d'être*, on what justifies it, and on which it is based.[37]

Faith needs a reason, which, in its deep skepticism, does not deny itself the capacity to grasp meaning, but is open to the truth in its metaphysical aspect; a reason which is not limited to recognizing the phenomenon but is able to grasp the foundations of reality.[38]

This is one of the most urgent challenges for theology today. The justification of faith is a task that belongs entirely to it because theology is a science based on faith. Therefore, theology can never renounce its obligation to seek answers to its basic questions about the reason and foundation of faith.

Paradoxically, even those who do not believe are faced with the obligation to justify their option, in this case of rejection of the faith.[39] It is a choice that inevitably involves personal responsibility to give the definitive meaning to their own story.

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e metafisica, Roma 1998; idem, *La sfida del post-umano. Verso nuovi modelli di esistenza?*, [in:] *La sfida del post-umano. Verso nuovi modelli di esistenza?*, I. Sanna (ed.), Roma 2005.

36 W. Kasper, *Il Dio di Gesù Cristo*, Brescia 1997, p. 20.

37 Ibidem, 98.

38 FR 83.

39 For objective reasons, we have omitted broad theme of contemporary currents of thought (this has been summarized in point *The current philosophical-anthropological context* of this study), which, while denying the transcendent foundation of being, do not, however, renounce the attempt to find a reasonable reason to explain human existence in its only immanent dimension (materialism), or to see the greatness of man in his courage to accept life even if it would be insignificant (existentialism), or to try to show the unreasonableness or contingency of the question of meaning (agnosticism, skepticism).

Faith and reason in the face of the anthropological question

Faith in the conditions of human existence (natural faith)

The problem of faith and its nature cannot be the object of purely intellectual speculation or exclusively empirical research. Faith requires a broader approach, covering the anthropological horizon. Only from this perspective does faith show its nature and value. One of its substantial aspects is the fact that it does not refer mainly to the theistic reality (of things), but to the world of people and their mutual relations. That is why it should be understood as an act of personal trust that creates necessary and basic interpersonal relationships.[40]

Common experience shows that in every person's life, in situations that require fundamental decisions to be made, man does not refer to empirical knowledge acquired through testimonials, demonstrations, or experiments, but rather, he relies on credibility, trust, and relationship. It is difficult to imagine that social life can be built without mutual trust, without that elementary act inscribed in the nature of human life: man desires, indeed, needs to believe.[41]

Faith is what determines experience, both at the individual and community levels. In this attitude, universal and specific acts of human nature will emerge, without which it would be impossible to create communication or an organized social life. In practice, without faith and mutual trust, it would not be possible to create common principles of education, intellectual training, exchange of information, communication, concerted action, and common recognition of fundamental values. Nobody is able to search for the Truth on their own "from the beginning, from scratch," to acquire knowledge and be able to verify everything directly on their own. On the contrary, man acquires knowledge, religious experience, culture, learns the system of values, etc., through the original act of faith, accepting as his own the shared and previous "legacy" of others, developing it, and making a personal contribution. In this sense, from an anthropological point of view, personal faith is an indispensable and entirely reasonable condition for building any civilization.

40 H. Fries, *Teologia fondamentale*, Brescia 1987, p. 18.
41 W. Kasper, *Introduzione alla fede*, Brescia 1994, p. 88.

The problem of sense

a) Sense and Truth

As already mentioned above, in the context of modernism and postmodernism, there is a general tendency to define the object of knowledge and the idea of truth according to the characteristic assumptions of positivism, referring only to objectively perceptible natural objects, verifiable by reason and natural experience. Truth[42] and knowledge are restricted to a fragment, an objectively perceptible vision of reality, thus refuting the need for a metaphysical explanation. This kind of epistemological reductionism denies the variety of levels of authentic and rational knowledge.[43]

Indeed, problems that cannot be answered safely and clearly must be ignored. As Ludwig Wittgenstein points out: "Whereof one cannot speak, thereof one must be silent."[44] Scientifically unsolvable, undocumented issues that cannot be verified by natural reason, such as those belonging to religion, faith, or metaphysics, should not be a matter of scientific interest.[45] Such a narrow concept of truth becomes de-personalized,[46] especially when reason asks itself about the person, about man as such, and about the meaning of his existence.[47] Suppressing man's desire for truth or denying access to it exposes him to the loss of what is most appropriate to his nature and, consequently, leads to some form of alienation.[48]

42 The modern development of thought has come to deal with the theme of "truth" at various levels: ontological, epistemological, ethical, empirical, semantic, aesthetic, etc. At this point the "truth" can take the form of epiphanic (*alétheia*, *epiphany*), of adequacy (*adaequatio*), of logical or syntactical accuracy (*orthótes*); or of coherence, conformity, utility/pragmaticity, harmony, good, beauty: C. Scilironi, *Verità*, [in:] Aa.Vv., *Teologia, I Dizionari*, Cinisello Balsamo 2002, pp. 1871–1908.

43 R. Pascual, *Scienza e religione nel dibattito intorno all'evoluzione e il 'progetto intelligente'*, [in:] *Scienze e religioni. Il ruolo delle scienze naturali*, R. Pisano, R. Pascual (eds.), http://www.academia.edu/7517405/Scienze_e_Religioni._Il_ruolo_delle_scienze_naturali_ipotesi_di_studio_e_prospettive [access: 1.04.2020], pp. 203–204.

44 L. Wittgenstein, *Tractatus logico-philosophicus*, Torino 1964, p. 82 (transl. by WTR).

45 G. Colombo, *Grazia e libertà nell'atto di fede*, [in:] *Noi crediamo*, R. Fisichella (ed.), Roma 1993; P. Neuner, *La fede principio soggettivo della conoscenza teologica*, [in:] *Corso di Teologia Fondamentale* (herefurther: CDTF), W. Kern, H. J. Pottmeyer, M. Seckler (eds.), vol. 4, Brescia 1990, 54.

46 G. Colombo, *Grazia e libertà nell'atto di fede*, op. cit., p. 47.

47 M. Serretti, *Sulla teologia del pluralismo religioso*, [in:] idem, *Unicità e universalità di Gesù Cristo. In dialogo con le religioni*, Cinisello Balsamo 2001, pp. 161–162; C. Dotolo, *La teologia fondamentale davanti alle sfide del «pensiero debole» di G. Vattimo*, Roma 1999.

48 FR 29.

Can a postmodern renunciation of the philosophical and theological search for Truth be intellectually honest? Can key problems concerning the *meaning* of existence, that is, the truth about the value, meaning, and purpose of being, be left out or excluded from the area of human and rational reflection?[49] On the other hand, it must be admitted that even if all scientific questions found their solution and their answer, we still would not have touched upon the most profound and existential problems of man.[50] This is why it is worth quoting St John Paul II's assertion about the "new" order of knowledge based on Revelation.

> Revelation introduces into history a point of reference from which man cannot prescind if he wants to understand the mystery of his existence; on the other hand, however, this knowledge constantly refers back to the mystery of God, which the mind cannot exhaust, but only receive and welcome in faith. Within these two moments, reason has its own particular space that allows it to investigate and understand, without being limited by anything other than its finiteness in the face of the infinite mystery of God.[51]

In the order of knowledge, in addition to asking questions on the subject of one field of knowledge or another, one also asks a question that precedes all others, one about himself and his identity. Blaise Pascal found that man himself is the greatest mystery that exists in nature. Man not only "has" many questions that he asks, but "is" a question unto himself; a question which, in the end, he is unable to answer.[52] These are fundamental questions that inspire reason, and human thought to constantly search for answers to deeply anthropological questions concerning the essential layers of his being.[53]

Discovering meaning is not so much a creative invention on the part of the subject as a gradual search for the truth. The concept of truth must, therefore, also be present on the philosophical-anthropological level, where it addresses the problem of *meaning*, *value*, *meaning*, *purpose*, and *nature*, and goes beyond what is partial, fragmentary, and contained only in a flattened and rigorously

[49] W. Kasper, *Introduzione alla fede*, op. cit., p. 37; H. Fries, *Teologia fondamentale*, op. cit., pp. 30–43.

[50] R. Fisichella, *La via della verità. Il mistero dell'uomo nel mistero di Cristo*, Milano 2003, p. 18.

[51] FR 14.

[52] W. Kasper, *Geheimnis Mensch*, [in:] idem, *Zukunft aus dem Glauben*, Mainz 1978, pp. 42–56.

[53] R. Guardini, *La vita della fede*, Brescia 1965; J. Alfaro, *Rivelazione cristiana, fede e teologia*, Brescia 1986, pp. 9–66.

delineated dimension of reality.[54] St John Paul II expresses this human capacity to go beyond one's cognitive limits in these words:

> St Paul, in the first chapter of his Letter to the Romans, helps us to better appreciate how penetrating the reflection of the Sapiential Books is. By developing a philosophical argument in a popular language, the Apostle expresses a profound truth: through creation, the 'eyes of the mind' can come to know God. He, in fact, through creatures, makes reason perceive his 'power' and his 'divinity' (cf. Rom. 1:20). Man's reason, therefore, is recognized as having an ability that seems to almost overcome its own natural limits: not only is it not confined within sensory knowledge, since it can reflect on it critically but, arguing on the data of the senses, it can also reach the root cause of any sensitive reality.[55]

This form of knowledge is a type of "hermeneutics of being," which explains reality using the question "why does something exist rather than nothing?," contrary to what the empirical sciences ask, which is "how does something/the world work?"[56] The anthropological-philosophical perspective creates the conditions to build a broader concept of rationality and epistemological principles.[57]

b) Sense as the truth that questions human freedom

Truth no longer appears merely as a specific statement contained in a concrete and precise intellectual formula but takes on a much deeper meaning as it becomes a direct appeal to human freedom. Thus, the complete concept of truth implies freedom. Unlike the truths enunciated by the natural sciences, truth in its definitive dimension takes on the nature of a proposal addressed to a free entity, which is every person. As a proposal, it becomes an appeal to man to recognize the presence of the mystery[58] and also urges him to make a decision. The truth is not only known but also voluntarily accepted. This choice is made in a totally responsible manner, that is, with the full participation of reason and freedom.

54 W. Kasper, *Per un rinnovamento del metodo teologico*, Brescia 1992, p. 67.

55 FR 22.

56 P. Neuner, *La fede principio soggettivo della conoscenza teologica*, op. cit., pp. 55–56.

57 A. Strumia, *Aspetti epistemologici del dialogo scienza-fede*, "XXI secolo scienza e tecnologia" 1 (2005), p. 34; R. Pisano, *Si può formalizzare la relazione scienze-religioni?*, [in:] idem, R. Pascual, *Scienze e religioni. Il ruolo delle scienze naturali*, op. cit., pp. 213–214.

58 The dimension of mystery is not something accidental, secondary, or irrational, but on the contrary, it is what rationality presupposes: W. Kasper, *Geheimnis Mensch*, Mainz 1973, pp. 42–56.

Truth is thus not a theoretical problem, belonging only to the intellectual sphere, but acquires practical and existential value. This kind of truth enables man to achieve moral certainty (also defined as existential, intuitive,[59] or personal), which, although different from scientifically-verifiable truth, is no less necessary: without it, man would not be able to make decisions on questions fundamental to his life.

This type of knowledge implies all the essential dimensions of human existence: intelligence, memory, will, feelings, senses, body, and the world of spiritual and ethical values. Therefore, *truth* is interpreted as an interpretation of being, as a reading of the meaning of everything that exists, through a rational act of accepting it as an informative message contained in the being itself (*analogia entis*). At this point, one can see the connection between the question of meaning and the theme of faith, where the latter manifests itself as an appeal to freedom and is implemented in a concrete act of acceptance of this appeal, which by its nature is offered as a "response" in the form of a "proposal."[60]

Truth as a gift contained in Divine Revelation

The question of meaning and the problem of God

In the philosophical-theological tradition, knowledge, consisting of the search for meaning, aims to find and indicate the ultimate foundation of reality and its existence.[61] By following this very path, the development of thought (metaphysics, theodicy, cosmology) reached the idea of God.[62] To affirm that God exists and specifically, that He exists as the cause and purpose of being, is not an obvious thing; rather, it is evident that it is right, well-founded, and reasonable to believe or at least to admit that He exists and reveals Himself as the definitive meaning of reality.[63] Since God is not a simple object subject to man's observation or sensitive faculties – that is to say, He is not an element of immanent reality – His being cannot be simply deduced rationally or proved empirically. Moreover, God cannot become the postulate of reason to fill in the

59 G.W. Salamon, *Koncepcja poznania intuicyjnego u Jana Dunsa Szkota*, Niepokalanów 2007.
60 J. Ratzinger, *Introduzione al cristianesimo*, Brescia 1969, pp. 44–45.
61 W. Kasper, *Fede e storia*, Brescia 1993, pp. 129–135.
62 Idem, *Introduzione alla fede*, op cit., p. 39.
63 F. Lambiasi, *Senso e significato del credere*, [in:] *Noi crediamo*, R. Fisichella (ed.), Roma 1993.

areas of its ignorance, the empty spaces of knowledge (*God of the Gaps*). Therefore, the *a priori* rejection of the possibility of the existence of God as absolute Truth seems to deny scientific honesty.[64] The same problem is encountered when one tries to draw conclusions *a posteriori* using the scientific-empirical method.

The conception of meaning presupposes a form of knowledge that cannot be the result of intellectual, emotional, or religious creativity, but of communication by God. That is why the problem of meaning and the idea of God evoke the concept of Revelation. Like the appearance of life, access to the Truth about life does not lie in man's "productive" abilities but is given and proposed as a gift that comes from God and flows from the source of the mystery of his being.[65]

Truth and Revelation

The theme of the reasonableness of faith finds its full explanation in the theological perspective and in its close connection with the supernatural self-communication of God. The Truth is not only known and freely accepted by man as an appropriate appeal to an interpersonal relationship but in particular, it is offered as a gesture of a free personal self-donation. The Truth is revealed, that is, granted and given.[66] The Truth is not just information or possession of knowledge, but a person.[67] Reason and will express their highest spiritual nature when they make it possible for man to perform an act in which his freedom is fully realized – an exclusively personal act.[68]

If one accepts that God exists and recognizes God's divinity, then it is impossible not to consent to His freedom in the process of self-donation to man – the *conditio sine qua* for our knowledge of God. Only God can tell us that He is there and who He is ("I am that I am").[69] Consequently, we are dealing with a type of knowledge that is distinguished by its epiphanic nature. In this sense, the subject and object of Revelation is always God. In this way, God

64 M. Bordoni, *La cristologia odierna di fronte alla questione della verità*, [in:] *Unicità e universalità di Gesù Cristo*, M. Serretti (ed.), Cinisello Balsamo 2001, p. 77.

65 R. Fisichella, *La via della verità*, op. cit., p. 25.

66 Concilio Ecumenico Vaticano II, *La Costituzione dogmatica sulla Divina Rivelazione* Dei Verbum, [in:] *Enchiridion Vaticanum* 1, Bologna 2002, p. 18. Precisely the esoteric dimension of Revelation gives the notion *of meaning* a correct and authentic depth. The search for meaning corresponds with the human desire for Salvation.

67 V. Bortolin, *Verità e pratica della religione*, "Studia Patavina" 46 (1999), p. 89.

68 FR 13.

69 R. Guardini, *Fede, religione, esperienza. Saggi Teologici*, Brescia 1984, pp. 195–196.

can be known because He wants to be, and He wants to be known according to the interpersonal relationship with man.[70] Revelation is the main source of knowledge of the Truth, which is available only in the dialogical relationship between free subjects.

Revelation is the right form of knowledge that takes place in the world of people. In the God-man relationship, God Himself reveals His identity as a Mystery of Person that transcends the boundaries of a world that can be grasped with natural reception skills.[71] The object of knowledge always remains an object that is given and made known. Revelation, besides being the object of theological knowledge, is a necessary condition for access to the Truth.[72] Revelation contains the ultimate and definitive meaning of all reality. It is a perspective within which everything that exists receives true meaning and value.[73] This is possible because the Truth is not reduced to mere theory, knowledge, information, idea, deduction, etc., but it is Someone; it is a Person. Revelation is the guarantee of the certainty of faith, which is its ultimate foundation in God as Truth in Person.[74]

In the face of Truth, understood as the Revelation of God, the cognitive function of reason is not only establishing or deducing the content of Truth, but accepting it in a rational way, understanding it with faith (*the analogy of fidei*), and deepening it continuously through critical thinking (hence the history of dogma and the development of theological knowledge).[75] Therefore, the act of faith and acceptance of revealed Truth generates a specific form of knowledge. "Believing" indicates a peculiar attitude in which the interpersonal meeting[76] takes place and embraces the person's typical forms of action: knowing, experimenting, perceiving, trying, looking, listening, meeting, judging, hoping, loving, etc.[77]

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70 W. Kasper, *Introduzione alla fede*, op. cit., p. 33.

71 G.L. Müller, *Le basi epistemologiche di una teologia delle religioni*, [in:] *Unicità e universalità*..., op. cit., pp. 57–61.

72 R. Fisichella, *Quando la fede pensa*, Casale Monferrato 1997, pp. 53–54.

73 G. Gäde, *Cristo nelle religioni. La fede cristiana e la verità delle religioni*, Roma 2004, p. 90.

74 Concilio Vaticano I, *Costituzione dogmatica* Dei Filius *sulla fede cattolica*, 3, [in:] *The Sources of Catholic Dogma*, transl. by R.J. Deferrari from the 13th edition of H. Denzinger's *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, Fitzwilliam 1995, p. 445: "...who can neither deceive nor be deceived."

75 M. Bordoni, *La cristologia odierna di fronte alla questione della verità*, op. cit., p. 83.

76 E. Kunz, *Conoscenza della credibilità e fede (analisis fidei)*, [in:] CDTF vol. 4, pp. 526–527.

77 R. Fisichella, *La Rivelazione: evento e credibilità*, Bologna 1985, p. 188.

Conclusion

This study has attempted to show the profound and internal relationship between faith and reason based on the basic assumptions contained in the encyclical *Fides et ratio* of St John Paul II. It also attempted to show its prophetic significance in today's historical context. First of all, the condition of the human being was indicated as oriented towards the search for Truth with regard to meaning. Thus, from an anthropological perspective, there have been attempts to see a kind of harmony and mutual relationship between the problem of the meaning of human life and all reality and its rational research on the one hand, and the possibility of faith on the other. More precisely, the questions of truth, meaning, and anthropological-philosophical value are a way of showing the inseparable link between reason and faith.

The epistemological foundation of faith must be treated from a theological perspective. Reasonable faith, faith that thinks and reasons, is an indispensable condition for theology. Theology, as a form of knowledge based on faith, in the order of knowledge, is the most appropriate way to understand what faith is and where it finds its source.

If, according to modernist and postmodernist hypotheses, one wanted to exclude faith as an epistemological principle of theology, the latter would lose its cognitive and rational status. At most, it would take the form of a particular philosophy of God, a history of beliefs and myths, or a phenomenology of religion. However, it could not be considered as a systematic reflection on the event of Revelation and Salvation, perceived as such only from the point of view of faith. In theology, faith is necessary for knowledge.

If one claimed to assume knowledge of God and intellectual access to Him only on the basis of what is empirically verifiable and demonstrable or intellectually deductible, then faith would lose its inter-subjective character as an event among people. God and Salvation would be reserved for the "enlightened" and scientists (the modern form of *gnosis*).

Indeed, faith and its rational nature are based on universal Revelation, that is, on the absolutely free and personal act of God, which is continually expressed in a definitive and supreme way in the event of Christ. In Him, in the *Logos* – the Word of God – God speaks about Himself in a unique and universal way. In the Person of Christ, understood as *Universal Concretum*, there is contained once and for all the fullness of knowledge and the source of all rationality, the principle of harmony and complementarity in the world of knowledgeable things, on which faith and theology are based.

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"According to the Whole:" the 'Catholicity' of the Church in the Theology of Henri de Lubac

„Według całości". Przymiot „katolickości" Kościoła w teologii Henriego de Lubaca

Abstract: This study has as its subject the meaning of the 'catholicity' of the Church in the works of Henri de Lubac. The French theologian, drawing his inspiration mainly from the Fathers of the Church, recovers the complete meaning of the adjective 'Catholic,' as containing in itself the true universality as well as the strictest unity. In his works he also tries to show that it is a multifaceted reality: the Church is Catholic in her social, historical and internal aspects. Only all three make up the full picture of her 'catholicity.' This study attempts to explain each of the three closely related aspects on the basis of a selection of de Lubac's works. Although the French theologian does not belong to the most recent authors, it seems to us that his concept of the 'three-dimensional' character of Catholicism can help to develop the proper attitude of the Church towards today's world – so that it will be possible to avoid both the loss of identity and the closed, sectarian mentality.

Keywords: catholicism, catholicity, Henri de Lubac, Church, identity

Abstrakt: Tematem niniejszego studium jest znaczenie „katolickości" Kościoła w dziele Henriego de Lubaca. Francuski teolog, czerpiąc inspirację przede wszystkim od Ojców Kościoła, wydobywa na światło dzienne pełne znaczenie przymiotnika „katolicki", zawierającego w sobie jednocześnie autentyczną powszechności oraz najściślejszą jedność. W swoich pracach stara się pokazać, że jest to rzeczywistość wieloaspektowa: Kościół jest katolicki w aspekcie społecznym, historycznym oraz wewnętrznym. Dopiero wszystkie trzy wymiary dają pełen obraz „katolickości". Niniejsze studium jest próbą wyjaśnienia każdego z tych trzech wymiarów na podstawie wyboru prac de Lubaca. Choć francuski teolog nie należy do najnowszych autorów, wydaje się, że jego wizja „trójwymiarowej" natury katolicyzmu może pomóc w wypracowaniu

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właściwej postawy Kościoła wobec współczesnego świata – tak, by uniknąć zarówno utraty tożsamości, jak i mentalności zamkniętej.

Słowa kluczowe: katolicyzm, katolickość, Henri de Lubac, Kościół, tożsamość

Introduction

One of the important phenomena that have characterized Western culture in recent decades is the expansion of religious indifference. Charles Taylor, the Canadian philosopher who deals with this issue, writes in this context about our era as "the secular age."[1] He also explains that this term does not mean that the dominant attitude in our times is consistent atheism. Rather, it highlights the circumstances that make it difficult to practice and communicate the faith. Among these, Taylor mentions the understanding and shaping of social life in isolation from religion, the collapse of the faith, and the disappearance of religious practices among people who nonetheless declare themselves to be believers all the time. He also discusses a constant tendency of society's development towards pluralisation: where once one Church was the place where the spiritual dimension of humanity was realized, now there is a wide and still widening spectrum of religious or pseudo-religious proposals.[2]

The consequence of the phenomena described by Taylor is a change in the position of the Church in societies until recently considered to be Christian. She ceases to be a determinant of their identity and becomes one of many organizations competing with each other on the market of ideas. The Church sent by Christ to "proclaim the Gospel to every creature"[3] and until recently expecting "all the fullness of the Gentiles"[4] to enter her in the near future increasingly has to accept the status of a part within a larger whole.

This situation provokes different, often extremely different answers from Catholic thinkers. Some, like the Czech philosopher of religion and the Templeton Prize winner, Rev. Tomáš Halík, see in the shrinking of the visible Church the effect of cultural changes that cannot be stopped. Christianity, closely linked to the institution and doctrine, is, in his view, a sinking ship that can no longer be salvaged.[5] What needs to be preserved are the treasures that this ship carries: values that Christianity has brought into our world. Halík sees

1 Cf. C. Taylor, *A Secular Age*, Cambridge–London 2007.
2 C. Taylor, *Świecka epoka i różne ścieżki wiary*, transl. A. Pawelec, "Znak" 655 (2010), p. 21.
3 Mk 16:15 (hereinafter all quotes from the Bible after USCCB).
4 Rom 11:25.
5 T. Halík, *Co nie jest chwiejne, jest nietrwałe*, transl. J. Zychowicz, Krakow 2004, p. 147.

the Christianity of the future not as a boat of the Church, but rather as a polychromatic fleet of boats, whose common feature will be not so much doctrinal beliefs as Gospel-inspired ethical ideals. Among the theological interpretations of the contemporary crisis of the faith, we also find opinions that are extremely opposed. American journalist Rod Dreher, in his famous book *The Benedict Option*, holds that the crisis has been affected by the combined forces of post-Christian culture and the 'secular' mentality of some Christians that are hostile to the Church. As a response to this situation, Dreher postulates the closing of ranks: no more constant attempts at the dialogue with the modern world that is in decline, but the creation of alternative communities and institutions which, like the Ark, will become a place of refuge from the Deluge.[6]

Both authors are mentioned here as an example of two fundamentally different options for dealing with the contemporary crisis of the Church's presence in the world. It can be said that in the former, the universality of influence, even if anonymous, appears to be more important than a clearly defined identity. In the latter it is the Church's unity and strong identity that are given priority status over its influence.

Both tendencies question the proper understanding of one of the four characteristics of the Church that appear in the Confession of Faith: her catholicity. The Catechism of the Catholic Church develops the meaning of this adjective, usually translated simply as 'universal' in Polish,[7] but also containing the idea of fullness or completeness.[8] 'Catholic' is, according to the Catechism, 'universal' in two meanings: first, as the one in which Christ is present with the fullness of the means of salvation, such as a correct and complete profession of faith, an integral sacramental life and the ministry of ordination in apostolic succession;[9] second, as "sent by Christ to the whole human race," that is to say, characterized by a universal, unlimited range.[10]

At the root of this study lies the conviction that the Church's current position in the Western world, her status as a not always accepted minority, exposes believers to the temptation of unilaterally emphasizing only one of the two dimensions of the Church's catholicity, which are mentioned in the Catechism. Catholicity tends to be understood either as a formless universality, followed by a kind of dissolution of the Church in the world, or as self-sufficiency and

6 R. Dreher, *Opcja Benedykta*, transl. M. Samborska, Krakow 2018, p. 29.
7 Such as in the Mass Confession of Faith, cf. *Mszał Rzymski*, http://ordo.pallotyni.pl/index.php/mszal-rzymski/czesci-stale/87-liturgia-slowa [access: 1.05.2019].
8 CCC 831.
9 Ibidem.
10 CCC 832.

contentment within strict boundaries. Meanwhile, a proper, complete understanding of what the catholicity of the Church means is fundamental both for preserving her identity in a changing world and for developing practical strategies for action in this world. Only a Church that properly understands her catholicity can find a way out of the dialectic of either „blending into the world" or „feeling offended" – two inappropriate, instinctive reactions to the lack of acceptance from a large part of this world.

Henri de Lubac, a French Jesuit, an expert at the Second Vatican Council, later Cardinal, author of numerous theological works was one of the theologians who in the last century undertook an in-depth reflection on the concept of the 'catholicity' of the Church. Already in *Catholicism*, the first of his works, published in 1938 and later considered to be one of the most important theological contributions of the 20th century,[11] the topic of the proper understanding of 'catholicity' goes through almost all the chapters. In later publications, the basic lines of thought remain the same, but a different historical context allows the author to reveal new aspects of the issue.

The purpose of this article is to provide a comprehensive understanding of de Lubac's catholicity of the Church. Given the non-systematic nature of most of the theologian's works, this will require a synthesis of fragments scattered in various publications.[12] The guiding idea here will be the words of the author himself, who stated that the Catholic character of Christianity is evidenced by its three closely related dimensions: social, historical and internal.[13]

First, the places where de Lubac *explicitly* referred to a proper understanding of the catholicity of the Church will be examined (1). The next three paragraphs will discuss other dimensions of catholicity: social (2), historical (3) and internal (4). Together they will form a three-dimensional picture of Catholic fullness, which is perhaps the most interesting and original contribution of the French Jesuit to the reflection on the Church. The last part (5) will take up the motif of the Passover, that is, the way of the cross and the resurrection,

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11 Cardinal Ratzinger will recall the reading of his works as a key moment in his theological development, cf. *Introduction to the 1988 English translation* to "Catholicism. Bulletin Association Internationale Cardinal Henri de Lubac" 15 (2013), p. 49.

12 Given the importance of the issue of 'catholicity' for de Lubac, the number of studies on this aspect of his thought is surprisingly small. Some of the latest ones include: V. Arborea, *La dimensione ecclesiale della fede in Henri de Lubac e Joseph Ratzinger. Un approccio theologico-fondamentale*, EDUSC 2018, 390 ff; many interesting thoughts are contained in the articles that were included in the French edition of the journal "Communio" devoted entirely to de Lubac's *Catholicism*: "Communio" 33 (2008), p. 5.

13 H. de Lubac, *Mémoire sur l'occasion de mes écrits*, Paris 2006, p. 25.

whose passage is an essential stage on the road to universal union of which the Church is the sign on earth. The findings will culminate in conclusions, which will present a synthesis of the concept of catholicity of the Church[14] as expounded by de Lubac.

Henri de Lubac on the meaning of the word 'Catholic'

The first approximation of the understanding of the word 'Catholic' that stems from Henri de Lubac's theology is provided by the second chapter of *Catholicism*,[15] entitled *The Church*.[16] For the French theologian, the Church is "Jesus Christ handed out and given to us;" at the same time, she is the result of the spiritual union of all humanity.[17] It is therefore constituted by two seemingly contradictory dynamisms: the union of all people around Christ is achieved in the Church precisely by the fact that Christ is handed out and given to us. The unity and cohesion of the Church are closely linked to her focus on the whole. The centripetal dynamism can only be realized by the centrifugal dynamism.

It is the Church as the beginning of the unification of all humanity scattered after original sin that bears the name of *Katholika*. This designation has been given her since the second century and, as de Lubac notes, until the 8th century it even appears as the Church's proper name.[18] Its sources are, however, pre-Christian. Before the word *katholikos* found its way to theology, it had its place in philosophy and classical Greek, where it meant a general concept, a universal.

14 De Lubac himself preferred to speak of 'Catholicism' rather than 'catholicity' because the former better reflects the fact that it is not a trait that could be attributed to many different realities, but a unique attribute that belongs to the Church and almost identifies itself with her. In this study, however, we will in most cases write about 'catholicity,' bearing in mind that this is a concrete and not an abstract meaning of the term; cf. É. de Beaufort, *L'actualité paradoxale de Catholicisme*, "Communio" 33 (2008) 5, p. 97.

15 H. de Lubac, *Katolicyzm. Społeczne aspekty dogmatu*, transl. M. Stokowska, Poznań 2011 (hereinafter: C); in the first part of this study we analyze de Lubac's selected works by the time of their creation. In the following parts, however, we abandon the chronological perspective, treating its individual texts, regardless of the time of their creation, as elements of some coherent synthesis. As for this approach to the work of de Lubac, cf. É. Guibert, *Le Mystère du Christ d'après Henri de Lubac*, Paris 2003, pp. 16–18; cf. É. de Moulins-Beaufort, *L'actualité paradoxale de Catholicisme*, op. cit., p. 91.

16 C 43–66.

17 C 43.

18 Ibidem.

The Greek adverb *kath'olou*, from which it is derived, means 'together,' 'as one.'[19] What is emphasised in it is organic unity: it does not mean a sum or a set of loosely related elements, but a coherent whole.[20] Thus, when this concept was adapted to theology and referred to the Church, it was intended to emphasize, on the one hand, the fact that the Church, even when she was a "small flock," little different from other ephemeral religious groups of late antiquity, was, in its essence, directed towards uniting all creation within her.[21] On the other hand, a special kind of this union was pointed out: not as the sum of purely externally related particles, but as parts of a living organism which, although complex, is something single.[22] It was not until later that the word 'Catholic' began to be used in a restrictive sense, to distinguish the Church from "schismatic communities."[23] However, as the French theologian claimed, although this is the most widespread sense today, it is by no means the primary sense or the most important one.[24] The "Catholic spirit" is not the spirit of closure and limitation, but "the spirit of the widest universalism with the closest unity."[25]

The theme of the proper sense of the 'catholicity' of the Church returned more than a decade later in *The Splendour of the Church*.[26] De Lubac noted in it that the term 'Catholic' originally meant 'universal assembly,' that is, a perfect community embracing in time and space all people united to Christ and through him to God.[27] It is important to stress not only the spatial but also the temporal dimension of the universality of the Church. Through the same faith in Christ, handed down from generation to generation, even the most distant particles of the Church are united in one Body.[28] Thus, the French theologian, following the thought of St Thomas Aquinas, indicates a wide, essentially unlimited spatial range of this universality: The Church "is open to all," "embraces all mankind," "has no time or space limitations;" it also encompasses angels and "extends further into the whole cosmos."[29] Even the visible world is not a barrier to it, which traditional teaching expresses by distinguishing between

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[19] Ibidem.
[20] C 44.
[21] C 45.
[22] C 44.
[23] C 47, note 13; C 230–231.
[24] Cf. C 231.
[25] C 65.
[26] H. de Lubac, *Medytacje o Kościele*, transl. I. Białkowska-Cichoń, Krakow 2012 (hereinafter: SC).
[27] SC 47.
[28] SC 49.
[29] SC 48.

the Church Militant (on Earth), the Church Penitent (in Purgatory) and the Church Triumphant (in Heaven).[30]

This closest unity of unlimited range, stretching over time and space, makes the Catholic Church a unique creation. In her womb, the people who are basically divided by everything – the era, the climate, the culture, the problems, the worries, the tastes – merge into one, in spite of the constantly recurring gravitation towards mutual strangeness and isolation.[31] De Lubac illustrated this unusual feature of the Church, referring to the experience of people studying ancient Christian authors. He notes that people reading e.g. the writings of the Church Fathers today feel a sense of strangeness and indifference to their problems. It turns out, however, that this strangeness is not the last word. Someone who studies these authors, sharing the same faith with them, quickly realizes that they are actually his contemporaries, because "Christians of every age and country, race and culture indeed form one people, united by love for Christ."[32]

Henri de Lubac once again returns to the meaning of the adjective 'Catholic' in the text of *Particular Churches in the Universal Church*.[33] This time the context of the deliberations is polemical: the clarification of the proper meaning of 'catholicity' serves the French theologian to discuss with those who in order to simplify and modernise the religious language have called for it to be replaced by a simple adjective 'universal.'[34] At the outset, as in the previous work in question, he points out that the mark of catholicity of the Church was originally indeed synonymous with its universality.[35] Over time, however, the concept of catholicity has gained a special meaning, as unique as the Church is among other realities developing in the world.

The changes in the meaning of the word 'Catholic' are already visible in the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville: he initially defined 'Catholic' according to pre-Christian etymology as 'universal, general.' However, he immediately

30 SC 50.
31 Ibidem.
32 SC 51 (own translation).
33 H. de Lubac, *Kościoły partykularne w Kościele powszechnym*, transl. M. Spyra, Krakow 2004 (hereinafter: MC).
34 In note 27 to this work, the author mentions the initiative of the French bishops who made such a demand, and the strong reaction of the French theologians who are part of the International Theological Commission, who sent a letter to the Episcopate of France on this matter, cf. PKPK 30; the French theologian himself wrote a note on this subject, the content of which he repeats in this work. This note was included as an addition to the last French edition of *Catholicism* within as a part of the collected works, cf. H. de Lubac, *Catholicisme. Les aspects sociaux du dogme*, Paris 2010, pp. 455–456.
35 MC 26.

provided a second definition: Catholic is "as if *apo tou kath'olon*, that is: according to the whole."[36] The further evolution of the meaning of the word 'Catholic,' associated with an ever-growing understanding of the nature of the catholicity of the Church, moves away from being simply synonymous with universality.[37] De Lubac noted that from a certain moment these words, both of which refer to the Church, begin to point out two opposite directions of thought. While 'universal' remains a term for a reality disseminated everywhere, as can be seen in such expressions as 'universal use' or 'universal publicity,' the meaning of 'Catholic' becomes broader and refers to something else: it "suggests the idea of an organic whole, of coherence, of a compact synthesis, of a reality that is not dispersed but, on the contrary, regardless of its internal differentiation and where it is spread, is turned towards a centre that ensures its unity."[38] The word 'Catholic' indicates 'dynamics and intensity' while the word 'universal' indicates 'passivity, stability and extensivity.'[39] Catholicity is, according to de Lubac, "in principle and in its becoming a force of unity in its entirety; a force that is not totalitarian, but integrating."[40] 'Catholic' is both 'universal' and 'one,' and therefore also 'unique.'[41] This is why the same word was used in very early Christian scriptures to describe both the universality of the Church and the integrity of her faith.[42]

'Catholicity' therefore does not point to some purely ideal and invisible unity which, in human terms, may seem the only kind of unity to be reconciled with authentic universality in time and space. The Catholic Church is not an abstractly universal Church, a scattered and unstructured one, but she is the only concrete Church, founded by Christ on the foundation of the Apostles, and continuing in history, with potentially unlimited reach. According to de Lubac, to confuse these two visions of universality would logically lead to a kind of 'religious universalism,' based on the assumption "that all believers would invisibly, even unaware of it, create a vast community, while the issues of organization, worship, discipline or belief would be of little importance in her."[43] The author of *Catholicism* warns that such a vision of universalism,

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36 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* VII, 14,4; VIII, 1,1, EN 82, pp. 293–294, cited after: MC 26.
37 MC 26.
38 Ibidem.
39 Ibidem.
40 Ibidem.
41 Ibidem.
42 MC 28.
43 MC 30.

shared in our times by many theologians, would in fact lead to the removal of the Christian faith.[44]

From what de Lubac writes about the importance of the adjective 'Catholic' in the works analysed above, it can be assumed that catholicity is for him a universality, but of a special kind: one that is not a scattered omnipresence, but a coherent whole organised around the centre, which in the case of the Church is Christ.[45] This particular kind of universality is realized both in the spatial dimension as a community reaching to the farthest ends of the world, and in the temporal dimension as a communication between people of different eras. To these two dimensions of catholicity de Lubac adds another: its internal dimension. In his intellectual autobiography published at the end of his life, referring to the idea behind *Catholicism* published in 1938, he writes that he tried to show the social, historical and *internal* character of Christianity in this work. He goes on to add that it is only the unity of these three characteristics that gives Christianity that characteristic of universality and totality which is best expressed by the word 'Catholicism.'[46]

This idea of the 'three-dimensional' nature of catholicity is at the basis of the analyses presented in the following sections. They will largely be based on *Catholicism.*[47] This does not mean that it will be the only point of reference. References to other works of the French theologian will allow us to see that the threefold – social, historical and internal – character of Catholicism is not an idea present in just one book, but rather something that characterizes his entire thinking about the Church.

44 Ibidem.

45 Cf. É. de Moulins-Beaufort, *Anthropologie et mystique selon Henri de Lubac. «L'esprit de l'homme» ou la présence de Dieu en l'homme*, Paris 2003, p. 827.

46 „En gros, l'on peut dire que l'ouvrage veut montrer le caractère à la fois social, historique et intérieur du christianisme, cette triple note lui conférant ce caractère d'universalité et de totalité exprimé au mieux par le mot «catholicisme»," H. de Lubac, *Mémoire sur l'occasion de mes écrits*, op. cit. p. 25; de Lubac similarly presents these three dimensions of 'Catholicism' in the introduction to the first edition of *Catholicism*, which for unknown reasons was not included in the Polish translation, cf. H. de Lubac, *Introduction*, [in:] *Catholicism. Les aspects sociaux du dogme*, Paris 2010, pp. XII–XIII; cf. L. Villemin, *Fécondité ecclésiologique des "aspects sociaux du dogme,"* "Communio" 33 (2008), no. 5, pp. 104 ff.

47 As Hans Urs von Balthasar argues, *Catholicism* already contains as if in embryo all the later works of the French theologian; H.U. von Balthasar, *Henri de Lubac: la obra orgánica de una vida*, transl. A.G. Rosón, Madrid 1989, p. 33.

Social dimension of 'catholicity'

The first of the three dimensions of catholicity, the social one, is reflected in the subtitle to *Catholicism*. A perfect illustration of what this dimension is all about is, according to de Lubac, St Augustine's polemic against the Donatists. The bishop of Hippo did not accuse the Christians of Africa who persisted in their schism of being a minority within the Christian world, but of being content to be a minority. Blinded by local particularism, the Donatists limited their ambitions to being a church closed in tight, narrowly defined boundaries,[48] while the trait of the true Church is that, regardless of her actual reach and the number of believers, she always considers herself as a coherent whole potentially open to all people.[49] Although at a given moment in history she is only a 'part,' she must always see herself 'as a whole.'

> Viewing Catholicism as one of many religions (…) – even with this complementary remark that it is the only true religion (…) – is a fundamental mistake regarding its essence (…). Catholicism is *the* Religion. It is the shape that humanity should take to finally be itself. It is the only reality which, in order to exist, does not have to oppose something and is therefore the opposite of a 'closed community.'[50]

Catholicism, not as one of the many Christian denominations nor even as one of the many religions, but as *the* Religion in the proper sense of the word: on what basis does the French theologian forms such an opinion?[51] This is not, of course, about phenomenological observation, but about capturing the theological essence of what the Catholic Church is. De Lubac saw it in the broad perspective of the history of salvation as a work of reunifying the creation torn apart by sin. At the beginning of this story there is one mankind, at the end – a perfectly united humanity. The Church is not only one of the contingent forms of searching for lost unity, but she is the only one of its forms that has been inscribed from the beginning in the plan of Providence. People created "in one image of the one God" have both a common source and a common destination in Him.[52] The path of the return of prodigal children to the Father

48 C 46.
49 C 45.
50 C 213–214.
51 Although de Lubac does not refer at this point to the traditional etymology of the word 'religion' (allegedly derived from the Latin *religare* – to re-bind sth), he implicitly makes an allusion to it here.
52 C 30.

is at the same time a path of universal union in one body, of which the Saviour is the head.[53] It will be a true "triumphant catholicity;"[54] not a mere "sum of the chosen," but a "real and suprapersonal" unity. According to his understanding of catholicity, the theologian adds that it is a community "united as one family" and stretched to borders like an "endless city."[55] In a narrower sense, this community will include all spiritual creatures, people and angels. In a broader sense, however, it is about a truly universal union in which, according to the hierarchy of beings, there is room for every creature.[56] The Church in her perfect form identifies herself with a world fully reconciled with itself and with God.[57] That explains why the French theologian presents the final completion of the salvific economy in the following way:

> The whole universe embraced by man as being bound to his fate and destiny; man in turn, with the immeasurable richness of his entire history, embraced by the Church; the universe spiritualised by man and man sanctified by the Church; and finally the Church, the spiritual and sanctified world, like a great ship carrying all the fruits of the earth, will together enter eternity.[58]

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53 C 42.

54 In the Polish translation, the original *Catholicité triomphante* was translated as "triumphant universality," cf. H. de Lubac, *Catholicisme…*, op. cit., p. 87; C 90. However, given the emphasis the theologian himself placed on the distinction between 'universality' and 'catholicity' (cf. MC 26–27), at this point it seems appropriate to modify the translation.

55 C 90; on the same page in the Polish translation there occurs again an inaccuracy: de Lubac writes, among other things, that the Church is a *catholica societas*; in the Polish translation the term 'universal community' is used here, while the translation contained in the original edition of *Catholicism* is *la société catholique*, cf. H. de Lubac, *Catholicisme*, op. cit., p. 476.

56 Cf. C 199; de Lubac refers here to one of the interpretations of the word *pleroma* which appears in Col 1:19, understood not so much as "all the fullness" of deity in Christ, but as the union of the whole of creation in Him. Unfortunately, the Polish translation lacks an extensive footnote, in which de Lubac, referring to Greek and Latin patristics, explains how he understands the term *pleroma*, cf. H. de Lubac, *Catholicisme*, op. cit., p. 239, note 1.

57 Cf. H. de Lubac, *Paradoja y misterio de la Iglesia*, transl. A. Ortiz García, Salamanca 2002, p. 59; SC 155.

58 C 196; the theologian, of course, does not mean that the Church in her present form will exist forever. He makes a clear distinction between the "essential content" of the Church, which will last forever, and her temporal, incidental character, which will pass away, "for the world in its present form is passing away" (after USCCB). These two aspects of the Church, although different, are not separate. The relation between them is that of a "mystical analogy" which is a "reflection of the deepest identity." Cf. SC 53–59.

In summary, the social dimension of catholicity means that the Church, the Body of Christ, is not a reality secondary to the individual path of salvation of each of her members, but the form that this salvation must take.[59] Salvation, on the other hand, cannot be understood merely as the union of the individual soul with God, but also, inextricably, as the restoration of the original unity of the humankind, through Christ and in Christ.[60] Just as the primordial, natural unity embraced all people, so is the final unification unlimited. According to God's plan, the Church is really meant to embrace everyone and everything, so even if she seems to be a "little flock" at a given moment in history, she can never consider herself as one of the many religious communities. She must always see herself "as a whole," and in those who are beyond her borders, she must see not so much a foreign and hostile world as her ununited members.

Historical dimension of 'catholicity'

The second dimension of the Christian mystery, which, according to de Lubac, makes it truly 'Catholic' as a unique combination of unity and universality, is the historical dimension. As was the case with the social dimension, de Lubac adheres to a theological view as well. From this perspective, the relationship between Christianity and history reverses from what a religious historian could say: it is not so much Christianity that is a historical phenomenon as history is a Christian reality.[61] God is at its beginning and at its end, and is its hidden depth. Although de Lubac, unlike some 20th-century theologians, does not succumb to the temptation to identify the very course of history with the history of salvation,[62] he nevertheless strongly emphasizes that history is the place of God's action and Revelation.[63] God not only directs the history of the world, but He Himself is involved in it; He enters history, thus giving it a „religious consecration."[64]

59 Cf. "Just as God's will is an act and is called the world, so it is God's intention to save people and it is called the Church," St Clement of Alexandria, *Pedagogue* I, 6, quoted [in:] SC 58.

60 In the introduction to the original edition of *Catholicism*, de Lubac writes about the social character of the Church as something that is part of "the very essence of its dogmatics," cf. H. de Lubac, *Introduction*, [in:] *Catholicism*..., op. cit., p. IX.

61 H. de Lubac, *Paradoksy i Nowe paradoksy*, transl. M. Rostworowska-Książek, Krakow 1995, p. 78 (hereinafter: P).

62 H. de Lubac, *Słowo Boże w historii człowieka*, transl. B. Czarnomska, Krakow–Kiev 1997, pp. 39–41; cf. F. Bertoldi, *De Lubac. Cristianesimo e modernità*, Bologna 1994, pp. 81–83.

63 C 127.

64 Ibidem.

God's involvement in history has had significant consequences for the Christian ethos. Since God is present not only above history, but also – through his Word – in it, a believer cannot ignore it, seeking some direct, timeless contact with God. Though Christ has come to lead mankind to eternal life, He leads it not beside time, but through time.[65] History "becomes a necessary mediator and translator between God and each of us."[66] Therefore, in order to enter eternity, a Christian must "necessarily lean on time and trudge within it."[67]

As for the role that history plays in the Christian mystery, a duality can be seen in de Lubac's writings. On the pages of *Catholicism*, he stressed that this mystery develops over time. History is, in fact, "the story of Christ's infiltration into mankind"[68] while "spiritual reality is revealed gradually and must be understood historically."[69] Although strictly speaking this is true of the times preceding the coming of Christ, it does not seem to be limited to them. He reconsidered it in his later works. History appears less as a place where God's plan is gradually becoming more and more real but rather as a collection of successive epochs, each of which, in conjunction with the previous and the next one, must find its own path to God.[70] The theologian no longer focuses on history as a whole, but on the religious potential of individual epochs.

It is this second approach that Francesco Bertoldi, the author of an insightful study analysing the main structural lines of de Lubac's theology, referred to when he claimed that for the French theologian history was not a cumulative process in which the understanding of the mystery would grow linearly, but rather has a character of successive phases, each of which gives the opportunity to hear anew, under new conditions, what God says to man.[71] According to Bertoldi, in de Lubac's view, each individual epoch is not so much a mediator between man and the Event of Christ, as it is the embodiment of that Event

65 C 113.
66 C 128.
67 C 113.
68 C 111; cf. G. Chantraine, *Catholicisme. De quelques idées*, "Communio" 33 (2008), 5, p. 16.
69 C 127.
70 A question may be asked to what extent this shift in emphasis was due to the different context in which subsequent works were created: in the case of *Catholicism*, it was the enthusiasm for the Catholic revival of the interwar years, and in the case of the works from the post-conciliar period cited below, the disappointment with the triumph of naive progressivism among many theologians; cf. H. de Lubac, *Najnowsze Paradoksy*, transl. K. Dybeł, A. Ziernicki, Krakow 2012, pp. 35–52; S. Madrigal, *Tiempo de concilio. El Vaticano II en los Diarios de Yves Congar y Henri de Lubac*, Santander 2009, pp. 238–241.
71 F. Bertoldi, *De Lubac…*, op. cit., p. 88.

under specific historical and cultural conditions.[72] Thus, every epoch has "direct contact with God" and therefore both the complaints about the "godless" times and nostalgia for any "golden era" of Christianity do not make any sense.[73] Although there are times that are more or less conducive to reflection on faith and its assimilation by man, the path towards God remains open at every stage of the development of human spirit.

The concept of history, to which Bertoldi referred, is clearly present where de Lubac criticises the idea of linear progress in theology, arguing with representatives of neo-scholastics.[74] The latter claimed that the thought of St Thomas Aquinas and his great commentators as a perfect synthesis of faith and reason is the final point in the development of theology. Returning to pre-scholastic theology – patristic or early-medieval – was for them the abandonment of what was perfect in favour of what was only an intermediate stage on the road to fullness. De Lubac holds, however, that behind this type of thinking there is the erroneous assumption that the progress in theology is linear, leading from less to more perfect solutions.[75] However, such an assumption is as naive as dreams of returning to some ideal era in the past.[76] The history of theology does not resemble an ascending or descending line but rather successive instances of ebbs and flows.[77] The price for progress in one aspect is often regression in another, as de Lubac shows with the example of the transition from a symbolic model to a scholastic model in the Middle Ages.[78] The movement of thought in theology therefore does *not* consists in the linear growth of knowledge, but rather in the constant rediscovery and re-expression of the truths of faith in the context of the present, with reference to the past and openness to the future.[79]

72 Ibidem, p. 89.

73 Charles Taylor analyses history in a similar way in the context of a reflection on modern times as a "secular age," cf. C. Taylor, *Nawrócenia. Chrześcijaństwo w poszukiwaniu nowych szlaków*, transl. T. Kunz, "Znak" 654 (2009), pp. 41–42 (the text is a chapter from *A Secular Age* translated into Polish).

74 Cf. H. de Lubac, *Le mystère du surnaturel*, Paris 2000, pp. 19–40 (hereinafter: MS).

75 MS 35.

76 C 236; P 54.

77 MS 35–37.

78 Cf. H. de Lubac, *Corpus mysticum. L'Eucharistie et l'Église au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1949, pp. 254, 265; P 55; cf. H. Boersma, *Analogy of Truth: The Sacramental Epistemology of Nouvelle Théologie*, [in:] *Ressourcement. A movement for Renewal in Twentieth-Century Catholic Theology*, G. Flynn, P.D. Murray (eds.), Oxford 2012, p. 160.

79 C 114; 236; "The progress of the spirit is not about continuity, but about renewal," P 55. In his view of the relationship between the old tradition and the new challenges in theology, de Lubac goes in a similar direction as the 20th-century philosophical hermeneutics,

In opposition to most religions, where time is regarded as a meaningless becoming, while salvation is construed as an individualistic escape from history, Christians have from the beginning seen in history the place where God's saving plan is being realized.[80]

For Christians, therefore, history is not indifferent to the plan of salvation, but is *entirely* the place where this plan is realized: at first as a vague announcement in the Old Covenant and then as the fullness in the Incarnation; finally, as the penetration of the Incarnate Word into humanity through the Church.[81] On the other hand, within this whole, *every* epoch in the history has a direct reference to God. Even the epochs seemingly completely immanent are rooted in Eternity, and the Christians living in them can, by exploring the Revelation, extract from it treasures that have escaped the eyes of those who lived before them or will live after them. So God's agency in history is universal because it applies to every era.

History is one whole because as a place of God's agency it has one beginning and one goal.[82] The universality and unity of God's agency in time make up together the catholicity in its historical dimension.

Internal dimension of 'catholicity'

The last of the three dimensions of the Christian mystery, which constitute the mark of its 'catholicity,' is much more difficult to grasp than the others. If, following the three-part structure of *Catholicism*, one of the three dimensions were to be assigned to each part of the work, then the internal dimension would correspond to the third part.[83] The content of this part makes one think of the inner dimension of catholicity as a necessary complement to its social, collective dimension. One-sided emphasis on the latter would, according to de Lubac, lead to a totalitarian vision in which each individuality is sacrificed on the altar of the whole. The unity to which the Church leads mankind is the real and most complete unity and at the same time the place where each

cf. P. Feliga, *Czas i ortodoksja. Hermeneutyka teologii w świetle Prawdy i metody Hansa--Georga Gadamera*, Toruń 2014, pp. 326–327.

80 C 110; on the theological, Christian origin of the idea of history, cf. H. de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l'Écriture*, I, 2, Paris 1959, p. 470; K. Löwith, *Universal History and the History of Salvation*, transl. J. Marzęcki, Kęty 2002, pp. 5–9.

81 Cf. C 155.

82 Cf. C 112.

83 C 221–277.

of her members can thrive.[84] In the Church, the individual person is not only not absorbed by mankind, but is even forever confirmed in his own identity and in the uniqueness of his interior.[85]

However, in addition to the explanations given above, de Lubac posits yet another specific understanding of 'interiority' which seems to be more closely linked to the catholicity of the Church. In the second chapter of *Catholicism*, the French theologian writes that the Church not only addresses every human being, but also "addresses the *entire* human being in each one, embracing him fully in his nature."[86] The Church, like Christ, "knows what is in man" and reaches out to the most secret depths of the human spirit.[87] In this sense, therefore, 'interiority' indicates that Christianity is not something artificially fastened to human nature, some kind of distortion or alienation from its natural, spontaneous aspirations and desires, but that it corresponds to who man really is.

The issue of correspondence between the Christian message and human nature, which has already been drawn up in *Catholicism*, was the subject of the famous dispute over the relationship between nature and grace that de Lubac had with his contemporary Neo-Thomists.[88] He attempted to prove that there is an inner bond between nature and grace because man is already created as directed towards God. When the gift of grace reaches man, his nature is not questioned or distorted, but is finally completed, crowned by what his deepest and most basic desire was directed to.[89] In the 20th-century dispute over the supernatural the main issue was whether Christianity could present itself as a desirable complement rather than a superfluous addition in contrast to the modern world which is seeking for the natural and has become allergic to all forms of alienation.[90] At the same time, however, de Lubac's position was to show that grace is not just a kind of spiritual "gilding," but a profound transformation of human nature, such that embraces all spheres of man, right down to the deepest and most secret movements of his spirit.[91]

84 C 244.
85 C 246.
86 C 44.
87 Ibidem.
88 Cf. J.-P. Wagner, *Henri de Lubac*, Paris 2007, pp. 21–24, 77–89; as far as (surprisingly few) publications in Polish discussing the dispute are concerned, an excellent introduction is a short commentary and a selection of texts in "Christianitas" 44 (2010), pp. 167–212. Cf. also B.J. Shanley, *Tradycja tomistyczna*, transl. R. Mordarski, Krakow–Poznań–Warsaw 2017, pp. 388–397.
89 H. de Lubac, *La foi chrétienne*, Paris 2008, p. 340.
90 Cf. P. Milcarek, *Nadprzyrodzoność w centrum debaty teologicznej XX wieku*, "Christianitas" 44 (2010), p. 168.
91 Cf. C 204.

If the Church, as truly Catholic, addresses man as a whole, then "nothing truly human, wherever it may come from, can be foreign to her."[92] The role of the Church and of the Gospel is therefore not to replace the natural content of the human spirit with a completely different, purely Christian one, but to "gather everything to save everything and sanctify everything."[93] This also applies to elements of truth and goodness present in the various religious and cultural traditions of humanity. After being purified, they are to become the building blocks of the Body of Christ so that its beauty can shine forth with a wealth of diversity.[94] Faith in the assimilating power of Christianity originates in de Lubac from his full reflection on the mystery of the Incarnation. Following the example of Christ, true God and true man, Christianity is completely divine and at the same time "in a sense completely human."[95] Although it is entirely from God, it is entirely expressed in a human way. It is not some "pure supernaturality" imposed on man, suppressing his nature, but it is the supernatural elevation of that very nature, in all its spheres.[96] There is no such place in man that could not be reached by grace because there is "a profound correspondence between the dogma which the Church guards and human nature, also full of mysteries."[97]

In this correspondence between Christianity and the human interior, catholicity is revealed in its internal dimension. In a sense, this dimension forms the basis for the other two: the Church can embrace mankind of all times and all geographical latitudes because by virtue of the correspondence between human nature and the Christian mystery there is no such man or sphere of the human spirit for which it is alien. This does not, of course, mean naive optimism about what is human. In the conclusion to *Catholicism*, de Lubac reminds us that even the most noble in man must first die so that, included in Christ, it can find a new life.[98] In *Paradoxes* he adds that Christianity, "incarnated and existing in the most essential depths of human life," must place a cross at the bottom of that depth so as to lead it to the resurrection through a "reviving death."[99] This

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[92] C 213; cf. F. Bertoldi, *De Lubac…*, op. cit., pp. 99–100.
[93] C 213.
[94] Ibidem.
[95] C 204.
[96] H. de Lubac, *La Lumière du Christ*, [in:] *Révélation divine. Affrontements mystiques. Athéisme et sens de l'homme*, Paris 2010, pp. 390–391.
[97] C 44.
[98] C 280.
[99] P 34.

does not change the fact, however, that human nature enlightened by grace is not destroyed, but finally finds its deepest truth.[100]

Conclusion

A careful reading of Henri de Lubac's works helped to bring to light his understanding of the 'catholicity' of the Church. The word, which in everyday language is simply used to distinguish Christians who recognize the Pope's authority from those who are not in communion with Rome, has proved to have a much richer content. Above all, by referring to the word's etymology, the French theologian showed that its primordial and central meaning makes us think not so much about closure and separation as about an infinite extension of the horizon. 'Catholic' means 'truly universal.' Following the evolution of the understanding of catholicity in early theology, de Lubac proved, however, that the simple identification of catholicity with universality does not reflect the whole content of the concept. 'Catholic' means both 'universal' and 'one.' The universality which is a trait of the Christian mystery and one of the marks of the Church means not only unlimited openness, but also truly organic unity. Christ, around whom this unity is organized, thus acts as a magnet with an unlimited field of attraction, around which chaotically scattered metal filings begin to form a certain structure.

As a concrete manifestation of this universality and unity of the Church it is usually the observation that she is present all over the world, embracing people of all races, cultures and latitudes and uniting them, despite their differences, in the unity of faith. The French theologian attaches great importance to this social dimension of Catholicism, but at the same time he shows that a holistic view of true Catholic universality calls for two more dimensions to be taken into account: historical and internal. The Christian mystery is Catholic by its universal reach in space (length and breadth), in time (past and future) and in the sphere of spirit (depth). Expanding in these three dimensions, it binds all creatures – and each one of them in the entirety of its nature – into a single, all-embracing synthesis.

Analysing each of the three dimensions of catholicity, de Lubac tried to show that each of them combines seemingly opposing features: authentic universality and organic unity. As far as the social dimension is concerned, the theologian first stresses that from the beginning salvation in Christianity was understood

100 C 203; cf. MC 194.

as the union of all people. The collective dimension has never been secondary to the individual, and the salvation of each was seen in close connection with the salvation of all. At the same time, since the basis for this union was the belies of the primordial unity of mankind, it has never been understood in a totalitarian manner, as the subordination of all to a single cultural norm, but as universal unity in diversity. The historical dimension is first associated with a typically Christian vision of history as a unity whose sense and purpose are an ever more perfect community of God and people. In this vision, history as a whole is not a chaotic collection of facts and processes but a place where the one divine plan is being realized. Hence, people living in different epochs are not strangers to each other because in one way or another they are referred to Christ. His impact, however, is truly universal, which means that he reaches every epoch, not just some privileged episode in history. Finally, the internal dimension of the mystery is that it does not constitute an ideology that subordinates man to externally imposed norms. On the contrary, it is a true, supernatural complement to human nature and a profound transformation of it. The inclusion of new members in the Body of Christ does not, therefore, require the demolition of all that the human spirit achieved; the Church does not need to be afraid of any genuinely human values because if they are genuinely human they already have their place in the Catholic synthesis.

It is as a three-dimensional synthesis – in space, in time and in the human being – that Christianity is a truly Catholic, universal unity and the only true universality. It spreads in all directions and has no predetermined boundaries, apart from the boundary of human freedom. While spreading, it is not like a drop of ink being let into a vessel with water, which is increasingly losing its colour. Reaching everywhere, the Church remains one and remains herself. She does not dissolve in the world, but embraces it and directs it towards Christ, present in the Word and the sacraments.

The vision of Catholicism presented in the writings of Henri de Lubac seems particularly worth recalling today, in times that are not easy for the Church. On the other hand the world in which she has to function today rejects her, as a relic of pre-modern civilization, but on the other it feels attracted and fascinated by the promises of peaceful coexistence, if only the Church is fully conformed to it. In this situation, it is often difficult for believers to believe in her vocation to universal union. Sometimes this leads to succumbing to the temptation to remain in a position of a distinct particle, with its strictly defined boundaries, turned back to the modern world. On the other hand, the dream of universal influence is sometimes realized at the price of the unity and identity of Catholicism. In the "evangelical values," these *membra disjecta*, absorbed in part by post-modernity and continuing in it independently of the Body, one wants to see an authentic and only possible realization of the universality of the Church today. In this context de Lubac's voice sounds as an encouragement to think of oneself soberly yet hopefully "according to the whole" – without sectarian limiting of horizons and without losing sight of Christ working in the Church.

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Reform and Periphery of the Holy People of God: from Yves Congar to Pope Francis

Reforma i peryferie Świętego Ludu Bożego. Od Yves'a Congara do papieża Franciszka

Abstract: Key to Pope Francis's reading of the Church is undoubtedly the missionary option, which entails questions about reform and about the place and importance of the periphery in the life and self-understanding of God's people. When for the roots of Francis's perspective, we find its Congarian references. While their different starting points at the question about possible reform in the Church mean that Pope Francis and Congar present both poles of the Church – the periphery and the centre – in different contexts, comparing both authors is valuable when attempting to answer the question about the place and the role of mission-mindedness as part of the Church's essence.

Keywords: Pope Francis, Yves Congar, missionary option, reform, periphery, centre

Abstrakt: Kluczowa dla Franciszkowego odczytywania Kościoła jest bez wątpienia opcja misyjna, która pociąga za sobą pytanie o reformę oraz o miejsce i znaczenie peryferii w życiu i samorozumieniu się Ludu Bożego. Poszukując korzeni Franciszkowego spojrzenia, odnajdujemy jego Congarowe odniesienia. Chociaż odmienny punkt wyjścia pytania o możliwą reformę w Kościele sprawia, że oba „bieguny" Kościoła: peryferie-centrum są przedstawiane przez nich w innym kontekście, to jednak ich porównanie okazuje się cenne w poszukiwaniu odpowiedzi na pytanie o miejsce i rolę misyjności przynależącej do istoty Kościoła.

Słowa kluczowe: Papież Franciszek, Yves Congar, opcja misyjna, reforma, peryferie, centrum

Analysing Pope Francis's documents, speeches and gestures, we can advance a thesis that the postulate of the missionary option becomes crucial for understanding his pontificate. In the program document of the Exhortation

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Evangelii gaudium we read: "I dream of a 'missionary option,' that is, a missionary impulse capable of transforming everything, so that the Church's customs, ways of doing things, times and schedules, language and structures can be suitably channelled for the evangelization of today's world rather than for her self-preservation" (EG 27).[1] This demand is accompanied by the question of reform in the Church and of the place and importance of the periphery.[2] The first to ask the question about the place and importance of the periphery in the perspective of the ongoing reform in the Church was Father Yves Congar.[3] Is this just a coincidence? Neither in a 2010 interview, known to the Polish reader as *Jezuita. Papież Franciszek* (Jesuit. Pope Francis),[4] nor in the interview conducted by Fr. Antonio

1 Francis, *Apostolic Exhortation Evangelii Gaudium*, English text available at: http://w2.vatican.va, documents [access: 1.05.2020].

2 The Pope chose the outskirts of the city as the place of the first meeting during his pilgrimage to Milan and the reason he offered for it was: "I know that the Madonna at the top of the Cathedral welcomes me to Milan; but thanks to your gift, Our Lady already welcomes me here, at the entrance. And this is important, because it reminds me of Mary's care, as she hastened to meet Elizabeth. It is the care, the solicitude of the Church, which does not remain at the centre, waiting, but goes to meet everyone, in the peripheries; she also goes to meet non-Christians, also non-believers; and she leads everyone to Jesus, who is God's love made flesh, who gives meaning to our life and saves it from evil," Greeting of the Holy Father to residents of the Forlanini Quarter, 25.03.2017, *The Holly See – Vatican*, http://w2.vatican.va, documents [access: 1.05.2020]. At the meeting with the consecrated persons, he added: "I would not dare say to you to which existential peripheries you must address your mission, because normally the Spirit inspired charisms for the peripheries, to go to places and corners that are usually abandoned. I don't believe that the Pope can tell you: concern yourselves with this or that. What the Pope must tell you is this: there are few of you, but the few of you there are, go to the peripheries, go to the boundaries and encounter the Lord there, to renew the mission of origins, to the Galilee of the first encounter, return to the Galilee of the first encounter! (…) Choose the peripheries, reawaken processes, ignite the spent and weakened hope of a society that has become insensible to the pain of others. In our fragility as congregations we can make ourselves more attentive to the many forms of frailty that surround us, and transform them into a space of blessing. It will be the moment that the Lord will tell you, 'Stop, there is a ram here. Do not sacrifice your only son.' Go and take the 'anointment' of Christ, go forth. I am not sending you away! I merely say, go forth and bear the mission of Christ, your charism," Meetings with priests and consecrated persons in the Cathedral of Milan, 25.03.2017, https://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/en/bollettino/pubblico/2017/03/25/170325c.html [access: 1.05.2020].

3 Cf. Y. Congar, *Prawdziwa i fałszywa reforma w Kościele*, transl. A. Ziernicki, Krakow 2001. This is a translation of the second, revised edition, which appeared in 1968. The first was published in 1950; cf. Y. Congar, *True and false Reform in the Church*, transl. P. Philibert, Collegeville, 2011 (both Polish and English translations will be consulted).

4 Cf. F. Ambrogetti, S. Rubin, *Jezuita. Papież Franciszek. Wywiad rzeka z Jorge Bergoglio*, transl. A. Fijałkowska-Żydok, Krakow 2013.

Spadaro's[5] after Jorge Mario Bergoglio's election to the Holy See, does he mention the name of the French Dominican. Instead, we find other European inspirations of the Argentinean Pope, such as that of R. Guardini' about whose theology Jorge Bergoglio wanted to write his doctoral thesis,[6] or that of H. de Lubac, his reflection on the danger of spiritual worldliness contained in his *Méditation sur l'Église* (*The Splendor of the Church*).[7]

However, when we reach for A. Ivereight's *The Great Reformer: Francis and the Making of a Radical Pope*, we come across an interesting trail. In *Note on Sources* we find *Bergoglio's bookshelf: a selection*, where the book by Father Congar comes first: the *True and False Reform in the Church*.[8] At the very beginning, the author, a former deputy editor-in-chief of "The Tablet," puts forward a thesis that the pontificate of Pope Francis should be read in the light of this fundamental position in the work of the French Dominican:

> [This is a book] of a church leader who from an early age felt called to be a reformer, and was given the authority to do so. This is a story not just of the

5 Cf. A. Spadaro, Interview with Pope Francis; English text available at: http://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2013/september/documents/papa-francesco_20130921_intervista-spadaro.html [access: 1.05.2020].

6 The starting point for working on R. Guardini was to solve the dilemma of choosing "between heteronomy (placing authority [...] in another human being or institution) and autonomy (placing authority in oneself)" towards theonomy – man in relationships: "I-thou" becomes "a whole person." J. Bergoglio wanted to relate R. Guardini to J.A. Möhler, showing the meeting of "contrasting points" as creative, as long as they do not become contradictions "when they fall out of the unity of the whole," cf. A. Ivereight, *The Great Reformer: Francis and the Making of a Radical Pope*, New York 2014, p. 198; A. Ivereight, *Prorok. Biografia Franciszka, papieża radykalnego*, transl. M. Masny, Bytom 2015, pp. 238–239, 439.

7 "(...) the greatest danger we are to the Church, the most subversive temptation, the one that is ever and insidiously reborn when all the rest are overcome, (...) is what Abbot Vonier called the temptation to 'worldliness of the mind (...) the practical relinquishing of other-worldliness, so that moral and even spiritual standards should be based, not on the glory of the Lord, but on what is the profit of man; an entirely anthropocentric outlook would be exactly what we mean by worldliness. Even if men were filled with every spiritual perfection, but if such perfections were not referred to God (suppose this hypothesis to be possible) it would be unredeemed worldliness.' If this spiritual worldliness were to invade the Church and set to work to corrupt her by attacking her very principle, it would be something infinitely more disastrous than any worldliness of the purely moral order," cf. H. de Lubac, *Splendor of the Church*, New York 1956; idem, *Medytacje o Kościele*, transl. I. Białkowska-Cichoń, Krakow 1997, p. 311.

8 A. Ivereight, *Prorok*, op. cit., p. 492. It should be added that in the Polish version Fr. Congar is not included in the index of persons, even though he is repeatedly quoted in the text, always in the context of the reform: pp. 14, 120, 150, 175, 239, 302, 436, 440, 492.

> man but his three reforms: of the Argentine Jesuit province, of the Argentine Church, and now of the universal Church. His lodestars have been two French theologians, Yves Congar and Henri de Lubac, who taught him how to unite God's People by a radical reform that will lead them to holiness. If the reader comes to see that thread and understand this papacy better as a result, the book's purpose will have been accomplished.[9]

In this article we want to investigate how Father Congar and Pope Francis view the reform and then analyse what is the role and place of the periphery in this process. Ultimately, this raises the question about the key to their interpretation of the mystery of the Church. This article is therefore an attempt to show one of the possible ecclesiological inspirations of Pope Francis, outlining the horizon of his pastoral commitment.[10]

Congar's sources of the question about the reform in the Church

Father Congar's diaries from the period before the Second Vatican Council was convened, translated not so long ago, in the Polish version bear the title *Teolog na wygnaniu* (The Theologian in Exile), although the original version has a less attractive title of *Journal d'un theologien*.[11] This may seem like a marketing strategy, and probably it is, but it reveals a deep intuition. If we ask ourselves which path of the Dominican of Saulchoir was the corner stone of his theology, it was the experience of exile. We do not mean the 1950s, when Y. Congar experienced his theological and ecclesiological exile from Jerusalem, Rome, Cambridge, until finally through Strasbourg, he could return as a theologian in the service of God's people, but a fundamental experience that would shape his ecclesiological perspective once and for all. We therefore have in mind not so much the experience of the theologian's exile as his experience of the Church in exile, which can be presented on three levels: social, theological and ecumenical.

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9 Ibidem, p. 14; idem, *The Great Reformer*, p. XV.

10 M. Faggioli wrote: "The notion of 'periphery' in relations to the mission of the church has become one of the key ideas by which to understand the pontificate of Pope Francis," *Vatican II and the Church of the Margins*, "Theological Studies" 74 (2013), p. 817.

11 Y. Congar, *Teolog na wygnaniu. Dziennik 1952–1956*, transl. M. Romanek, Poznań 2008; original version: idem, *Journal d'un théologien. 1946–1956, Édité et présenté par Étienne Fouilloux*, Paris 2001; English version: idem, *Journal of a Theologian (1946–1956)*, transl. D. Minns, Adelaide 2015.

Editing in 1935 the summary of a three-year survey on the current causes of disbelief, Fr. Congar, who only began his theological vocation, noted that the Christian world was no longer the only one imaginable, since a new, secular world had emerged which understood itself as total and self-sufficient, being an explanation for itself. In this way, the believer was torn between his allegiance to the new secular community and to the community of faith. As a result, faith became separated from all areas of human activity and shown as something private, something outside, cut off from life.[12] The then young Dominican observed that the Church's reaction to this situation was an ever greater concentration on herself: "The Church closes herself up and concentrates on herself, creating her own purely conservative world, where she has a task of keeping a deposit and where people, separated from the life that progresses, repeat their own problems in their own language..."[13]

This is how we reach the second dimension of exile, which Fr. Congar finds in the very theology marked by the weight of the polemical legacy. At the end of the same 1935, he announced a new series of *Unam Sanctam* publications and so justified its launching:

> I decided to create a publishing series that will serve to renew ecclesiology. *Unam Sanctam* aims at helping us to learn more deeply about the nature or – if you will – the mystery of the Church; we are going to publish historical works, studies on the liturgy and mission, and those dedicated to separate Christians and the question of reunification in so far as they contribute to a deeper and richer knowledge of the Church in her inner nature and the mystery of her life. And since theology, according to its own law, lives only through intimate and organic contact with its data, an important part of our efforts will be to study the sources from which we can draw an authentic knowledge of the Church.[14]

12 For more, cf. M. Jagielski, *O aktualnych przyczynach niewiary i o wymaganiach, jakie stawia nam bycie Kościołem w świecie; w świecie, który Kościołem nie jest*, [in:] *Wychowanie to dzieło Miłości. Ogólnopolskie Nauczycielskie warsztaty w Drodze. Zielona Góra – Jasna Góra 31 lipca–13 sierpnia 2009 r.*, Zielona Góra 2009, pp. 92–102.

13 Y. Congar, *Une Conclusion théologique à l'Enquête sur les raisons actuelles de l'incroyance*, "Vie Intellectuelle" 37 (1935), p. 241. If not indicated otherwise, translations into English are by WTR.

14 Y. Congar, *Appel et cheminement 1929–1963*, [in:] idem, *Chrétiens en dialogue. Contributions catholiques à l'Œcuménisme*, Paris 1964, p. 34, note 1; cf. S.C. Napiórkowski, *Unam Sanctam*, [in:] *Yves Congar 1904–1995*, S.C. Napiórkowski, A. Czaja, K. Pek (eds.), pp. 61–75.

Here we find Congar's fundamental postulate known as *ressourcement* – rediscovering the sources. Theology, coming back to its sources, will return from the expulsion of ready-made conclusions, which he described as "baroque theology."[15]

The third dimension of exile is found in Congar's vocation to commit himself to Christian unity. In his book *After Nine Hundred Years*, referring to the event of the division of Christianity in 1054, he wrote:

> The aim of these pages is to suggest to theologians a few elements of an interpretation of the historical reality of the "Oriental schism." Briefly, the "schism" appears to us as the acceptance of a situation by which each part of Christendom lives, behaves and judges without taking notice one of the other. We may call it geographical remoteness, provincialism, lack of contact, a "state of reciprocal ignorance," alienation, or by the German word "Entfremdung." The English word "estrangement" expresses all this quite admirably.[16]

Looking for a common denominator for these three planes of the Church's exile, which shape Fr. Congar's sensitivity and the way he asks questions, we can say that it is the lack of presence, the lack of meeting, which leads to closing in on oneself and running away into impoverished self-sufficiency. It seems that without taking this experience into account, we will not understand the importance of the postulate of reform, which is a bridge between both ecclesiological perspectives.

Jorge Bergoglio's starting point in the question of the reform of the Church

When in 1971 Fr. Bergoglio became novice master and in 1973 Jesuit provincial, replacing Fr. O'Farrell, he with the group of Fr. M.A. Fiorito, Dean of Philosophy and pioneer of Jesuit spiritual renewal in the Argentinean Province, postulates a return to the sources of the authentic Jesuit charism; a return to the original method of carrying out exercises as individual retreats in which the novices could become aware of the inner spiritual movements during their

[15] In Fr. Congar's archives we can find a briefcase from the period between World War I and World War II with an inscription "liquidation of Baroque theology."

[16] Y. Congar, *After Nine Hundred Years*, New York 1959, p. 5. Cf. original version: idem, *Neuf cents ans apres. Notes sur le „Schisme oriental,"* Chevetogne 1954, pp. 7–8.

intense apostolate among the poor.[17] This discernment was to become the key to renewal and reform. It was related to the question of the Order's presence among the people, with the theology of liberation emerging in Latin America as a point of reference. As a cardinal, in an interview with F. Ambrogetti and S. Rubin, J. Bergoglio said:

> If a local church limits itself to managing the various tasks of the parish and lives closed in its community, the same thing happens to it as to a closed person: it succumbs to physical and mental atrophy or begins to decay like a locked room where mould and moisture spreads. The same thing happens to the self-centreed Church as to the self-centred man: she is affected by a kind of paranoia, autism. It is true that when a man goes out on the street, he may have an accident. But I prefer the Church damaged by an accident a hundred times more than the Church suffers from an illness. In other words, I think that a Church that limits herself to administrative matters, to the maintenance of her small flock, is a Church that becomes sick after a while. The shepherd who closes up is not a real shepherd; she is a kind of hairdresser: she makes beautiful curls in the sheep's hair instead of looking for others.[18]

Although the context of the two paths is different, a fundamental intuition based on the experience of not meeting and the call to presence, and therefore the postulated reform in the Church, deeply links the French Dominican and the Argentinean Jesuit. Asking about the reform, Fr. Congar's first juxtaposed the periphery with the centre, which would be so important for Francis' description of the mission option.

Yves Congar: periphery and centre in the context of "hierarchology"

In 1935, Y. Congar postulated the need to respond to what he described as the "deficit of the incarnation" – the absence of faith in the many spaces of human life and, consequently, the need to penetrate all its elements with the Gospel.[19] Then the spirituality of Catholic Action, referring to the mystery of the Incarnation, becomes a response. All members of the Mystical Body of Christ

17 Cf. A. Ivereight, *Prorok*, op. cit, pp. 119 and 131.
18 F. Ambrogetti, S. Rubin, *Jezuita. Papież Franciszek*, op. cit., pp. 86–87.
19 Cf. Y. Congar, *Une Conclusion théologique*, op. cit., pp. 241–242.

continue in their places of work and life the mystery of the Incarnation. Written in the second half of the 1940s, *True and False Reform in the Church*, available in Francis' library, is a continuation of this search. This pioneering sketch is the fruit of both Congar's experience of the interwar period and his encounter with the "other" world during his four years in a POW camp, and an analysis of the dynamic renewal of the French Church in the second half of the 1940s. The Dominican of Saulchoir is aware, although the word itself raises general objections, that "The Church has always tried to reform itself"[20] and he adds, referring to his first ecumenical sketches that: "The Church has always tried to reform itself; she lives only because she is reforming, and the intensity of her reforming effort is at a given moment a measure of the effectiveness of her vital strength."[21] The objections to the presence of reforms in the Church stems from the fact that some of them have led to its renewal while others to divisions that still exist. As a positive conclusion Congar presents four conditions for a possible reform without a schism. These are: the primacy of charity and of the pastoral factor; remaining in communion with the whole; patience and allowance for the time of ripening; and finally, true renewal is achieved by returning to the principle of tradition rather than by some mechanical adaptation.[22]

It is in discussing the second of the conditions for genuine reform that the French Dominican introduces a reflection on what he describes as the periphery. This is an important clue for us because when writing about the periphery, Congar sees it in the perspective of an ongoing reform. Starting from the thoughts of his 19th century inspirer J.A. Möhler, he emphasizes that the conditions for the Holy Spirit to act are by nature communal. It is about a certain way of life:

> the feeling of not being alone, of being part of one single body, leading one single life, pursuing one single enterprise with all other Catholics. It means not considering yourself to be the "whole," not acting or thinking as if your own issues are self-sufficient.[23]

This is the postulate he finds in Cajetan's writings. Congar uses the concept of periphery in the context of the relationship between the reformer and the whole community.

20 Idem, *True and False Reform in the Church*, op. cit., p. 19.
21 Idem, *Chrétiens désunis. Principes d'un „Œcuménisme" catholique*, Paris 1937, p. 339.
22 Cf. idem, *Prawdziwa i fałszywa reforma w Kościele*, op. cit., p. 239–357, cf. idem, *True and False Reform in the Church*, pp. 296–305.
23 Idem, *True and False Reform in the Church*, p. 235.

> Remaining with the topic at hand, I will consider only the most characteristic aspect of the relation between the initiative of a reformer and the hierarchy, when the reformer desires to remain in communion with the whole. A fitting title for this paragraph might be *The Periphery and the Center* or somewhat less poetically, as we will see, *Structure and life*.[24]

Here manifests itself in a representative way Congar's method to transcend the then commonly accepted model used during the pre-Conciliar period, which in the reflection on the reform proved insufficient. To the constitutive element for the ecclesiology of *societas perfecta* Congar adds the one that results from the analysis of the Church's life, which is becoming an important *locus theologicus* in his eyes. In this methodological key we must read both the formula "structure and life" and the already reversed formula "periphery and centre." It is not the question of the role of the centre that is new in ecclesiological reflection, but the question of the role and importance of the periphery in the formation and building of the Church through a constant reform. It can be said that in this way Congar, by accepting the accepted ecclesiological heritage, shows its inadequacy and even the danger of its one-sidedness. The dialectic "and" becomes the key to propose a new solution: besides the ecclesiology of structure (hierarchology) there is the need for an ecclesiology of "life" within the search for ecclesiological realism.[25] The difficulty, as he himself later pointed out, could consist precisely in this "besides" suggesting the existence of both elements as if "independently" of each other.[26] However, the introduction of the "periphery" allows for a different view of the centre, which in itself does not exhaust the reflection on the mystery of the Church. Precisely because throughout the Church initiatives start at the periphery, at its margins or, as he put it differently: from below rather than above.[27]

This broadening of the ecclesiological perspective allows the French Dominican to read both peripheral and central poles in the light of the question of a genuine reform in the Church. This "centre" – the other pole of this binominal – identified with the hierarchy, is endowed with a charisma that ensures apostolicity. It has the task of preserving the essential structure of the Church.

24 Ibidem, p. 237.

25 Cf. M. Jagielski, *L'Église dans le temps. Yves Congar: La quête d'un réalisme ecclésiologique*, Paris 2016.

26 Cf. Y. Congar, *My Path-Findings in the Theology of Laity and Ministries*, "Jurist" 32 (1972), pp. 169–188. Polish version: Y. Congar, *Moja droga w teologii laikatu i posługiwań*, [in:] *Chrześcijańska odpowiedź na pytania człowieka*, J. Badeni (ed.), Poznań 1974, pp. 223–242.

27 Idem, *Prawdziwa i fałszywa reforma w Kościele*, op. cit., p. 284.

The centre is therefore the guardian of the structure, of continuity with the apostolic sources and of communion in space. However, reforms undertaken only from above, without the wider participation of grassroots, peripheral and popular factors, are ineffective.[28] What is necessary, therefore, is to combine ecclesial reform with the synodal principle. Only this combination can allow the peripheral reform to build unity. If the majority of initiatives come from the periphery and if the reforms can only come about if they are based on broad apostolic currents, then both can implement a reform in the Church without causing disunity; i.e. only if they are accepted by the Church, if they are incorporated into her unity. This is done in practice by the recognition and approval of the central authorities, by the blessing which the apostolicity grants to prophetism. It is the centre that gives the initiative from the periphery recognition and confirmation of unity.[29]

The novelty that we find in *True and False Reform in the Church* is the abandonment of an apologetic interpretation of the reform and a theological analysis of the place and role of the periphery in the process of reform in the Church. One and the same Spirit animates the Church and guides her in her centre and her periphery, among her superiors and in her whole body. The Spirit of Christ enlivens the whole Church and each part of her according to what she is and according to the role she is to play in the whole, so that the whole may live and grow in unity.[30] Tension persists, however. How, then, can unity be maintained? Through obedience to the Spirit in the relationship between the two poles which are equally necessary. Obedience "only achieves its whole truth when it embraces the two poles and fills the space between them. These poles are the peripheral initiative and the blessing of the centre."[31] For Congar, as P. Philibert notes, neither the centre nor the periphery can be themselves if they are far apart.[32]

We see, therefore, that the periphery becomes a topic of theological reflection when the life of the Church becomes a fully-fledged *locus theologicus* as a result of the action of the Holy Spirit. In the face of the universally accepted theology of the Church as a perfect community, Congar, by introducing the history of the Church to theology, can pose the question about the role of the periphery in a positive way. The periphery is the place where the Holy Spirit inspires initiatives in the Church. It is the place of impetus and the place of

28 Ibidem, p. 286.
29 Ibidem, pp. 290–291.
30 Ibidem, pp. 293–294.
31 Idem, *True and False Reform in the Church*, p. 240.
32 Cf. P. Philibert, *When Not in Rome: Lessons from the peripheries of the church*, "America. The Jesuit Review," 24 March 2014, http://bit.ly/2ra1xFf [access: 18.10.2019].

greatest vitality, perhaps precisely because there are no ready-made solutions and therefore, by being a challenge, the periphery can become a special place of growth. It is therefore seen to some extent as a prophetic place:

> They say that history develops at its margins and that's right. The margin is closer to the periphery than the centre. Further, the centre, with its vocation to oversee *structure*, prefers something *defined* to something that is searching and striving for expression. Yet a spiritual organism is more likely to *grow* out of the elements searching and striving for expression.[33]

Pope Francis: periphery and centre in the context of the missionary option

Analysing the statements of the biographers and commentators of Pope Francis, we do not always find such an unambiguous position regarding the influence of Fr. Congar's reflection on Francis' perspective, as is the case with A. Ivereigh.[34] We note, however, that with the responsibility for the formation of Jesuits at first and then for the entire Argentinean Province, the future Pope begins his commitment to reform. Starting from the revision of the study curriculum, and postulating mingling with the local people in conjunction with the aforementioned deepened Ignatian spirituality, J. Bergoglio begins a reform that is to enable the Jesuits to listen genuinely to the needs of the People of God, without succumbing to the political ideologization associated with the influence of Marxist philosophy or the temptation of the primacy of the elitist Church.[35] In 1974, speaking to the Provincial Congregation about the need for reform, J. Bergoglio pointed out three principles to guide it: unity surpassing disputes, the whole surpassing the part and time surpassing space. In 1980 he added a fourth one: reality surpassing ideas.[36] Discussing these issues as Pope,

33 Y. Congar, *Prawdziwa i fałszywa reforma w Kościele*, op. cit., p. 286.

34 For example Hyuntaek Han writes: "It seems that this insight has its foundations from Congar, who also believes that, the place where creative ecclesial initiative occurs is rarely at the centre of the Church but rather at its periphery," [in:] idem, *Some ecclesiological concepts of Pope Francis*, English text available at: Academia, https://www.academia.edu/ [access: 19.04.2017].

35 Cf. A. Tornielli, *Franciszek. Biografia papieża*, transl. K. Kozak, Z. Pająk, K. Stopa, Kielce 2013, p. 118.

36 A. Ivereight, *Prorok*, op. cit., p. 175. These four principles are quoted in the programmatic exhortation of Pope Francis as the principles "which can guide the development of life

he will say that the first one protects us from the fragmentation of reality, which occurs as a result of the narrowing of the horizon marked by the dispute (EG 226). The second, stressing that the whole is more than a part and more than a simple sum, warns at the same time that the search for the greater good must not lead to uprooting (EG 235). The third principle allows us to work in the long term without being obsessed with immediate results. It is more about starting processes than having space (EG 223). And finally, the fourth, referring to the Incarnation of the Word, warns us against the Gnosticisms that make the Gospel dynamism barren (EG 233).

This reformist commitment is reflected in a new expression with the assumption of the ministry of Bishop of Buenos Aires, which culminates in a document that is the fruit of the CELAM meeting in Aparecida in 2007. When, as Pope at the 2013 meeting with the Bishops of Latin America, Francis refers to what he calls the "fraternal legacy" of Aparecida, stating that "we are lagging somewhat as far as Pastoral Conversion is concerned," he means a continental mission that is not only programmatic but also paradigmatic. It is a question of placing in the missionary scheme not only the strictly "missionary" dimensions of the Church's life, but of placing in this scheme the whole "ordinary" activity of particular Churches. It is a call for an authentic pastoral conversion of the whole Latin American Church. Addressing the bishops of this continent, Francis emphasizes that "Pastoral Conversion is chiefly concerned with attitudes and reforming our lives. A change of attitudes is necessarily something ongoing: 'it is a process,' and it can only be kept on track with the help of guidance and discernment." Missionary activities are therefore a call for reform, including a change of structures, but:

> The "change of structures" (from obsolete ones to new ones) will not be the result of reviewing an organizational flow chart, which would lead to a static reorganization; rather it will result from the very dynamics of mission. What makes obsolete structures pass away, what leads to a change of heart in Christians, is precisely missionary spirit. Hence the importance of the paradigmatic mission.

If, therefore, the reform is inscribed in the dynamics of the Church, then it is a call to constant listening and discernment within the community of faith, within the People of God: "It is important always to keep in mind that the compass preventing us from going astray is that of Catholic identity, understood

in society and the building of a people where differences are harmonized within a shared pursuit" (EG 221).

as membership in the Church."[37] We could expect the "periphery" of the Franciscan Aparecida to appear in this listening, but paradoxically we find it only once in point 56 when it describes the situation of the people on the outskirts of the great cities.[38] And yet, without the key paradigm of mission in this document, it is not possible to read the Franciscan periphery because it is the postulate of missionary conversion that makes Congar's "periphery" interpreted again by Pope Francis.[39]

The Church shown in the programmatic exhortation of Pope Francis is a missionary Church, that is, a Church in constant centrifugal movement. Theologians such as R.R. Gaillardetz[40] and perhaps also Hyuntaek Han[41] speak of the *Centrifugal Church*. A church that is inherently called upon to move away from the centre. If the Church remains in the centre then – says the Pope – it shows a symptom of having adopted world spirituality, the greatest threat and the greatest temptation that the Church faces. At the Congregation of Bishops preceding the conclave J. Bergoglio explained this in his speech, quoted by Cardinal Ortega:

> When the Church is self-referential, inadvertently, she believes she has her own light; she ceases to be the mysterium lunae [Latin, "mystery of the moon," i.e., reflecting the light of Christ the way the moon reflects the light of the sun] and gives way to that very serious evil, spiritual worldliness (which according to de Lubac, is the worst evil that can befall the Church). It lives to give glory only to one another. Put simply, there are two images of the Church: Church which evangelizes and comes out of herself, the *Dei Verbum* religiose audiens et fidente proclamans [Latin, "Hearing the word of God with reverence and proclaiming it with faith"]; and the worldly Church, living within herself, of herself, for herself. This should shed light on the possible changes and reforms which must be done for the salvation of souls.[42]

37 Pope Francis' Address to the Leadership of the Episcopal Conferences of Latin America during the General Coordination Meeting, 28.07.2013, Rio de Janeiro, English text available at: http://w2.vatican.va, documents [access: 1.05.2020].

38 Cf. *Aparecida. V Ogólna Konferencja Episkopatów Ameryki Łacińskiej i Karaibów. Dokument Końcowy. Jesteśmy uczniami i misjonarzami Jezusa Chrystusa, aby nasze narody miały w Nim życie*, transl. K. Zabawa, K. Łukoszczyk, Gubin 2014.

39 Cf. R.R. Gaillardetz, *The 'Francis Moment', a new Kairos for catholic Ecclesiology*, "CTSA Proceedings" 69 (2014), http://bit.ly/2siWoRf [access: 18.10.2019], pp. 63–80.

40 Ibidem.

41 H. Han, *Some ecclesiological concepts of Pope Francis*, op. cit.

42 Homily of Cardinal J. Bergoglio during the Congregation of Bishops before the Conclave, https://www.catholic.com/magazine/online-edition/the-4-minute-speech-that-got-pope-francis-elected [access: 10.05.202].

Staying in the centre is a form of ecclesial and spiritual narcissism in the Pope's eyes:

> When the Church does not come out of herself to evangelize, she becomes self-referential and then gets sick (cf. The deformed woman of the Gospel [Luke 13:10-17]). The evils that, over time, happen in ecclesial institutions have their root in self-referentiality and a kind of theological narcissism.[43]

In the same year, in his capacity of Pope, addressing priests and consecrated persons in Assisi, Francis returns to this perspective of reading the relationship between the Church and her centre:

> The Church is an institution, but when she makes herself a "centre," she becomes merely functional, and slowly but surely turns into a kind of NGO. The Church then claims to have a light of her own, and she stops being that "mysterium lunae" of which the Church Fathers spoke.[44]

For Francis, the missionary or "centrifugal" movement is fundamental for the Church. The Church, being missionary, is therefore, by her very nature, constantly moving away from the centre. Only in this way does she remain a Church of disciples and missionaries. When the Church remains in the centre, she loses both her capacity for discipleship and her vocation to be missionary. It is not the centre that is the natural place for disciples, but the periphery:

> the position of missionary disciples is not in the centre but at the periphery: they live poised towards the peripheries… including the peripheries of eternity, in the encounter with Jesus Christ. In the preaching of the Gospel, to speak of "existential peripheries" decentralizes things; as a rule, we are afraid to leave the centre. The missionary disciple is someone "off centre:" the centre is Jesus Christ, who calls us and sends us forth. The disciple is sent to the existential peripheries.[45]

43 Ibidem.

44 Pope Francis' Address to the Leadership of the Episcopal Conferences of Latin America during the General Coordination Meeting, op. cit.

45 Ibidem. The same perspective can be found in the speech of Pope Francis at the opening of the international catechetical congress on September 28, 2013: "Because when we put Christ at the centre of our life, we ourselves don't become the centre! The more that you unite yourself to Christ and he becomes the centre of your life, the more he leads you out of yourself, leads you from making yourself the centre and opens you to others. This is the

In this way, the periphery is also reread in the mission key. It is not the introduction of the theology of life into the theology of structure; rather, the Church puts her missionary nature – her being sent – in the centre. In this light, the Church is called to a continuous reading of the periphery. The periphery is a personal space which, because of its poverty, becomes a space excluded from the world and when the Church is touched by world spirituality, it is also excluded from the Church. In the already quoted homily before the conclave, J. Bergoglio said:

> Evangelizing Implies Apostolic Zeal. Evangelizing pre-supposes a desire in the Church to come out of herself. The Church is called to come out of herself and to go to the peripheries, not only geographically, but also the existential peripheries: the mystery of sin, of pain, of injustice, of ignorance and indifference to religion, of intellectual currents, and of all misery.[46]

Similarly, already as Pope, he defines the periphery at the meeting with consecrated persons in Assisi: "which are places, but which are primarily people living in particular situations in life."[47] It is the poor, the periphery, who become in the missionary key of the centre as the reality to which we are sent.[48]

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true dynamism of love, this is the movement of God himself! God is the centre, but he is always self-gift, relationship, love that gives itself away (...) and this is what we will become if we remain united to Christ. He will draw us into this dynamism of love. Where there is true life in Christ, there follows an openness to others, and so a going out from oneself to encounter others in the name of Christ," English text available at: http://w2.vatican.va, documents [access: 1.05.2020].

46 Homily of Cardinal J. Bergoglio during the Congregation of Bishops before the Conclave, op. cit.

47 And he continues with his testimony: "This was true in my former diocese, that of Buenos Aires. The outskirt which hurt me a great deal was to find children in middle class families who didn't know how to make the Sign of the Cross. But you see, this is an outskirt! And I ask you, here in this diocese, are there children who do not know how to make the Sign of the Cross? Think about it. These are true outskirts of existence where God is absent. In one sense, the outskirts of this diocese, for example, are the areas of the diocese that risk being left on the margins, beyond the street lights. But they are also people and human realities that are marginalized and despised. They are people who perhaps live physically close to the 'centre' but who spiritually are very far away," Pope Francis' address at the meeting with the clergy, consecrated people and members of diocesan pastoral councils, Cathedral of San Rufino, Assisi, 4 October 2013, English text available at: http://w2.vatican.va, documents [access: 1.05.2020].

48 Being responsible for the Jesuit formation, J. Bergoglio said: "We have the poor, and because they are poor, they rely on faith, and because they have faith, they are the centre

When we analyse in this key the programmatic document *Evangelii Gaudium*, we can see that the peripheral-centre division is no longer marked by Congar's transgression of "hierarchology," but by the missionary option. The whole Church is called to leave the centre and go to the periphery: "all of us are asked to obey his call to go forth from our own comfort zone in order to reach all the "peripheries" in need of the light of the Gospel." It is therefore difficult to see the Church in a missionary perspective and to remain in the centre, because going out into the periphery is inscribed in the missionary nature of the Church:

> Its joy in communicating Jesus Christ is expressed both by a concern to preach him to areas in greater need and in constantly going forth to the outskirts of its own territory or towards new sociocultural settings.[32] Wherever the need for the light and the life of the Risen Christ is greatest, it will want to be there.[33] To make this missionary impulse ever more focused, generous and fruitful, I encourage each particular Church to undertake a resolute process of discernment, purification and reform (EG 30).[49]

Missionary activities are therefore an essential part of ecclesialism. Hence the negligence in taking up the activities, by remaining at the centre, strikes at the very essence of the Church:

> My mission of being in the heart of the people is not just a part of my life or a badge I can take off; it is not an "extra" or just another moment in life. Instead, it is something I cannot uproot from my being without destroying my very self. I am a mission on this earth; that is the reason why I am here in this world. We have to regard ourselves as sealed, even branded, by this mission of bringing light, blessing, enlivening, raising up, healing and freeing. All around us we begin to see nurses with soul, teachers with soul, politicians with soul, people who

for us. Their faith, their culture, their way of expressing their faith – this is what we must value," according to Rossi; cf. A. Ivereight, *Prorok*, op. cit., p. 221.

49 Analysing not only the context of the entire exhortation of Pope Francis, but also the individual passages recalling the two poles of the Church, we can see that *Evangelii Gaudium* links the periphery with a culture of rejection that can be overcome by accompanying people in their periphery (EG 59). The periphery is also a place where the temptation of immediate solutions, which can be overcome precisely through accompaniment, is particularly evident (EG 63). Salvation itself is shown as taking place on the periphery: "Salvation came to us from the 'yes' uttered by a lowly maiden from a small town on the fringes of a great empire" (EG 197).

> have chosen deep down to be with others and for others. But once we separate our work from our private lives, everything turns grey and we will always be seeking recognition or asserting our needs. We stop being a people (EG 273).

The realization of the postulate of the missionary option as a necessary experience for the self-understanding of the Church in today's world

The above analysis was not so much an attempt to describe the influence that Fr. Yves Congar had on the ecclesiological perspective of Pope Francis, but, starting from A. Ivereight's suggestion, to describe how both are trying, when asking about the reform in the Church, to read in its perspective the relationship between the centre and the periphery. We could see that the question about the periphery comes with the question about a possible reform. For Y. Congar, thanks to the theological analysis of the experience of the Church in history, the periphery takes on a positive meaning as the prophetic voice of the Church and the place of action of the Holy Spirit. In this way he inscribed the reflection on the periphery into a broader process of exiting ecclesiology reduced to "hierarchology." For Pope Francis, the periphery is the proper place for the presence of the Church as the People of God, for whom missionary activities belong to her essence, and therefore being at the centre is not so much done for the sake of the Church as for the sake of the Sender, that is, for Christ. This perspective of understanding the periphery is part of the fundamental key of the missionary option for Francis' reading of the Church. In this key, the People of God, being the Church of disciples – i.e., placing Christ at the centre – is called to become the Church of missionaries – i.e. those constantly sent by Christ to the periphery.[50] This missionary dynamic, in the light of which we can read Francis' call to conversion and reform, evokes yet another thought of Fr. Congar which we would like to propose as a summary of the above analysis.

In 1937, Y. Congar wrote article *Vie de l'Église et conscience de la catholicité* (*The Life of the Church and Awareness of Its Catholicity*). Starting from Peter's

[50] We can therefore repeat after R.R. Gaillardetz that Pope Francis in his gestures and words reads the legacy of the Second Vatican Council in the light of *Decree on the Mission Activity of the Church. Ad gentes*, who is seen by some ecclesiologists as the most mature fruit of the Council's thought. Cf. R.R. Gaillardetz, *Francis wishes to release Vatican II's bold vision from captivity*, "National Catholic Reporter," 25.09.2013, https://bit.ly/2SURRQJ [access: 3.01.2020].

meeting with Cornelius, Congar notes that the Apostle baptizes Cornelius under the pressure of events of which he becomes a participant. It took the experience of giving the pagan the Holy Spirit to make Peter read the universalism of the Good News. This experience then extends as a hermeneutical paradigm to the whole history of the Church, to her whole life:

> Can we say that we really know the Catholicity of the grace of Christ and of the Church until we grasp it in its actuality, in the experience of being included in the unity of values or realities that were or seemed foreign to it at the beginning? (…) Each time by actualising, the Church makes herself clear to herself, she becomes aware of herself.[51]

It is significant that in the introduction to the first edition of 1942, Congar does not devote any in-depth reflection to this article, but ten years later, it is this article that takes up half the *Foreword* to the second edition. The French Dominican notes that something that at first seemed not so important to him is beginning to take on increasing importance in his understanding:

> It must be justified that this is due to the very nature of things, that the reality of the Church goes beyond the consciousness we have of her, beyond the expressions with which we define her, even if they are inspired; that there are realities which truly belong to the essence of the Church and which are not found in the texts, or rather which have not previously been seen in them. It is necessary to show that it is not so much the text that explains reality as the reality that explains and allows us to understand the text, and thus the life of the Church to some extent completes our entrance into the revelation of her mystery; that the Church is fully understood only by those who look not at her from within, but ultimately by those who live in her.[52]

[51] Y. Congar, *Vie de l'Église et conscience de la catholicité*, [in:] idem, *Esquisses du mystère de l'Église*, Paris 1953, pp. 122–123.

[52] Idem, *Avertissement*, [in:] *Esquisses du mystère de l'Église*, Paris 1953, p. 8. G. Routhier, a Canadian theologian, also draws attention to this: "Il y a donc un lien étroit entre son expérience historique et la conscience (autocompréhension) qu'elle a aquise d'elle-même. Ce rapport entre la vie de l'Église, son expérience historique, et la théologie qu'elle élabore, qui représente en fait une reprise au plan conceptuel de cette expérience, est développé à quelques reprises par Congar," *Vatican II. Herméneutique et réception*, Montreal 2006, p. 153.

We believe that it is in this context that we should read the Franciscan call for all communities to take up the missionary option so that they can experience being the Church more fully. In the Exhortation of *Evangelii Gaudium*, which has been cited many times here, we read:

> God's word is unpredictable in its power. The Gospel speaks of a seed which, once sown, grows by itself, even as the farmer sleeps (Mk 4:26-29). The Church has to accept this unruly freedom of the word, which accomplishes what it wills in ways that surpass our calculations and ways of thinking (EG 22).

It is the Word that reveals itself in the life of the Church: it reveals its strength and content in preaching. It seems that it is precisely today that we need to experience anew the presence of the periphery; we need to name it in order to experience the power that is Christ, who is constantly at the centre of the Church. It is also the Church on the periphery that becomes readable to a world dominated by a culture of exclusion. The Church is still ahead of us.

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The Metaphor of the Interior Cell for Jesus in Writings of Elizabeth Catez – St Elizabeth of the Trinity

Metafora wewnętrznej celi dla Jezusa w pismach Elżbiety Catez – św. Elżbiety od Trójcy Świętej

Abstract: The article addresses the "interior cell for Jesus" in the writings of St Elizabeth of Dijon. Her writings (poetry, *Dairy*, *Spiritual Records*, letters, *Recent Retreats*) in which the term cell (in the French original *cellule*) or cellar (in the French original *cellier*) is used about God's dwelling (unification) in a man were examined chronologically. The metaphor of the "interior cell" in this Saint's writings reflects her spirituality precisely: the intense experience of God's presence in a man, simplicity towards Him, as well as a constant and zealous concern not to left Him alone in the human heart. Moreover, she recalls that this kind of union with God is not reserved exclusively for those endowed with the vocation to the consecrated life. God wants to dwell in every soul that opens its doors to Him.

Keywords: Elizabeth of the Trinity, interior cell, unification, God's dwelling

Abstrakt: W artykule przeprowadzono studium zagadnienia „wewnętrznej celi dla Jezusa" w pismach św. Elżbiety z Dijon. Chronologicznie przebadano jej pisma (poezje, *Dziennik*, *Zapiski duchowe*, listy, *Ostatnie rekolekcje*), w których występuje termin *cela* (w francuskim oryginale *cellule*) lub *piwnica* (w francuskim oryginale *cellier*) w odniesieniu do zamieszkania (zjednoczenia) Boga w człowieku. Metafora „wewnętrznej celi" w pismach świętej bardzo dobrze odzwierciedla jej duchowość: intensywne doświadczenie obecności Boga w człowieku, prostotę wobec Niego, stałą i gorliwą troskę, aby nie pozostawał sam w ludzkim sercu. Przypomina również, że tego rodzaju zjednoczenie z Bogiem nie jest zarezerwowane wyłącznie dla osób obdarzonych powołaniem życia konsekrowanego. Bóg chce zamieszkać w każdej duszy, która otworzy mu swoje drzwi.

Słowa kluczowe: Elżbieta od Trójcy Świętej, wewnętrzna cela, zjednoczenie, zamieszkanie przez Boga

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I offer You [Jesus] the cell of my heart;
may it be Your little Bethany;
come to rest there,
I love You so much…

St Elizabeth of the Trinity
Spiritual Records, 5

A man who has been endowed with the grace of direct union with God often tries, by obedience or by the need of faith, to describe the experience that in theology is called "mystical experience" or more broadly "mysticism."[1] Faced with the difficulty of describing God's affairs with the human language, mystics have repeatedly used a metaphor[2] to express, by making them similar to commonly known and understandable images, what exceeds the possibilities of perception and transmission of the human intellect. The metaphor mobilises the recipient to "see double" a given term or entire expression.[3] They first see and understands the semantic field of a lexeme or a set of lexemes (first glance) and then make an effort to interpret it, i.e., give an answer concerning the content, sense and message of the metaphor used (second glance).

The metaphor encourages discovering, exploring and contemplating the object used, which is particularly crucial in statements about God.[4] It also allows transferring about it all the richness of emotions and valuations accompanying the carrier.[5] In the religious language (theology of mystical life), this

1 See: *Mistyka chrześcijańska*, J. Wilk (ed.), Katowice 2015 (Dni Duchowości 10); M. Chmielewski, *Mistyka*, [in:] *Leksykon duchowości katolickiej*, idem (ed.), Lublin–Kraków 2002, pp. 536–542.

2 The term metaphor is a transcription of the Greek lexeme "metaphor" and means: "other use," "change," "figure of speech" – see: *Słownik grecko-polski*, term: "metafora," Z. Abramowiczówna (ed.), Warsaw 1962, vol. 3, p. 130. Apart from metaphors, mystics also use comparisons. These terms, although close to each other, are not the same. In comparison (e.g., "dry as pepper") all constituent expressions retain their literal sense, while in a metaphor at least some expressions acquire a new sense – cf. J. Breś, *O przydatności substytucyjnej i interaktywcyjnej teorii metafora w analizie metaphorycznych wypowiedzi o Boga*, "Zeszyty Naukowe KUL" 45 (2002), no. 3–4, p. 106.

3 Cf. E. Balcerzan, *Metafora a interpretacja*, "Teksty. Teoria literatury. Krytyka. Interpretacja" 54 (1980), no. 6, p. 42.

4 Cf. J. Breś, *O przydatności substytucyjnej i interakcyjnej teorii metafory w analizie metaforycznych wypowiedzi o Bogu…*, p. 108; idem, *O semantycznej teorii metafory i możliwości jej stosowania w analizie języka religijnego*, "Zeszyty Naukowe KUL" 45 (2002), no. 1–2, pp. 53–55.

5 Cf. J. Breś, *O przydatności substytucyjnej i interakcyjnej teorii…*, op. cit., p. 110.

phenomenon makes it possible to identify oneself with the experience lived. It does not close a mystic within the framework of purely literary description.

An example of a metaphor reflecting the union of God with man is the image of living in the soul (heart) of man, to which God comes to meet (be) its host (owner).[6] The Scripture employs it (see: Jn 14:23; Rom 8:10-11; Eph 2:22 – a man as the dwelling place of God; 1 Cor 3:16-17; 2Cor 6:16; 1 Peter 2:5 – a man as the temple of God). It enables the introduction of various predictions relevant to the era in which the mystic lived or related to his/her lifestyle or recipients of his/her writings.

For the sake of exemplification: St Gertrude the Great of Helfta (1256–1302) writes about the dwelling that Jesus[7] creates in the soul of man. St Catherine of Siena (1347–1380) uses the image of a cell[8] and a city.[9] St Theresa of Jesus (1515–1582) describes it as an inn[10] and an interior fortress.[11] St John of the Cross (1542–1591) applies a whole range of expressions such as a shelter,[12] a secluded and secret place,[13] a compartment, a chamber[14] or the most intense in terms – an interior cellar.[15]

6 He expresses God's desire to be as close to man as possible. It means a mutual personal community between man and God – cf. J.K. Miczyński, *Łaska niestworzona jako zaproszenie do modlitwy*, "Homo Orans" 1 (2000), pp. 311–317, especially p. 312; J. Machniak, *Zamieszkanie Trójcy Świętej*, [in:] *Encyklopedia katolicka*, E. Gigilewicz (ed.), Lublin 2014, vol. 20, col. 1225; J.D. Szczurek, *Tajemnica zamieszkania Trójcy Świętej w duszy*, [in:] *Niebo w mej duszy. Materiały z sympozjum poświęconego duchowości bł. Elżbiety od Trójcy Świętej (1880–1906) w stulecie jej śmierci*, A. Ruszała (ed.), Krakow 2007, pp. 30–33. See the development of this thought from the first centuries of Christianity: W. Granat, *Dogmatyka katolicka*, Lublin 1959, vol. 5, pp. 258–266, 267–275 (*Na czym polega zamieszkanie Trójcy Świętej w duszy człowieka usprawiedliwionego*). See also: *Katechizm Kościoła Katolickiego*, Poznań 1994, no. 260.

7 See: Gertruda z Helfty, *Zwiastun Bożej miłości*, I,16,2, transl. B. Chądzyńska, E. Kędziorek, Krakow 2009, vol. 1, p. 86 (Źródła Monastyczne 24).

8 See: Katarzyna ze Sieny, *Listy*, transl. L. Grygiel, Poznań 2016, pp. 224, 601.

9 See: Katarzyna ze Sieny, *Dialog o Bożej Opatrzności czyli Księga Boskiej Nauki*, transl. L. Staff, Poznań 2001, pp. 372–376 (Biblioteka Christianitas 8).

10 See: Teresa od Jezusa, *Droga doskonałości*, 34,8, [in:] idem, *Dzieła*, transl. H.P. Kossowski, Krakow 1987, vol. 2, p. 173.

11 See: Teresa od Jezusa, *Twierdza wewnętrzna*, [in:] idem, *Dzieła*, op. cit., pp. 219–446.

12 See: Jan od Krzyża, *Pieśń duchowa*, 1,7, [in:] idem, *Dzieła*, transl. B. Smyrak, Krakow 1995, p. 535.

13 See: ibidem.

14 See: ibidem, 1,10, p. 536.

15 See: ibidem, 26,3, p. 648.

Contemporary mystics, e.g., St Mary of the Crucified Jesus (1846–1878)[16] or St Faustina Kowalska (1905–1938),[17] also referred to the metaphor of a cell (house) as a description of union with God. Among them, we also find the Carmelite St Elizabeth of the Trinity.[18] As seen in her preserved writings, she used the image of a cell eight times to express the indwelling of God in the soul of a man. These writings will constitute the material object of our study. Using the descriptive method (epistemological aspect),[19] we want to study the spiritual experience of the intense relationship of love between Christ and Elizabeth Catez. She expressed it through the metaphor of the interior cell (the formal object of the work). When analysing the texts of interest to us, we will maintain the chronological order of their creation.

The metaphor of a cell for Jesus in poetry

The first surviving poem by Elizabeth Catez dates from May 1894 and the last one from October 22, 1906. Their collection is located in *Œuvres Complètes*.[20] However, it is not complete since Conrad De Meester OCD, the editor of all writings of Elizabeth of the Trinity, found and described two previously unknown poems at the end of the last century.[21] In the second one (P 72 ter),[22]

16 See: F. Zampini, *Maleńka Nic. Życie i myśli św. Marii Baouardy, Małej Arabki*, transl. A. Zielińska, Krakow 2018, pp. 120, 322.

17 See: Faustina Kowalska, *Dzienniczek. Miłosierdzie Boże w duszy mojej*, 16, Warsaw 1995, p. 26.

18 She was born on July 18, 1880 in France. She entered the Carmel in Dijon on August 2, 1901. She died of Addison's then incurable disease on November 9, 1906. She was beatified on November 25, 1984 and canonized on October 16, 2016.

19 Cf. M. Chmielewski, *Potrzeba metodologii w teologii duchowości*, "Duchowość w Polsce" 12 (2010), pp. 36–37.

20 Élisabeth de la Trinité, *Œuvres Complètes*, édition critique C. De Meester, Paris 2017. Polish edition: Elżbieta od Trójcy Świętej, *Pisma wszystkie*, vol. 1: *Listy młodzieńcze*, vol. 2: *Listy z Karmelu*; vol. 3: *Pisma pomniejsze*, transl. and ed. J.E. Bielecki, Krakow 2006.

21 See: C. De Meester, *Deux poésies inédites*, "Carmel" 2000, no. 2, pp. 33–44. Jan K. Miczyński translated these poems into Polish and provided tchem with theological commentary – idem, *Komentarz teologiczny do dwóch niepublikowanych w Polsce wierszy św. Elżbiety od Trójcy Świętej, odnalezionych i opisanych przez Conrada de Meestera OCD*, "Itinera Spiritualia" 10 (2017), pp. 41–54. In 2017, the Les Éditions du Cerf publishing house reissued all of Elizabeth of the Trinity's writings. However, these two poems were not included.

22 The numbering of this poem was adopted after the French numeration and the article by J.K. Miczyński, *Komentarz teologiczny do dwóch niepublikowanych w Polsce wierszy św. Elżbiety od Trójcy Świętej...*, op. cit. The numbering in the Polish edition of *All Writings*

dated December 16, 1899, the metaphor of an interior cell for Jesus appeared in her writings for the first time:

1. Jesus, my Love and my Life,
   Help me, please,
   Create, beloved Saviour,
   Une cellule in my heart.

2. It will be Your little locutory,
   A humility and very modest apartment,
   Where I will be sure every hour
   To find You and see You.

3. There, in peace and quiet,
   I am delirious at Your presence,
   And entrusting myself to You,
   I will listen to Your voice… (…)[23]

This poem consists of ten verses and deals with two topics: the indwelling of God in man (verses 1–3) and the indwelling of man in God (verses 4–8). The last two are a prayer for Elizabeth's constant contact with God and total surrender to His will.

Due to the theme of our study, we will focus on the first part of this poem. It constructed around the metaphor of the cell, which nineteen-year-old Elizabeth Catez wishes to prepare in her heart for her Beloved, who is her Love and Life. She does not want to create it alone, but with Him. She does not impose her will or her ideas on Him. She is open to Jesus' proposals (verse one).

She wants to prepare a specific kind of spiritual space and clearly defines its purpose – the possibility of constant contact with God. She directs her daily life towards God: meeting Him – regardless of the time of year and day (verse two) and listening to Him in peace will be a source of joy. She is ready to be entrusted entirely to Him (verse three). The cell is to strengthen the mutual bond. Her further life and writings will confirm the validity of this spiritual decision.

(*Pisma wszystkie*, op. cit.) does not correspond to the French one. If it were taken into account, this poem would receive the signature P 73. The abbreviation P (adopted after the abbreviations used in the work *All Writings*) means *Poetry*.

23 Polish transl. J.K. Miczyński, [in:] idem, *Komentarz teologiczny do dwóch niepublikowanych w Polsce wierszy św. Elżbiety od Trójcy Świętej…*, op. cit., p. 48. Unless otherwise noted, all English translations are by the WTR.

However, the question arises from where nineteen-year-old Elizabeth took the image of a cell to express her love for Jesus and desire for permanent presence with Him. The very idea of God's dwelling in man was probably known to her from reading the writings of Theresa of Jesus and Theresa of the Infant Jesus.[24] Besides, she could read or hear about the metaphor of the interior cell for Jesus in some sermon, conference, or conversation.[25] The possibility that she derived this term from the vocabulary of the Carmel in Dijon, which she had already visited several times, is not ruled out.[26]

The metaphor of a cell for Jesus in Diary

Diary, which Elizabeth Catez led before joining the Carmel in Dijon, stopped the inner fights, struggle and joy of a young person who wanted to be as close to God as possible and at the same time longed for a contemplative life in the Carmel. Furthermore, its pages are summaries of the sermons and conferences that Elizabeth was listening to at the time, and the advice she received from the priests in anticipation of her mother's consent to her entering the Carmel. Nonetheless, Elizabeth Catez's *Diary* is above all her conversations with Jesus on subjects she could not discuss in detail with the people around her for various reasons.[27]

The timeframe for the creation of the preserved text is January 30, 1899 – January 27, 1900.[28] Under the date "Wednesday morning, January 24 [1900]" we read a prayer:

> May in these blessed days I live in the fullest union with You, may I live only inside, in this cell [*dans cette cellule*] that You build in my heart, in this corner of

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24 For Elizabeth's fascination with the writings of these holy Carmelite saints, see: C. De Meester, *Święta Elżbieta od Trójcy Świętej. Biografia*, transl. K. Rogalska, Poznań 2015, pp. 218–223; 266–289.

25 Cf. ibidem, note 23.

26 Cf. J.K. Miczyński, *Komentarz teologiczny…*, op. cit., p. 47.

27 Dzk 140 (the abbreviation Dzk, adopted after the abbreviations used in the work of *Pisma wszystkie*, means *Diary*). Cf. *Wprowadzenie do Dziennika*, [in:] Elżbieta od Trójcy Świętej, *Pisma wszystkie*, vol. 3: *Pisma pomniejsze…*, op. cit., p. 186; R. Moretti, *Introduzione a Elisabetta della Trinità. Vita – scritti – dottrina*, Rome 1984, pp. 79–83.

28 Three of the five notebooks of *Diary* have survived to our times, and these also lack in individual pages. Before entering the Carmel, Elizabeth destroyed the missing notebooks and cut out some of the remaining pages. Before leaving *Diary* to her sister Margaret, she had probably removed everything that referred to her mother, who did not agree to her daughter entering the Carmel, and that referred to her conversations in the confessional and Carmel's locutory – cf. *Wprowadzenie do Dziennika…*, pp. 195–198.

> me, where I feel You so clearly! Unfortunately, I often leave You alone there as if You were in the desert. Oh, that is all me: I'm so small…[29]

"Blessed Days" is the time of the retreat given by the Jesuit Father Joseph Hoppenot in Dijon, Dames Pérard Chapel. The notes from these days begin on Tuesday evening, January 23 and end on Saturday evening, January 27, 1900. They also constitute the fifth volume of the Diary. Elizabeth referred to the image of the interior cell on Wednesday morning, January 24, i.e., after her second retreat. From the notes left and own reflections on the theme of the morning conference on Wednesday morning (the issue of the salvation of the soul), we can assume that Father Hoppenot did not raise (also on Tuesday's conference) the question of God's dwelling in the human soul. St Elizabeth, after more than a month's break,[30] again took up the metaphor of the interior cell for Jesus. It is Jesus who builds it in the heart of the twenty-year-old girl (*gratia increata* – uncreated grace), allowing Elizabeth to experience His presence. The cell of her heart becomes a space for their meetings. However, when she receives this gift, the owner of this cell is aware of her negligence – she leaves Jesus alone in it.

Elizabeth does not broaden the question of her own smallness, but confesses love to God. Thereby she sets the direction of the road to Jesus – she wants to focus not so much on her weaknesses as on the presence of God in (at)[31] a man. Working on her own frailty is then an expression of love for God present in the human soul.

The metaphor of a cell for Jesus in Spiritual Records

While *Diary*, which Elizabeth Catez left behind, is a compact whole "rewritten" by the author, her *Spiritual Records* (Notes intimes) intimes are a collection of various reflections and prayers, recorded between April 1894 and July 1906 on the writing materials available to her at the time (loose pages, reverse sides of a letter, coal advertisements, or an invitation to a choir rehearsal, and in a small

[29] Dzk.
[30] Since writing on December 16, 1899, P 72 ter.
[31] Like in the pages of the New Testament, also in this paper we distinguish: "the presence of God in man" (e.g., Ga 2,20) and "presence of God at man/being of God with man/being of man with God" (e.g., 1 Thes 5:10) – for more see: H. Langkammer, *Być z Chrystusem i być w Chrystusie. Egzystencjalna sekwencja chrystomorficzna w soteriologii św. Pawła*, "Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne" 29 (1982), vol. 1, pp. 67–78.

personal notebook). She wrote them to the saints: Elizabeth (ZD 1),[32] Anthony (ZD 3), Theresa of Jesus (ZD 9), she recorded in them spiritual programs and observations (ZD 2; 12; 14; 16; 17). However, most often they were a confident conversation with God (ZD 4-8; 10-11; 13; 15). Among the latter group two texts deal with the question of an interior cell for Jesus.

The first one was estimated by the editor to be dated January 23, 1900 and entitled *Niech to będzie Twoja Betania* (Let it be Your Bethany).[33] It was probably written in the context of the beginning retreats,[34] as can be seen from the sentence: "Oh, now that You come into my heart every day, let our union be even more profound" (ZD 5). It exposes the gift of daily holy communion. At that time, this privilege was granted to lay people during the retreat. In the context of prayer, the desire for silence and loving longing for the contemplative life in the Carmel, Elizabeth writes: "I offer You the cell of my heart [*la cellule de mon coeur*], may it be Your little Bethany; come to rest there, I love You so much..."[35]

It refers to the visit of Jesus to the house of Martha and Mary in Bethany[36] (see: Lk 10:38-42). This house is a symbol of open doors for Jesus, hospitality and rest.[37] In this context, Elizabeth invites Jesus to visit, as during her earthly apostolic activity, a house in Bethany that is friendly to Him, so that He may now rest in the heart that loves Him. It is always ready for Him, hence her request and at the same time invitation: "Come." Not a one-time visit but a permanent place of rest where love is the space for a meeting. It is this that

32 The abbreviation ZD (taken after the abbreviations used in the work of *All writings* [*Pisma wszystkie*, op. cit.]) means *Spiritual Records*.

33 Some of the entries were given a date and title by Elizabeth, others were estimated to be dated and given a general title by the publisher of her writings, which is clearly indicated in the individual texts.

34 See: the previous paragraph of this study. The idea of a "cell for Jesus" has taken on a special intensity, because probably at the same time (retreat) Elizabeth took on this issue in Dzk 140 and ZD 5.

35 ZD 5.

36 The name Bethany is missing in the pericope about Martha and Martha. The evangelist writes only about "a certain village" (Lk 10.38). The name is given from the information contained in J 11:1-44. Bethany is a village on the eastern slope of the Mount of Olives (see: Mk 11.1), by the road from Jerusalem to Jericho, about 15 stages, or about 2.7 km (see: J 11:18). In Christ's day there was another Bethany in Transjordan, "on the other side of the Jordan, where John was baptised" (J 1:28). For hypotheses about the place(s) of residence of the siblings see: S. Mędala, *Ewangelia według świętego Jana rozdziały 1–12. Wstęp, przekład z oryginału, komentarz*, Częstochowa 2010, pp. 796–797 (Nowy Komentarz Biblijny. Nowy Testament IV/1).

37 It can be assumed that Jesus returned there several times (see also: Mt 21:17; Mk 11:11).

shapes in the twenty-year-old Elizabeth the desire to comfort Jesus, but also the ability to make a sacrifice (victim) for Him. This ability comes from her desire to belong entirely to Jesus.[38]

The future saint wishes not only to invite Jesus to her interior cell to let Him rest there but also to provide Him with all the conveniences he needs. Under the date of August 15, 1900, she includes a description of "the cell for my Beloved" in her Spiritual Records (*La cellule de mon Bien-Aimé*).

> His bed will be to God's will. He will have a comfortable armchair, which will be mortification, and a soft carpet, which will be humility. To make the Beloved God's will pleasant in my imperfect cell [*dans ma pauvre petite cellule*], I will decorate it with flowers as much as I can; these flowers will be little sacrifices made at any time, and for food, I will give my Jesus renunciation and self-denial. The little lamp will always burn: its flame will be love, a love that burns the heart taken by Jesus.[39]

Elizabeth does not yet know the simplicity and poverty of the Carmelite cell.[40] The description of her cell presents the homeroom (armchair, carpet, flowers) that she is preparing for Jesus. As the bed occupies a special place in a room, hence she begins to furnish the cell for Jesus from the bed, which symbolises the will of God. For Elizabeth, the latter was a primary issue in looking at reality and trusting God.[41]

The further furnishing of this cell – an armchair (= mortification), a carpet (= humility), flowers (= small sacrifices made at any time) – testifies to Elizabeth's constant, active and conscious commitment to all the acts that shape her will for the will of Jesus. Elizabeth is continually working on her spiritual development, motivating it by giving comfort and pleasure to the Beloved Guest. She also wants to provide Him with food, which will be sacrifices and self-denial. By giving up something for herself, Elizabeth wants to give it to Jesus. She clearly defines the addressee of her various ascetic endeavours and the time of her free activity – "always," which in her cell is symbolised by a continuously burning little lamp whose flame will be the love for Jesus.

38 Cf. the continuation of ZD 5.
39 ZD 8.
40 See the presentation of Sister Elizabeth of the Trinity's cell at Dijon Monastery: C. De Meester, *Święta Elżbieta…*, op. cit., pp. 585–588.
41 It should suffice to look at the material index – Elżbieta od Trójcy Świętej, *Pisma wszystkie*, vol. 3: *Pisma pomniejsze…*, op. cit., p. 561.

The idea of the spiritual furnishing of the interior cell for Jesus presented by Elizabeth Catez is not something new in the literature of Catholic spirituality,[42] but it certainly reflects her spirituality precisely. The design of this cell evidences Elizabeth's total dedication to God's will. Her action – illuminated by the flame of love – is focused on Jesus. While waiting to enter the Carmel,[43] she carefully planned and arranged the cell for her Beloved. Her heart was ready for His reception.

The metaphor of a cell for Jesus in the letters

Letters are the most extensive collection of Elizabeth Catez's writings.[44] In three of them, written already from the Carmel in Dijon, she refers to an interior cell. Four weeks after entering the Carmel (August 30, 1901) she writes a second[45] letter to her sister Margaret.[46] Although they differed significantly in character (Elizabeth was more impulsive and dominant), they got on well with each other. Not only did they spend much time at home but also rested during holidays.[47]

Elizabeth proposes to "beloved Maggie"[48] to continue their meetings. Although the monastic rule allowed for visits form families only once a month (except for Advent and Lent, when they were suspended), the young postulant found a way to be with her sister. She defined precisely when and where to meet: "Do you think of the cell [*la petite cellule*]? I assign you a meeting place there

42 See a similar picture drawn by St Mary of the Crucified Jesus: M. Zawada, *Antologia mistyczna*, Krakow 2004, p. 315.

43 On March 26, 1899, Elizabeth received permission from her mother to enter the Carmel, but this involved the necessity to be 21 years old (see: P 69; Dzk 105).

44 In the Polish edition of all her writings they form the first two volumes – see: Elżbieta od Trójcy Świętej, *Pisma wszystkie*, vol. 1: *Listy młodzieńcze*, 84 preserved letters; vol. 2: *Listy z Karmelu*, 262 preserved letters, op. cit. The first letter (written with the hand of the child, guided by the hand of the mother) dates to the end of April 1882, and the last one (dictated by the Priory – Mother Germanie of Jesus OCD) dates to early November 1906.

45 The first (L 87) was dated August 9, 1901.

46 She was born on February 20, 1883 and died on May 7, 1954. Like Elizabeth, she was a talented pianist. On October 15, 1902 she married Jerzy Chevignard. They had nine children – see more: J. Rémy, *Guite. La sorella di Elisabetta della Trinità*, trad. dal francese di Loredana Ceccon Terranova, Milano 2004.

47 See their joint photographs: *Elżbieta od Trójcy Świętej. O świcie Ciebie szukam. Wspomnienie pewnego oblicza i pewnego serca*, P.P. Furdzik (ed.), Krakow 2006, pp. 34, 36, 40, 44, 48–50, 53–54, 56–57, 60–63, 66–68, 71, 103.

48 L 90.

every day at 8 a.m."[49] It is the only surviving text in which Elizabeth took up the question of the interior cell without referring it directly to God. The cell becomes a meeting place also with her sister, who probably understood the message correctly. Both leading deep spiritual lives were able to maintain strong family ties despite Elizabeth's voluntary isolation. In this context, the interior cell becomes a space for common thoughts and mutual prayer.

Elizabeth of the Trinity also explains the idea of the interior cell for Jesus to Francis de Sourdon.[50] The impulsive by nature 15-year-old girl ("when you lose your nerve") receives simple instructions on where to seek inner peace and respite:

> You must, like me, build yourself a small interior cell [*une petite cellele audedans*] in your soul. Then think that God is in it and enter it from time to time. When you feel that you are losing your nerves or you are unhappy, quickly protect yourself there and entrust it all to the Master. Oh, if you knew Him a little bit, prayer would not bore you. I think it's a rest, a respite. Simply, we come to the One we love, we abide by Him like a small child in the arms of a mother, and let the heart act. You loved sitting right next to me and confessing so much. That's how you must go to Him. If you knew how He understands… You wouldn't suffer any more if you could realize it. It is the secret of life in the Carmel. The life of a Carmelite is a union with God from morning to evening and from evening to morning. If He hadn't filled our cells [*nos cellules*] and our monasteries with Himself, oh, how empty they would be. But we see Him in everything, for we carry Him in us, and our lives are anticipating heaven. I ask the Lord God to instruct you in all these secrets, and I guard you in my little cell [*en ma petite cellule*]. For your part, guard me in yours. This way we will never part with each other.[51]

Elizabeth, once violent and impulsive,[52] perfectly understands an overactive teenager. Then, on June 19, 1902, she shares with her own experience of working

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[49] Ibidem.

[50] Francis de Sourdon (born on June 25, 1887) was the second and youngest daughter of Countess Margaret de Sourdon, a faithful friend of Maria Catez, Elizabeth's mother. As a child and a teenager, she had a complicated character. Endowed with friendship by Elizabeth, she received 26 letters from her within 8 years. 7 years older Elizabeth gave this friendship a specific maternal aspect. When she joined the Carmel, she called herself Francis' "mother" (e.g., L 99; 129). Frequently, due to the similarity to French words, she tenderly transformed her name Francis (Françoise) into Framboise (e.g., L 272; 312). She had an outstanding influence on her.

[51] L 124.

[52] Cf. C. De Meester, *Święta Elżbieta…*, op. cit., p. 56. Elizabeth even writes: "you have my nature" (L 99).

on herself, which involved working with Jesus (work for Jesus). Meetings with Him (through prayer) in this "small interior cell" bring rest and respite. At least this is the case with Elizabeth. Her life is a union with Jesus, which she does not have to look far as He dwells in her soul (heart). Her interior cell is like the vestibule of Heaven, in which Christ has prepared not small cells, but spacious apartments for those who love Him (see: Jn 14:1-3).

When explaining to Francis the essence of the interior cell, she also presents to her the ideal of the life of the Carmelite, which is a constant, selfless and unifying love with God that underlies all desires, decisions, and actions.[53] The monastic cell, as well as the inner cell, become the place where Jesus lives. The Carmelite is to be always with Him and for Him, regardless of the current activities.

Just like her Elizabeth's sister, Margaret, Francis de Sourdon has a permanent place in Elizabeth's interior cell. Although it is "tiny," she can welcome and host the people whom the Mystic of Dijon has given love and care. Besides, the nun encourages the teenager to guard her in her cell. In this way, she instructs her about God's dwelling in the human heart but also strengthens their friendship. Francis' young age and her impulsive nature do not prevent the Carmelite from showing her the essential things. She shares her Treasure. She teaches how to receive and host Him.

The third letter, in which Elizabeth of the Holy Trinity raises the issue of the interior cell for Jesus, was addressed to Antonina de Bobet on April 27, 1903.[54] It has a specific context related to the social and political situation in France at the time. It heralded the intensification of various difficulties and the expansion of intolerance to persecution for the followers of Jesus.[55] However,

53 Cf. A. Ruszała, *Ideał karmelitanki bosej według bł. Elżbiety od Trójcy Świętej*, [in:] *Niebo w mej duszy...*, op. cit., p. 127.

54 Elizabeth's friend, mother of Simon and Joan Mary. They kept a constant correspondence with each other. Elizabeth received from her the book of John of the Cross (*Pieśń duchowa*; *Żywy płomień miłości* – see: L 107) and a rosary purchased during her pilgrimage to Lourdes (for which she had asked: L 243; 263). See: *Elżbieta od Trójcy Świętej. O świcie Ciebie szukam...*, op. cit., p. 146.

55 This situation was the result of internal tensions in France, which became active after Captain Dreyfus, wrongly accused of treason to Germany, was sent to heavy labour in Cayenne. That gave rise to the political crisis, the centre of which was the relationship between the state and the Church. Opponents and supporters of the review of the Dreyfus trial faced each other. The "government of republican defence," formed in mid-1899, with Pierre Waldeck-Rousseau at the head, led to the acquittal of the captain. Some religious congregations, though got involved in the campaign against Dreyfus, which resulted in the escalation of anticlericalism and a demand for a gradual liquidation of religious life in

being aware of the attack on the Church and bearing in mind a real vision of the dissolution of her order, Elizabeth writes with confidence to Mrs Bobet who is concerned about the situation of Christians:

> Yes, the future is very bleak, and do you not feel the need to love Him more to reward… to comfort this praiseworthy Master?… Let us make Him a hermitage in the deepest interior of our soul and abide with Him, let us never leave Him, for this is His commandment: "Abide in Me and I in you." This interior cell [*cette cellule intérieure*] will not deprive us of anything. Also, what I care about the experiences we will go through. My only treasure I carry "inside me" and the rest is as if it were not![56]

This kind of attitude of Sister Elizabeth to the real danger of expelling the Carmel from Dijon (or even France) shows her strong trust in God, her inner freedom and readiness to accept any scenario related to the functioning of the monastery ("what do I care about the experiences we will go through"), as long as Christ – her only Treasure – is always inside her, living in her interior cell.

The Carmelite defines the triple task of the functioning of her interior cell as follows: "to reward," "to comfort," and "to abide" (Jn 15:4) with a glorified Master. In the internal purposes of Sister Elizabeth and Antonina de Bobet, Jesus, who was insulted in France at the time, is to be rewarded for His contempt and open attack on Him and His Church, as well as for the consolation of those who still love Him and wish to remain with Him.

It is worth noting that before Elizabeth of the Trinity referred in this letter to the metaphor of the cell for Jesus, she reminded the addressee of the presence of God in the life of a man who "in the most difficult hours, even when He sometimes seems to be very far away, is so close, indeed, «inside» us

France. The elections of April 27 and May 11, 1902, brought success to the government of Waldeck-Rousseau, after which Emil Combes took over the position of president of the Council of Ministers (1902–1905). Until 1904, due to his pressure, about 10,000 religious schools were closed in France, and thousands of priests and nuns had to leave France because of persecution. On Good Friday, 1904, by his decision, all crucifixes were removed from courtrooms, and in July of that year, diplomatic relations with the Vatican were broken. It was tantamount to the dissolution of the concordat. Cf. J. Misiurek, *Uwarunkowania życia i duchowości bł. Elżbiety od Trójcy Przenajświętszej*, [in:] *„Uwielbienie chwały". VI Karmelitański Tydzień Duchowości z bł. Elżbietą od Trójcy Świętej. 5–8 maja 2003*, J.W. Gogola (ed.), Krakow 2004, pp. 17–18 (Karmel Żywy 6); Wikipedia.pl, term: „Émile Combes," https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Émile_Combes [access: 2.04.2019].

56 L 161.

(«au-dedans» de nous).”[57] In this context, the cell for Jesus, which Elizabeth nurtures so carefully, reflects what is going on inside her and paints her deep spiritual life.

The metaphor of a cell for Jesus in Last Retreat

In the effect of her deteriorating health (then incurable Addison’s disease), at the end of March 1906, Elizabeth of the Holy Trinity is sent to the monastery infirmary, which will become her last place of earthly residence. There, from the evening of August 15 to the 31[st] of the same month, she gives individual retreats. At the request of the Prioress, Mother Germany writes down “her good meetings”[58] (“her inspirations”).[59] Already in the first passus of a small notebook containing *Dernière retraite* (*Last Retreat*), its author refers to the issue that interests us. However, when describing the same spiritual experience, she uses a different term. In place of the previous noun *cellule* (“cell”), she inserts *cellier* (“cellar”):

> “Nescivi.” “I didn’t know anything.” Here is what the “Beloved from the Song of Songs” sings after she was led to an inner cell/ cellar [*le cellier intérieur*]. It seems to me that this should also be the chorus of glory on the first day of the retreat when the Master penetrated the bottomless abyss to teach her to do her duty in eternity. There she should practise already in the time that is the begun eternity that is in constant development.[60]

This change has been made under the influence of reading the *Spiritual Song* of St John of the Cross.[61] This is how the Mystical Doctor understands this issue: “through this cellar, the soul expresses the ultimate and closest degree

57 Ibidem. “It is my consolation to focus and enjoy Your [God’s] presence, for then I feel You so much in me, for my highest good” (Dzk 138). Continuing this note (January 23, 1900), waiting to join the Carmel, she used the adverb *au-dedans* to express her longing for life in the Carmelite cloister: “Shape the Carmelite woman in me, for internally [*au-dedans*] I can be her and I want to be her” (Dzk 138).

58 Cf. *Wprowadzenie do Ostatnich rekolekcji*, [in:] Elżbieta od Trójcy Świętej, *Pisma wszystkie*, vol. 3: *Pisma pomniejsze…*, op. cit., pp. 391–392; C. De Meester, *Święta Elżbieta…*, op. cit., pp. 710–712.

59 Germana od Jezusa, *Wspomnienia. Siostra Elżbieta od Trójcy Św. Karmelitanka bosa (1880–1906)*, transl. A. Gmurowski, Lviv 1932, p. 238.

60 OR 1. The abbreviation OR (taken after the abbreviations used in the work *Pisma wszystkie*) means *Last retreat*.

61 See: Jan od Krzyża, *Pieśń duchowa*, 26:3, [in:] idem, *Dzieła…*, op. cit., p. 648.

of love that can be achieved in this life. That is why [Beloved] calls it *the interior cellar*, i.e. the most interior."[62] The whole *Last Retreat* is a confirmation that Elizabeth is already there. Her heart is an interior cell for the Beloved, and she lives in the most profound union with Him. This experience can be compared to the so-called spiritual nuptials (*matrimonio espiritual*) described by St Theresa of Jesus.[63] The Mystic of Dijon exactly knows what she lives for and what awaits her in eternity – she forgets herself to be "the constant glory of the Trinity" (Ef 1,12: *Laudem gloriae eius*).[64]

Referring (after John of the Cross) to the Latin version of the *Song of Songs* 6:11 (*nescivi anima mea*),[65] Sister Elizabeth emphasises the grace of the gift ("she was led"). Although the soul cannot merit the gift of such unifying love, it can accept it and cultivate with gratitude. God invites a man into the fathomless depths of His love. He wants his love, for him he has become "Crucified for love."[66] Being love (1 Jn 4:8.16), He expects the love of man. He expects love, but does not force it.

Conclusion

The metaphor of the inner cell for Jesus in the writings of Elizabeth Catez – Saint Elizabeth of the Trinity – is not new to Christian mysticism. The Carmelite is one of many people who have been endowed with the grace of experiencing God's dwelling in the soul of man. This fact should rejoice and mobilise every Christian because God wants to live in a human heart. He still feels good there since He continues to choose souls to give them this kind of presence.

The chronological analysis of the writings of Elizabeth Catez allows us to conclude that her first (preserved) reference to the metaphor of the interior cell for Jesus dates from December 16, 1899 (P 72 ter) and the last one from August 16, 1906 (OR 1). Four of her writings including the issue of the interior cell are from the time before she entered the Carmelite community in Dijon (P 72 ter; Dzk 140; ZD 5.8) and four others – after she joined it (L 90; 124; 161; OR 1). She uses the lexeme cell (*cellule*) generally once in each of these letters. The exception is L 124, in which she applied the term three times when referring

[62] Ibidem.
[63] See: idem, *Twierdza wewnętrzna*, VII, 3, 1–15.
[64] Cf. OR 1. About her "second" name (*Laudem gloriae*), see: L 252, note 17.
[65] *Bible Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, B. Fischer, I. Gribomont, H.F.G. Sparks, W. Thiele et al. (eds.), Stuttgart 1994, *ad locum*.
[66] OR 1.

to the interior cell. There are more than three years and a change in the lexeme between the penultimate (L 161: April 27 1903) and the last use of this metaphor (OR 1: August 16 1906). After this slightly more extended period, the nun no longer writes the word cell (*cellule*), but cellar (*collier*), which may indicate an attempt to express her more profound union with Christ.

Elizabeth of Dijon consciously asked for this kind of grace (P. 72 ter), and through personal work on herself, she tried to provide Jesus with the best possible conditions to "live" in her soul.[67] Although this is an uncreated grace (*gratia increata*), she spiritually felt that man, out of the very fact of being created "in God's image" (Genesis 1:27), is prepared to become a dwelling place for his Creator. Hence, Elizabeth did not associate this kind of union with God solely with the state of the consecrated life, but with a life of sanctifying grace (*gratia sanctificans*). She experienced a profound union with God even before she joined the Carmel, and while already in the monastery, she advised "building and nurturing" interior cells for Jesus also for those not connected with religious life (Francis de Sourdon, Antonina de Bobet).

What particularly resounds in the metaphor of the interior cell for Jesus in the writings is the need for presence (prayer, inner concentration, sensitivity to God's affairs). God wants to come to man, but a man should be present in the house of his heart. Amid everyday matters, activities performed, and various socio-healthy stages, he must not lead to spiritual emptiness. Elizabeth of the Trinity clearly emphasises this need and at the same time exposes the simplicity and ease of this being with God. It is a unique colour of her spirituality. Hospitality, the care that Jesus has the best possible conditions in the cell of her heart and that He never stays alone in it, make Elizabeth spiritually creative and persistent. Everything she undertakes, which in recent years has also been associated with a devastating illness, she experiences in intense communion with the God living in her. Her Treasure is in her (L 161).

The metaphor of the interior cell for Jesus in the writings of St Elizabeth of Dijon reflects the constant presence of God with man and man with God. It is an expression of the dignity and beauty of the human soul in which God wants to be present. It is also a reminder that through *creatio*, each person is invited to *relatio* with his Creator. However, God does not use violence. He does not force the door to the chamber of the human heart. He stands at the door and cradles until the owner hears His voice and opens the door.[68]

67 ZD 8.
68 Cf. Ap 3:20.

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The Spiritual Realism and the Proposal of Holy Communion for the Non-Sacramental Marriages

Realizm duchowy a propozycja Komunii Świętej dla żyjących w związkach niesakramentalnych

Abstract: The discussion on the proposal of Holy Communion for those living in non-sacramental relationships should be viewed through the prism of spiritual realism. There is a need to sort out the doctrinal facts related to this reality to clarify the subject of discussion and the reality of communion in the metalanguage. It is also necessary to consider the contradictions between the basic idea of communion and the objectification of the Person, which is expressed in the instrumentalization of the Eucharistic Communion. For the realistic and comprehensive approach to the sacraments, it is necessary to be aware of the dimension of the spousal sacramental life. One needs to also reckon with the uninterrupted and unchangeable Tradition. It is necessary to ensure the right use of the terms and *Gospel of the family*. The correctness of the theological discussion requires a real discernment rather than the lobbying for the "already marked path," omitting even St Paul VI's *Humanae vitae* or St John Paul II's *Familiaris consortio* and his entire extensive teaching about marriage and the family. It is also important not to instrumentalize the practice of the "spiritual communion."

Keywords: spiritual realism, Holy Communion, non-sacramental marriages, dimension of the spousal sacramental life, Tradition, *digamoi*, Gospel of the family, *Humanae vitae*, spiritual communion

Abstrakt: Zabierając głos w dyskusji nad propozycją Komunii Świętej dla żyjących w związkach niesakramentalnych, należy przyjąć jako najbardziej adekwatne spojrzenie w kluczu realizmu duchowego. Trzeba uporządkować fakty doktrynalne związane z tą rzeczywistością. Doprecyzować przedmiot dyskusji i rzeczywistość komunii w metajęzyku. Koniecznym jest także uzmysłowienie sobie sprzeczności między podstawową ideą komunii a uprzedmiotowieniem Osoby, czego wyrazem jest m.in. instrumentalizacja Komunii eucharystycznej. Dla realistycznego i kompleksowego

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podejścia do sakramentów konieczna jest świadomość wymiaru oblubieńczego życia sakramentalnego. Trzeba też liczyć się z nieprzerwaną i niezmienną Tradycją. Należy zadbać o poprawne używanie terminów *digamoi* oraz „ewangelia rodziny". Poprawność dyskusji teologicznej domaga się rzeczywistego rozeznawania, a nie lobbowania za „już wytyczoną drogą" z pominięciem chociażby *Humanae vitae* św. Pawła VI czy *Familiaris consortio* i całego rozległego nauczania o małżeństwie i rodzinie św. Jana Pawła II. Istotną sprawą jest również nie instrumentalizować praktyki „komunii duchowej".

Słowa kluczowe: realizm duchowy, komunia eucharystyczna, związki niesakramentalne, wymiar oblubieńczy życia sakramentalnego, Tradycja, *digamoi*, ewangelia rodziny, *Humanae vitae*, komunia duchowa

My intention is to outline important doctrinal facts related to the synodal discussion about Eucharistic Communion for those living in non-sacramental unions, and then to draw attention to a specific methodology of conducting this discussion.[1] Finally, I will recall the way in which spiritual communion has always been understood and practiced in the history of spirituality, in connection with statements made during the Extraordinary Synod, which were not later returned to. Due to the vastness of the subject matter, I limit my study to the time before the publication of *Amoris laetitia*.

The spiritual realism mentioned in the title defines the way in which we reflect on the discussed issue. Spiritual life is a supernatural organism: ideas and actions have their consequences in man. Spiritual realism is therefore essential. Good intentions are not enough, since sincerely and honestly looking for a good, one can unfortunately choose paths that do not lead to it, and furthermore, even turn against it.

Doctrinal facts

Theology is not and cannot be a fossilized set of truths. The theological discussion, however, must not overturn or disregard the existing doctrinal facts. It has long been explained that *aggiornamento* is not an adaptation to the world in its anti-divine meaning (see: Jn 17:6-19). Above all, it is necessary to conduct a theological discussion and not replace it with sociological-psychological observations. Pastoral care comes from doctrine, never the other way around.

1 The article is based on the author's speech at the 368th plenary session of the Polish Bishops' Conference in Warsaw.

Subject matter of the discussion

Sometimes the vague wording is repeated that some people "fight" for the admission of the "divorced" to Holy Communion. This statement is misleading. It may suggest to those living in separation and to the divorced who have no relationship with another person that they cannot receive the sacraments. To the contrary, the Church even encourages them to receive the sacraments, believing in their healing power.

It's usually said about "divorced people living in new unions." This is not a uniform group. Both their attitudes and expectations are different.[2] Four attitudes can be distinguished. There are those who live in a second union, but do not demand Holy Communion. Often, they have matured inwardly and with honesty to God they recognize that their marriage was valid, and only then did sin split and destroy it. These people

> in canonically irregular situations express a desire to be received and guided by the Church, especially when they attempt to understand the rationale of the Church's teaching. These people recognize the possibility of living in their situation, while relying on God's mercy through the Church.[3]

Others, as signalled by the Euro-Atlantic Episcopal Conferences, accept the commitment to live in moderation and adopt the lifestyle shown in the 84th *Familiaris Consortio*.[4] An interesting example of those who choose this path is the Solitude Myriam Family[5] movement, present in Canada and the United States.

Unfortunately, a large group has either completely broken contact with the Church, or is in a loose relationship with her, limited to tradition and rituals. They show no interest in sacramental life. There are also those who – to use the religious term – even though they live in adultery, want to receive Holy Communion.

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2 Cf. Sinodo dei Vescovi. III Assemblea Generale Straordinaria, *Le sfide pastorali sulla famiglia nel contesto dell'evangelizzazione. Instrumentum laboris*, Edizioni San Paolo, Milano 2014 (hereinafter: *Instrumentum laboris* 2014), 93: "On the issue of access to the sacraments, there are various reactions from the faithful divorced and remarried."

3 *Instrumentum laboris* 2014, 94. All English translations are by WTR unless otherwise noted.

4 Ibidem.

5 Cf. The Solitude Myriam Family, http://www.solitudemyriam.org/ [access: 20.11.2019].

The reality of communion

The term *communion* refers in a similar way to two realities: Eucharistic Communion and conjugal communion.[6] This fact alone is persuasive and inspiring.

In both cases, communion defines not some activity that is detached from life, but the quality and style of life: the relationship between people, the essence of which is deep unity and mutual interaction. Referring to particular dimensions of human life, we say that communion is one heart, one soul, one daily life and one body. Each of the three elements presupposes the other three. Also the unity of the body presupposes the unity of heart, soul and everyday life.

Christ stated that "the children of this world are more prudent in dealing with their own generation than are the children of light" (Lk 16:8). Consider therefore the image of conjugal communion to better understand the meaning of Eucharistic Communion. If a husband said to his wife: "I do not care for what your heart feels, I am not interested in your vision of the world, I do not want to share responsibility for everyday life with you. I just want your body," we would call him a "cynic and brute," seeing that he disregards the unity of heart, soul and everyday life. And when someone treats God this way?

The reification of the person

Synodal discussions on the Communion for those living in adultery resemble those held around *Humanae vitae*.[7] The supporters of communion make the same mistake: they reify the human person. Instead of a deep interpersonal relationship, Paul VI's commission spoke about rights, difficulties, feelings, social and cultural conditions, understanding people, and about mercy. We observe the same today. The only – huge – difference is that at that time it was the conjugal "communion" that was trivialized, whereas today it is the Eucharistic Communion. At that time what was belittled was the relationship between people, today it is the relationship between people and God. Then the human body was trivialized, as if it were possible to enter into relations with it as if it were a thing. Today, the Body of Christ is reified.

6 Cf. K. Wojtyła, *Rodzina jako „communio personarum". Próba interpretacji*, [in:] AK 66 (1974), vol. 83(3), pp. 347–361; idem, *Rodzicielstwo a „communio personarum,"* [in:] AK 67 (1975), vol. 84 (1), pp. 17–31.

7 Cf. J.-M. Paupert, *Contrôle des naissances et théologie. Le dossier de Rome*, Paris 1967.

When on 24 June 1966 the so-called Papal Commission on Population, Family, and Birth Rate voted 9:5 for contraception,[8] Cardinal Karol Wojtyła[9] prepared the Krakow Memorandum.[10] In February 1968, he handed it over to Paul VI. In this text he pointed out that marital communion and the gift of the body in conjugal love can only be understood in a personalistic perspective. The gift of the human body cannot be trivialized, reducing the sense of this gift to sexual needs. In order for sexual intercourse to make sense, it must flow from and lead to a deep and true relationship between people, covering their whole lives. This helped Paul VI – the Peter of those times – make the right decision, against the majority.

In the description of marital conjugal communion presented in the text of Paul VI, one feels the personalism of Karol Wojtyła. This personalism without which also communion with Jesus Christ loses the "truth of the sign." *Humanae vitae* teaches: "through that mutual gift of themselves (…) [as] two persons (…) perfect one another, cooperating with God" (HV 8). He therefore stresses the mutual self-giving not only of bodies, but of whole persons, the resultant improvement through this communion and the openness to cooperation with God. By applying this text in a manner analogous to Eucharistic Communion, we become aware in the first place of the totality of mutual self-giving as the essence of every communion.[11]

Another dogmatic truth, which we must not forget, is that in Eucharistic Communion Jesus transforms us into Himself and that the Eucharist builds the Church, that is, a growing sense of responsibility for the Church in the world is also the fruit of Eucharistic Communion. Even more vocal in the

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8 The whole commission, together with experts, consisted of 57 people. This is the so-called *Majority Report*, which was voted for by the cardinals and bishops. Cf. M. Rouche, *La préparation de l'encyclique 'Humanae vitae.' La Commission sur la population, la Famille et la natalité*, [in:] *Paul VI et la modernité dans l'église. Actes du colloque de Rome (2–4 juin 1983)*, Rome 1984, p. 368.

9 Cf. J. Grootaers, *Quelques données concernant la rédaction de l'encyclique 'Humanae vitae,'* [in:] *Paul VI et la modernité dans l'église*…, op. cit., p. 390.

10 Cf. *Memoriał Krakowski oraz Wprowadzenie do encykliki 'Humanae vitae,'* J. Turowicz, T. Ślipko, K. Meissner, S. Smoleński, S. Podgórski, J. Bajda (eds.), Poznań 2012, pp. 13–66.

11 We feel the importance of this statement more clearly when we think about how hurtful and destructive the lack of total self-giving is in married life in the long run. Unfortunately, in the postmodern approach to uniting in the body it is becoming increasingly obvious that one can look for sensations and derive satisfaction from them without completely caring about the truth of mutual self-giving. But this is only a warning not to base the spiritual life on such nonsense.

context of synodal discussions about communion are the following words from *Humanae vitae*:

> This love is above all fully human, a compound of sense and spirit. It is not, then, merely a question of natural instinct or emotional drive. It is also (…) special form of personal friendship in which husband and wife generously share everything, allowing no unreasonable exceptions and not thinking solely of their own convenience. Whoever really loves his partner loves not only for what he receives, but loves that partner for the partner's own sake, content to be able to enrich the other with the gift of himself (HV 9).

Instrumentalization of communion

It must be said that those participants in the Synod of Bishops who demand admission to Holy Communion for those living in adultery act on behalf of those who do not understand the essence of communion, who reify the Body of Christ and are opponents of how *Humanae vitae* treated the human body. They disregard the basic fact that to enter into communion does not only mean to eat the consecrated host, but also to live in true union with Jesus Christ.[12]

Unfortunately, in the opinions quoted in *Instrumentum Laboris* from 2014 there is nothing about the desire for a union with Christ, but only about the problem of availability of the benefit and about one's own perception of exclusion and marginalisation. The texts are unambiguous:

> In some countries of Europe and some countries on the other continents, this solution is not sufficient for many people; they wish to be publicly readmitted to the Church. The problem is not so much not being able to receive Communion but that the Church publicly does not permit them to receive Communion. As a result, these believers then simply refuse to consider themselves in an irregular situation.[13]

12 Cf. CCC 1385: "To respond to this invitation we must prepare ourselves for so great and so holy a moment. St Paul urges us to examine our conscience: 'Whoever, therefore, eats the bread or drinks the cup of the Lord in an unworthy manner will be guilty of profaning the body and blood of the Lord. Let a man examine himself, and so eat of the bread and drink of the cup. For anyone who eats and drinks without discerning the body eats and drinks judgment upon himself' (1 Cor 11:27-29). Anyone conscious of a grave sin must receive the sacrament of Reconciliation before coming to communion."

13 *Instrumentum laboris* 2014, 93.

> A good number of responses speak of the very many cases, especially in Europe, America and some countries in Africa, where persons clearly ask to receive the Sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist. This happens primarily when their children receive the sacraments. At times, they express a desire to receive Communion to feel "legitimized" by the Church and to eliminate the sense of exclusion or marginalization.[14]

Think about Christ

What is worrying in the whole discussion is that we are concerned about the well-being of those in sin, and we do not mention at all how Christ feels in "such" communion. Again, the words of the prophet are true: „We had all gone astray like sheep, all following our own way (...) who would have thought any more of his destiny?" (Is 53:6-8).

Regarding St Paul's admonition: "Thus should one regard us: as servants of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God. Now it is of course required of stewards that they be found trustworthy" (1 Cor 4:1-2), the following situation must be seriously considered:

> In Europe (and also in some countries in Latin America and Asia) the prevailing tendency among some of the clergy is to resolve the issue by simply complying with the request for access to the sacrament. Other members of the clergy, particularly in Europe and Latin America, respond to the matter in a variety of ways.[15]

This is by no means a secondary issue, but a question of fidelity to the vocation of the ministers of sacred mysteries. Unfortunately, I have not seen anyone take up the issue yet.

The spousal dimension of sacramental life

The spiritual life, whose "source and summit" is the Eucharist, is not a question of arbitrary legal solutions; we can most deeply understand it from a spousal perspective. It remains obvious to the mystics, whereas in the everyday life of the Church it is underestimated and used reluctantly. Jesus Christ, however,

[14] Ibidem, 95.
[15] Ibidem, 93.

did not propose "practices of piety," but a union with Him that is tantamount to one's identification with Him, which in these practices is manifested and deepened. This is how St Paul the Apostle understood it when he spoke about his faith: "yet I live, no longer I, but Christ lives in me" (Ga 2:20).

Analysing the message of the Letter to the Ephesians (5:21-33), we notice that St Paul also mentions the Church's fundamental sacraments – baptism and the Eucharist – developing a marriage analogy with regard to Christ and the Community of the Church. Similarly, the catechesis of the first centuries of the Church places strong emphasis on the spousal dimension of baptism and the Eucharist.[16] Cardinal Angelo Scola even refers to the conjugal mystery as a perspective in which the entire systematic theology should be built.[17]

A continuous and unambiguous Tradition

From the very beginning, the Church has linked the accession to Holy Communion with a life of faith. She had no doubt that she had the right and duty to deny Holy Communion to those living in great and irreversible moral disorder. This is evidenced by the documents of the synods, starting with the first one held in Elvira, through the synods in Ancyra, Arles or Neocaesarea, which took place in 304–319.

One of the main reasons for denying Holy Communion was adultery.[18] Other reasons for not allowing Communion for the rest of one's life or for

16 Cf. J. Danielou, *Bibbia e liturgia*, Milano 1965, pp. 254–25, 273; Augustine, *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus*, VIII, 4, transl. W. Szołdrski, W. Kania, PSP 15(1), Warsaw 1977, p. 135; Dydym Slepiec [?], *De Trinitate* II, 13; Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Canticum Canticorum*, II, 9; Grzegorz z Nyssy, *Oratio catechetica magna*, XXXVII, transl. W Kania, PSP 14, Warsaw 1974, p. 179; Jacob of Sarug, after: Un monaco contemplativo, *Dio Amore ci dona la deificazione*, Roma 1990, p. 83; Jan Chryzostom, *Ad illuminandos catecheses*, seria tertia (catecheses 1–8), III, 17, transl. W. Kania, *U źródeł katechumenatu*, 1, Lublin 1993, p. 58; idem, *Ad illuminandos catecheses*, seria prima (catecheses 1–4), III, 1, transl. W. Kania, *U źródeł katechumenatu*, 2, Lublin 1994, pp. 39 ff [in the transl.: cat. XI]; Methodius of Olympus, *Convivium decem virginum*, orat. XI, part 2; PG XVIII, 209, III, VIII, transl. S. Kalinkowski, PSP 24, Warsaw 1980, p. 46; Quodvultdeus, *Sermones de symbolo*, I, 6; Theodoret of Cyrus, *Interpretatio in Canticum Canticorum*, PG 81, 128a.

17 Cf. A. Scola, *Il Mistero nuziale: una prospettiva di Teologia sistematica*, Rome 2002.

18 For example, the oldest synod that was held in Elvira (304/306): Can. 7: "If a Christian completes penance for a sexual offense and then again commits fornication, he or she may not receive communion even when death approaches;" Can. 9: "A baptized woman who leaves an adulterous husband who has been baptized, for another man, may not marry him. If she does, she may not receive communion until her former husband dies, unless

a certain period are, for example, pimping, marrying one's sisters to a Jew or heretics, marrying the wife's sister after the death of the former, killing a child born from adultery, bestiality, seducing one's fiancée's sister.[19]

Methodological notes for discussion

The theological discussion should be guarded against casuistry and should be aimed at studying the revealed truth. In this context, it should be noted that in connection with the extraordinary synod, some tried at all costs to prove their point, referring to known terms or issues, but changing their meaning. This was the case with the concept of *digamoi* and the "Gospel of the family." Likewise, one cannot fail to notice that when Pope Francis mentions the time of discernment, the Synod secretariat and the document of the German bishops writes about the "path already indicated," "based on the Second Vatican Council and the Magisterium of Pope Francis," suggesting a break with the theological heritage of St John Paul II. There also occurs a criticism of the encyclical *Humanae vitae*, specific in that it accuses the encyclical of a lack of personalistic approach in practice.

she is seriously ill;" Can. 10/11: "If a Christian woman marries a man in the knowledge that he deserted his former wife without cause, she may receive communion only at the time of her death;" Can. 64: "A woman who remains in adultery to the time of her death may not receive communion. If she breaks the relationship, she must complete ten years' penance before communing." Cf. *Źródła duchowości małżeńskiej*, t. 3: *Magisterium Kościoła Katolickiego*, 1: *Synod w Elwirze – Leon XIII (306–1879)*, K. Lubowicki (ed.), Krakow 2012, pp. 53–54, 58; cited after: http://legalhistorysources.com/Canon%20Law/ElviraCanons.htm [access: 1.03.2020].

19 Cf. Synod of Elvira: Can. 12: "Parents and other Christians who give up their children to sexual abuse are selling others' bodies, and if they do so or sell their own bodies, they shall not receive communion even at death;" Can. 16: "Catholic girls may not marry Jews or heretics, because they cannot find a unity when the faithful and the unfaithful are joined. Parents who allow this to happen shall not receive communion for five years;" Can. 17: "If parents allow their daughter to marry a pagan priest, they shall not receive communion even at the time of death;" Can. 71: "Those who sexually abuse boys may not receive communion even when death approaches." Cf. *Źródła duchowości małżeńskiej*…, op. cit., pp. 54–55, 59.

Digamoi

Cardinal Walter Kasper in *Appendix II* entitled *The Practice of the Church of the First Centuries*[20] and included in his book about the address to the secret consistory claims that there was a practice in the early Church of remarrying during the life of the first spouse. He quotes Giovanni Cereti's21 interpretation of Canon 8 of the Council of Nice I (325), which reads:

> Concerning those who call themselves Cathari, if they come over to the Catholic and Apostolic Church, the great and holy Synod decrees (…) that they should profess in writing (…) that they will communicate with persons who have been twice married, and with those who having lapsed in.

That is exactly what Cardinal Kasper claims:

> On the other hand. mention should be made of Giovanni Cereti (…) on the other hand, Henri Crouzel (…) and Joseph Ratzinger. There can, however, be no doubt about the fact that in the early church there was, according to customary law in many local churches, the praxis of pastoral tolerance, clemency and forbearance after a period of penance [*della tolleranza pastorale, della clemenza e dell'indulgenza*].[22]

This is what Rev. Cereti claims in his doctorate (1977).[23] Fr. Crouzel SJ, a renowned authority on patristics, holds an opposite view. In 1971 he published *The Original Church in the Face of Divorce. From the first to the fifth century*. When Rev. Cereti's book was published, he presented in three articles a detailed analysis of the former's scholarly method, exposing material and methodological or even ideological errors in his approach to the issue. Not without significance is the

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20 Cf. W. Kasper, *Il vangelo della famiglia*, Brescia 2014, pp. 59–62.

21 For the sake of completeness, it is worth mentioning that Rev. Cereti (b. 1932) claims that for over 40 years he has been fighting for admission to the sacraments for those living in adultery. In the introduction to his doctorate he ridiculed the fact that the Church considers them sinners. Now he has declared that until his death he will fight to restore married priests to the priesthood. Cf. M. Matzuzzi, *Chi è don Cereti, il prete che tifa per i sacerdoti sposati?*, http://www.formiche.net/2015/02/22/chi-don-cereti-il-prete-che-vuole--il-via-libera-i-sacerdoti-sposati/ [access: 20.11.2019]; C. Fabrizio, *Il teologo che si batte per i preti sposati: "Vanno riammessi,"* "Corriere della Sera," 20 II 2015, p. 22; cited after: http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/3801.htm [access: 1.03.2020].

22 W. Kasper, *Il vangelo della famiglia*, op. cit., p. 60.

23 Cf. G. Cereti, *Divorzio, nuove nozze e penitenza nella Chiesa primitiva*, Arachne, Rome 2014.

fact that when Cardinal Kasper started to rely on the opinions of Rev. Cereti in connection with the present synod, Cardinal Carlo Caffarra published in the Cantagalla Publishing House a book entitled *Divorziati «risposati». La prassi della Chiesa primitiva*,[24] containing the above mentioned three articles, in which Crouzel very objectively shows scholarly incompetence and, one by one, disproves the erroneous conclusions of Rev. Cereti. It shows that where there is mention of a second marriage, it is a marriage concluded after the death of the spouse.

In fact, in the first centuries the Church viewed marriage – but also at all human life – much more in spiritual terms.[25] As a result, it was only after a few centuries that she allowed the widowed people to marry again. And even when she allowed it, she looked at them with an unfavorable eye. For example, the Council of Neocaesarea (314–319) decides: "A presbyter shall not be a at the nuptials of persons contracting a second marriage; for, since the digamist is worthy of penance, what kind of a presbyter shall he be, who, by being present at the feast, sanctioned the marriage?"[26]

The Gospel of the family

Saint John Paul II developed a methodology for thinking about marriage and family. It can be clearly seen in the structure of *Familiaris consortio*, signalled by the titles of the following chapters: I. Bright spots and shadows for the family today; II. The plan of God for marriage and the family; III. The role of the Christian family; IV. Pastoral care of the family: stages, structures, agents and situations.

In this context, we are accustomed to understanding the terms "Gospel of marriage and family" but also "Gospel of work," "Gospel of life" as showing the greatness,[27] depth and beauty of the real social relations that these realities

24 Cf. H. Crouzel SJ, *Divorziati «risposati». La prassi della Chiesa primitiva*, Siena 2014, p. 110.

25 Cf. W. Myszor, *Chrześcijanie wobec świata. Małżeństwo i rozwód*, "Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne" 27/28 (1994–1995), pp. 181–202; especially source texts from p. 187.

26 Synod in Neocezarea (314–319); Can. 7, cf. *Źródła duchowości małżeńskiej…*, op. cit., p. 66; cited after: http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/3803.htm [access: 1.03.2020].

27 Cf. P. Barbarin, *The Gospel of Marriage. Inauguration of the Academic Year of the John Paul II Institute*, Rome, 28 X 2014, https://www.evangelium-vitae.org/documents/3743/guetteurs-veilleurs/confrence-du-cad-barbarin-sur--l-evangile-du-mariage---l-institut-jean-paul-ii-de-rome--28-oct-2014.htm [access: 20.11.2019].

(marriage, family, love, life) carry within themselves from God's will and by His grace.

Cardinal Kasper also entitled his address at the consistory *The Gospel of the Family*, but fills this notion with a completely different context and meaning.[28] In fact, there is no mention of the great importance of the family in this text. His reasoning goes another way. Cardinal Kasper says: today the sublime Gospel of a family is difficult to understand because it cannot be understood without faith and faith is waning; there is also a growing number of divorced people who do not live what John Paul II called the "Gospel of the family" and do not see the attractiveness of this "Gospel." It is therefore necessary to think about what should be done to ensure that the Gospel of the family, proclaimed in the Church, does not repel these people – one would like to clarify: those who live in sin – from the community of the Church. When preaching the Gospel, that is, the joyful news of the family, St John Paul II indicated two reasons for joy: the attractiveness of the family in God's intention and God's mercy, which allows to return from sinful ways to the fullness of life with a marital vocation. Cardinal Kasper preaches the "other" Gospel. Since doctrine must not be changed, pastoral practice must be changed. Since many are not interested in conversion, official documents related to synods do not deal with marriage and family, but with the wounded. Instead of calling for conversion so that sinners may experience mercy, he offers mercy that guarantees everyone's well-being.

This understanding of the "Gospel of the family" can be seen clearly in the *Instrumentum Laboris of the Extraordinary Synod*. The first part of this document is entitled: *Communicating the Gospel of the Family in Today's World*. We can observe, however, that both the faithful and the shepherds are unfamiliar with the teachings of Scripture and Church documents about marriage and family; and if they do, they do not accept it. However, no thought is given to how to rectify this fatal culpable ignorance, but it is proposed to refer to marriage only in terms of the work of creation. Incidentally, this is an impoverishing concept introduced by Luther. Although the fourth chapter of the first part of this *Instrumentum Laboris* is entitled *The Family and the Vocation of the Person in Christ*, it presents a sociological and psychological picture of family life that has little to do with theology.[29] Also, the paragraph entitled *In the Image of the Trinitarian Life* has been trivialized.[30]

28 Cf. W. Kasper, *Il Vangelo della famiglia*, op. cit. It was first published on March 1, 2014 in the Italian daily "Il Foglio" under a much more appropriate title: *Biblia, eros i rodzina*.

29 Cf. *Instrumentum laboris* 2014, 31–49.

30 Cf. ibidem, 35.

Declaration by the German Bishops' Conference

This line is also followed by the document of the Permanent Council of the Bishops' Conference of Germany entitled *Theologically-responsible, pastorally--appropriate ways of assisting remarried divorcees. Reflections of the German Bishops' Conference in preparation for the Synod of Bishops*,[31] adopted on 24th June and published on 24th November 2014.

This extensive text (34 pages in print) refers in footnotes to the above--mentioned Cardinal Kasper's address. With regard to the current Magisterium and pastoral practice it states:

> The assurance that faithful who have had a civil divorce and remarried continue to belong to the Church (cf. Familiaris consortio, no. 84; Sacramentum caritatis, no. 29) conflicts with non-admission to the sacraments, and is regarded by those concerned as an exclusion and as an elementary expression of being unreconciled. This clash climaxes in the call for these people to share in the celebration of the Eucharist whilst at the same time banning them for life from taking sacramental communion. Particularly faithful who are practicing and closely involved with the parish consider the obligation to celebrate the Eucharist only inwardly is as unreasonable if it is required permanently, as is the case with remarried divorcees. They do not understand why a deviation, in an admittedly major aspect, from the Church living arrangement for which they at least do not bear sole responsibility justifies being excluded from sacramental communion for life. Many pastors themselves do not know what to do because they cannot provide any pastoral remedy to these situations which is accepted with an honest conscience by the faithful concerned and at the same time is in accord with the Church's current doctrine. Such situations frequently lead to priests acting against the instruction of the Church because they do not consider it to be possible to apply it in pastoral practice. This promotes divisions within the Church, both between priests and bishops, but also between the priests themselves.[32]

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31 Cf. *Theologisch verantwortbare und pastoral angemessene Wege zur Begleitung wiederverheirateter Geschiedener. Überlegungen der Deutschen Bischofskonferenz zur Vorbereitung der Bischofssynode*, [in:] *Die pastoralen Herausforderungen der Familie im Kontext der Evangelisierung. Texte zur Bischofssynode 2014 und Dokumente der Deutschen Bischofskonferenz*, Arbeitshilfen, no. 273, pp. 42–76.

32 These statements are preceded by the following: "A growing number of faithful who have had a civil divorce and remarried consider their failure and their guilt as lying in the process of separation from their first partner, and less in the taking up of a new union (…). They

"Path already indicated"

The wording that recurs in the documents and in the speeches of Cardinal Baldisseri, Secretary General of the Synod, and Archbishop Vincenzo Paglia, President of the Pontifical Council for the Family, is remarkable. How is it to be understood if the Synod is to be a time of communal discernment? The process of spiritual discernment has its established principles. Regardless of which, they refer to a "path already indicated." Such a statement can be found in the introduction to the new survey in *Lineamenta* for the Ordinary Synod.[33]

This expression repeats the press release of the last German Bishops' Conference[34] announced on 26th February 2015. In its seventh point we read:

> Therefore, it should be avoided that the responses of the Bishops' Conferences "are formulated according to the schemes and perspectives of a pastoral ministry that is purely doctrinal, which would not respect the conclusions of the Extraordinary General Assembly and thus distract their reflection from the

consider authentic penance and repentance to lie not in cancelling the current married life. Rather, they relate Jesus' call to repent (cf. Mk 1:15) and to avoid sin (cf. Jn 8:11) to a good and better way of living in the second civil marriage (...). By taking up a new union, and particularly on concluding a civil marriage, the partners have assumed moral obligations towards their new partner and any children, and these must not be disregarded (...) marital co-habitation without a sexual union appears to many of those concerned to be morally questionable."

33 Cf. *Questions Aimed at a Response to and an In-Depth Examination of the Relatio Synodi*, Preliminary Question Applicable to All Sections of the Relatio Synodi, Questions for Part I. Listening: The Context and the Challenges of the Family. "The path of renewal delineated by the Extraordinary Synod is set within the wider ecclesial context indicated by Pope Francis in his Exhortation Evangelii Gaudium, namely, starting from 'life's periphery' and engaging in pastoral activity that is characterized by a 'culture of encounter' and capable of recognizing the Lord's gratuitous work, even outside customary models, and of confidently adopting the idea of a 'field hospital,' which is very beneficial in proclaiming God's mercy. The numbers in the first part of the Relatio Synodi are a response to these challenges and provide a framework for reflecting on the real situation of families. The proposed questions which follow and the reference numbers to the paragraphs in the Relatio Synodi are intended to assist the bishops' conferences in their reflection and to avoid, in their responses, a formulation of pastoral care based simply on an application of doctrine, which would not respect the conclusions of the Extraordinary Synodal Assembly and would lead their reflection far from the path already indicated."

34 Cf. *Pressebericht des Vorsitzenden der Deutschen Bischofskonferenz, Kardinal Reinhard Marx, anlässlich der Pressekonferenz zum Abschluss der Frühjahrs-Vollversammlung der Deutschen Bischofskonferenz in Hildesheim am 26. Februar 2015: 7. Bischofssynode in Rom im Oktober 2015*, pp. 7–8.

already indicated path (Lineamenta S 22). We bishops, in spite of all the disputed issues, must broaden our horizons and renew the proclamation of the Gospel of the family.

Based on the Second Vatican Council and the Magisterium of Pope Francis

In Cardinal Kasper's address during the Consistory, in *Instrumentum Laboris 2014* or *Instrumentum Laboris 2015* there is almost no mention of St John Paul II's teaching on marriage and the family. In his canonization homily he was called "Pope of the Family," but the magnum opus of his pontificate does not exist in consciousness and does not serve the modern Church.

In the already quoted communication from the assembly of the German bishops, point seven – referring to the introduction to the new survey published in *Lineamenta 2015* – reads: "In responding to the questionnaire, it is important to be guided by the pastoral perspective that the Extraordinary General Assembly initiated on the basis of the Second Vatican Council and the Magisterium of Pope Francis."

When we raise this problem, it is not because he is our fellow countryman. The reason is much more serious: in the most complete collection of documents on marriage and family *Enchirydion Familae*[35] edited by Prof. Augusto Sarmiento, the teaching of John Paul II accounts for almost half of all documents that have appeared on this subject throughout the history of the Church. Ignoring this teaching, we are reversing the theology of marriage and family dozens of years back.[36] We are depriving it of its most outstanding and fruitful achievements. Saint John Paul II shows the ethos of marital and family life. Insufficiently aware of this ethos, we will be condemned to discussions about *praxis*, which – contrary to the good intentions of the discussants – will not be able to serve marriage and family adequately.

To understand what the theology of marriage and family without John Paul II would be, it is enough to familiarize oneself with the book by Fr. Bernard Häring CSsR entitled *Małżeństwo w dobie obecnej*, published in 1966 as the fifth volume in the monumental series *Nauka Chrystusa*. We will not find in it the well-known – and seemingly necessary – discourse to which we are

[35] A. Sarmiento, *Enchiridion Familiae*, Ediciones Universidad de Navarra S.A. (EUNSA), 2004. Electronic version: http://www.enchiridionfamiliae.com/index.php [access: 20.11.2019].

[36] Cf. B. Häring, *Małżeństwo w dobie obecnej*, Poznań 1966.

accustomed by St Paul VI and St John Paul II and Benedict XVI. This book is essentially based on sociology.

Criticism of *Humanae vitae*

We can also find in this book – it must be clearly stated – a lack of understanding for the encyclical *Humanae vitae*.[37] Kasper notes that "in the first part the [encyclical] shows marriage in a surprisingly new way, as a doctrinal document of the Church, seeing it as a personal union." He continues, however, to accuse Paul VI of biologism, as if the personal could exist without any rules and without taking into account the truth of *body language*.[38]

The topic returns in Cardinal Kasper's speech during the secret consistory.[39] As in 1977, he also insists in this introduction to the extraordinary general assembly about the family, that defining morally acceptable methods of regulating conception is a lack of respect for the spouses concerned. He calls it impersonal treatment. In this way he repeats exactly the thesis from the discussion on *Humanae vitae*.[40] He construes the Church's widely recognized statements about responsibility for life[41] and the right to plan conception in

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37 For the sake of completeness, it must be remembered that the German Bishops' Conference practically opposed the teaching of *Humane vitae*. One month after the announcement of this encyclical, the German bishops published (August 30, 1968) the so-called *Königstein Statement*, which can still be found on the official website of the German Bishops' Conference. Then a problem arose with issuing the confirmations of medical check-ups by Catholic clinics, which could be used for abortion. John Paul II sent a letter on this matter on September 21, 1995 and another on January 11, 1998; on February 26, 1998. Vatican Radio quoted Cardinal Marx: "We are not a branch of Rome. Each episcopate is responsible for pastoral care in his own cultural circle. We cannot wait for the Synod to tell us how to shape our family ministry," http://pl.radiovaticana.va/-news/2015/02/26/niemcy_episkopat_o_zbli%C5%BCaj%C4%85cym_si%C4%99_synodzie_o_rodzinie/1125871 [access: 20.11.2019].

38 Cf. W. Kasper, *Il matrimonio cristiano*, pp. 20–21.

39 The translation of the address into Polish (without footnotes) was published by "Tygodnik Powszechny."

40 Cf. Mr. Rouche, *La préparation de l'encyclique 'Humanae vitae.' La Commission sur la population, la Famille et la natalité*, [in:] *Paul VI et la modernité dans l'église…*, op. cit., pp. 367–369.

41 In the Bible, fertility is not a purely biological fact. Children are the fruit of God's bless sing, and it is God's power manifesting itself in history and in the future. The blessing in creation follows the promise of Abraham's offspring (Gen 12:25; 18:18; 22:18). And so the vital power that caused fertility, which the ancient people worshipped, is intertwined with the intervention of God in history. God puts the future of the people and the existence of

such a way[42] is if God were not the only Lord (*Signore*) and owner (*Padrone*) of life. Meanwhile, the Council Constitution *Gaudium et spes* 51 by no means teaches that God renounces being the only Lord of life for the sake of man, but that he has invited man to cooperate. When it comes to conception planning, the right to plan is not the same as the admissibility of all methods, including contraception.

"Paul VI's 1968 encyclical *Humanae vitae* on responsible parenthood can be interpreted on the basis of its general personal approach and thus in a complete manner. The same applies to *Familiaris consortio* 29 and 31 ff."[43]

Nihil novi

The same publishing house that issued *The Gospel of the Family* published also Cardinal Walter Kasper's *Christian Marriage* in 2014.[44] The publisher describes it on the fourth page of the cover as a short treatise on marriage, which presents the theological context of the consistory. However, one can quickly find out that the main part of the book is a reprint from 38 years ago,[45] whereas the appendix *Making the Church a reality in marriage and family. Reflections on the sacramentality of marriage* was written 48 years ago, in 1967.[46] Thus,

42 mankind into the hands of man and woman. Words about responsible parenthood have a deeper meaning than those usually attributed to them. They mean that God entrusts the responsibility of man and woman to the most precious thing he can offer, namely human life. They can responsibly decide on the number and timing of their children. They must do so with a sense of responsibility to God, respecting the dignity and goodness of the partner, also taking responsibility for the welfare of children, the future of society, respecting the nature of man (GS 50). From this, it is not casuistic, but a meaningful precept, for the concrete realization of which responsibility is entrusted to a man and a woman. They are given responsibility for the future. The future of humanity passes through the family. Without a family there is no future, but an ageing population. Western societies are now facing this danger.

43 W. Kasper, *Il vangelo della famiglia*, op. cit., p. 19.

44 The title uses the term "Christian" and not "Catholic," although this is important because Protestants do not recognize the sacramentality of marriage. The author is aware of the fundamental difference between "Christian" and "Catholic" marriage. Cf. W. Kasper, *Il matrimonio cristiano*, Brescia 2014, p. 153.

45 Cf. ibidem, p. 6. In the last sentence of the introduction, the Author dedicates the book to his mother for her 75th birthday. Cf. ibidem, p. 10.

46 Cf. W. Kasper, Appendix 1: *La realizzazione della chiesa nel matrimonio e nella famiglia. Riflessioni dulla sacramentalité del matrimonio*, [in:] idem, *Il matrimonio cristiano*, Brescia 2014, pp. 102–139.

in *Christian Marriage* we find the texts of a 33–34 year old theology lecturer, which, if they explain the context of Cardinal Kasper's speech at the secret consistory, it is only in the sense that they testify that he is fighting today for ideas that were rejected 38–48 years ago. The main text of the book was published in 1977, nine years after the encyclical *Humanae vitae*. I have analyzed the literature quoted in this book. Firstly, it is almost exclusively in German. Secondly, it almost entirely dates back to 1962–1975, so it appears that in 2014 the publisher advertises a book written half a century ago which ignores the teachings of John Paul II and the 1980 Synod on marriage and family.

Spiritual communion

In connection with the discussions on Eucharistic Communion for the divorced living in new unions, a proposal of spiritual communion, understood as a kind of substitute, appeared at the extraordinary synod. It is obvious that it is necessary to lead the divorced to a closeness with God and deepen it. However, it is necessary to maintain a precise terminology and to speak of "living with God," "living in the presence of God," "living close to God," "developing intimacy with God," "being in the Church" etc., as FC 84 does. These and similar terms underline the personalistic reality of communion as a real relationship and not just a detached practice. On the other hand, "spiritual communion" is a "technical" term from the theology of spiritual life, which in the unchanging tradition of asceticism and mysticism has an unambiguous, universally accepted meaning. Fr. Tomasz Nawracała[47] and Fr. Grzegorz Strzelczyk[48] precisely define the terms. Not even *Amoris laetitia* mentions "spiritual communion"! Karol Wojtyła's words fit perfectly into this situation: "After all, the world can't be fiction at any point – the inner world even less so than the outer world. (...) The world cannot rely only on the metaphorical – the inner world even less so than the outer world."[49]

This creates an internal contradiction of teaching. On the one hand, we justify the refusal to admit to the sacraments divorced persons who have

47 Cf. T. Nawracała, *Komunia duchowa a duchowe pragnienie komunii*, http://mateusz.pl/mt/tn/tomasz-nawracala-komunia-duchowa-a-duchowe-pragnienie-komunii.htm [access: 20.11.2019].

48 Cf. G. Strzelczyk, *Komunia duchowa nie jest rozwiązaniem dla rozwiedzionych w ponownych związkach*, Gosc.pl, http://gosc.pl/-doc/3749290.Komunia-duchowa-nie-jest-rozwiazaniem--dla-rozwiedzionych-w [access: 20.11.2019].

49 K. Wojtyła, *Promieniowanie ojcostwa*, [in]: idem, *Poezje i dramaty*, Krakow 1999, p. 265.

entered into new unions because they "objectively contradict the loving union of Christ and the Church signified and made present in the Eucharist" (SC 29; cf. FC 84), and at the same time we tell them about the spiritual communion which, in the Church's Tradition, is closely linked to Eucharistic Communion, constitutes its spiritual deepening and is no more than an expression of unity in love with Christ.

"Spiritual communion" on the synods of Pope Francis about the family

Cardinal Walter Kasper, who has long been in[50] favour of allowing the divorced living in second unions to receive Communion also introduced the topic of "spiritual communion" in his address at the secret consistory preceding the announcement of the Synod of Bishops about marriage and family. He claimed:

> We were warned by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith as early as 1994 when it decided – and Pope Benedict XVI repeated this at the 2012 International Family Meeting in Milan – that divorced persons in second unions *cannot receive sacramental communion, but can receive spiritual communion*. Of course, this does not apply to all the divorced, but to those who are spiritually disposed to do so.[51]

In this way, the impression was created that "spiritual communion" for the divorced was something obvious both for the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith and for Benedict XVI.

In fact, it is not true that Pope Benedict XVI spoke about "spiritual communion" in Milan on June 2nd, 2012. The Pope spoke about spiritual union with Christ but did not refer to the term "spiritual communion." To quote these words precisely: when the Brazilian couple talked about the disappointment of the divorced living in a second union that they could not receive the sacraments, the Holy Father said:

> Even without the *physical* reception of the sacrament we can be united with Christ in His Body. To give them this understanding it is important that they really find the possibility of living the faith, with the Word of God, with the

50 Cf. P.J. Cordes, *La comunione spirituale. L'Eucaristia per tutti*, Cantagalli 2015, p. 12.
51 W. Kasper, *Il vangelo della famiglia*, op. cit., p. 47.

> community of the Church, and that they can see that their suffering is a gift to the Church because it is also a service to all, in defense of the stability of love, of marriage, and that this suffering is not only a physical and mental anguish but also a suffering in the community of the Church, for the great values of our faith.[52]

Anyway, there is a provision in the final account of the extraordinary synod: "Some [synod] fathers have maintained that divorced persons living in new unions or cohabitation can successfully receive spiritual Holy Communion."[53]

It should be remembered, however, that in addition to those who were obviously wondering whether the practice of spiritual communion could not be an option for divorced persons living in second unions, there were those who turned it into an argument for their admission to sacramental communion: "Other fathers have wondered [that if 'spiritual communion' is proposed, then] why these people cannot receive sacramental communion."[54] They showed in this way that they know perfectly well what "spiritual communion" is: that it assumes real communion. However, this is precisely the reason for not using the term in this context.

"Spiritual communion" in a 1994 document of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith

Theoretically, however, the problem exists. In the text cited by Cardinal Walter Kasper, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith[55] actually uses the term "spiritual communion." First, it clearly and unambiguously reminds us that Eucharistic Communion is impossible:

> Members of the faithful who live together as husband and wife (*more uxorio*) with persons other than their legitimate spouses may not receive Holy Communion.

[52] Benedict XVI, *Szczęśliwe dzieciństwo każdemu z nas daje przedsmak raju. Rozmowa z uczestnikami spotkania rodzin podczas Święta Świadectw*, 2 June 2012, "L'Osservatore Romano," Polish version 7–8/2012, p. 21.

[53] Sinodo dei Vescovi. III Assemblea Generale Straordinaria, *Le sfide pastorali sulla famiglia nel contesto dell'evangelizzazione. Relatio Synodi*, http://www.vatican.va/ roman_curia/-synod/documents/rc_synod_doc_20141018_relatio-synodi-familia_en.html (hereinafter: *Relatio Synodi 2014*) [adress: 20.11.2019], 53.

[54] Ibidem.

[55] Cf. Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, *Letter to the Bishops of the Catholic Church on the reception of Holy Communion by the faithful who are divorced and living in new relationships* of 14 September 1994, 6.

> Should they judge it possible to do so, pastors and confessors, given the gravity of the matter and the spiritual good of these persons (10) as well as the common good of the Church, have the serious duty to admonish them that such a judgment of conscience openly contradicts the Church's teaching (11). Pastors in their teaching must also remind the faithful entrusted to their care of this doctrine.

Then, exchanging various possibilities of deepening the intimacy with God, he also mentions spiritual communion:

> This does not mean that the Church does not take to heart the situation of these faithful, who moreover are not excluded from ecclesial communion. She is concerned to accompany them pastorally and invite them to share in the life of the Church in the measure that is compatible with the dispositions of divine law, from which the Church has no power to dispense. On the other hand, it is necessary to instruct these faithful so that they do not think their participation in the life of the Church is reduced exclusively to the question of the reception of the Eucharist. The faithful are to be helped to deepen their understanding of the value of sharing in the sacrifice of Christ in the Mass, of spiritual communion [*comunione spirituale*] (13), of prayer, of meditation on the Word of God, and of works of charity and justice.

It should be stressed, however, that in the entire Magisterium of the Church this is the only use of the term in such a context, and it is a misuse. If we only give a cursory look at the reference number 13 placed immediately after the phrase "spiritual communion," we see authors of great authority, but when we look at the quoted texts, we have to conclude that they show irrefutably that there is no basis for talking about "spiritual communion" for the divorced living in a second union. Clearly and unquestionably, they relate to spiritual experience on a completely different level. Here are the texts in the mentioned footnote.

At the beginning, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith recalls its own document, written eleven years earlier, the *Letter to the Bishops of the Catholic Church on Certain Questions concerning the Minister of the Eucharist* (6 August 1983, III/4). Even a cursory reading of this passage shows that it does not speak in the slightest about "spiritual communion" for those who are divorced in a second union, but on the contrary, it speaks about Catholics mature in the faith who, for reasons beyond their control, cannot receive the sacraments:

> Individual faithful or communities who because of persecution or lack of priests are deprived of the holy Eucharist for either a short or longer period of time, do not thereby lack the grace of the Redeemer. If they are intimately animated by a desire for the sacrament and united in prayer with the whole Church, and call upon the Lord and raise their hearts to him, by virtue of the Holy Spirit they live in communion with the whole Church, the living body of Christ, and with the Lord himself. Through their desire for the sacrament in union with the Church, no matter how distant they may be physically, they are intimately and really united to her and therefore receive the fruits of the sacrament; whereas those who would wrongly attempt to take upon themselves the right to confect the Eucharistic Mystery end up by having their community closed in on itself.

Then the text of St Theresa of Ávila was quoted. This one teaches how to prepare for and experience Eucharistic Communion so that it embraces the physical and spiritual reality in man:

> I have written at length about this, although, when writing of the Prayer of Recollection, I spoke of the great importance of our entering into solitude with God. When you hear Mass without communicating, daughters, you may communicate spiritually, which is extremely profitable, and afterwards you may practise inward recollection in exactly the same way, for this impresses upon us a deep love of the Lord. If we prepare to receive Him, He never fails to give, and He gives in many ways that we cannot understand. It is as if we were to approach a fire: it might be a very large one, but, if we remained a long way from it and covered our hands, we should get little warmth from it, although we should be warmer than if we were in a place where there was no fire at all. But when we try to approach the Lord there is this difference: if the soul is properly disposed, and comes with the intention of driving out the cold, and stays for some time where it is, it will retain its warmth for several hours, and if any little spark flies out, it will set it on fire.[56]

At the end, the footnote refers to the text of St Alphonsus Maria Liguori of the *Visits to the Blessed Sacrament and the Blessed Virgin Mary*, without any particular details. It can be assumed that this is the paragraph entitled "spiritual communion," which is meant, and which reads in its entirety as follows:

56 Teresa of Jesus, *Way of Perfection*, 35, 1; cited after: https://www.catholicspiritualdirection.org/-wayofperfection.pdf [access: 1.03.2020].

> As in all the following visits to the Most Blessed Sacrament a spiritual Communion is recommended, it will be well to explain what it is, and the great advantages which result from its practice. A spiritual Communion, according to St Thomas, consists in an ardent desire to receive Jesus in the Most Holy Sacrament, and in lovingly embracing Him as if we had actually received Him. How pleasing these spiritual Communions are to God, and the many graces which He bestows through their means, was manifested by our Lord Himself to Sister Paula Maresca, the foundress of the convent of St Catherine of Sienna in Naples, when (as it is related in her life) He showed her two precious vessels, the one of gold, the other of silver. He then told her that in the gold vessel He preserved her sacramental Communions, and in the silver one her spiritual Communions. He also told Blessed Jane of the Cross that each time that she communicated spiritually she received a grace of the same kind as the one that she received when she really communicated. Above all, it will suffice for us to know that the holy Council of Trent greatly praises spiritual Communions, and encourages the faithful to practise them. Hence all devout souls are accustomed often to practise this holy exercise of spiritual Communion. Blessed Agatha of the Cross did so two hundred times a day. And Father Peter Faber, the first companion of St Ignatius, used to say that it was of the highest utility to make spiritual Communions, in order to receive the sacramental Communion well. All those who desire to advance in the love of Jesus Christ are exhorted to make a spiritual Communion at least once in every visit that they pay to the Most Blessed Sacrament, and at every Mass that they hear; and it would even be better on these occasions to repeat the Communions three times, that is to say, at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end. This devotion is far more profitable than some suppose, and at the same time nothing can be easier to practise. The above-named Blessed Jane of the Cross used to say, that a spiritual Communion can be made without anyone remarking it, without being fasting, without the permission of our director, and that we can make it at any time we please: an act of love does all.[57]

In the light of these texts, it must be stated that the 1994 document of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith uses the term "spiritual communion"

[57] A.M. Liguori, *Visite al SS. Sacramento ed a Maria SS.ma*, [in:] idem, *Opera Omnia Italiane*, S. Brugnano CSSR (ed.), Biblioteca Digitale IntraText, http://www.intratext.com/IXT/ITASA0000/-P3HF.HTM [access: 20.11.2019]; cited after: http://www.catholictradition.org/Eucharist/blessed-sacrament.htm [access: 1.03.2020].

to refer to the divorced living *more uxorio* in second unions in an unauthorized manner.

Pope Benedict XVI, *Sacramentum caritatis* 55

It is also unsubstantiated to refer to the Apostolic Exhortation *Sacramentum caritatis* 55 by Pope Benedict XVI, who speaks there about "spiritual communion" for those who can receive the sacraments. First, in the first part, he speaks of *actuosa participatio*,[58] and then he shows the meaning of "spiritual communion" in relation to Eucharistic Communion:

> Clearly, full participation in the Eucharist takes place when the faithful approach the altar in person to receive communion. Yet true as this is, care must be taken lest they conclude that the mere fact of their being present in church during the liturgy gives them a right or even an obligation to approach the table of the Eucharist. Even in cases where it is not possible to receive sacramental communion, participation at Mass remains necessary, important, meaningful and fruitful. In such circumstances it is beneficial to cultivate a desire for full union with Christ through the practice of spiritual communion, praised by Pope John Paul II and recommended by saints who were masters of the spiritual life.

Pope Benedict XVI in *Sacramentum caritatis* 55 recalls John Paul II's last exhortation, *Ecclesia de Eucharistia* 34. There, St John Paul II reminds us of a dignified approach to Eucharistic Communion and does not mention spiritual communion for the divorced living in a second union. The context explains very extensively that receiving Holy Communion presupposes a communion of the whole life with God and the Church.[59]

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[58] "In their consideration of the *actuosa participatio* of the faithful in the liturgy, the Synod Fathers also discussed the personal conditions required for fruitful participation on the part of individuals. One of these is certainly the spirit of constant conversion which must mark the lives of all the faithful. Active participation in the eucharistic liturgy can hardly be expected if one approaches it superficially, without an examination of his or her life. This inner disposition can be fostered, for example, by recollection and silence for at least a few moments before the beginning of the liturgy, by fasting and, when necessary, by sacramental confession. A heart reconciled to God makes genuine participation possible. The faithful need to be reminded that there can be no *actuosa participatio* in the sacred mysteries without an accompanying effort to participate actively in the life of the Church as a whole, including a missionary commitment to bring Christ's love into the life of society," *Sacramentum caritatis* 55.

[59] Cf. John Paul II, *Ecclesia de Eucharistia* 34–37.

The use of the term "spiritual communion" in this context is inappropriate. In the unchanging tradition of asceticism and mysticism, the term has an unambiguous, universally accepted meaning. In a strict sense, "spiritual communion" is the practice recommended to those who can enter into Sacramental Communion, and only because of a lack of a priest or an inability to reach him.[60] The relationship between spiritual communion and sacramental communion exists even in the consciousness of those who are in favour of communion for the divorced in second unions.[61]

From a pastoral point of view, it is appropriate and even necessary to encourage those who cannot enter into sacramental communion to develop a personal, intimate relationship with God. However, this relationship cannot be referred to as "spiritual communion." Spiritual communion is a practice that is accessible to every person to the extent that he or she truly lives in communion (or union) of all life with God. It is therefore inconsistent to speak of "spiritual communion" in the context of seeking a kind of "substitute" for Eucharistic Communion for the divorced living in renewed relationships. From a formal point of view, therefore, this term should not be used in the context of the lives of those who cannot attend the sacraments (including divorced people living in second unions) because it would distort its meaning and give the impression that it is a substitute.[62]

Summary

When discussing the proposal of Holy Communion for those living in non-sacramental unions, one should take the most appropriate view within the aspect of spiritual realism. First, we need to bring order to the doctrinal facts related to this reality; to clarify the subject of discussion and the reality of communion in the metalanguage. It is also necessary to realize the contradiction between the basic idea of communion and the reification of the

60 Cf. L. de Bazelaire, *Communion spirituelle*, [in:] *Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascetique et mystique, doctrine et histoire…*, vol. 2, col. 1294–1300.

61 Cf. *Relatio Synodi 2014* 53.

62 On March 15, 2017, KAI reported that in Kalisz, "the Jesuits have begun pastoral work consisting of regular meetings and Masses during which there will be a spiritual communion," transl. after: https://ekai.pl/kalisz-jezuita-o-andrzej-lemiesz-zostal-duszpasterzem-zwiazkow-niesakramentalnych/ [access: 20.11.2019]. This is a misunderstanding. It darkens the unambiguous meaning of spiritual communion and, above all, treats it as a substitute for Eucharistic Communion, which is a doctrinal error.

Person, which is expressed, among other things, in the instrumentalization of Eucharistic Communion. For a realistic and comprehensive approach to the sacraments, it is necessary to be aware of the spousal dimension of sacramental life, which has been present in the Church since the first centuries. In order to avoid arbitrary statements, it is also necessary to reckon with the uninterrupted and unchangeable tradition that exists in the Church that Holy Communion is inaccessible to those living in non-sacramental unions.

Methodological correctness is also an important element of the ongoing discussion. Care should be taken to use the terms *digamoi* and "Gospel of the family" correctly. It should also be remembered that the discussion and declarations themselves do not create theological facts. The correctness of the theological discussion demands a real discernment, not lobbying for the "path already indicated" or proceeding "on the basis of the Second Vatican Council and the Magisterium of Pope Francis" without, for example, ignoring the *Humanae vitae* of St Paul VI or *Familiaris consortio* and all the extensive teaching about marriage and the family of St John Paul II.

It is also important not to trivialize or instrumentalize the practice of "spiritual communion," which has an unequivocal place in the Church's spirituality, and always aims not to belittle the experience of communion, but to deepen it. It is therefore necessary to follow up on the theological truth.

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Kerygmatic Catechesis in the History of the Church

Katecheza kerygmatyczna w historii Kościoła

Abstract: From the analysis of the catechesis over the centuries it can be concluded that the origin and development of kerygma dates to the beginning of the Church. Catechesis has always been the basis for the renewal of faith. In the history of the Church each century has pursued its own style of preaching kerygma. At the beginning of the Church it was the first proclamation of Jesus Christ. Over the course of the centuries the achievements of this trend have taken root in catechesis, thus bringing abundant fruit. Pope Francis in his statements, and especially in his Apostolic Exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium*, bearing in mind the contemporary crisis of faith in the Church, refers to the tradition of kerygmatic catechesis.

Keywords: Church, Gospel, kerygma, catechumenate, catechesis, Christianity, preaching, baptism

Abstrakt: Na podstawie analizy katechezy na przestrzeni wieków można stwierdzić, że pochodzenie i rozwój kerygmatu datuje się już na początki Kościoła. Zawsze katecheza ta była podstawą odnowy wiary. W historii Kościoła każdy wiek realizował swój własny styl głoszenia kerygmatu. Na początku Kościoła była to pierwsza proklamacja Jezusa Chrystusa. Z biegiem wieków osiągnięcia tego nurtu zakorzeniły się w katechezie, przynosząc obfite owoce. Do tradycji kerygmatycznej katechezy w Kościele nawiązuje Papież Franciszek w swoich wypowiedziach, a zwłaszcza w adhortacji *Evangelii Gaudium*, mając na uwadze współczesny kryzys wiary w Kościele.

Słowa kluczowe: Kościół, Ewangelia, kerygmat, katechumenat, katecheza, chrześcijaństwo, głoszenie, chrzest

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Introduction

The analysis of the Church's catechesis over the centuries indicates that it has always been a dynamic activity. It has been subject to change and has taken various forms depending on the current historical, cultural, and above all, pastoral situations. The kerygmatic renewal of catechesis has been considered one of the most revolutionary and lasting changes. It was also referred to by Pope Francis in his Apostolic Exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium*.

In view of the still substantial need for kerygmatic catechesis in the contemporary Church, as Pope Francis points out, this article tries to answer the question of how it has influenced the renewal of the Church's faith in different periods of its history.

The origin of kerygmatic catechesis

The Acts of the Apostles show the prime Church community appeared to be the ideal of community life. The moral transformation that took place in the lives of Christians attracted the whole world at that time, both Jews and Greeks. The life of the prime Church paved the way for the preaching of the Gospel. An example is Saint Peter's speech from the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. At the centre of Peter's kerygmatic preaching is the person of dead, risen, and glorified Jesus Christ who is Savior, Lord and Messiah. This proclamation is a powerful word that gives birth to faith and builds up the Church.[1]

The Acts of the Apostles provides numerous examples that the apostles considered the ministry of preaching the Word of God, the proclamation of the message of salvation, as one of the most vital forms of their activity. Their main activity was teaching. Nevertheless, all this was done through the Holy Spirit, whom they received. It was the Holy Spirit who stimulated them to bear witness to the risen Lord with courage and confirmed them with mighty signs and miracles.

The process of biblical evangelisation described by St Luke is made up of the following several stages:

– the prayer of those gathered in the Upper Room (Acts 1:14),
– the anointing of the Holy Spirit (Acts 2:1-3),
– the kerygma of Jesus Christ delivered by St Peter (Acts 2:22-23),

[1] Cf. S. Dyk, *Duch, Słowo, Kościół. Biblijny model ewangelizacji*, Lubin 2007, pp. 171–172.

- faith and conversion born of listening to and accepting the Word of God (Acts 2:37-38),
- Baptism, to which conversion and accession to the Church leads (Acts 2:41),
- remaining with the teachings of the apostles and increase in faith (Acts 2:42),
- the testimony of Christian life (Acts 4:1-22; 5:17-42; 6:1-15; 8:440; 9:20-31, and others).[2]

Apostolic catechesis was directed to adults and required a mature decision. It was varied in content and form. Its essential elements include:
- the announcement of God – the Creator of Heaven, Earth and all beings,
- the renunciation of idolatry,
- showing the way of life leading to salvation and the way of sin as leading to eternal damnation,
- a call to recognize Jesus as Lord, Savior and Messiah, accept baptism, and obtain the forgiveness of sins,
- receiving eternal life in Christ.

Apostolic catechesis was proclaimed differently to Jews and differently to Gentiles. The Jews could be baptized immediately after they had confessed their faith in Jesus Christ as announced Messiah. The Gentiles had first to recognize the one God and accept the truth about the deity of Christ.

The teaching service was closely linked to baptism. According to the missionary mandate received from the Risen Lord, the Apostles taught and administered baptism. There are numerous examples in the Acts of the Apostles describing baptism (Acts 2:14-41; 8:12; 16:14-15; 18:8) that some form of teaching preceded each of them. The pre-baptismal teaching, known as the apostolic kerygma, is best documented in the New Testament Scriptures. It was at the same time evangelisation, namely the first Gospel proclamation and baptismal catechesis. Reading the biblical sources makes it possible to distinguish the Paul's kerygma and the kerygma of the Acts of the Apostles (the so-called Jerusalem kerygma). The kerygma to Jews and the kerygma to Gentiles are distinguished depending on the addressees.[3]

The Jerusalem kerygma can be recognized from the apostolic speeches contained in the first part of the Acts of the Apostles. The paschal mystery was and remains the focal point of the kerygma, the core of the apostolic preaching. All the other elements and events were arranged around or resulted from this fundamental fact.

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2 Ibidem, pp. 178–180.

3 Cf. R. Murawski, *Historia katechezy*, [in:] *Historia katechezy i katechetyka fundamentalna*, J. Stala (ed.), Tarnów 2010, p. 29.

In addition to the apostolic kerygma, there was also apostolic teaching that led to its deepening and development. It aimed at strengthening and increasing faith.

At that time, the terms used by those who proclaimed the message of salvation also found their origins. Some of them have survived to our times. These include words such as evangelise, teach, catechise, witness.

A detailed reading of the biblical texts allows us to learn about the elements that marked the path that those who wanted to become Christians had to follow.

Until the promulgation of the Edict of Milan in 313, the Church developed its apostolic ministry in missionary conditions. The apostles shared the ministry of the apostolate. Not only deacons, e.g. Stephen, but also other Christians dispersed because of persecution "passed from place to place preaching the Word" (OJ 8:4). Jesus' disciples gave their successors the task of teaching. They fulfilled their mission in a dual form. The Second Vatican Council recalls the above in the constitution *Dei Verbum*: "The apostles pass on what they have received and admonish the faithful to keep to the traditions they have learned, either by oral study or by letters" (KO 8).

Clement of Alexandria believed that the ministry of the Word could be realized by both the spoken and the written word. He treated both forms of kerygma equally.[4] At the time of persecution, the written message more fully implemented the principle of the universality of the kerygma, thus reaching out to all environments.

Until the middle of the second century, the preparation of candidates for baptism had a loose structure and took place within the commune that established its form. At the end of the 2nd century, organized forms of preparation for Christianity, called the catechumenate, began to emerge. The then catechesis is documented by numerous writings, including *Treatise on Baptism* of Tertullian around 200 years and *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolyte of Rome around 215 years. The collection of catechesis by Clement of Alexandria, Origen or Augustine comes from the 4th century. A continually growing influx of new candidates for baptism was the reason for institutionalization and handing over the mission of teaching to the representatives of the Church. Besides, the resistance of neophytes to the activity of sects was too weak, which caused them to fall easily into heresies.

The Catechumenate was created to provide baptismal candidates with a more robust formation, deepen it, extend the preparation time, and raise the demands

4 Cf. F. Drączkowski, *Idea kerygmatu pisemnego w przekazach patrystycznych*, Lublin 1994, p. 10.

on candidates. It had the character of collective teaching and led to collective baptism.[5] Whoever wanted to become a Christian had to convert and believe in Jesus Christ as well as be baptised. Until about 200 years ago, it was not very easy to make a clear distinction between evangelisation and catechesis. These terms were often used interchangeably and expressed the same reality. Evangelisation, i.e., the first proclamation of the message of salvation, or catechesis, that is, in-depth instruction in the faith, was part of the preparation for baptism.

Most researchers divide the catechumenate that existed in the first centuries into two periods, which are separated by the Edict of Milan of 313 or by the Council of Nice of 325. The first event changed the external situation of the Church; the other one that was made possible by the first one influenced the internal life of the community.[6] Until the promulgation of the Edict of Milan, the Church developed in missionary conditions because of its Judaic roots.

At the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries, the institution of the catechumenate was weakened. Over time the catechumenate became a catechetical school. Many candidates and a strict penitential discipline prevented many from baptising. The number of catechumens increased, but the number of true converts decreased. The practice of baptism of children also spread.

From the 6th century on, catechesis became an instruction for the baptised and the implementation of the Christian life. The catechumenate in its original also disappeared because the Greek-Roman world was already Christian and baptisms of adults became a rarity.

Development of catechesis during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance

In the Middle Ages, teaching the truths of the faith was of explanatory nature. The truths given were illustrated by examples and texts taken from everyday life, the lives of the saints, the Scriptures, and the writings of the Church Fathers. For those who could not read, the so-called Biblia pauperum (The Bible of the Poor) containing scenes from the lives of biblical figures, especially from Jesus and the saints, in pictures with short explanations was intended.[7]

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5 Ibidem, p. 45.

6 Cf. R. Murawski, *Katechumenat w epoce przedkonstantyńskiej – do 313 roku*, [in:] *Historia katechezy…*, op. cit., pp. 45–46.

7 Cf. M. Owoc, *Katecheza Kościoła w dobie Średniowiecza*, [in:] *Dydaktyka w służbie katechezy*, S. Dziekoński (ed.), Krakow 2002, pp. 68–86.

The Church in the Middle Ages mainly concerned not so much the initiation of adults as the introduction of baptised children into the Christian life. It was implemented naturally and spontaneously through the process of religious socialisation in the family. The Christian family was the most crucial factor in the religious upbringing of the young generation during that period. At that time there was no institutional catechesis of the Church for children and youth. The Christian family replaced the former institution of the catechumenate because parents introduced young Christians into the life of faith. Hence, we can speak about the family catechumenate functioning in the Middle Ages.

In the catechesis in the Middle Ages, unfortunately, the biblical and kerygmatic element began to disappear gradually, and the doctrinal element was increasingly emphasised.

Since the 16th century, there has been an impressive development of catechetical creativity, which particularly flourished in the 17th century. Many catechisms were created during then; some of them achieved great fame, being repeatedly published and translated into foreign languages, others quickly fell into oblivion.[8]

At that time, the catechisms, e.g. of St Peter Canisius in Germany, were the most effective weapon in defending the integrity of Christian Science. Peter Canisius tried to present the truths of faith in concrete, pictorial and living language. The Scriptures permeated the content of the lecture. The author avoided abstract definitions and theological terminology. The Roman Catechism, which was the first official catechism of the Catholic Church, falls among the most famous catechisms of that period. It was published in 1566 by Pius V after the Council of Trent. The message of Christian doctrine was positive, without clear polemical accents, and there were quite frequent references to the Scriptures. It had the following structure: I. Faith; II. Sacraments – Grace; III. God's Commandments; IV. Our Father – Prayer. The Catechism of the Catholic Church from 1992 is modelled on the Roman Catechism.

The third Renaissance catechism was that by St Robert Bellarmine. He created its new type that dominated the Church until the 20th century. It could be called a dogmatic-apologetic catechism. It was devoid of the biblical element and lacked reference to the Scriptures as the primary source of faith. The formulas were concise and easy to learn by heart. That was due to the then-prevailing belief that to believe is to know. Hence the concern that children, youth and adults should learn the truths of faith in such a way that they would be remembered for good.

8 Cf. R. Murawski, *Geneza i założenia Katechizmu Kościoła Katolickiego*, "Seminare" 10 (1994), pp. 37–38.

At the Council of Trent, apart from the catechism, adult catechesis received its classical structure: preaching on Sundays and holidays, daily (or at least three times a week) teaching the truths of faith based on the Scriptures during Advent and Lent. That was accompanied by sacramental catechesis to prepare the faithful to participate more fully and consciously in the Mass and to receive the sacraments fruitfully. Since the Council of Trent (1546) a catechesis of children and young people has been established in the Church. The family catechumenate was replaced by a new form – the parish catechumenate. It aimed at the Christian initiation of children and youth. The Council recommended the introduction of Sunday and Christmas catechesis for children and youth throughout the Church. Catechesis was to be given in all parishes and concerned transmission of basic messages in the faith and development of an attitude of obedience to God and parents. In this way, Sunday catechesis for children and young people ceased to be a private initiative of religious orders and zealous pastors and became the official form of Church catechesis.

Catechesis of the Age of Enlightenment

The successful development of catechesis in the 16th and 17th centuries was severely hampered at the end of the 18th century. A certain crisis in the catechetical activity of the Church emerged.

At the end of the 18th century, catechesis showed severe deficiencies. The participation of children and young people, especially in the countryside, was rather weak. Practically, the children could get involved only on Sunday, since on the remaining days of the week they were employed at home and in the fields. It emphasised learning by heart and neglecting explanations of the catechism. Complaints about heartless learning of truths of faith that were incomprehensible for children were common then. It was precisely this method that aroused aversion and resistance of more educated people to learning religion. Catechesis consisted most often in repeating catechism answers after a catechist.

The end of the 18th century saw that catechesis was transferred from the Church to school and changed into a school subject – teaching religion. The introduction of religious education in state schools brought many benefits. Systematic learning could be extended to all children. Moreover, the school religious education began to improve from the methodological and didactic point of view. However, in addition to these undoubted benefits, some dangers could also be seen. Under the influence of the rationalistic spirit of the Enlightenment, which also permeated schools, catechesis began to transform. It was not so much about conveying the truths of the faith as about instructing in religious matters. The proclamation of the faith, in which the human element became more and more evident, was no longer understood as an event taking place within the ecclesial community, between God and man, but as a purely human matter occurring between the student and the teacher.[9] By introducing the teaching of religion to public schools, a slow process of distancing the family and parish from their catechetical and educational tasks began. The family began to free itself from the responsibility for the religious education of children. Similarly, parishes began to convey their educational and catechetical responsibility to the school. In this way, the family and parish catechesis, as well as the catechesis of adults began to disintegrate slowly.

The abovementioned changes in catechesis, both the external in the environment and internal ones, i.e., the transformation into a school subject, took place in the climate of the spirit of the Enlightenment. This spirit was shaped by rationalism, naturalism, and moralism. In catechesis, rationalism revealed itself in the pursuit of a purely rational, intellectual knowledge and assimilation of the truth of faith. Naturalism emphasised the importance of natural religion and diminished the spiritual values of Revelation. Moralism reduced religion to morality and practically transformed it into the science of morality, which aimed at educating and forming a loyal citizen. In the transmission of religious truths, and Bible stories as well, the main goal was to draw moral conclusions from them.

The Enlightenment brought about significant changes in the understanding and functioning of catechesis. The history of catechesis began with school catechesis that continues to this day and is called by many authors "the period of school catechumenate." Attempts were made to introduce the Scriptures to catechesis. After almost two centuries of existence of biblical catechesis, it was a right solution, even though in a not yet satisfactory form as a separate subject of biblical history with a strong emphasis on the historical and moral side. In the period after Enlightenment, in the first half of the 19th century, eminent catechists appeared, who tried to overcome the damage caused to catechesis by the spirit of the Enlightenment (rationalism, naturalism, moralism) as well as by the actions taken at that time. On the other hand, they attempted to preserve and deepen the positive and valuable contribution to catechesis this epoch had made. The then-dominant general tendency was to strive for the historical-redemptive approach to catechesis.

9 Cf. R. Murawski, *Historia katechezy*, op. cit., pp. 91–106.

Kerygmatic renewal in the catechesis of the 19th and 20th century

The catechetical renewal initiated in the 19th century began to bring together a multitude of catechetical theorists and practitioners, which became apparent in the creation of many scientific works on the subject. The directions that developed during that period directly preceded the kerygmatic renewal in catechesis and were in no small extent the foundation for the Church's later teaching and preaching.[10]

When looking at the development of catechesis from the perspective of the last decades, three successive stages can be distinguished: scholastic, kerygmatic and anthropological ones within which specific catechetical directions were developed. The first one concerned scholastic catechesis directed mainly towards the transmission of religious knowledge. Over time, deepened reflection on the child and its development resulted in the introduction of activating and experiential elements.[11]

The 19th century is considered the beginning of the renewal of the kerygmatic direction. Its initiators were Bernhard Heinrich Overberg, Johann Michael Sailer, Augustinus Gruber and Johann Baptista Hirscher.[12] B. Overberg reiterated the importance of the Scriptures as a source and basis for the transmission of faith. In turn, Johann Michael Sailer embodies what was the most original in Catholicism in the early 19th century. He makes the Scriptures and Revelation the starting point for preaching. He postulated the independence of the kerygma from school theology.[13] In his view catechesis only uses religious knowledge to develop a Christian attitude in the catechised. He proposed to influence the whole personality of the catechised person. Augustinus Gruber, the author of catechesis based on St Augustine's *De catechizandis rudibus*, should be considered another pre-kerygmatist. He pointed out that catechesis should be a biblical story, and the catechist should be a hero of God, proclaiming Revelation and telling about God's great works.[14] Johann Baptista Hirscher was the classic representative of kerygmatic renewal in catechesis. In his works, he criticised the moralistic sermons of the Enlightenment. He paid attention to the renewal

10 Cf. M. Wojtasik, *Katecheza kerygmatyczna w Polsce po Soborze Watykańskim II*, Łódź 2010, p. 29.
11 Cf. J. Michalski, *Katecheza parafialna w Polsce po Soborze Watykańskim II*, Olsztyn 1997, p. 16.
12 Cf. T. Panuś, *Główne kierunki katechetyczne XX wieku*, Krakow 2001, p. 63.
13 Cf. F. Blachnicki, *Kerygmatyczna odnowa katechezy*, Warsaw 2005, pp. 59–60.
14 R. Murowski, *Historia katechezy*, op. cit., pp. 104–105.

of the content of the announcement. At the centre of his teaching there was the preaching of the mystery of faith centred around Jesus Christ.

Hirscher's kerygmatic principles can be summarised in the following points:
- historical-genetic representation of salvation works against the background of the history of salvation,
- presentation of the Christian religion in an organic outline as the whole of God's works, carried out in Christ for the glory of the Father and the salvation of people,
- emphasising the central truths and concentrating all the mysteries of Christianity around them,
- presentation of Revelation in practical terms, where the truths revealed are intended for the transformation and salvation of a man.[15]

Hirscher's thought was, for those times, something completely revolutionary. It was an apparent reference to the tradition of the apostles, and through St Augustine to the Roman Catechism. The catechism gained then permanent stimuli functioning until today.

This trend of catechesis, initially so enthusiastically received, was suppressed after several years because of the revival of the neo-scholastic direction and its supporters. It was not until the beginning of the 20th century that kerygmatic renewal found its way to more fertile ground. In his book *Katholische Schulbibel*, Jakob Ecker recalled the kerygmatic ideas proclaimed by the authors mentioned above. He pointed out the need to develop a textbook for the study of religion entirely based on the Scriptures.[16]

The years 1936–1960 are considered the peak development phase of the direction of kerygmatic renewal. Joseph Andreas Jungmann's book *The Good News and Our Preaching of the Faith* published in Regensburg was a breakthrough. According to Jungmann, catechesis is not meant to popularise theology, but it should become the proclamation of the Gospel. The purpose of catechesis was to be a personal response of the disciple to the Word of God. Its essence was the reflection on the Word of God based on the mutual commitment of the catechist and disciples. The catechist was seen as a hero, messenger, witness.[17]

Kerygmatic catechesis at that time found strong support in the biblical, liturgical, and pastoral movements. The first one contributed to linking catechesis to the Holy Scriptures. The liturgical movement, on the other hand,

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15 Cf. T. Panuś, *Główne kierunki…*, op. cit., p. 65.
16 Ibidem, p. 66.
17 Cf. R. Chałupniak, *Dzieje katechezy*, [in:] *Wybrane zagadnienia z katechetyki*, R. Chałupniak, J. Kostorz (eds.), Opole 2002, p. 35.

helped it to open to the mysteries of the sacraments in the Church. Whereas the pastoral movement sensitised catechesis to the danger of excessive activism and pointed out that the concept and implementation of catechesis are to be closely connected with the realisation of the Church.[18]

The basic elements of kerygmatic catechesis can therefore be summarised in the following points:

1. Christocentrism – catechesis proclaiming the message of salvation must put the person of Jesus Christ at the centre.
2. Theocentrism – the content structure of catechesis must be theocentric – Trinitarian: through Christ to the Father in the Holy Spirit.
3. Ecclesiocentrism – the emphasis of an external organisation with a hierarchical system has been shifted to the living experience of the Church as a community of those who belong to Christ and have a share in His life.
4. The Scriptures occupies a prominent position in the Church.
5. Liturgy has become a necessary element of catechetical preaching.
6. Man's response to God's call – the task of catechesis is to present the content in such a way as to evoke in the catechised people a response to the proclaimed message of salvation.[19]

The kerygmatic movement restored concepts forgotten in the Church such as the Word of God, Christocentrism, revelation, kerygma, personal dialogue between God and a man, history of salvation, and others. It drew attention to the dynamic and existential character of Revelation, emphasised the role of the Sacred Scriptures in the life of the Church and individual believers. It can be said that it laid the foundations for the Council's demands for preaching.

The tradition of kerygmatic catechesis in the Church is referred to by Pope Francis in his statements today. In the Apostolic Exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium* he states, among other things, that: "kerygmatic catechesis is the main message to which one must constantly return and listen in various ways and which must be constantly proclaimed in one form or another at all stages" (EV 164). It is expressed in the statement that "Jesus Christ loves you, He gave His life to save you, and now He is alive at your side every day to enlighten, strengthen, and liberate you" (EV 164). The whole Christian formation is to be a deepening of the kerygma, a proclamation of Christ; it will have "the characteristics of joy, stimulus, vitality and harmonious fullness not reducing the preaching to several doctrines, sometimes more philosophical than evangelical." As can be seen in Pope Francis, the first proclamation of Christ leads to a personal relationship

18 Cf. M. Majewski, *Katecheza wierna Bogu i człowiekowi*, Krakow 1986, pp. 36–37.
19 Cf. W. Koska, *Katechetyka*, Poznań 1989, pp. 71–76.

with Him and becomes a personal dimension of everyday life.[20] For this reason, Pope Francis stresses the importance of kerygmatic catechesis, which "is a message that responds to the desire for infinity in every human heart" (EV 165).

Many movements for the renewal of the modern Church use kerygmatic catechesis in their activities.[21] For example, the Charismatic Renewal, the Light-Life Movement, the Neocatechumenal Way, Comunion e Liberazione, Cursillo, and so forth, can be mentioned here. Kerygmatic catechesis in these movements contributes to the continuous development of the contemporary Church.

Conclusion

The analyses presented allow the conclusion that the creation and development of the kerygma in catechesis, which dates to the beginning of the Church, has always been the foundation of a renewal of faith. Throughout the history of the Church each epoch has pursued its own style of preaching the kerygma – at the beginning of the Church as the first preaching of Jesus Christ, then through the catechumenate, until the 21st century. The deepened faith of the catechised leads to evangelisation, that is, sharing of the living Jesus with brothers and sisters. For more and more often, they do not know Him or have forgotten Him. That has a transforming effect on their daily lives and directs them towards the supernatural life.

The fruit of kerygmatic catechesis is, above all, the building up of faith in its participants, which is vital in times of contemporary crisis of faith. It is therefore worth undertaking further detailed research into the causes of this phenomenon.

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[21] Cf. P. Tomasik, *Owoce orientacji kerygmatycznej we współczesnej katechezie polskiej*, "Studia Katechetyczne," vol. 8: *Kerygma – Biblia – katecheza*, R. Czekalski (ed.), p. 51.

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Homily Building Based on Euchological Texts in the Light of Exhortations of the *Homiletic Directory*

Budowanie homilii na bazie tekstów euchologijnych w świetle wskazań *Dyrektorium homiletycznego*

Abstract: The author devoted the article to the preparation of homilies based on euchological texts. His inspiration was *Homiletic Directory* by the Congregation for Divine Worship and Discipline of the Sacraments. His attention was due to the impression that the *Directory* gave too little consideration to them, especially the methods that can be used to preparing the homily. The *Directory* mentions that the spectrum that inspires homiletic work includes, apart from Bible, typically liturgical texts. Nonetheless, a more thorough reading provokes the impression that focus on biblical readings by far dominates. The method proposed by the *Directory* is *lectio divina*, which is growing out of the patristic exegesis of the spiritual sense of the Scripture. This method considers the biblical texts belonging to the canon recognised to be inspired. Euchological formulas, on the other hand, belong to an open catalogue, so they differ from the biblical texts. Hence the thesis in the article appears that the *lectio divina* method can be used as a model for prayer formulas and treated in an inspiring way, however, the methodology typical for liturgical hermeneutics should be employed. The paper proposes to use the historical-critical method, which allows for reading their diachronicity, and the linguistic (semiotic), which enables their synchronous richness to be explored. The juxtaposition of these methods makes it possible to see how they correspond to each other and thus confirm the rationality of the conducted argument and the validity of the thesis indicating the need to use adequate methods when preparing homilies based on euchological formulas.

Keywords: biblical readings, euchological texts, historical-critical and contextual method, homily preaching, *lectio divina*, linguistic (semiotic) method, homily preparation

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Abstrakt: Autor poświęcił artykuł zagadnieniu przygotowania homilii na bazie tekstów euchologijnych. Inspirację odnalazł w opublikowanym przez Kongregację ds. Kultu Bożego i Dyscypliny Sakramentów w 2015 roku *Dyrektorium homiletycznym*. Poświęcenie uwagi tekstom euchologijnym sprowokowane zostało wrażeniem, jakoby we wspomnianym dyrektorium poświęcono im zbyt mało miejsca, szczególnie zaś możliwym do zastosowania metodom w pracy nad nimi w perspektywie przygotowania homilii. W dyrektorium jest mowa o tym, że do spektrum inspirującego twórczość homiletyczną należą – oprócz czytań czerpanych z Biblii – teksty typowo liturgiczne, a więc nade wszystko formuły euchologijne, niemniej dokładniejsza lektura dokumentu prowokuje wrażenie, jakoby uwaga skupiona na czytaniach biblijnych była w nim zdecydowanie dominująca. Metodą proponowaną przez dyrektorium jest wyrastająca z patrystycznej egzegezy duchowych sensów Pisma Świętego *lectio divina*. W metodzie tej chodzi o teksty biblijne przynależne do kanonu ksiąg uznanych za natchnione. Euchologijne formuły natomiast przynależą do otwartego katalogu, który jest wciąż uzupełniany, więc odróżniają się od tekstów biblijnych. Stąd powstaje w artykule teza, iż metodą *lectio divina* można się w pracy nad formułami modlitewnymi posługiwać modelowo, traktować ją inspirująco, niemniej sięgać należy po metody typowe dla hermeneutyki liturgicznej. W treści opracowania proponuje się korzystanie przy pracy nad homilią na bazie tekstów euchologijnych z metody historyczno-krytycznej, która pozwala odczytać ich diachroniczność, oraz z metody lingwistycznej (semiotycznej), dzięki której można zgłębić ich bogactwo synchroniczne. Zestawienie tych metod pozwala dostrzec, jak korespondują ze sobą, a przez to potwierdzają racjonalność przeprowadzonego wywodu oraz słuszność tezy wskazującej na potrzebę posługiwania się przy pracy nad homilią na bazie formuł euchologijnych metodami adekwatnymi.

Słowa kluczowe: czytania biblijne, głoszenie homilii, *lectio divina*, metoda historyczno-krytyczna i kontekstualna, metoda lingwistyczna (semiotyczna), przygotowanie homilii, teksty euchologijne

At the outset, it is worth asking what impression the *Homiletic Directory* of the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments[1] presented on February 10, 2015 in the Vatican Press Office may produce on the reader: contact with a revolutionary document or a document that echoes the teachings of the Second Vatican Council?

1 H. Sławiński, *Znaczenie, geneza i struktura „Dyrektorium homiletycznego,”* „Polonia Sacra" 40 (2015), no. 3, p. 155. *Dyrektorium homiletyczne*, Polish edition of Pallottinum, Poznań 2015 (hereinafter: DH). The *Directory* is preceded by a decree of the said Congregation, signed on June 29, 2014 by its then Prefect Cardinal Antonio Cañizarez Llovera and the Secretary of the Congregation, Archbishop Arthur Roche. The latter, on February 10, 2015, together with the new Prefect of the Congregation for Divine Worship and Discipline of the Sacraments, Cardinal Robert Sarah of Guinea, made the official presentation of the document (see: H. Sławiński, *Znaczenie*…, op. cit., p. 155).

The author of this study is convinced that this *Directory*[2] is more like an echo of the teachings of the Second Vatican Council, or even, one might say, more than an echo itself. It appears to be a mature fruit of that Council. In fact, it indicates the objectives of the homily according to the characteristics contained in the relevant documents of the Church, from the Constitution on the Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (hereinafter: KL) to the Apostolic Exhortation *Evangelii gaudium* (hereinafter: EG) of Pope Francis[3] issued on November 24, 2013. Moreover, it formulates, based on these documents, indications that may help homilists properly and effectively fulfil their mission during the liturgy. It regards a liturgy renewed under the influence of the last General Council, which defines a homily as "part of" the liturgy itself, especially the liturgy of the word.[4] Besides, it presents it as an "instrument" capable of making the process of teaching the mysteries of the faith and the principles of Christian life active (cf. ibidem). A homily, precisely since it "belongs inseparably to the liturgy, is not only the instruction, but a [typical] liturgical act, [and even] (…) has (…) a sacramental meaning."[5]

The abundant content of euchological texts for building homilies

The "raw material" from which the homily is built is the Scripture, as it contains the inspired word, that is the word of God.[6] Therefore, the homily is prepared

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2 The dictionary definition refers a directory to "an ecclesiastical document containing the norms and objectives of proceeding in a particular case" (see: SJP PWN, term: "dyrektorium," http://sjp.pwn.pl/sjp/dyrektorium;2555701.html [access: 14.03.2019]). The very name "directory" comes from the Latin *directorium* derived from the verb *dirigere* (direct). It is used to denote a set of detailed norms regulating the conduct and activity of ecclesiastical persons or institutions in a specific field (cf. F. Pasternak, *Dyrektorium*, EK, vol. 4, col. 432; H. Sławiński, *Znaczenie…*, op. cit., p. 156).

3 Among these documents there are, of course, above all, two introductions, namely *Wprowadzenie do drugiego wydania Lekcjonarza mszalnego* (hereinafter: WLM) (Polish edition [in:] *Lekcjonarz mszalny*, vol. 1: *Okres Adwentu. Okres Narodzenia Pańskiego*, Poznań 2015, pp. 7–55) and *Ogólne wprowadzenie do Mszału rzymskiego* (Polish edition Poznań 2006). These are also *Katechizm Kościoła Katolickiego* (Polish edition Poznań 2002) and other church documents and liturgical books, indicated in the second supplement to the *Directory* titled *Kościelne źródła posoborowe dotyczące przepowiadania* (see: DH, pp. 103–140).

4 Cf. KL 52; see also: WLM 24. Cf. Sacred Congregation of Rituals, *Inter oecumenici*, 26.09.1964 (hereinafter: IOe), 26.09.1964, no. 54.

5 DH 4; cf. also no. 12. For this reason, it is recalled in this *Directory* that the homily "can only be preached by a bishop, presbyter or deacon" (DH 5). All English translations by WTR.

6 Cf. Vatican Council II, *Dei Verbum* 24.

by preachers from pericopes of the Gospel or other mass readings. However, they can also prepare the homily based on a (euchological or non-euchological) liturgical text[7] belonging to the variable or constant parts of the Mass,[8] one of the sacraments or sacramentals, as well as the liturgy of the hours when celebrated in the community of the Church.[9] This principle applies to all kinds of homilies, and it is assumed by the *Homiletic Directory*, which "focuses on the homily of the Sunday Eucharist, but [its] content refers *mutatis mutandis* to the proclamation that is a common part of every sacramental and liturgical celebration."[10]

A broad range of sources inspiring homiletic creativity

The title of this study focuses on euchological texts used as a material for building homilies. Thus, the attention is drawn to the most standard liturgical texts, although, as we know, not only prayer formulas are the carrier of the faith celebrated by the Church, which is highlighted in the studied *Homiletic Directory*. For such a carrier are also other elements of rituals which are part of every liturgical celebration is woven, i.e. symbols, gestures, attitudes, actions, material things, silence. Finally, the liturgical year[11] that is celebrated with devotion and divided into periods and types of celebration, and which fulfils an important task for the preaching, is also a carrier.[12] Nevertheless, regardless of this fact, we have selected – by way of example and not exclusivity – prayer formulas (euchology) as the matter of our interest, and focused on them.

Significantly, the *Homiletic Directory* stresses the broad spectrum of sources that can inspire homiletic creativity. Reminding us of this allows raising our awareness that individual biblical texts can, but not necessarily in the sole sense,

7 Cf. DH 10.

8 Congregation for Divine Worship and Discipline of the Sacraments, *Ogólne wprowadzenie do Mszału rzymskiego* 65.

9 All the texts that belong to the variable (the so-called *proprium*) or fixed (the so-called *ordinarium*) parts of the liturgy can be, according to the post-conciliar documents, an independent homiletic material or a component of it, connected with the biblical text. See: H. Simon, *Teksty liturgiczne jako źródło przepowiadania*, [in:] *Liturgia i przepowiadanie*, serie: *Redemptionis missio*, vol. 29, W. Przyczyna (ed.), Krakow 2010, p. 181.

10 DH 3.

11 Cf. A. Żądło, *Hermeneutyka w badaniach nad formułami modlitw liturgicznych*, [in:] *Studia Liturgiczne*, vol. 11: *Badania nad liturgią w Polsce po Vaticanum II. Historia – kierunki badań – metodologia*, vol. 168, C. Krakowiak, W. Pałęcki (eds.), Lublin 2015, pp. 103, 104.

12 H. Simon, *Teksty liturgiczne...*, op. cit., p. 176.

be a source that inspires the theme of preaching.[13] Nonetheless, observation of everyday life leads us to the conclusion that in homiletic practice, this spectrum is "unfortunately" often, not to say emphatically, narrowed down to biblical texts alone, i.e., readings drawn from the Scripture. Although I express such an opinion without referring to specific studies on the subject, daily experience and personal observation of homiletical practice create the ground for it. I am convinced that the above is reliable and finds confirmation in the existing reality. The list of "schemes" cited by Jan Twardy, which are useful in the process of updating the word of God and which can be applied in work on the homily/confession, supports the observation mentioned above as well.[14]

It is true that during the celebration of the liturgy, also biblical readings take on the rank of liturgical texts since the key to their interpretation is the liturgical context during the celebration.[15] We want to emphasise, following the *Homiletic Directory* inspired by the Second Vatican Council, that the building block for the preparation of the homily can be, as we have signalled above, and even, according to the teaching of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, should be any of the texts appearing in the repertoire of the variable or fixed parts of the Mass or other liturgical celebrations of the Church. This is as it should be because, in line with the teaching of the Constitution on the Liturgy, each of these texts belongs to a treasure trove which, on a par with the Sacred Scripture, although in its own proper way, is counted among the sources that sparkle with content relating to God's bizarre works in the history of salvation. Not only did this history become a reality in a historical sense in the earthly events of Jesus, but "it is present in us and works (...) in the liturgical rites" (KL 35). That is the reason why the *Homiletic Directory* defines both these biblical readings and the other liturgical texts as "holy texts" – all of them (and thus not just any of them on a selective basis – e.g., exclusively biblical or liturgical ones) can serve as a foundation for the teaching of the mysteries of the faith as well as the principles of Christian life.[16] This is because "the Bible and the

13 Cf. DH 23.
14 See: *Aktualizacja słowa Bożego w kaznodziejstwie*, Przemyśl 2009, pp. 400–419. The author on 10 specified pages acquaints the reader with 20 schemes of sermon/homily preparation. In 18 of them, the biblical texts are indicated explicitly as homiletical sources (cf. schemes 1–12 [pp. 400–405] and 14–19 [pp. 406–408]; only schemes 13 and 20 [pp. 405 and 409] do not mention any kind of texts, hence it may mean that it is possible to use them [especially scheme 13] in the preparation of homilies based on euchological texts).
15 Cf. DH 15.
16 See: DH 10; cf. KL 52; IOe 54; WLM 24.

liturgy form an organic unity,"[17] and daily life is, in fact, the most appropriate "place" for interpreting and putting into practice the Bible and the liturgy,[18] i.e. a place of continuous creation of the Church's living Tradition, which is already manifested in the very right choice and combination of readings and liturgical prayers. The texts of such prayers are in themselves "monuments to Tradition and are organically linked to the Sacred Scripture since they either come directly from it or are inspired by it."[19]

Justification for building homilies on the foundation of euchological texts

To sum up, it is worth recalling that out of the whole corpus of texts called liturgical the following three groups emerge: 1) Biblical texts, which include readings, psalms, responsories and some antiphonies; 2) prayer texts (euchological texts) among which the texts of minor and major euchology[20] are distinguished; 3) non-euchological texts (others), which include some antiphonies, some greetings and answers, calls, exhortations and others.

When asked about the motives for building homilies from the above-mentioned euchological texts that constitute the main interest in this article, it is worth answering that the fundamental reason in this respect is the fact that these texts belong primarily to the liturgy being performed. For they, thanks to the liturgical context in which they are applied, are characterised by the causative dynamics of the mystery celebrated in a given rite. Therefore, no word of an individual prayer should escape our attention but should influence the content of our spiritual experience, as well as intensify and revive the faithful salvific encounter with God and His Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord and Savior.

Thus, for example, when approaching things, an anaclasis, or invocation, "God who..." must be accompanied by the pure and deepened faith in God

17 DH 20.

18 Cf. Benedict XVI, *Verbum Domini* (hereinafter: VD), 30.09.2010, no. 29.

19 Ibidem.

20 Major euchology is the whole Eucharistic prayer in the Mass, while minor euchology is constituted by the collect, prayers over gifts and prayers after communion. See: M. Augé, *Tekst euchologijny*, [in:] *Liturgia w podstawowych formach wyrazu*, serie: *Kościół w trzecim tysiącleciu*, vol. 9, A. Żądło (ed.), Katowice 2011, pp. 136–149; cf. H.J. Sobeczko, *Metody interpretacji tekstów liturgicznych*, [in:] *Ratio et revelatio. Z refleksji filozoficzno-teologicznych. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana Księdzu Profesorowi Józefowi Herbutowi z okazji 65. rocznicy urodzin*, J. Cichoń (ed.), Opole 1998, p. 231.

as shown to us (almost "defined," if one can express it in this way) in a given euchological, faith in a living encounter during the liturgy with the God. Also, the request "make it happen…" must be harmonised with the faith (not just a purely human attitude) that God remains open to our needs presented to Him, that He can give us what is necessary for salvation and what we ask Him for. We ought to convince the participants of the liturgy to all this in a homily. The faith and the resulting conviction that performing a given ritual means not only recalling the past in the spirit of a linear understanding of time but above all anamnesis[21] should be inspired in the participants through the homily. For a liturgical rite is a reminder of the salvific mysteries[22] in the sense that "what has once been done in a natural, historical way appears to us in a mystery."[23] It is still a matter of presence experienced and read by faith, and not only of memory, to which, humanly speaking, a person living "here and now." While for those who look at the liturgy from the outside, it is about memory, for those who participate in it with a mature faith, it is about the presence of the saving Lord and about communicating such His presence.[24]

In the liturgy that makes present what it means, it is not only a matter of "listening carefully" to the words spoken by a lector, deacon or priest, but of permeating them by faith and praying with them, of making them the content of one's prayer establishing real communion. The latter, while entering into personal contact with the Lord, who acts salvifically "here and now," is truly present and realises His mystery. A homily should help us in maturing to all this.[25]

Tools and methods necessary to build a homily

According to what has been said above, the basic "building blocks" for constructing a homily are the content of the liturgical mystery with its theology that is lived and manifested by readings and other texts.[26] This liturgical-theological nature of the homily requires that on the one hand it is entrusted exclusively to

21 M. Kunzler, *Liturgia Kościoła*, serie: *Amateca: Podręczniki teologii katolickiej*, vol. 10, translated and deveped by L. Balter, Poznań 1999, p. 110.
22 Cf. O. Casel, *Das christliche Opfermysterium. Zur Morphologie und Theologie des eucharistischen Hochgebets*, Graz–Wien–Köln–Styria 1968, pp. 487 ff.
23 Ibidem.
24 Cf. ibidem.
25 Cf. A. Żądło, *Hermeneutyka tekstów euchologijnych w służbie przepowiadania liturgicznego*, "Roczniki Teologiczne" 62 (2015), no. 12, p. 97.
26 See: W. Świerzawski, *Mała metoda głoszenia homilii*, "Anamnesis" 10 (1996/97), no. 3, p. 71.

persons ordained to preside over[27] the liturgy, namely those authorised to spread, reflect, and, if necessary, correct the faith of the Church.[28] On the other hand, the liturgical and theological nature of the homily demands that it be correctly and thoroughly prepared with the use of appropriate tools and methods.

Thanks to the living lecture we are dealing with in the homily, both the proclamation of the word of God and the liturgical rituals of the Church, which are inseparable from prayer texts (there is no ritual without a longer or shorter prayer text), can become more effective if the homily grows out of fruitful meditation and is well prepared in the process of building it up using appropriate tools and methods.[29]

Preparing a homily using the *lectio divina* method

This *Homiletic Directory* outlines before the preachers a certain path to follow in the homily preparatory stage, which, as the document states, is to identify with the reflection on the meaning of the readings and prayers of a given liturgical celebration in the light of the mystery it commemorates.[30]

On this path, there are certain stages, identical to those proposed by the so-called *lectio divina*, which consists of reading (*lectio*), meditation (*meditatio*), prayer (*oratio*) and contemplation (*contemplatio*).[31] This method, based on four pillars, "grows out of a patristic exegesis of the spiritual meaning of Scripture."[32] The great masters of its spiritual interpretation were the Fathers of the Church, who were mostly pastors; in their writings, there are often explanations of the word of God, which they gave people during the liturgy.[33] This method has been developed over the centuries by the monks and nuns who have been contemplating the Scripture in prayer throughout their lives.[34]

27 Cf. Congregation for Divine Worship and Discipline of the Sacraments, *Redemptionis sacramentum*, 25.03.2004, no. 161.
28 Cf. DH 6.
29 Cf. DH 10; WLM 24.
30 See: DH 15.
31 See: DH 29–35; cf. VD 87; EG 152.
32 DH 27.
33 See: DH 25.
34 Cf. DH 27.

The need to use hermeneutical methods in homiletical creativity

Following on from the mentioned Church Fathers, monks and nuns, as well as using the methods known today and commonly used, we want to draw attention to how a person preparing a homily for a specific liturgical celebration can reach the content of the texts used in the liturgy of the day. This method is identified with hermeneutical methods in homiletical creativity.

When we talk about such methods, we mean the techniques of reflecting on the chosen texts and explaining them to the liturgical participants. More broadly speaking, hermeneutical methods align themselves with the art of penetrating the historical context of the creation of a given text, i.e. its history, as well as the sense hidden in it. Detecting both elements makes it possible to understand better the message (content) that the text contains within and carries with it, as well as to communicate it adequately to the faithful gathered in the celebration of the liturgy. Under the term "hermeneutics," we understand the art of listening to what a text says to us, as well as translating it and explaining it to the listeners.[35]

In our case, we could mean discovering the richness contained in the texts from various books, such as the lectionary, missal or any ritual (ritual book), as all texts intended for the liturgy celebration can be subject to homiletic creativity, as we have indicated above. However, our attention is focused only on euchological texts, because the study intends to contribute to the popularisation of methods for analysing such texts, although these methods are known to belong to linguistics, and we borrowed them from the Biblical studies that use them to interpret the Scripture. The focus on euchology is the reason why we leave aside many of the hermeneutical methods[36] known and used today,

35 Cf. A. Bronk, *Hermeneutyka*, [in:] *Encyklopedia katolicka* (hereinafter: EK), vol. 6, col. 770.

36 For example, it is worth mentioning that Herbert Simon refers in the above-mentioned article to a two-volume work entitled *Mit der Kirche beten* (Stuttgart 1978) by Anton Bauer and Heribert Feifel (vol. 1: *Betrachtungen zu den Tagesgebeten der Sonntage im Jahreskreis*; vol. 2: *Betrachtungen zu den Tagesgebeten der Festtage und Festzeiten*), to stress that it contains numerous practical hermeneutical guidelines for the preacher, and thus a certain hermeneutic method of working on prayer texts in the preparation of the homily. Those authors emphasise in this work that for an effective homiletical use of a given euchological text it is necessary to know: 1) when, in what period of the Church's life the analysed text was created; 2) in the context of what period it is currently used; 3) what the structure of the text and its main theological message are; 4) what the Church's request and what is the Church's inclination to pray are; 5) what the existential value of the analysed prayer is (see: *Teksty liturgiczne…*, op. cit., p. 181).

and take on the historical-critical and linguistic ones[37] since they seem to be a tool which is, by all means, useful in preparing a homily – an essential and responsible activity – based on prayer texts, analogous to biblical texts.[38]

Preparing homilies using methods specific to liturgical hermeneutics

The methods indicated in the title of this section, whether possible or applicable in building homilies based on euchological texts, are not mentioned in the *Homiletic Directory*. The *Directory* explicitly mentions that "the homily [is] the explanation of the word of the Holy Scripture (...) or some liturgical text."[39] Therefore, the question arises why it does not do so or at least why it does not mention the possibility or even the necessity of using the methods already developed by the liturgical hermeneutics and applied by it to analyse liturgical texts to build homilies based on euchology. The *Directory* even points to something even more significant, namely it reminds us that the homily must be well prepared each time by submitting to appropriate and fruitful meditation.[40] The latter as the fruit of which is to be the homily, as well as its direct preparation ought to be carried out according to a key, a certain pattern, i.e., an established and deliberately chosen order, even a rigour, if one wants to avoid the danger of the so-called "daydreaming" (instead of thinking) or wasting

37 These methods and the way of their practical application to the analysis of euchological texts are presented and illustrated with concrete examples [in:] A. Żądło, *Hermeneutyka w badaniach nad formułami modlitw...*, op. cit., pp. 81–113. Cf. idem, *Eklezjologiczny wymiar kolekt Adwentu w Mszale rzymskim Pawła VI. Studium lingwistyczno-teologiczne*, Krakow 2002, pp. 8–14; idem, *Hermeneutyka tekstów euchologijnych w kluczu diachronicznym i synchronicznym*, "Studia Theologica Varsaviensia" 49 (2011), no. 1, pp. 88–94; idem, *„Lex orandi – lex credendi" w modlitwach nad darami Adwentu w Mszale Pawła VI. Studium hermeneutyczno-liturgiczne*, serie: *Kościół w trzecim tysiącleciu*, vol. 11, Katowice 2013, pp. 11–16.

38 The proposal to base on euchological texts during the preparation of homilies, while using the hermeneutical methods mentioned above, seems understandable in view of the wealth of methods or models of updating the word of God that we can apply when preparing a homily from biblical readings. The multiplicity of such models/methods is attested by the list drawn up and presented by the already mentioned Jan Twardy in *Aneksy* to his book *Aktualizacja słowa Bożego w kaznodziejstwie* (see: pp. 400–419). Although the author suggests that in the relevant Aneks he is referring to models useful in the work on the "sermon," the presentation of these models, and sometimes even the titles that some of them are provided with, shows that they are also designed to prepare a "homily."

39 DH 10.

40 This reminder is formulated in the *Directory* following WLM 24. Cf. DH 10.

precious time (instead of using it creatively to prepare what needs to be done). Thus, both the meditation and the other links in the preparation process should be guided by a precise, well-established method of conduct, creating a chance to achieve the intended goal.

The *Directory* suggests which method can be chosen to meditate on the Bible texts (i.e. the readings provided by the lectionary on a given day) to prepare a homily on their foundation. It is appropriate to use the method of *lectio divina*, as pointed out by Pope Francis[41] in the document under discussion. However, the inevitable question arises of the choice of the method for work on the euchological texts when preparing the homily based on them? The *Directory* does not provide the answer to such a question. Therefore, someone could suggest that the *lectio divina* method can be employed here as well.

Even though such a suggestion is challenging to be unequivocally opposed, it is evident that this method cannot be adapted in its pure form to euchological formulas, since it is "one of the ways of reading the Scripture, [leading] to a better knowledge of God and His saving plans in Jesus Christ, also in relation to our personal lives."[42]

> *Lectio divina* (which means "reading God's word") (…) is the individual or collective reading [and meditation] of a slightly longer passage of the Scripture as the word of God, which takes place because of a particular movement by the Holy Spirit, and which goes into meditation, prayer and contemplation.[43]

Such reading of a passage of the Scripture is, therefore, a sacred message written in text form under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.[44] The euchological formulas do not have this category (inspired texts), although they are inherently sacred, as composed for the sacred liturgy, and their use in the liturgy is sacred, they appear to us as texts created by extra-biblical authors, though often inspired by the Bible.[45]

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41 Cf. EG 152.

42 T. Trzaskawka, *Wprowadzenie w praktykę „lectio divina,"* http://mateusz.pl/mt/lectio/ts.asp [access: 19.05.2018].

43 Papal Biblical Commission, *Interpretacja Pisma Świętego w Kościele*, April 15, 1993, Polish translation Poznań 1994, p. 106. Cf. *Leksykon liturgii*, term: "Lectio divina," developed by B. Nadolski, Poznań 2006, pp. 724, 725; J. Kudasiewicz, B. Szier-Kramarek, *Lectio divina*, part 2, EK, vol. 10, col. 629, 630.

44 Cf. L. Pacomio, *Lectio divina. Accostarsi alla Bibbia, leggere, meditare, pregare, contemplare, amare*, Casale Monferrato 1986, p. 12.

45 Cf. K. Konecki, *Zasady interpretacji tekstów euchologijnych*, "Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny" 46 (1993), no. 3–4, p. 178.

The difference between the two types of texts used in the liturgy (biblical and euchological) stems above all from the fact that biblical texts belong to the canon of books considered to be inspired by the Church. In contrast, euchological texts form an open catalogue of texts, which is still supplemented due to the vital character of the liturgy, for example, the dynamics of worship of the saints, as well as other transformations that take place in liturgical celebrations during the Church year. Euchological texts, therefore, are distinguished from biblical texts by their authorship, as well as the context and purpose of their composition: they are edited by the Church to express the mystery of its worship while considering the socio-cultural conditions of the congregation that uses them.[46]

The *lectio divina* method is applicable to Mass prayers in a model sense. It means that it can be modelled on in an inspiring way, but ultimately the methods typical of liturgical hermeneutics should be used. These teach that for a careful examination of euchological texts, an in-depth study of their contents, extracting and announcing to the people gathered in the liturgy a message coming from them, it is necessary to analyse them above all in a diachronic and synchronous key.[47] The diachronic key is a matter of recognising what kind of text we are dealing with, whether it is taken from one of the ancient sacramentaries, composed in the times closer to us, or perhaps even in the modern, post-conciliar period. It is first and foremost a matter of knowing what path through time (*día chrónos*) the prayers used today in the liturgy (which form a building block for the homily being prepared) have taken, what attitude to biblical (or perhaps patristic) texts or to ecclesiastical documents they have had, and whether the texts have inspired them.

The historical-critical method for obtaining such information derives from a critical look at a given text, and the attempt to reconstruct its origins and history up to its final editing (hence it is called diachronic).[48] Nonetheless, it does not determine the interdependence of individual elements of the prayer formula to enter deeper into its theological richness. Therefore, the synchronic approach to euchological texts – especially the use of the linguistic method[49] – is

46 See: ibidem, p. 176.

47 To imagine and assimilate how to proceed with the analysis of euchological formulas in a diachronic and synchronous key, cf. *Aneks* to the article by A. Żądło, *Hermeneutyka w badaniach nad formułami modlitw…*, op. cit., entitled *Metody, jakimi warto posługiwać się w hermeneutyce liturgicznej* (pp. 104–112).

48 See: A. Żądło, *Hermeneutyka tekstów euchologijnych…*, op. cit., p. 89.

49 Cf. ibidem, p. 90. See: J. Czerski, *Metody interpretacji Nowego Testamentu*, serie: *Opolska Biblioteka Teologiczna*, vol. 21, Opole 1997, p. 69.

required. It makes it possible to see coherent literary units in them and opens the way to the reading of their meaning and the content associated with the celebrated mystery.[50]

Model significance of *lectio divina* for homiletic creativity based on euchological texts explored by historical-critical and linguistic methods

We have noted above that, according to the *Homiletic Directory* studied, the fundamental pillars on which the reading of the Holy Scripture with benefit and in the spirit of faith by *lectio divina* is based include *lectio* (reading the text), *meditatio* (meditating the text), *oratio* (praying with the text) and *contemplatio* (contemplation). In 1993, the Pontifical Biblical Commission recalled it in a document dedicated to the interpretation of the Sacred Scripture in the Church,[51] as did Benedict XVI, who called this practice of *lectio divina* a prayerful reading in the Holy Spirit, opening to the faithful the treasure of God's word and leading to an encounter with Christ, the living Word of God.[52] In the minor study on the *lectio divina* method, which was published as early as 1986, Luciano Pacomio, enriches the mentioned above necessary four steps for its implementation with two others.

The first of these stages, as if foresighted, indicates the need to get closer to the Bible. It is to realise each time – what we are dealing with in the process of preparing the homily – the importance of the Scripture we make the object of our prayerful treatment, pay attention to the book of that Scripture from which the fragment analysed and meditated comes, see the context in which the sacred text to which we devote our time and prayerful concentration appears.[53] Pacomio identifies the second concluding, or instead consistently completing the four steps of the *lectio divina* method, stage with the attitude of love practised in life, which is the fruit of reading and meditating on a chosen biblical text, as

[50] See: J. Czerski, *Metodologia Nowego Testamentu*, Opolska Biblioteka Teologiczna, vol. 126, Opole 2012, p. 89.

[51] See: Papieska Komisja Biblijna, *Interpretacja Pisma Świętego…*, op. cit., p. 106.

[52] Cf. Orędzie końcowe Synodu Biskupów do ludu Bożego *Słowo Boże w historii*, part 2, "L'Osservatore Romano" 1 (2009), Polish edition, p. 28. Also see: VD 87.

[53] See: the chapter entitled *Accostarsi alla Bibbia*, [in:] L. Pacomio, *Lectio divina…*, op. cit., pp. 9–18. Some point out at this stage the need to meet the so-called preliminary assumptions, which are indispensable for the *lectio divina* method to be effective (cf. A. Szustak, *Lectio divina*, https://stacja7.pl/wiara/lectio-divina/ [access: 12.02.2019]).

well as prayer and contemplation inspired by it. XVI did alike when recalling "that the *lectio divina* in its dynamics does not end until it leads to an action (*actio*) that makes the life of the believer a gift to others in love."[54]

The same should apply to euchological texts. When the effort to prepare a homily concentrates on one of them, we should, following the essence of the *lectio divina* method and its example, subject the studied text to a synchronic analysis, which in practice means going through certain stages of behaviour. They are suggested by a useful linguistic method that involves action aimed at achieving the desired goal: 1) syntactic, 2) semantic and 3) pragmatic analysis of the chosen text.

Moving on to the syntactic analysis, it is necessary to make an inventory of the words (a lexicon of the text under examination), determine the parts of speech and grammatical forms, examine the structure of sentences and the way they are combined, characterise the style and, finally, divide the text.[55] In the case of semantic analysis, the meaning of individual words, phrases, syntactic relations, and whole sentences is examined depending on the context in which they occur. Besides, an answer is sought to the question of what a given text expresses and how to understand its individual phrases and sentences.[56] The pragmatic analysis examines the communicative functions of a text, since its task (like that of spoken language) is, by its very nature, communication. The text conveys to the recipient some content which, in the case of prayer formulas, is identified with the message being announced to him.[57] Therefore, it is advisable that coping with the reading of the message be accompanied by the anticipation of prayer. It is the awareness that one is dealing with a prayer formula, the carrier and instrument of that communication that occurs between God (the source of the message) and the praying liturgical assembly (the recipient of the message).[58]

The whole procedure described here demands – as in the case of *lectio divina* – two additional stages, the first of which, as if precedent, puts before the preacher who prepares the homily based on the euchological text the need to get closer to it, thereby get acquainted with its broader context. The diachronic study of the text, which demands – as we have indicated above – that it be subjected to a historical-critical analysis, provides a chance to do

54 VD 87.
55 In the *lectio divina* method we are dealing with *lectio* at this stage.
56 In the *lectio divina* method we are dealing with *meditatio* at this stage.
57 In the *lectio divina* method we are dealing with *contemplatio* at this stage.
58 In the *lectio divina* method, the *contemplatio* stage is preceded by the stage reserved for *oratio*.

so. The preacher who is leaning over the chosen text asks what it – the text that the Church uses today, during a concrete liturgical celebration when the prepared homily will be preached – *de facto* is. He, therefore, realises first that he is dealing with the Church's euchological heritage, that he happens to take an interest in one or more specific texts of prayers based on which he begins preparing his homily. Hence, he asks about their sources, takes a critical look at their content and structure, and finds traces of the inspiring influence of the Bible and, perhaps, of one of the Fathers of the Church, Christian writers, popes or Church documents.

The second of the mentioned additional stages, concluding or – as we have called it above – completing individual steps of hermeneutical conduct, should – similarly to the introduction of the word of God (*actio*) in the method of *lectio divina* – sensitise the participants of the liturgy to its obliging character. It should, therefore, remind us that the acceptance of the sacramental gift that each type of liturgy gives us, entails a commitment to such conduct (to *actio*) which, at the end of the ritual event, identifies with the existential response to this sacramental gift, a response that confirms the similarity of the liturgical participants to Christ.[59]

The table below outlines, in parallel rows and at the corresponding levels, the individual links in the process of working on a homily based on biblical readings (left column) or on euchological texts, that is, on prayer formulas (right column) of a given liturgical celebration.

59 Cf. S. Czerwik, *Duchowość Eucharystii*, "Anamnesis" 42 (2005), no. 3, p. 61; M. Pastuszko, *Pojęcie Najświętszej Eucharystii (kan. 897)*, "Prawo Kanoniczne" 48 (2005), no. 3–4, p. 28.

Homily Preparation	
Based on biblical texts	**Based on euchological texts**
Preliminary stage (anticipatory)	
Getting closer to the Bible: It is about realising what we are coping with during our homily preparation, namely the importance of the Scripture that we make the subject of our prayerful treatment, the book of that Scripture from which we analyse and meditate, the context in which the sacred text to which we devote our time and prayerful focus is found.	**Getting closer to the euchological text and becoming acquainted with its context:** It is about becoming aware of what euchology is, what place it occupies in the Church's liturgy and how it is shared. It also concerns the historical and literary richness of the texts studied, as well as their contextuality. Often, a given euchological text is treated too cursory by preachers.[60] That is because it is used during the homily without prior getting close to it, getting familiar with it, and realising that it is: 1) each euchological text belongs to a group of literary texts and therefore constitutes a certain code of content which must be deciphered with the application of appropriate tools even before the homily is delivered; 2) each of them constitutes a sacred text because it is sanctified by its use in the sacred liturgy – either for centuries (in the case of texts belonging to the ancient liturgical tradition) or for more recent times (in the case of texts still created for the use of constantly living liturgy). It is therefore important to pay attention to the liturgical sources of the text (historicity) and to the inspiring influence of the Bible or one of the patristic-ecclesial works (contextuality) in the process of the homily preparation.[61]
Stages of proceedings in the *lectio divina* method	Stages of proceedings in the linguistic method

60 It happens that preachers approach euchological texts as the so-called obvious ones, i.e. they quote their fragments or single words as slogans – on principle "as a given fragment or word of the text states" – as if that fragment or expression had a mark of interpretation. In homily preaching, based on euchological texts, one can sense a lack of effort put by preachers to justify why a given fragment or word of the text states so and not otherwise. Thus, the homily with presented historical and literary arguments and linguistic ones lacks endeavour to substantiate them.

61 The above mentioned historical and literary arguments are gained using the historical-critical method. It is necessary first to discern the origin of the text, thus look at its genesis

Reading the Bible text (*lectio*):	**Syntactic reading of the euchological text:**
At this stage, the activity of the intellect is to be stimulated, as reading a specific text arouses the desire to know its contents authentically: it is about discovering what the Bible text under study says. The stage consists, in a way, in "weighing" each word of the text, thereby trying to understand it in the context of other words. A skilfully conducted reading of a biblical text creates an opportunity to go beyond the circle of one's thinking.[62]	What we have pointed out above indicates how significant it is to know about the diachronicity of a euchological text before reading it. If we have such knowledge, we should proceed to decipher the data related to the content code of the text, and thus to read it in a linguistic (semiotic[63]) key. The first of three steps to be taken in the key is directed at the syntactic richness of the text, thus studying it from the linguistic side. Such an examination consists of establishing the lexicon of the text (the so-called word inventory), determining the parts of speech and grammatical forms occurring in it, learning the structure of sentences and the way they are combined, separating the segments from which the text is made up (i.e. the so-called literary units), as well as describing its general structure.[64]

and history up to the contemporary editing (hence it is called the diachronic method), as well as become aware of the literary changes and corrections introduced to some texts. It is also worthwhile to be aware, before entering the pulpit, of what could be inspiring sources for a given euchological text, i.e. which biblical, patristic or other text could inspire the author of a given prayer text to compose it for a given circumstance. Such an approach to an euchological text allows the preacher to analyse it critically, establish its theological lines (accents) and get closer to the environment of its creation. If this happens, it is possible to speak of kind of amalgamation of the text made the basis for preparing the homily.

62 Cf. VD 87.

63 Semiotics (*sēmeiōtikòs* – concerning the sign) is a general theory of the sign including syntactics, semantics, and pragmatics. Semiotics deals with the problem of typology of various characters and varieties of signs, their essence, and the role they play in the process of human communication; see: *Słownik wyrazów obcych*, J. Tokarski (ed.), Warsaw 1972, p. 675.

64 See: A. Żądło, *Hermeneutyka tekstów euchologijnych…*, op. cit., p. 91; H. Langkammer, *Metody lingwistyczne*, [in:] *Metodologia Nowego Testamentu*, idem (ed.), Pelplin 1994, pp. 249–252; J. Czerski, *Metody interpretacji…*, op. cit., pp. 125–131; H.J. Sobeczko, *Metody interpretacji…*, op. cit., pp. 234–235; D.J. Sadowski, *Teologia uroczystości Narodzenia Pańskiego w świetle euchologii Mszału rzymskiego Pawła VI. Hermeneutyczne studium liturgicznoteologiczne* (typescript of the doctorate), Opole 2014, p. 36.

Consideration of the text (*meditatio*): At this stage, we ask ourselves: what does a given biblical text tell us, how it speaks to us? Here, everyone should allow himself or herself to be confronted with this question, because *meditatio* is not about meditating on words spoken in the past, but those that still speak to us – even at present.[65] Therefore, it is a matter of knowing with the heart, namely accepting and retaining the word of God in our hearts, and living this word in us. Only then is it possible to confront our thoughts, words and deeds with the content that the meditated word of God brings into our lives.	**Semantic reading of the euchological text:** Knowing a lot about the text, we move on to its semantic reading, which is nothing more than a kind of meditation since it is about penetrating the meaning of individual words, phrases and entire syntactic relationships. Answers to questions of what a text expresses and how to understand its phrases and sentences are sought. The aim of this stage is, therefore, to establish the meaning of individual words/phrases (lexemes), i.e. lexical units, depending on the context in which they occur, and to reproduce the lines of meaning contained in the text.[66]
Prayer (*oratio*): At this stage of using the *lectio divina* method, a prayer arises from the question: what answer will I give to God to the word he has given me, what should I say to him? This prayerful answer can be expressed in the form of a request, intercession, thanksgiving, or praise to God. It is a privileged way for God Himself to transform me through His word.[67]	**Praying the content of the euchological text:** Even at this stage of the use of the linguistic (semiotic) method, prayer is necessary. The necessity stems from the fact that the prayer formula, which we analyse in the homily preparation, allows us to influence ourselves, to be permeated by the intensity of its content and to surrender to it, and thus to establish contact with God, to whom we turn with its help. Thus, we approach the analysed prayer formula not only technically (like the subject of a linguistic operation). First, we pray for it – we recognise it profoundly and, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, sensitise participants of the liturgy in the homily to this mystery, which is commemorated by them – as the local Church, thus emphasising the essence of the mystery being celebrated. It becomes present thanks to the ritual sign (formed by res et gesta) with the word (verbum) of the prayer – according to the Augustinian principle: *accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum*.[68]

65 Cf. VD 87.

66 See: A. Żądło, *Hermeneutyka tekstów euchologijnych…*, op. cit., pp. 92–93; D.J. Sadowski, *Teologia uroczystości Narodzenia Pańskiego w świetle euchologii…*, op. cit., p. 36.

67 Cf. VD 87.

68 Augustine, *In Evangelium Joannis Tractatus* 80,3: PL 35,1840.

Contemplation (*contemplatio*):	**Pragmatic reading of the euchological text:**
Finally, the *lectio divina* ends with contemplation, in which we accept, as a gift from God, his gaze when evaluating reality and ask ourselves: what conversion of mind, heart and life does the Lord want from us?[69] This fourth stage (*contemplatio*) is like the second one (*meditatio*), but the difference lies in the way we engage. If, in the meditation stage, I am somewhat active and confront my own life with the word of God I know, then in the contemplation stage I remain rather passive, which means that I allow God to confront me with my word. In this way, I become a participant in the perfect encounter with God through His word, which consists in anchoring the spirit in God, tasting the joy of eternal sweetness.[70]	At this stage, we move on to examine and demonstrate the communicative function of the text, as its primary purpose is to provide us with specific content. Pragmatics, like semantics (the second stage of analysis), deals with determining the meaning of the statement contained in the text, especially those aspects that are not considered by semantic theory. Besides the meaning of words, it deals with capturing intentions of a given statement to sensitise it to dynamics with which its purpose of existence is identified. The meaning of a text depends on the intention the author wanted to express in concrete conditions of communication with the interlocutor. It is known that no text is ever definitively finished, closed, and belonging only to history. Hence the characteristic feature of each text is that it speaks to us "here and now," evokes vivid reactions, and confronts us with the author's intentions.[71] The author of euchological texts is the Church that "expresses" through them the richness of faith that is stored and spread in the world and communicates with God. Therefore, it expects our appropriate attention, analytical meditation, i.e., contemplation that opens us up to God and allows Him to act in us and in our lives.

[69] Cf. VD 87.

[70] Cf. L. Mateja, *Pięć najważniejszych etapów czytania Pisma*, https://www.deon.pl/religia/duchowosc-i-wiara/slowo-boze/art,75,5-najwazniejszych-etapow-czytania-pisma.html [access: 13.02.2019].

[71] See: A. Żądło, *Hermeneutyka tekstów euchologijnych…*, op. cit., pp. 93, 94; D.J. Sadowski, *Teologia uroczystości Narodzenia Pańskiego w świetle euchologii…*, op. cit., p. 36.

Complementary stage	
Introducing the word of God (*actio*) into action: *Lectio divina* in its dynamics does not end until it leads to an action that makes the life of the believer a gift to others in love.[72]	**Fruitful participation in the liturgy** Also, the liturgy does not finish in a vacuum when a given liturgical assembly is dissolved. Participation in every kind of it must be fruitful. It becomes the more necessary to realise this truth when one recalls that the liturgy is characterised by a binding dimension, which means that participation in a given rite has moral consequences in life. The sacramental grace we ask God for during the liturgy, for which we also thank Him and adore Him, is not only God's gift but also, at the same time, the task that man should put into practice in his daily life. Such awareness and reminder cannot be absent from any homily.

Pastoral conclusion

In one of his exhortations, Benedict XVI put forward the thesis that "preaching the word of God with proper reference to the lectionary is (...) art to be cultivated."[73] Some homiletical studies, which declare that "a homily is an art and – like any art – depends on the performer"[74] support that thesis. The *Homiletic Directory* also breathes such a spirit; hence it follows unambiguously that the proclamation of a homily, and its preparation, should be regarded as a kind of artistry. It demands from the preacher a minimum of appropriate abilities and a readiness to put effort into preparing the homily with the use of appropriate tools and methods.

The homily, which is prepared for a given liturgical celebration, is like a painting on canvas that speaks and delights us with its artistry. Before such a painting is created, its idea – often under the influence of an external or internal impulse – is born in the artist's mind, then it is gradually transferred onto the canvas using appropriate brushes and paints that are appropriate in terms of colour and quality. They applied to the canvas in a given way, i.e. using the method of creation proper to a given work.

72 Cf. VD 87.
73 VD 60.
74 See: J. Chmiel, *Geneza i charakter homilii sakramentalnej*, "Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny" 36 (1983), no. 1, p. 24.

The philosophy of creation, i.e. preparation for preaching the homily, is subject to the same principle in practice. Under the impulse of the content of the texts[75] of a given liturgical celebration, we begin to extract from them, using appropriate methods/analytical tools, a message that belongs to the sacramentally commemorated/present mystery. The *Homiletic Directory* suggests employing the *lectio divina* method when building a homily on the foundation of texts from the lectionary. However, neither does it not mention nor advise what method can be used in work on the homily composed from euchological texts. Nevertheless, it assumes – in the spirit of the teaching of the Second Vatican Council – the equivalence of such texts in homily proclamation with the biblical ones, and even clearly emphasises that the proclamation of the word of God can be made not only with proper reference to the lectionary (Benedict XVI articulated the thought in the mentioned exhortation) but also to the whole euchological corpus.

This lack of a clear suggestion in the *Directory* was a stimulus for the development of this publication, for which the latter aspect (building homilies from euchological texts) determined the framework of the research field. The article that closes with this pastoral conclusion aims to present a contribution to sharpening especially – but not exclusively – in priests and deacons (for they are the subject of homily preaching) the awareness that they function in the liturgical space. Furthermore, hermeneutical methods (taken from linguistics and commonly used in biblical studies), which may be useful in the process of preparing the homily under consideration based on prayer texts, are to be applied. These texts – it is worth emphasising this to justify their assignment to the liturgical hermeneutics – do not belong to the canon of inspired texts (like the liturgical readings taken from the Bible), but they are holy by nature, because they are composed for the sacred liturgy, and their use in the liturgy is sanctified.

The pool of hermeneutical methods is extensive. In the article, we have drawn attention to the historical-critical method, which is used to study the diachronicity and contextuality of texts, and the linguistic (semiotic) method that allows discovering their synchronous richness. We have also juxtaposed the main assumptions of these methods and the parallel steps in the *lectio divina* method, suggested – as it seems – by the discussed directory as the only one and thus a universal method for all homily preachers.

75 We use the phrase "for example," because the homily can also be, as we have indicated above, prepared and delivered based on symbols, gestures, attitudes, actions, material things, or silence.

Opting for the universality of one method in the process of preparing the homily seems to favour the more mediocre version of this process since the homily – as we stressed above – is an art dependent on the performer. It often happens that different representatives of the same art genre create their works using "own," i.e., their chosen, favourite, personally developed or preferred method. Therefore, the author of this article intended to provoke preachers to reflect on which methods they employ in their work on building homilies addressed to the faithful at least every Sunday and which one they could use to make their work effective and bring better and better results in the form of opening the faithful to the message God wishes to communicate through a given liturgical rite to its participants.

Unfortunately, it is frequently the case that those who preach a homily make its content what they consider crucial and essential. Therefore, they develop topics that they think are the most important to their contemporaries. They deal with one or other subject presented from extensive experience, general knowledge or situation. They do not try, however, to give the proclamation of the homily a model that effectively extracts and transmits the message that is saturated with the whole structure of the liturgy, all its texts, especially the ones of specific prayers, abundantly chosen not to protect us from monotony during the liturgy, but because of the enormity and importance of the content of the mystery being exercised, which God wants to communicate to all peoples through the wisdom of the Church's Tradition, so that the inhabitants of the farthest corners of the world may have access to salvation and not only listen to more or less thrilling content. Hence, the desired result of this article is to pay more attention to the euchological texts of a given liturgical rite and to build a homily on them.

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The Concept of Christian Solidarity as a Path to Peace and Development

Koncepcja chrześcijańskiej solidarności drogą do pokoju i rozwoju

Abstract: Throughout the centuries and in modern times the Church in her teaching has interpreted and continues to interpret the events and phenomena occurring in the world in the light of God's Revelation. The question of solidarity is not new and was already grounded in law in ancient times. The concept of Christian solidarity both among people and among nations presented here is every person's duty arising from the Bible. Its implementation on an international and interpersonal level has a positive impact on the lives of individuals and societies. The Church's vision of Christian solidarity helps us to see a person, a people or a nation not as an instrument but as a neighbour in need of support. The solidarity proposed by the Popes is a path to peace and development. According to them, world peace is impossible if the people responsible for it do not recognize that interdependence in itself requires that the politics of the blocs be done away with, all forms of economic, military or political imperialism be abandoned, while mutual distrust be transformed into cooperation.

Keywords: Church, solidarity, dignity, society, Pope, development, peace, person

Abstrakt: Kościół w ciągu wieków i w czasach współczesnych w swoim nauczaniu interpretował i nadal interpretuje wydarzenia i zjawiska zachodzące w świecie w świetle Objawienia Bożego. Kwestia solidarności nie jest nowa i już w starożytności miała podłoże prawne. Przedstawiona koncepcja chrześcijańskiej solidarności zarówno między ludźmi, jak i między narodami jest obowiązkiem każdej osoby wynikającym z Biblii. Jej realizacja na płaszczyźnie międzynarodowej i międzyludzkiej pozytywnie wpływa na życie jednostek i społeczeństw. Nakreślona przez Kościół wizja solidarności chrześcijańskiej pomaga nam dostrzec osobę, lud czy naród nie jako narzędzie, ale jako bliźniego potrzebującego wsparcia. Proponowana przez papieży solidarność jest drogą do pokoju, a zarazem do rozwoju. Według nich pokój światowy bowiem jest nie do osiągnięcia, jeżeli ludzie za niego odpowiedzialni nie uznają, że współzależność sama w sobie wymaga przezwyciężenia polityki bloków, porzucenia wszelkiej formy

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imperializmu ekonomicznego, militarnego czy politycznego, a także przekształcenia wzajemnej nieufności we współpracę.

Słowa kluczowe: Kościół, solidarność, godność, społeczeństwo, papież, rozwój, pokój, osoba

In the human person, who constitutes society and is realized in society, God reveals His image. Man was created in solidarity; he was created to achieve the common good together with others. "Solidarity, which is established between God and man and which has its foundation in human relations (Gen 2:7), is constituted by overcoming pure dependence and recognising human responsibility in the context of mutual cooperation."[1] In her social and moral teaching, the Church helps Christians to interpret the events and phenomena which appear and develop before his eyes in the course of the changes of history and time, in the light of the Gospel message. The Church's social teaching, in particular, does not provide practical solutions to the problems that arise, about which she makes statements and which are considered by her. Instead, the Church points out that "Christian revelation is a very helpful means for the development of this community among persons and at the same time leads us to a deeper understanding of the laws of social life which the Creator has inscribed in the spiritual and moral nature of man."[2] In this time of the coronavirus epidemic, it is of great importance to remind ourselves and the world of the evangelical approach to solidarity in its broadest sense.

This article reminds us of the teaching of the Church and the popes of the last century who, at various stages in the history of the world, in this case from the industrial revolution to the turn of the 21st century, took up an important topic for the social life, related to the presentation of the concept of Christian solidarity, sometimes called "Catholic," as a way to build both peace in the world and the development of individuals and societies in the broadest sense.[3]

1 G. Piana, *Solidarietà*, [in:] *Nuovo Dizionario di teologia morale*, F. Compagnoni, G. Piana, P. Privitera (eds.), Cinisello Balsamo 1994, p. 1266. Unless otherwise noted, all English translations are by the WTR.

2 *Gaudium et spes* (hereinafter: GS).

3 These threads are also present in the teaching of Pope Benedict XVI and Francis, and may be the subject of a separate article. The Italian texts quoted in this article have been translated by the author into Polish; the Polish texts are the source for the translation into English.

The importance and value of solidarity in making peace

The concept and terminology of solidarity derives from the ancient beginnings of private Roman law, in which "duty in solidarity" (*in solidum*) marked an undivided legal bond that brought together the various co-liabilities in a deep, stable way, so that each party was obliged to answer for the whole, not just its part In the post-revolutionary France, a legal concept was transferred to the public sphere, which stated that the bond of solidarity is based on an indivisible and common heritage of knowledge, moral and social values, which had been taken over in solidarity from previous generations, and is intended for use by the current and transmission to future generations. A new phenomenon appeared in the first decades of the 20th century: Catholic solidarity. It was proclaimed by German Jesuit H. Pesch (1854–1926), who saw in his theory the possibility of effectively counteracting the immoderate aspirations of socialism and liberalism. A part of this theory was accepted by the Social Magisterium of the Church.[4]

The concept of Christian solidarity was revived at the beginning of the 20th century thanks to the work of German philosophers and social theologians H. Pesch, O. von Nell-Breuning and G. Gundlach. The term "Christian solidarity" was seen in the holistic view of solidarity as a "secular" social theory, which was clear in its message and at the same time consistent with the requirements of the Christian faith. This new form of solidarity, rooted in the Thomistic theological and philosophical tradition, was, in turn, intended to constitute not only an intermediate path between socialism and individualistic liberalism, but a proposal of socialist personalism in which man is strongly and inextricably linked to all the other natural, ontological and moral bonds which an individual or an intermediate group must recognize and transform into active participation in public life, contributing through solidarity and subsidiarity to the common good. Its foundations are primarily at the centre of the human person, in his or her relationship with society defined by the "principle of solidarity."[5] Both religion and reason make this sense of human solidarity mature in order to be dynamic and closely linked to freedom and social justice.[6]

4 See: E. Combi, E. Monti, *Fede cristiana e agire sociale*, Milan 2001, pp. 118–119.

5 E. Combi, E. Monti, *Fede e società. Introduzione all'etica sociale*, Milan 2005, pp. 132–133.

6 "The term 'solidarity' expresses in a synthetic way the need to recognize, in all the bond that binds people and social groups together, the space offered by human freedom to ensure common growth, common to all," Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *Il principio di solidarietà*, [in:] *Compendio della dottrina sociale della Chiesa*, Vatican 2004, no. 194, p. 106.

The term solidarity was known in ancient times; not in today's meaning of the word, but already St Thomas of Aquinas, discussing friendship, pointed out the perception of solidarity in its various nuances. Saint Thomas distinguishes four types of friendship: natural, domestic, civil and divine. Of these, two types of friendship: domestic and civil are, according to him, essential for social coexistence. He uses the expression "political friendship" "as a synonym for consent: political friendship, both between inhabitants of the same city and between different cities, seems the same thing as consent."[7] Political friendship, or solidarity, is not about the identity of ideas.

> Concord belongs to the genre of friendship (…); it follows that consent is not the unity of ideas, which means unity of opinion. In fact, it can happen that even those who do not know each other and between whom there is no concord or friendship are of the same opinion.[8]

Saint Thomas calls for solidarity for reasons inherent in social groups, above all for the common good. This is because where there is no orientation towards the good, that is, where there are no moral and political virtues, there can be no real political friendship. In fact, groups for which solidarity is only apparent and transitory, because it is based on *a bonum honestum*, easily fall apart.

> The reason why they cannot agree – notes the angelic doctor – is that everyone wants to have an abundance that goes beyond what is necessary in any undertaking that is associated with profit, and vice versa, has defiled himself and would like to have a small share in the efforts of the group (…). Thus, the common good of justice is not respected and the concord between them is destroyed. Therefore, quarrels arise and each of them forces the other party to do what serves his own interests.[9]

7 Thomas Aquinas, *Commento all'etica Nicomachea di Aristotele*, L. Perotto (ed.), part 2, book 6–10, Bologna 1998, p. 374.

8 Ibidem, pp. 374–376.

9 The angelic doctor explains the relationship between concord and political friendship. The author reveals how political friendship, "both the one that exists between citizens of the same state and the one that exists between different states, can be equated with reaching agreement. Moreover, people also have a habit of confirming this principle, namely that states or citizens also come to terms with each other through mutual friendship. In fact, political friendship has as its object what is useful and what benefits human existence, and everything we say is the object of consent," Thomas Aquinas, *Commento all'etica Nicomachea di Aristotele*…, op. cit., p. 377.

Therefore, the realization of the common good and its achievement must take place in an atmosphere of peace. St Thomas, after St Augustine, teaches that peace is "a state in which there is no contradiction, nothing resists and nothing is against it." St Augustine explains that this concept contains perfection, and therefore all those who seek and desire peace, especially spiritual peace, form the kingdom of God, in which all things are subject to the One who is the peace giver. St Thomas also emphasizes that the giver of peace is God, through his Son, because he brought peace and left it as one of the fruits of reconciliation with the Father.[10]

For people and societies to be able to realize God's idea of "paradise on earth," it is necessary to build a civilization of love based on the concept of Christian solidarity. Over the centuries the overall meaning and value of solidarity has changed and developed not only as a result of legal but also political and social changes. Leo XIII contributed significantly to the development of the meaning and value of solidarity through his encyclical *Rerum novarum*, in which he presented a concept of solidarity. The Pope, taking into account the difficult situation of workers, stressed the need for solidarity between employers and the working class, on a social and political level, pointing out the risks that may affect the future of society. Already in the introduction to the Encyclical and in the supplement to the whole document, he noted a lack of solidarity which led to social conflict. In this encyclical, Pope Leo spoke about the role of the state and its tasks in the harmonious promotion of cooperation between all concerned in order to solve the most urgent problems.

Leo XIII's observation of societies shaken by the conflict between workers and employers and by the lack of state intervention, referred repeatedly to charity and fraternity. In his encyclicals before and even after *Rerum novarum* he repeatedly called for the reciprocity and fraternity, which had its source in the Bible. With his encyclical, the Pope did not seek to solve the problems, but rather to offer society a harmonious collaboration to solve them, including the most urgent ones presented in the encyclical: the right to private property, disputes between workers and employers, the union of all members of society in a spirit of fraternity, the intervention of the state above all for the benefit of the weakest.[11] The love of the neighbour must be at the heart of all this because

10 Cf. term: "Pace," [in:] B. Mondin, *Dizionario Enciclopedico del pensiero di San Tommaso D'Aquino*, Bologna 2000, pp. 478–479.

11 E. Monti, *Solidarietà*, [in:] *Dizionario di doctrina sociale della Chiesa*, Centro di Ricerche per lo Studio della Dottrina Sociale della Chiesa dell'Universita Cattolica del s. Cuore (ed.), Milan 2004, p. 81.

only through the solidarity that flows from this commandment can people of good will resolve many social problems.

Pope Pius XI, in his encyclical *Quadragesimo anno*, returning to the questions concerning the economic and social reality, reaffirmed the validity of the Church's social teaching, in accordance with the concept of Leo XIII. This concept indicated that the evangelical architecture of the social and economic order, which was based on cooperation and solidarity between the parties, should be used to resolve social conflicts. The Pope sought to restore a proper social order based on the moral values of the Church.

Pius XII, in his message for the 50th anniversary of *Rerum novarum*, delivered during the Second World War, called on the world to open its consciences to social responsibilities and reminded of the need for solidarity between people in a broad sense and for the creation of Catholic associations that could defend human rights. Referring to the Encyclical of Pius XI, he said that already Leo XIII in *Rerum novarum* developed the idea of Catholic social doctrine, which

> offers the children of the Church, priests and laity guidelines and means for social reconstruction (…); so that numerous and diverse charitable institutions and developing centres of mutual assistance can be established in the Catholic field. Catholic associations have endowed workers and their families with material and natural goods as well as spiritual and supernatural fruits. All manner of effective and needy contribution by trade unions and pro-agricultural and middle-class associations to alleviate their suffering, to provide them with defense and justice, and thus to mitigate their passions, to preserve social peace from disruption has not been shown![12]

This concept of Christian solidarity was developed by his successors.

John XXIII in his social encyclical *Mater et magistra* emphasizes the Church's double task of "giving life to her children and of teaching them and guiding them – both as individuals and as nations – with maternal care. Great is their dignity, a dignity which she has always guarded most zealously and held in the highest esteem."[13] This task can be accomplished with full cooperation of people and nations. In the chapter on new aspects of social issues, the Pope points out the tasks to be carried out by international society: he speaks of the

12 Pius XII, Discorso *La solennità della Pentecoste* per il 50° anniversario dell'enciclica *Rerum novarum* (1 giugno 1941), [in:] Acta Apostolicae Sedis (1941), vol. 33, pp. 195 ff.

13 *Mater et magistra* (hereinafter: MM) 1.

agricultural sector, basic public services,[14] insurance and social security, and calls on all those in power to solidarity and cooperation.[15] On the other hand, in *Pacem in terris*, when speaking about the order of social relations, he draws attention to the dignity of every human person. The rights and duties of the person, which according to the Pope are closely linked, must be considered universal, inviolable and inalienable. The dignity of the person gives rise to the right to participate actively in public life and to contribute personally to the common good. Man as such, far from being an object and a passive element of social life, is and must be and remain its subject, its foundation and goal.[16]

The subtitle of the same encyclical says that relations between political communities must be regulated in truth, in justice, in labour solidarity, in freedom. It points out that solidarity among people has become one of the necessary foundations for establishing peace on a universal scale.

During the Second Vatican Council the concept of solidarity was presented, among other things, in the Decree on the *Apostolate of the Laity*, in which the Council fathers emphasized the realization of Christian solidarity as a sign of the times of global reach.[17] The observations of Pope John XXIII, Paul VI and the Second Vatican Council, which are contained in the encyclicals and post-conciliar documents, are reflected in the documents of John Paul II, who continues the struggle for peace and the restoration of human dignity to all societies subject to various conflicts and political regimes.

John Paul II in *Sollicitudo rei socialis* points to solidarity as an instrument of great importance. As the history of the 1980s shows, solidarity has transformed the hearts of thousands of people and has become an effective instrument of liberation:

> those historical events nonetheless taught a lesson which goes far beyond a specific geographical location. For the non-violent revolutions of 1989 demonstrated that the quest for freedom cannot be suppressed. It arises from

14 "(...) the road network, means of transport, communication facilities, healthy drinking water, housing, health care and medicines, primary, technical and vocational schools, conditions conducive to religious practices, cultural entertainment and, last but not least, equipping rural homes with the aesthetic equipment and modern installations required today," MM 115.

15 Cf. MM 132–161.

16 Cf. *Pacem in terris* (hereinafter: PT) 3 and 13.

17 "Among the signs of our times, the growing and unstoppable sense of solidarity of all peoples deserves special attention, which the secular apostolate's task is to promote with care and transform into a sincere and authentic feeling of brotherhood," *Apostolicam actuositatem*, [in:] Acta Apostolicae Sedis (1966), vol. 58, no. 14, pp. 850–851.

> a recognition of the inestimable dignity and value of the human person, and it cannot fail to be accompanied by a commitment on behalf of the human person. Modern totalitarianism has been, first and foremost, an assault on the dignity of the person, an assault which has gone even to the point of denying the inalienable value of the individual's life.[18]

Later in his speech, the Pope said that

> A decisive factor in the success of those non-violent revolutions was the experience of social solidarity: in the face of regimes backed by the power of propaganda and terror, that solidarity was the moral core of the "power of the powerless."[19]

The Pope in *Sollicitudo rei socialis* calls for the awakening of the religious conscience of people and nations in order to achieve a society that is worthy of man. To build it, one must see in man the image of God the Father, redeemed by Jesus Christ, placed under the action of the Holy Spirit. His vision of Christian solidarity shows that in every society it is important that its members recognize each other as persons.

> "Solidarity" helps us to see the "other" – whether a person, people or nation – not just as some kind of instrument, with a work capacity and physical strength to be exploited at low cost and then discarded when no longer useful (…). One's neighbour must therefore be loved, even if an enemy, with the same love with which the Lord loves him or her; and for that person's sake one must be ready for sacrifice, even the ultimate one: "to lay down one's life for the brethren."[20]

The Pope continues to stand up for the weakest and most marginalised, and on behalf of all those who are subject to the regime, calling on those responsible and wielding power to create a world of peace and respect for the dignity of every human being. The very rapid proliferation of 'real time' ways and means of communication, such as those of telecommunications, the remarkable advances

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18 Jan Paweł II, *Messaggio all'Assemblea Generale delle Nazioni Unite per la celebrazione del 50° di fondazione*, "L'Osservatore Romano" 136 (6.10.1995), no. 231, p. 6; no. 4; English translation form: John Paul II, *Address of his Holiness John Paul II United Nations Headquarters* (New York) Thursday, 5 October 1995, http://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/1995/october/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_05101995_address-to-uno.html [access: 20.05.2020].

19 Ibidem.

20 *Sollicitudo rei socialis* (hereinafter: SRS) 39–40.

in information technology, the increased volume of trade and information exchange, are testimony to the fact that for the first time since the beginning of human history it is possible, at least technically, to establish relations even between very distant or unknown people. On the other hand, in the face of the phenomenon of interdependence and its constant expansion, very strong inequalities between developed and developing countries remain worldwide, driven also by various forms of exploitation, oppression and corruption, which negatively affect the internal and international life of many countries. The process of accelerating interdependence between people and nations should be accompanied by an equally intense ethical and social commitment to avoid catastrophic consequences of injustice on a global scale.

In practice, charity, or even Christian solidarity, strengthened by the religious sense, leads people to make courageous and even heroic choices for the benefit of others, especially those who are excluded from society, leads them to help the poor. The Church is convinced that only the solidarity that flows from the commandment to love God and neighbour can be the cement of the most just and fraternal society that everyone wants.

> For world peace is inconceivable unless the world's leaders come to recognize that interdependence in itself demands the abandonment of the politics of blocs, the sacrifice of all forms of economic, military or political imperialism, and the transformation of mutual distrust into collaboration. This is precisely the act proper to solidarity among individuals and nations.[21]

As John Paul II explains to us in SRS, solidarity is the foundation of social harmony, both in every society and in international relations; so much so that, just as yesterday we could describe peace as the fruit of justice, so today we can say that peace is the fruit of solidarity.[22]

> The goal of peace, so desired by everyone, will certainly be achieved through the putting into effect of social and international justice, but also through the practice of the virtues which favour togetherness, and which teach us to live in unity, so as to build in unity, by giving and receiving, a new society and a better world.[23]

21 SRS 39.

22 B. Sorge, *Introduzione alla dottrina sociale della Chiesa*, Brescia 2006, p. 154.

23 SRS 39.

The new relationships of interdependence between people and nations, which are in fact forms of solidarity, must be transformed into relationships aimed at true ethical and social solidarity, which is a moral requirement inherent in all human relationships. Solidarity therefore has two complementary aspects: a social principle and a moral virtue.

In today's societies, where it is difficult to find social peace, it is very important to be able to rely on the virtue of solidarity to help others.

Solidarity as a path to development

Development, in the common sense, is any change for the better; it is a movement forward, not backward; any improvement in one respect or another. According to St Thomas Aquinas the foundation of development, based on Scripture, is the teaching of salvation. The world is the fruit of God's love, and its material resources are destined for man, they are subordinated to him, so that he can secure his own existence and that of others by working with his own hands. In this sense man is also the creator of culture because he creates and develops it for the good of all. All human progress is inherently ambiguous and impermanent, given the volatility and fragility of human will. If we can count on a certain restraint with regard to the material order, we cannot do the same with regard to the moral and spiritual order. St Thomas teaches that material things serve two main purposes: the maintenance of the body and progress in consciously turning to God. This second purpose is, according to St Thomas, much more important than the first. Material progress does not automatically provoke any spiritual progress; indeed, as history shows (e.g., the Tower of Babel), it can be the opposite.[24]

In the interest of the spiritual and material development of man and society, the Catholic Church points out a whole complex of principles, teachings and guidelines which deal with fundamental points and social issues, in accordance with the spirit of the Gospel. "The Church cannot abandon man, for his 'destiny,' that is to say his election, calling, birth and death, salvation or perdition, is so closely and unbreakably linked with Christ."[25] Man is the author, the centre and the goal of all social and economic life.[26]

[24] See: art. *Progresso*, [in:] B. Mondin, *Dizionario Enciclopedico…*, op. cit., pp. 553–554.
[25] *Redemptor hominis* 14.
[26] Cf. GS 63.

Every person creating his own life story is invited to open his spirit not only to the different needs of his body, but also to the different situations that connect him to other people, especially the needy.

> Man in the full truth of his existence, of his personal being and also of his community and social being – in the sphere of his own family, in the sphere of society and very diverse contexts, in the sphere of his own nation or people (perhaps still only that of his clan or tribe), and in the sphere of the whole of mankind – this man is the primary route that the Church must travel in fulfilling her mission: he is the primary and fundamental way for the Church, the way traced out by Christ himself, the way that leads invariably through the mystery of the Incarnation and the Redemption.[27]

Starting with Leo XIII, popes have often pointed out the importance of social doctrine, emphasizing that the human person endowed with spiritual and supernatural dignity is at the centre of the economic, social and political order. Therefore, he has the undeniable right to profess his faith, a right to work and just pay, to the family, and with it to procreate and educate his offspring, to enjoy material goods, a right to property, to freedom, to participate actively in the life of the state, to be educated justly according to his possibilities and to cooperate in the production of goods. The value of Leo XIII's first great social encyclical, *Rerum novarum* cannot be overestimated. In it the pope wrote that the inalienable dignity of the human person is an inspiring principle of the whole social question.

> According to natural reason and Christian philosophy, working for gain is creditable, not shameful, to a man, since it enables him to earn an honorable livelihood; but to misuse men as though they were things in the pursuit of gain, or to value them solely for their physical powers – that is truly shameful and inhuman.[28]

The Pope points the way to the development of man and society, not only materially but also spiritually.

An important issue, which Pius XI sees in his time in the encyclical *Quadragesimo anno*, is the issue of private property, which is the fruit of better pay and greater remuneration thanks to the economic development of individual countries. The Pope speaks of human solidarity with regard to private property,

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27 RH 14.
28 RN 20.

which should be characterised by a wider social dimension. The abolition of such property would lead to the ruin of the lower classes. The Pope stresses that "the natural right itself both of owning goods privately and of passing them on by inheritance ought always to remain intact and inviolate, since this indeed is a right that the State cannot take away: 'For man is older than the State'."[29] Pius XI, examining the issue between those who own private property and the State, expresses concern about the very high taxes and charges that can lead many owners to impoverishment. "The right to possess private property is derived from nature, not from man; and the State has the right to control its use in the interests of the public good alone, but by no means to absorb it altogether."[30]

Pius XII added some new elements to these concepts: for example, the Second World War, during which many of human weaknesses became apparent, which completely deny his dignity. In this situation the Pope, more than his predecessors, exalts the human person and his dignity. He shows that society must act in the service of man. This doctrine of Pius XII at the practical level is fulfilled in the principle of subsidiarity of society in relation to people. Subsidiarity means that society is at the service of the human person.[31]

In his speech at Pentecost, Pius XII recalled the 50th anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*, repeating that:

> If the future is rooted in the past, if the experience of recent years is our teacher of the future, we think that we will use today's commemoration to give further moral guidance on the three fundamental values of social and economic life; and we will do so in the same spirit as Leo XIII, and by realising his true, more than prophetic, announcement of the nascent social process of our time. These three fundamental values, which are interlinked, connected and help each other, are the use of material goods, work, family.[32]

He also emphasized that the goods created by God for people belong to everyone, according to the principles of justice and love, and that the possession and use of these material goods is intended to bring peace, development and stability to society, not to provoke the struggle and envy of the strong against the weak:

29 *Quadragesimo anno* (hereinafter: QA) 49.

30 Ibidem; cf. *Rerum Novarum* (hereinafter: RN) 47.

31 Cf. R. Rybka, *Le origini della doctrina sociale della Chiesa e il suo sviluppo nel corso dell'ultimo secolo*, [in:] "Angelicum" 80 (2003), pp. 901–902.

32 Pio XII, *Discorso di Pentecoste*, Radiomessaggio, 1.06.1941, [in:] Acta Apostolicae Sedis (1941), vol. 33, no. 11.

> The goods, created by God for all people, should flow equally to all, according to the principles of justice and love. In fact, every human being has, by nature, the fundamental right to enjoy the material goods of the earth, even if this is left to the human will and to the legal forms of nations to regulate in greater detail its practical realization. Such an individual right must not be suppressed in any way, even by certain other and peaceful rights to material goods.[33]

John XXIII, in publishing his encyclical *Mater et Magistra* on changes in social issues in the light of Christian doctrine, also bearing in mind the different directions of development, raised the issue of solidarity. He recalled that relations between workers and employers must be governed by inspiration from the principle of human solidarity and Christian fraternity. He reminded that relations between workers and employers must be governed by inspiration from the principle of human solidarity and Christian brotherhood. He also stressed that relations of cooperation between peoples: cooperation that allows and promotes the flow of goods, capital, people, in order to eliminate or reduce inequalities must be built on the foundation of human solidarity and Christian fraternity.[34] John XXIII warned that solidarity, which unites all people and makes them members of the same family, imposes an obligation on political communities to help persons and families in difficulty to exercise their fundamental rights. And this is one of the tasks and duties of the state, which having financial means must intervene. On the other hand, when speaking of peace between peoples, he makes it clear that it never becomes solid because of imbalances in their economic and social conditions. He condemned the fact that solidarity between peoples does not function sufficiently.[35]

In the later encyclical *Pacem in terris* on peace between all peoples in truth, justice, love and freedom, with a view to stable and sustainable development, the Pope dealt with the rights and duties of men and women, private property with an inherent social function, subsidiarity of public authorities and political cooperation. Reaffirming the teaching of his predecessors, he stressed that relations between political communities must be governed by truth, justice, labour solidarity and freedom. "The same law of nature that governs the life and conduct of individuals must also regulate the relations of political communities with one another."[36] He sensed in an extraordinary way the future of

[33] Ibidem, no. 12–13.
[34] See: MM, no. 15, 41.
[35] Ibidem, no. 144, 177.
[36] PT 80.

the migration of peoples in search of environments more suitable for a decent life. He took this opportunity to welcome the initiatives raised and promoted by human solidarity and Christian love so that the transplantation of people from one social body to another is less painful.[37]

The Second Vatican Council also dealt with the social problems of modern man in the Pastoral Constitution *Gaudium et spes*, speaking among other things about the vocation of the person and life in political society.

> Since all men possess a rational soul and are created in God's likeness, since they have the same nature and origin, have been redeemed by Christ and enjoy the same divine calling and destiny, the basic equality of all must receive increasingly greater recognition. True, all men are not alike from the point of view of varying physical power and the diversity of intellectual and moral resources. Nevertheless, with respect to the fundamental rights of the person, every type of discrimination, whether social or cultural, whether based on sex, race, colour, social condition, language or religion, is to be overcome and eradicated as contrary to God's intent. For in truth it must still be regretted that fundamental personal rights are still not being universally honoured. (…) For excessive economic and social differences between the members of the one human family or population groups cause scandal, and militate against social justice, equity, the dignity of the human person, as well as social and international peace.[38]

The Pastoral Constitution defends those whose rights have been violated.

Later, Paul VI also dealt with social issues in the encyclical *Populorum progressio*, in which he condemned the differences in living standards between rich nations, which enjoy rapid growth, and poor nations, which are slow to develop. According to the Pope, "while some nations produce a food surplus, other nations are in desperate need of food."[39] This lack of solidarity between peoples creates enormous inequality. The Pope stressed that private property is not an unconditional and absolute right and that a lack of solidarity with the poorest is a serious moral problem: no one is entitled to reserve for exclusive use what exceeds his needs, while others lack the necessities of life. In a word, the right to property can never be exercised to the detriment of the common good, according to the traditional doctrine of the Church Fathers and great theologians. In the event of a conflict between acquired private rights and the

37 Cf. PT 103–107.
38 GS 29.
39 *Populorum progressio* (hereinafter: PP) 8.

basic needs of the community, it is up to the public authorities to resolve it with the active participation of individuals and social groups.[40]

In 1971 Paul VI, in his Apostolic Letter *Octogesima adveniens*, continued his social teaching, dealing with people's desire for a more economically just society and the unacceptability of materialistic ideology. The Pope writes this encyclical on the 80th anniversary of *Rerum novarum*, whose message is always valid and which "continues to inspire action for social justice, prompts us to take up again and to extend the teaching of our predecessors, in response to the new needs of a changing world."[41] He affirmed that the Church not only observes people's lives, but is committed to the implementation of the Gospel message and seeks to enlighten their "activity with the light of the Gospel, thus helping them to respond to the divine plan of charity and to the fullness of their aspirations."[42] Finally, he invites lay Christians to renew in the world the moral principles in their communities.

John Paul II repeatedly dealt with social problems and solidarity widely understood among people and nations of the earth. From the beginning, his voice has been heard in various international institutions, such as the United Nations, International Labour Organization, UNESCO, FAO and many others. In 1979, almost immediately after his election to the papal throne, at the Puebla Conference, he reminded us that the Church evangelizes and will continue to evangelize in the name of love and truth, and that she will always be at the service of man – every human being.

> If the Church is becoming present in the defence or promotion of human dignity, she does so in accordance with her mission, which, although religious and not social or political, cannot fail to recognise man as an integral being (…). The Church's action in areas such as the promotion of man, development, justice and human rights wants to remain always at the service of man and man as she sees him in the Christian vision of her anthropology. In fact, she does not need to resort to systems and ideologies to love, defend and cooperate in the liberation of man: it is at the heart of the message, of which she is a repository and outlawed, that she finds inspiration for fraternity, justice, peace, against all domination, slavery, discrimination, violence, attacks on religious freedom, aggression against man, and how attentive he is to life.[43]

[40] Ibidem, 23.

[41] *Octogesima adveniens* 1.

[42] Ibidem.

[43] John Paul II, Discorso *Audacia di profeti e prudenza evangelica di pastori*, III Conferenza Generale dell'Episcopato Latinoamericano, [in:] *Insegnamenti di Giovanni Paolo II*, 2/1, Vatican 1979, pp. 188–230.

The Pope gave clear indications on the implementation of the concept of Christian solidarity, which is aimed at integral human development.

In 1980, during his trip to Brazil, he spoke with great authority about the need for fraternal cooperation. In his talk about the gospel blessings, he taught that the removal of injustice among people must be strived after, and for this it is necessary to involve Christians.

> The Church wants to draw from the teachings of the eight Beatitudes everything that applies to every human being: to the needy, to those who are poor, those who live in poverty, to those who live in abundance and prosperity, and finally to those who have surplus and live in affluence. The same truth about the first blessing applies to every person, but in a different way. (…) To those who live in abundance, or at least in relative prosperity, so they have the necessities of life (though perhaps a little may be redundant!), the Church who wants to be the Church of the poor, says: Enjoy the fruits of your work and diligence, but in the name of the words of Christ, in the name of human brotherhood and social solidarity, do not distance yourselves from others. Think of the poorest! Think of those who do not have enough, who live in chronic poverty, who suffer from hunger! And be with them![44]

In 1981, in his speech to the workers in Terni, he said that we must fight for justice, but never against another man.

> I particularly appreciate, dear employees, the strong and unbreakable will to continue, with determination and wisdom, to defend your work and dignity. The Church's call to conversion, like that of Jesus, is based on the certainty that nothing will improve, even the structure of human co-existence, if it man does not improve from within; and in practice this means that it is impossible to achieve justice by creating new injustices, establishing peace by resorting to violence, creating a greater area of freedom by using physical or moral coercion.[45]

In the same year, on the 90th anniversary of the encyclical *Rerum novarum*, he recalled the true importance of human work in the encyclical *Laborem exercens*. The exploitation of the worker, the injustice against him, the fact that

44 John Paul II, Discorso *La Chiesa dei poveri con Cristo proclama le beatitudini*, [in:] *Insegnamenti di Giovanni Paolo II*, 3/2, Vatican 1980, pp. 24–31, no. 4.

45 Idem, Discorso *Vi sono vicino, vi capisco con piena coscienza vi rendo onore*, [in:] *Insegnamenti di Giovanni Paolo II*, 4/1, Vatican 1981, pp. 696–705.

human dignity is often violated, led the Pope to speak of a vision of Christian solidarity between men and women at work and of a just fight for workers' rights. Against the background of this statement we can see the difficult situation of workers, especially in Poland, and their protests.

> The call to solidarity and common action addressed to the workers-especially (…) was important and eloquent from the point of view of social ethics. It was the reaction against the degradation of man as the subject of work, and against the unheard-of accompanying exploitation in the field of wages, working conditions and social security for the worker. This reaction united the working world in a community marked by great solidarity.[46]

In 1987 John Paul II, on the 20th anniversary of *Populorum progressio*, presented the encyclical *Sollicitudo rei socialis*, in which he expressed for the first time the Church's concern for the promotion of the human person in society. He demanded that the human person be respected and promoted in all his dimensions.

> The social concern of the Church, directed towards an authentic development of man and society which would respect and promote all the dimensions of the human person, has always expressed itself in the most varied ways. (…) The Church (…) seeks to lead people to respond, with the support also of rational reflection and of the human sciences, to their vocation as responsible builders of earthly society.[47]

With these words he confirmed that concern for man and his dignity, love and solidarity come from Revelation and are the most important concerns of the Church in the name of the truth, the Church following the Gospel and the teaching of Jesus Christ. There is a need to intensify efforts to promote and strengthen every human being, especially those who live in conditions of marginalisation, trouble and exclusion from society. It is necessary to recognize and promote the dignity of every human person because everyone has the right to live as a hero and not as a slave, and in solidarity with others. Only when each person has the opportunity to recognize and express his abilities and potential will it be possible to build and live meaningful human relationships in solidarity.

46 *Laborem exercens* 8.
47 SRS 1.

> In order to be genuine, development must be achieved within the framework of solidarity and freedom, without ever sacrificing either of them under whatever pretext. The moral character of development and its necessary promotion are emphasized when the most rigorous respect is given to all the demands deriving from the order of truth and good proper to the human person. (…) None of what has been said can be achieved without the collaboration of all – especially the international community – in the framework of a solidarity which includes everyone, beginning with the most neglected.[48]

The social environment in which each of us lives must contribute to the development and dissemination of a culture of solidarity and hospitality, participation by all, without exclusion, in community life. As the Church teaches us, all forms of marginalisation of human dignity must be prevented; a new social coexistence based on justice and solidarity must be fostered, in the name of truth and evangelical love. All people, rich and poor, both politicians and trade unionists, must be committed to the common human good.

> One would hope that also men and women without an explicit faith would be convinced that the obstacles to integral development are not only economic but rest on more profound attitudes which human beings can make into absolute values. Thus one would hope that all those who, to some degree or other, are responsible for ensuring a "more human life" for their fellow human beings, whether or not they are inspired by a religious faith, will become fully aware of the urgent need to change the spiritual attitudes which define each individual's relationship with self, with neighbor, with even the remotest human communities, and with nature itself; and all of this in view of higher values such as the common good or, to quote the felicitous expression of the Encyclical Populorum Progressio, the full development "of the whole individual and of all people."[49]

The Pope proposes to the modern world the concept of Christian solidarity as an antidote to evils in social and political life. Solidarity is authentic when people recognize themselves as people and not as tools.

> The exercise of solidarity within each society is valid when its members recognize one another as persons. Those who are more influential, because they have a greater share of goods and common services, should feel responsible for the

[48] SRS 33, 45.
[49] SRS 38.

> weaker and be ready to share with them all they possess. Those who are weaker, for their part, in the same spirit of solidarity, should not adopt a purely passive attitude or one that is destructive of the social fabric, but, while claiming their legitimate rights, should do what they can for the good of all. The intermediate groups, in their turn, should not selfishly insist on their particular interests, but respect the interests of others.[50]

John Paul II confirms that in this way the principle we call solidarity today, both in the internal order of each nation and in the international order, turns out to be one of the fundamental principles of the Christian concept of social and political organizations. Solidarity is a Christian virtue which comes from love and which must be present in the lives of Jesus' disciples. It tends to go beyond itself, to take on specific Christian dimensions of total gratitude, forgiveness and reconciliation. Human and Christian solidarity must lead people to spiritual as well as material development and to the merciful reception of those in need. One of the preambles to the Eucharist in the Roman Missal confirms Christ's example for the weakest: he never closed himself off to the needs and sufferings of his brothers and sisters.[51]

Conclusions

The conclusion derived from the presented teaching is that it will not be possible to develop the Creator's intentions, nor will it be possible to have peace if man does not seek Him who is the giver of all that lives. The concept of Christian solidarity presented by successive popes, depending on the historical events in which they lead the Church, is still being updated and implemented. Christian solidarity as a fact of *interdependence*, understood as a *system that determines* relations in the modern world, in its components – economic, cultural, political and religious – interdependence adopted as *a moral category*, is not only an indeterminate compassion or superficial disillusionment towards the evil that affects many people, close or far away. "On the contrary, it is a firm and persevering determination to commit oneself to the common good; that is to say to the good of all and of each individual, because we are all really responsible

[50] SRS 39.
[51] Italian Episcopal Conference, *Gesù modello di amore*, [in:] *Messale Romano*, Prefazio V/C, Vatican 1983, p. 908.

for all."[52] It is necessary to work for development in the name of human and Christian solidarity and the obligation to subdue the earth. This teaching makes a fervent call, especially to economically developed countries, to respect the dignity of each person, so as not to create artificial barriers between those better off and those worse off. The building of peace and external order in the world and internal order in societies and in every human being must relate to the fact that we are created one for another and not against another. The implementation of the concept of Christian solidarity in the life of all and everywhere would be the way to realise the civilisation of love.

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[52] SRS 38.

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Catholic War Discourse in the German "Sonntagsblatt" of the Silesian Diocese Breslau during the First World War of 1914–1918

Katolickie dyskursy wojenne w niemieckiej „Sonntagsblatt" diecezji śląskiej Breslau podczas pierwszej wojny światowej (1914–1918)

Abstract: The First World War, 1914–1918, demanded that even the Breslau (Polish: Wrocław) Catholic Church give answers to their millions of faithful at home and the soldiers at the front how to value the war in theological and religious terms. "Sonntagsblatt," the Catholic weekly published during the entire Great War period a large number of articles on this problem. Herewith we attempt to analyse how the Breslau clergy used the "Sonntagsblatt" to give spiritual support.

Keywords: First World War, Diocese of Breslau/Wroclaw, Catholic press, Sonntagsblatt, discourse of war

Abstrakt: Pierwsza wojna światowa (1914–1918) wymagała, aby Kościół katolicki we Wrocławiu podzielił się z milionami wiernych, zarówno tych pozostających w domach, jak i żołnierzy na froncie, z teologiczną i religijną oceną wojny. Przez cały okres Wielkiej Wojny "Sonntagsblatt," tygodnik katolicki, publikował na ten temat liczne teksty. Niniejszy artykuł jest próbą analizy, jak duchowni wrocławscy wykorzystywali "Sonntagsblatt" do udzielania duchowego wsparcia.

Słowa kluczowe: pierwsza wojna światowa, diecezja wrocławska, prasa katolicka, Sonntagsblatt, dyskurs wojenny

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Catholic Press in the Diocese of Breslau during the First World War

The attitude of the Catholic Church in the German Empire to the First World War has already been researched.[1] The outbreak of the First World War in August 1914 had a big impact on the entire Catholic Church. Pope Pius X (1835–1914) criticized the war shortly after its inception. In his "Reminder to all Catholics in the World" he made it clear that Christ was the saviour in war times and that all politicians and heads of states should promote peace instead of the hostilities.[2] His successor Pope Benedict XV (1854–1922) tried to undertake several peace initiatives. As the superior of the Catholic Church he was extremely concerned about Catholics fighting against Catholics. He went out of his way to contribute to peace processes and focused on the humanitarian issues, while trying to be relatively neutral while dealing with either party to the conflict.[3]

German bishops, priests and all the faithful had to bear all the war consequences at the home front and in the battlefields. The hostilities needed to be discussed not only among the German military and politicians, but also in the Catholic circles and their intellectuals. The question arises what the Church's understanding of the war was, with which words, discourse and semiotics was it dealt with. In this respect our research has examined in a hermeneutic and discursive manner a very rich Catholic historical source in the form of the German Catholic Church press published during the period of 1914–1918. The journals of each single German diocese normally appeared every Sunday and tried to reach every Catholic household despite the troublesome times.[4]

1 See: exemplary literature regarding the Catholic Church and the First World War 1914–1918 [in:] H.-J. Scheidgen, *Deutsche Bischöfe im Ersten Weltkrieg: die Mitglieder der Fuldaer Bischofskonferenz und ihre Ordinariate 1914–1918*, Köln 1991; *Und auch Soldaten fragten. Zu Aufgabe und Problematik der Militärseelsorge in drei Generationen. Bericht des wissenschaftlichen Symposiums zur Erforschung der Geschichte der Militärseelsorge vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis zur Gegenwart*, B.H. Jürgen (hrsg.), Paderborn 1992 (*Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Militärseelsorge* 9), pp. 55–62; *Geschichte des Breslauer Domkapitels 1800–1945 im Rahmen der Diözesangeschichte vom Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, K. von Engelbert (hrsg.), Hildesheim 1964, pp. 169 ff; *Faith of our fathers. Catholic chaplains on the Western Front*, 1916–1919, Stephen Bellis, Warwick 2018.

2 A. Struker, *Die Kundgebungen Papst Benedikts XV. zum Weltfrieden*, Freiburg 1917, pp. 113 ff.

3 L.A. Friedrichs, *Die Friedensinitiativen des Vatikans während des Ersten Weltkriegs*, Norderstedt 2015.

4 Regarding the meaning of Catholic publicists during the period of 1914–1918 see: D. Rose, *Von der konfessionellen zur nationalen Polemik. Katholische Publizistik im Ersten Weltkrieg*, [in:] W. Gömberg, T. Pittroff, *Katholische Publizistik im 20. Jahrhundert. Positionen, Probleme, Profile* (Reihe: *Rombach, Quellen und Studien zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte des modernen Katholizismus* 3), pp. 213–234.

The Sunday journal of the German Eastern Diocese of Breslau (present day Wrocław) was a very important medium Its circulation reached Prussian Silesia, the Berlin District, Austrian parts of Northern Bohemia and Moravia. Because of the nearness to the Eastern front the people and faithful in these regions were more affected by the armed conflict than those inhabiting dioceses in Central Germany.[5] During the tenure of Cardinal Georg Kopp (1837–1914) the German-language "Katholisches Sonntagsblatt der Diöcese Breslau, zugleich Organ des Vereins der heil[igen] Familie," was launched in 1895. Concurrently, the "Posłaniec Niedzielny dla dyecezyi Wrocławskiej zarazem organ związku Św. Rodziny" was started for the Polish-speaking Catholics.[6]

Both the German and Polish papers are valuable literally sources to the history of the Silesian Church of Breslau, not yet examined by (church) historians. Collectively, they reached almost five million recipients. Every issue appeared on Sunday and contained basic information about theological and biblical exegesis, discussions about political and social developments, reviews on Silesian and general church history, spiritual texts and essential information on current problems of the diocese. The content exemplifies discourse, semiotics and narratives from the Catholic point of view and reflects the Catholic attitude to the Great World War.

The hostilities affected the diocese from the onset i.e. from August 1914 to a considerable extent. Many priests were drafted into the German military service. Cardinal Adolf Bertram (1859–1945),[7] the newly elected Breslau bishop, was instantly confronted with the war situation. The clergy had to prepare conscripts spiritually by means of retreat days and exercises and provide the priests in the war zone with gifts of love. For the diocese it also meant a shortage of priests in their hundreds of Silesian parishes.[8] The remaining priests had to care about their sheep, about the women mourning for their fallen husbands and sons, and they had to comfort the families spiritually. Thousands of Catholics and

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5 B. Ziemann, *Das Deutsche Kaiserreich 1871–1918*, Reihe: *Informationen zur politischen Bildung* 329; Darmstadt 2016, cards I–IV.

6 Cf. the first vol. of "Posłaniec Niedzielny dla dyecezyi Wrocławskiej zarazem organ związku Św. Rodziny" from 23 December 1894, published weekly by the diocesan administration of Breslau by the priest can. Marx.

7 Literature on Cardinal Bertram, see: Archiv für Schlesische Kirchengeschichte, hrsg. vom Institut für Ostdeutsche Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte, vol. 1949–2019, Münster; *Adolf Kardinal Bertram (1859–1945), Sein Leben und Wirken*, T. Scharf-Wrede (hrsg.), (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte und Kunst im Bistum Hildesheim), hrsg. vom Verein für Geschichte und Kunst im Bistum Hildesheim, Hildesheim 2015.

8 For the structure of the Breslau Diocese during the First Word War see: *Handbuch des Bistums Breslau und seines Delegatur-Bezirks für das Jahr 1917*, Breslau 1916.

the faithful of the Diocese of Breslau fell victim to the war, while the diocese lost a significant part of its terrain after the hostilities had come to an end.[9]

Still, it remained important for the diocese to reach the Catholics with spiritual information through – among others – the "Sonntagsblatt." Its message was appreciated by the Catholics at the home front and the soldiers in the battlefields. It is remarkable that most articles referring to the war effort were written anonymously and therefore the authors are mostly unknown. Later in the text we will deal with how the diocese tried to support and strengthen the faith among its Catholics. To this end, more than 200 issues of "Sonntagsblatt" have been examined by means of the text data extraction method which is quite an efficient way to analyse discourse and semiotics.[10]

The relation between God and War

The philosophic question of the relationship of "God and War" is quite a deep personal theological question of mankind and has been the concern of the Catholic Church and other religions for centuries. The same was taken up by German lay and Catholic communities soon after the outbreak of the First World War. During the entire war the inner-Catholic debate "Why God accepts war," or "Why God allows war" or "What is the divine sense of war" took place amongst the sorrows, grief and pain in literary form in the "Sonntagsblatt." Many Catholics kept asking the Church's representatives how it could happen that the Christian nations of Europe went to such a cruel war against each other. These questions demanded unambiguous answers which were published continuously in several articles of the "Sonntagsblatt."

Christianity with its old antique culture and the spirit of the Holy Bible and the New Testament, with Jesus' peaceful messages did not advocate war; rather, it attempted to overcome war by proclaiming the truth and getting the conflicting parties to the negotiation table. Doubts were, therefore, raised by atheists and weak Christians: "There is no God because He would never look on the atrocities of war, standing idly by." To which the Church would reply that if there was no God, then millions of the victims would have died for nothing, and the tears of the widows and orphans would have been in vain.

9 *Geschichte des Breslauer Domkapitels 1800–1945...*, op. cit., pp. 170 ff.

10 Cf. "Katholisches Sonntagsblatt der Diöcese Breslau, Katholisches Sonntagsblatt der Diöcese Breslau, zugleich Organ des Vereins der heil[igen] Familie," volumes from 1914 to 1918, published weekly by the diocesan administration of Breslau by Father Karl Jakubczyk.

Without God morality would have no foundation, and consequently no man could be held responsible for his crimes or rewarded for his mercifulness. God alone was the entity which valued people's actions.[11]

Then other questions were asked: "If God exists, why does he not interfere in the war?" The Church would habitually explain that it was not the task of human beings to assess God's behaviour nor to judge and understand God in any way. Humans themselves caused conflicts, so they had themselves to blame. God never gave anybody an order to engage in war. God endowed humans with self-determination and personal freedom, so that they could consider their actions and be responsible for them. God never wanted war; humans did.[12]

The "Sonntagsblatt" made it clear: humans, not only politicians or leaders, should ask themselves why they did not change their behaviour against each other when the signs of war before August 1914 became obvious. If they had had trust in the New Testament words, Jesus and God's peaceful message, war would never have broken out. It was human failure and sins that led to the hostilities.[13] Divine interference in human affairs depends on God's discretion and his creatures have no part in it. Theologians stated in articles that the existence of evil and the devil enables the existence of good.

The Church concluded that also war had a place and a reason in God's plans.[14] The "Sonntagsblatt" made it clear: humans can't see into the future and anticipate God's purposes but the time of his mercy will come and he will sweep away the calamity and scourge of the war. And until this happens, humans need to learn hard lessons from hard war times. To the question, why war affected not only pagans but also the God-fearing people without difference, the "Sonntagsblatt" tried to answer that the good of earthly life was not the highest good and that suffering was not the greatest evil. Mankind should strive after the highest good in the eternity with God rather than on earth. War was the experience of the creation; salvation would only be experienced in afterlife.[15]

Silesian families would ask their priests, "Why is our Lord watching the ongoing terrible war with indifference? Why doesn't he intervene and put an end to the killing?" The "Sonntagsblatt" would answer, asking "Why didn't humans put such questions before the war? When addiction, immorality, blatant defiance of God were on the rise, it was then that you should have asked:

11 Author unknown (hereinafter: A.U.), *Schwierigkeiten – ohne Ende*, "Sonntagsblatt" (hereinafter: SoBla) 12.05.1918, p. 111.

12 A.U., *Warum greift unser Herrgott nicht ein?*, SoBla 3.02.1918, pp. 26 ff.

13 A.U., *Eine treffende Antwort*, SoBla 24.03.1918, p. 70.

14 A.U., *Warum greift unser Herrgott nicht ein?*, op. cit., pp. 26 ff.

15 Ibidem, pp. 33–35.

why does God tolerate such gross misconduct for so long? When will he finally intervene?"[16] Accordingly, the "Sonntagsblatt" quoted Helmuth von Moltke (1800–1891), the famous German Prussian officer, who during the 1870–1871 Franco-German War said: "War is part of God's world-order."

Christianity in the light of Jesus' teaching understood itself as a strong community of brothers and sisters living in peace. Evil entered the created world and brought injustice to mankind; yet, evil had its place.[17] Such were the contents of the articles that revealed the meaning of war: The Lord needs the war for his salvific plans, he knows how to derive good even from evil. The fact that he has great plans for people does not mean that He will spare them hardship; contrarily, he will cause catastrophes to test a man's character on the analogy to the most fertile layers of earth which are the produce of the greatest movements of tectonic plates. The conclusion was that God had prepared a stony path with deprivation for the humans to lead them to the kingdom of heaven. The path will be the target on the way to the Elysium.[18]

Not only in the "Sonntagsblatt," but also at Sunday and weekly services, masses homilies and in personal appointments the clergy often referred to the Old Testament's Book of Job. Job, who was surely a just and god-fearing man, had to deal with disease and pain like people afflicted with war. He was confronted with the systematic and dogmatic philosophical question why a just and righteous man had to sustain so much pain.[19] The priests compared Job's situation with the ongoing misery. Also Jesus, they preached, lived in this imperfect world and suffered persecution, disaster and evil. The acceptance of the dreadful fate meant following Jesus on the way to the Father.[20] War was foreseen by God as a test for the humans who should only strive after God's heaven.[21] Several times the Church would explain to the faithful that God did not cause the war: "Mankind has disregarded God's will. War is retribution for the disregard of God's love."

War – it was explained – was limited in time.[22] If the Christian principles had been observed, "this world conflagration would never have occurred."[23]

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16 A.U., *Eine treffende Antwort*, op. cit., p. 70.
17 A.U., *Krieg und Christentum*, SoBla 4.06.1915, p. 211.
18 A.U., *Weltgebet im Weltkrieg*, SoBla 5.12.1915, pp. 387 ff.
19 A.U., *Krieg und Göttliche Vorsehung*, SoBla 13.12.1916, pp. 50 ff.
20 A.U., *Glück oder Unglück*, SoBla 18.02.1917, p. 54.
21 A.U., *Krieg und Göttliche Vorsehung*, op. cit., pp. 50 ff.
22 A.U., *Nur für eine Kugel*, SoBla 22.07.1917, p. 226.
23 Article extracted from the Deutsche Kirchenzeitung (publisher): *Krieg und Frieden*, SoBla 7.10.1917, pp. 298 ff.

The "Sonntagsblatt" did not limit itself to presenting the theological position. From time to time it also quoted the opinions of people of different walks of life: assuring of their readiness to defend Germany, almost all defined war as a harrowing experience for the entire nation.[24]

The Church had never regarded war as beneficial for any people or nation. The "Sonntagsblatt" appraised the war mostly as a disastrous and fatal experience especially for interpersonal relationships.[25] The Church saw how much the war experience meant in the life of humans and nations: "To whom has not the war, which has been forcibly inflicted on us by abomination and riot, brought bitter misery and heartache? It neither spares peoples, nor individuals. It does not ask for origin and status."[26] The Church realized that during the war the question of the meaning of God was increasingly raised by soldiers and civilians. The "Sonntagsblatt" would provide traditional proofs of God's truth in order to further strengthen the faith, e.g. the proof of authority.[27]

The Breslau paper formulated a definition of war to the effect that God sent the war because of the heinous sins of all people. God himself would decide the end of the punishment, but the freedom would come when all people had abandoned sin.[28] The Christian religion was perceived as a roadmap that ought to be followed the way like Jesus had taught. A Christian soldier's eye was capable of helping the enemy's child. A Christian soldier was still capable of compassion towards his neighbour, even if the neighbour wore a different uniform, because a Christian soldier never stopped following Christ. Mercy and solace constituted a shield against hate born at the time of war. Christ's way is to love "thy neighbour" despite the circumstances.[29]

The war as the *bellum iustum*

The previous chapter showed that the Church demanded that soldiers respect their Christian religion concerning correct conduct towards the captured enemies. The Church presented a realistic point of view regarding the complexity of the pre-war political reasons leading to the outbreak of the hostilities. As for the *enemies of Germany*, she put the blame on them for not granting "Germany

24 A.U., *Stille Kriegsgedanken*, SoBla 13.02.1916, p. 50.
25 A.U., *Ich hatt einen Kameraden*, SoBla 18.02.1917, pp. 53 ff.
26 A.U., *Kriegsbilder*, SoBla 1.07.1917, pp. 202 ff.
27 A.U., *Der Gottesbeweis des Krieges*, SoBla 27.06.1915, p. 203.
28 A.U., *Christentum und Nationen*, SoBla 23.06.1916, p. 235.
29 A.U., *Mein Kamerad*, SoBla 19.03.1916, p. 94.

its place under the sun." This wording doubtless referred to German Emperor Wilhelm II's imperialist policy conducted after the 1890 dismissal of Chancellor Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898). The Church along with the German public was of the opinion that the German government under Wilhelm II promoted and preferred a peaceful relationship with the neighbour states before August 1914.

After the July 1914 Sarajevo outrageous assassination, the Emperor finally had no other choice but "to take the sword to defend the fatherland." For the German Church to be a German soldier meant "to be strong and protective."[30] Until the end of the war the Church claimed that only the German Empire had requested peace negotiations among all the participating parties several times, but all such attempts had been dismissed.[31] The "Sonntagsblatt" in contrast to other media never concealed to its readers that:

> Our nation also deserved a trial and punishment. Nobody but a Pharisee will deny that. And if we are tempted to ask why its duration is so long, we should consider what the German bishops said in one of their pastoral letters: the sins of many years are not atoned for by short penance.[32]

The Bible demanded the exclusion of war and the promotion of peace among persons and nations. The New Testament advocated the love towards the enemy.[33] In reality and in theological perspective the Church referred to important positions and meanings of its theologians in the ecclesiastical history who dealt with the question of war and peace. In the early centuries of Christianity St Augustine (354–430), one of the Fathers of the Church, created the philosophy of justified war known as *bellum iustum*. His central Christian thesis about war and peace has been enriched through centuries as a Christian dogma on war. Many Christian emperors relied on St Augustine's position when deciding to begin a military conflict.

St Augustine's position was developed in the Middle Ages by Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) and was further taken up by such theologians as Soto and Suarez. St Augustine's thesis of a *bellum iustum* stated that according to Christian dogma the one and only reason for a just war is to defend the wounded, rectify violated law, or make the enemy recognise his wrongdoing. With an enemy willing to acknowledge his guilt, a peace process could be launched.

30 A.U., *Ich hatt einen Kameraden*, op. cit., pp. 53 ff.
31 A.U., *Warum greift unser Herrgott nicht ein?*, op. cit., pp. 26 ff.
32 A.U., *Eine treffende Antwort*, op. cit., p. 70.
33 A.U., *Evangelium und Krieg*, SoBla 6.08.1916, pp. 251 ff.

If the enemy continued in his wrongdoing, war was justified. Only God or an authority filled with His grace – traditionally the Emperor or King of a nation – could take a decision to begin war or establish peace.[34]

The "Sonntagsblatt "postulated that "war for the fatherland is a just war," and "God will not leave the Germans but will assist them." The duty to fight for "Emperor and Fatherland" therefore was justified for the Catholic Church as an example of the *bellum iustum*. The war was the means with which to attain the end and therefore it was subdued to Christian morality and ethics, rather than the other way round.[35]

The glory of the "death of a hero" and the "fallen son"

The notion of the "Heldentod," or glorious "Death of the Hero" – also known as the "Heroic Death" – had been firmly rooted in German tradition. To scarify one's life for the glory of the Fatherland was the highest honour of a soldier as a warrior.[36] Also the Catholic Church service and literature was attracted to the ideal of the "Death of the Hero," and based it on theological explanations. In a military conflict the entire human body was offered as a sacrifice to the divine Fatherland. A German soldier was expected to fall in the battlefield for a "justified reason of the German people." The "Death of the Hero" during the entire First World War was the ultimate sacrifice honouring God.[37]

It is "not hate, but the love of the fatherland, love of justice that guides the sword of the soldier;" "the warrior becomes an instrument in the hands of the great judge of the world, and falls a martyr of justice when he falls in battle."[38] Such a belief led to the theological view that "God takes those who he loves," so death is only a hard, last journey to the hero's true Fatherland, the Heaven with God.[39] The clergy formulated the thesis that "a nation which is assisted

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34 A.U., *Krieg und Frieden*, op. cit., pp. 298 ff.

35 A.U., *Nur ein Rosenkranz*, SoBla 14.01.1917, pp. 14 ff.

36 To this theme compare literature: H. Koss, *"...an meiner Seite den Heldentod erlitten": ein Schicksal in Feldpostbriefen*, 1.08–11.12.1914, Leipzig 2014; *Heldenmythen – Heldentaten – "Heldentod,"* Saarländisches Künstlerhaus Saarbrücken e.v., S. Elsner, K. Hanus (hrsg.), Saarbrücken 2015; D. Henning, *"Heldentod" und "Mahnung": Gefallenendenkmale im ehemaligen Kreis Saalfeld*, Saalfeld 2007.

37 A.U., *Heldentod*, SoBla 6.08.1916, pp. 69 ff, 251 ff.

38 A.U., *Krieg und Christentum*, op. cit., p. 211.

39 A.U., *Trostworte des Kriegers*, SoBla 7.01.1917, pp. 4 ff.

by God has always a numerical advantage."[40] The "Sonntagsblatt" stressed the need of the soldier to entrust his life to God's hands. Many German soldiers related to their horrified families that they had only survived the battles and fights with "God's help."[41] The German soldier was "full of patriotism in his love to the Emperor and the Fatherland and he therefore was ready to sacrifice himself and his life in honour."[42] Sacrifice and Fatherland were powerful terms to honour the fallen German heroes.[43] The clergy intended to arouse deep hope and solace among the faithful of the Breslau diocese who feared for their sons and husbands. The "Heldentod," the "Death of the Hero," ennobled the harsh reality and glorified war.[44]

The "Sonntagsblatt" and Catholics were surely convinced that all Germans would regard the fallen warriors as a big sacrifice to the Fatherland, that the fallen warriors earned Heaven where they would find God's love and eternal freedom after their lifetime on Earth.[45] The "Sonntagsblatt" stated that "the son is everything a mother has. He therefore is everything what she can sacrifice to the Fatherland. She has nothing more precious to lose."[46] A son may die, his mother will place her trust in God, knowing that she and the son will reunite in Heaven for all eternity.[47] This notion of sacrifice was the son's highest motivation as a soldier. Death was no coincidence but was willed by God. The Church admitted that a "fallen son" was the most difficult examination set by God and a trial for every mother's heart.[48]

The picture of two brothers who together joined the war with great enthusiasm was used by the Church as a relevant illustration. The "Sonntagsblatt" would express the dignity of the death of one of the brothers. The acceptance of a brother's death in the field was also regarded as the highest sacrifice: "Who would not reverently stand still before such heroism and brotherly love!"[49] The term "true comradeship"[50] in war has had a long tradition in the German – and not only German – military. It was also taken up and sanctified by the Church. The meaning of a "fallen comrade" was highly valued in Catholic communi-

40 A.U., *Opfersinn*, SoBla 25.02.1917, pp. 60 ff.
41 A.U., *Was die Feldpost brachte*, SoBla 24.06.1917, pp. 194 ff.
42 A.U., *Ich hatt einen Kameraden*, op. cit., pp. 53 ff.
43 A.U., *Opfersinn*, op. cit., pp. 60 ff.
44 A.U., *Mein Kamerad*, op. cit., p. 94
45 A.U., *Nur für eine Kugel*, op. cit., p. 226.
46 A.U., *Opfersinn*, op. cit., pp. 60 ff.
47 A.U., *Kriegsbilder*, op. cit., pp. 202 ff.
48 A.U., *Nur für eine Kugel*, op. cit., pp. 226.
49 A.U., *Zwei Brüder*, SoBla 25.03.1917, pp. 94 ff.
50 A.U., *Ich hatt einen Kameraden*, op. cit., pp. 53 ff.

ties and German society because it induced courage in the face of the enemy, even in ultimately hopeless situations and in the face of one's own death. It is another question whether this term was also a solace for a German mother or father who had to mourn for the fallen son.

The idea of the "death of the Hero" was also valid during the Second World War. Since the final German downfall in 1945 this attitude has almost disappeared from German society and culture because it began to be perceived as a distortion of war's reality.

Conclusion

The Catholic Church of Breslau during the entire period of the First World War 1914–1918 contributed intellectually to the discourse on war which drew the attention of the faithful, civilians and soldiers alike. The Church's explanations were important to the recipients and helped to understand and accept the sense of war from a religious perspective. The "Sonntagsblatt" – following Pope Benedict XV in this respect – saw war as the world's biggest misfortune and at the same time as a part of God's salvific plan. The "Sonntagsblatt" stated that the Church did not give up on the concept of *bellum iustum* and that humans and especially Catholics were called to put in effort to restore peace.

It revealed that Catholic Church in the diocese of Breslau and other German dioceses was true to this attitude with the people placing their trust in the clergy. For all the atrocities and harsh experiences from the First World War no one could prevent the outbreak of the Second World War. Today the Europeans and the Germans deal mentally with these discourses to a lesser degree because of the long period of peace and the personal freedom since 1945. Yet, these discourses reveal how the First World War influenced people's concerns and their understanding of the meaning of their life during hard times.

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Efforts of Bishop Thomas I of Wrocław to Develop the Cult of St Stanislaus in Silesia

Starania wrocławskiego biskupa Tomasza I o rozwój kultu św. Stanisława na Śląsku

Abstract: Undoubtedly, the cult of St Stanislaus has been known in the Diocese of Wrocław since the end of the 11th century. However, none of the decision-making and pastoral centres took proper action to strengthen it in all spheres of life, especially pastoral. It was only Bishop Thomas I of Wroclaw who took up this task with great interest because he was greatly concerned about the salvation of the diocesan souls entrusted to his care. By joining in the great project of Bishop Prandota of Krakow regarding the finalization of the canonization of St Stanislaus, he wanted to achieve not only the devotional effect, but also to implement his life's programme. He was a supporter of the idea of unifying Polish principalities and establishing the dominant role of Church power over its secular counterpart. By promoting the cult of the Saint, he put into effect many of his goals. His death in 1268 stopped the enthusiasm for promoting the cult for some time.

Keywords: St Stanislaus, Thomas I, 13 century, Bishopric of Wroclaw, Polish history, cult of St Stanislaus, Silesia

Abstrakt: Niewątpliwie kult św. Stanisława znany był w diecezji wrocławskiej od końca XI w. Żaden z ośrodków decyzyjnych i duszpasterskich nie podjął jednak należytej akcji, aby wzmacniać go we wszystkich sferach życia, zwłaszcza duszpasterskiego. Z wielkim zainteresowaniem podjął się tego zadania dopiero biskup wrocławski Tomasz I, dla którego dominującą rolę odgrywała troska o zbawienie dusz diecezjan powierzonych jego pieczy. Włączając się w wielki projekt biskupa krakowskiego Prandoty dotyczący sfinalizowania zabiegów kanonizacyjnych św. Stanisława, chciał pozyskać nie tylko efekt pobożnościowy, ale także realizację swego życiowego programu. Był zwolennikiem idei zjednoczeniowej państwa polskiego i dominującej roli władzy kościelnej nad świecką. Propagując kult Świętego, zrealizował wiele swoich założeń. Jego śmierć w roku 1268 powstrzymała na pewien czas entuzjazm w popularyzacji kultu.

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Słowa kluczowe: św. Stanisław, Tomasz I, XIII wiek, biskupstwo wrocławskie, historia Polski, kult św. Stanisława, Śląsk

Analysing the life and achievements of Bishop Thomas I of Wrocław, one can say that care for the salvation of souls always played a dominant role in his programme. The second place was assigned to the consistent implementation of the idea of the unification of the Polish principalities and to laying emphasis on the dominant role of ecclesiastical authority over the secular one.[1] The conditions in Silesia, as well as in Poland in general, helped him to achieve this gaol. Since the times of Archbishop Henryk Kietlicz there had been a constant battle for carrying out the Gregorian reform, aiming primarily at raising the spiritual life of the clergy and the faithful, but also at emancipation of the Polish Church from its dependence on the secular power. The political breakup of the Polish Kingdom, the dissolution of the Silesian Piast principality into smaller political entities, the death of Henryk II the Pious at the Battle of Legnickie Pole, the ensuing struggle between his sons and the beginning of feudal anarchy in Silesia made Bishop Thomas I aware of the problems that needed to be solved as soon as possible. The desire to strengthen the position of the Church and the desire to unite the provinces gave him the idea to actively join the action of canonising St Stanislaus – the bishop[2] – and St Hedwig – the Silesian duchess. During his lifetime, he had the opportunity to participate in the canonization celebrations of St Stanislaus, which led him to try to introduce his cult in Silesia.[3] Sadly, he did not live to see the canonization of St Hedwig. He died a few months prior to that event.

Involvement in the canonization process of St Stanislaus

There is no doubt that the Christianization of pagan parts of Europe was based on and successfully developed due to the cult of rulers, legislators and founders

1 T. Silnicki, *Dzieje i ustrój Kościoła katolickiego na Śląsku do końca w. XIV*, Warsaw 1953, pp. 161 ff.

2 G. Labuda, *Święty Stanisław – biskup krakowski, patron Polski: śladami zabójstwa, męczeństwa, kanonizacji*, Poznań 2000, p. 42. See also: *Bischofsmord im Mittelalter*, N. von Friede, D. Reitz (hrsg.), Göttingen 2003.

3 Ibidem, p. 161; W. Schenk, *Kult liturgczny św. Stanisława na Śląsku w świetle rękopisów liturgicznych*, Lublin 1959, p. 16; M. Plezia, *Rola kultu św. Stanisława w zjednoczeniu państwa polskiego w przełomie XIII i XIV w.*, "W drodze" 7 (1979), no. 5.

of Christian kingdoms. At the dawn of Polish statehood, such a decisive role was played by St Vojtěch, also known as St Adalbert of Prague. At the time of the political division of the Polish Kingdom, there was a lack of the figure of a saint as the guardian of the dynasty and the patron of the political community – *communitatis terrae* – of the realm, around which all Polish princes could rally. Motivated by the idea of rebuilding the united kingdom, Wincenty, Iwo and Prandot – the bishops of Krakow – initiated efforts to canonize St Stanisalus.[4] Wincenty Kadlubek, whose *Kronika* (The Chronicle) played a significant role in the formation of Polish consciousness, is assumed to have been the prime mover. Having always had before his eyes the main motto – the good of the homeland – he wanted to show the figure of the Bishop of Krakow from the 11th century in his conflict with King Boleslaw the Brave in a completely different light than Gall Anonymous had done before him. In the chronicle he proposed a new look. For Gall, Stanisalus was a traitor, and for Kadlubek a heroic figure, dying for his principles, a martyr and a saint. The character of the bishop presented in this way became a breakthrough in the development of the cult and, at the same time, the beginning of efforts in the Roman curia aimed at canonization.[5] According to D. Borawska and M. Plezia it was the Dominican Wincenty of Kielcza who may have helped the bishop in searching for testimonies about the murdered bishop,[6] who around 1250[7] wrote

4 D. Borawska, *Z dziejów jednej legendy. W sprawie genezy kultu Św. Stanisława biskupa*, Warsaw 1950, pp. 12–13; T. Grudziński, *Bolesław Śmiały-Szczodry i biskup Stanisław*, Warsaw 1982, p. 207; J. Powierski, *Kryzys rządów Bolesława Śmiałego. Polityka i jej odzwierciedlenie w literaturze średniowiecznej*, Gdansk 1992, pp. 319–320.

5 G. Labuda, *Święty Stanisław...*, op. cit., pp. 89, 147; M. Plezia, *Dookoła sprawy św. Stanisława. Studium źródłoznawcze*, "Analecta Cracoviensia" 11 (1979), pp. 357 ff; idem, *Wstęp*, [in:] *Średniowieczne żywoty i cuda patronów Polski*, transl. J. Pleziowa, edition by M. Plezia, Warsaw 1987, p. 13.

6 D. Borawska, *Z dziejów jednej legendy*, op. cit., pp. 20 ff; G. Labuda, *Święty Stanisław...*, op. cit., pp. 143, 156–157; P. Szczur, *Pierwsze wieki Kościoła Krakowskiego*, [in:] *Kościół krakowski w tysiącleciu*, Krakow 2000, p. 66.

7 See: R. Skrzyniarz, *Wincenty z Kielc*, [in:] *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. 20, Lublin 2014, col. 664; L. Poniewozik, *Spór o Wincentego*, [in:] *Kalendarz świętokrzyski 2005*, Kielce 2004, pp. 137–142. For more on Wincenty of Kielce, see: T. Wojciechowski, *O życiu i pismach Wincentego z Kielc*, "Pamiętnik Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie. Wydziały filologiczny i historyczno-filozoficzny" 5 (1886), pp. 30–36; M. Plezia, *Wincenty z Kielc, historyk polski z pierwszej połowy XIII wieku*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze" 7 (1962), pp. 15–41; G. Labuda, *Twórczość hagiograficzna i historiograficzna Wincentego z Kielc*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze" 16 (1971), pp. 103–137; M. Woskowski, *Wincenty z Kielczy. Człowiek i dzieło*, [in:] *Kult św. Stanisława na Śląsku (1253–2003)*, A. Pobóg-Lenartowicz (ed.), Opole 2004, pp. 107–116.

a hagiographic work entitled the life of St Stanislaus.[8] This may have taken place in Krakow at the time when canonization procedures were launched. Most historians have a different opinion. They believe *The Chronicle* was completed after the canonization.

The popularisation of the cult of St Stanislaus, started by Bishop Wincenty, was continued by Dominicans and other mendicant orders among the Polish population through preaching. It is likely that it was these religious groups, supported by the encouragement of Bishop Thomas I of Wrocław, that convinced Bishop Prandota of Krakow to ask the Pope for the canonization of Stanislaus. Bishop Thomas's activity in this field may be evidenced by the fact that he was appointed to a three-man verification commission to examine this matter, which was established by Pope Innocent IV in 1250. Also Archbishop Pełka and a representative of the monastic side, the abbot of the Cistercians of Lubiaz, Henryk, were to take care of it.[9] It is likely that in Wrocław, Bishop Thomas I met on this matter and prepared the necessary material with his faithful collaborator, lawyer and canon from Krakow, Jakub from Skaryszew.[10] This is evidenced by the fact that he was a member of the mission to Rome.

The first results of the work of this commission were probably presented at the Bishops' Convention in Krakow, held in mid-July 1250. The two bishops' commissioners present at the meeting were able to report the collected information in detail and discuss it with the Polish bishops.[11] The general approval allowed for the creation of a legal document and a mission, which was sent to the Pope in 1251.[12] The mentioned Jakub of Skaryszew and Master Gerard called Gallicus journeyed to Rome. The bishops, commissioners and emissaries were convinced of the sufficient content of the collected material, so they were

8 For the full text of the chronicle see: *Średniowieczne żywoty i cuda*, op. cit., pp. 273–279.

9 *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry krakowskiej św. Wacława*, published by F. Piekosiński, Krakow 1874, part 1, no. 33; *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, [in:] *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* (hereinafter: MPH), vol. 2, published by A. Bielowski, Lwow 1872, p. 83; *Miracula sancti Stanislai*, W. Kętrzyński (ed.), [in:] MPH, vol. 4, Lwow 1884, pp. 286–287; F. Wolnik, *Kult świętego Stanisława biskupa u śląskich cystersów*, [in:] *Kult św. Stanisława*, op. cit., p. 61.

10 *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, op. cit., p. 811; J. Długosz, *Vita Sanctissimi Stanislai*, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, Cracoviae 1887, pp. 132, 148; T. Silnicki, *Biskup Nanker*, Warsaw 1953, p. 20; idem. *Dzieje i ustrój...*, op. cit., p. 159.

11 *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Małopolski*, published by F. Piekosiński, Krakow 1886, vol. 2, no. 432.

12 *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa (ed.), [in:] *Najdawniejsze roczniki krakowskie i kalendarz*, [in:] *Monumenta Poloniae Historica nova series* (hereinafter: MPHns), vol. 5, Warsaw 1978, p. 83; G. Labuda, *Zaginiona kronika z pierwszej połowy XIII wieku w „Rocznikach Królestwa Polskiego" Jana Długosza. Próba rekonstrukcji*, Poznań 1983, pp. 155–156.

greatly surprised by the negative decision of the canonization commission. The materials presented for evaluation turned out to be insufficient. In order to prevent the matter of canonization from being discarded in its initial phase, the Pope decided to send to Krakow Franciscan Jacobus of Velletri, who came to Poland in 1252. In the presence of the bishops-commissioners, he re-examined the case, checked the documents and questioned the relevant witnesses. After collecting all possible documents and testimonies, he returned to Rome. On his way back he was accompanied by Canon Jakub and magister Gozwin. They, together with Franciscan Jacobus of Velletri, presented the results of their work to the Roman commission.[13]

The collection of quite abundant evidence needed for the canonization of St Stanislaus raised hope that the matter would be soon finalised. For all that, the fact that opinion among the members of the commission varied considerable postponed a positive decision. Some of them, headed by Bishop Rinaldo of Ostia (later Pope Alexander IV), spoke unfavourably. For almost a whole year, the matter was discussed in the Roman commission for canonization until the members in the final sentence accepted the Polish request formulated by Bishop Prandota of Krakow.[14] It was only after the matter had been positively dealt with in the commission that Pope Innocent IV carried out in Assisi on September 8, 1253 the act of canonization of St Stanislaus.[15] The hardships of many people, including Bishop Thomas I himself, were crowned with the desired papal decision.

Announcement of the canonization decree

The official announcement of the canonization decree paved the way for the preparations for the organization of great ceremonies which would have a double character which the religious was the most important. On May 8, 1254, Bishop Prandot invited the whole Polish episcopate, the magnates and the faithful to

13 G. Labuda, *Święty Stanisław...*, op. cit., p. 152; M. Gębarowicz, *Początki kultu św. Stanisława i jego średniowieczny zabytek w Szwecji*, Lviv 1927, p. 86.

14 According to D. Borawska (idem, *Z dziejów jednej legendy...*, op. cit., pp. 83 ff), the successful completion of the canonisation efforts was determined by the favourable geopolitical location of the bishopric of Krakow with the neighbouring areas of "schismatic" Rus. The canonization of St Stanislaus was an important element for the unification activities of the Catholic Church and the activity of the Dominican Order in these areas.

15 *Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Katedry Krakowskiej św. Wacława*, part 1 (1166–1366), no. 37, pp. 46–48; no. 38, pp. 48–51; J. Długosz, *Roczniki*, vol. 7, Warsaw 1985, pp. 87–91, notes 10–13; P. Bełch, *Św. Stanisław biskup – męczennik. Patron Polski*, London 1977, pp. 744–799.

Krakow.[16] The Legate Opizo of Mezzano received an order from the Pope to read the canonization decree on his behalf.

When Bishop Prandota solemnly elevated (*elevatio*) the remains of St Stanislaus' bones from the grave[17] and placed them on the main altar of Wawel Cathedral in Krakow, the celebrations reached the climax. Princess Kinga then washed the bones of the new patron with wine and placed some of them in a reliquary.[18] Almost all church dignitaries and numerous Polish princes attended this ceremony.[19] *Rocznik Kapituły poznańskiej* (The Annals of the Poznań Chapter) provides us with the list of the participants:

> Thomas, Bishop of Wrocław; Wolimir, Bishop of Włocławek; Andrzej, Bishop of Płock; Wit, the first bishop of Lithuania from the Dominican Order; Gerard, the first bishop of Ruthenia from the Cistercian Order, and the nobility, Prince Kazimierz, Duke of Łęczyca and Kujawy; Przemysł, Duke of Wielkopolska; Siemowit, Duke of Masovia; Bolesław, Duke of Krakow and Sandomierz; and Władysław, Duke of Opole.[20]

Bishop Piotr of Poznań and Bishop Wilhelm of Lubusz were missing.[21] The absence of the former was caused by illness: during these celebrations he was

16 "For this national and religious celebration, the princes of all the districts of Poland have gathered, forgetting their old disputes." F. Buczys, *Św. Stanisław biskup krakowski*, Krakow 1902, p. 139, transl. by WTR.

17 The ceremonial removal of the remains from the grave to the sarcophagus was first performed by Bishop Prandota in 1243 or 1245, several years before the canonization. During this ceremony, the bones of St Stanislaus were washed with wine and water. See: F. Wolnik, *Kult świętego Stanisława*, op. cit., p. 64.

18 *Vita maior p. Stanislai*, W. Kętrzyński (ed.), [in:] MPH, vol. 4, op. cit., p. 399. The custom of washing bones with wine is of pagan-Roman origin. Burnt corpses would be extracted from the ashes, sprinkled with wine and milk, and placed in vessels (urns). See: F. Lübkner, *Reallexikon des classischen Altertums*, Leipzig 1882, p. 193.

19 The following people were present at the Krakow celebrations: Kazimierz, Prince of Łęczyca and Kujawy; Przemysł I, prince of Wielkopolska; Siemowit, price of Masovia; Władysław, prince of Opole; Bolesław the Chaste, prince of Krakow and Sanndomierz.

20 *Rocznik Kapituły poznańskiej*, published by B. Kürbis, [in:] *Roczniki wielkopolskie*, MPHns, vol. 6, Warsaw 1962, p. 34, transl. by WTR; *Chronica Poloniae Maioris*, publisher B. Kürbis, [in:] MPHns, vol. 8, Warsaw 1970, no. 105, p. 101; *Annales Poloniae Maioris*, published by B. Kürbis, [in:] MPHns, vol. 6, op. cit, no. 65, p. 34; K. Dola, *Kult świętego Stanisława biskupa i męczennika a tradycje polskie na Śląsku*, "Studia Teologiczno-Historyczne Śląska Opolskiego" 7 (1979), p. 249; C. Niezgoda, *Błogosławiona Jolenta wśród Arpadów i Piastów*, Krakow 2002, p. 28.

21 *Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej*, op. cit., p. 34; *Kronika wielkopolska*, published by B. Kürbis, [in:] MPHns, vol. 8, part 2, Warsaw 1970, p. 101.

already lying on his deathbed, suffering from paralysis. He died on the night of May 11–12.[22] We do not know the reason for Wilhelm's absence.

The absence of the Silesian dukes was quite telling: this had to do with the political purpose of the Cracovian convention.[23] Henryk the White's absence from Krakow was definitely motivated by his open support of the Czech Přemyslids, who were striving to take over the Polish crown. Boleslau the Horned's failure to appear resulted from his political ambitions. Nor did Konrad come to Krakow. His absence reflected his policy of not getting involved in politically uncertain matters.[24] The individual Polish princes and magnates present at the ceremony were engaged in many discussions and made joint arrangements. B. Nowacki even suggested that "the Krakow meeting ended with some political agreements, and Przemysl of Great Poland received moral support from the Piast cousins for his preventive military actions in Silesia."[25] The lack of source confirmation of any discussions forces us to make conjectures.

Many parts of the relics were distributed after the ceremony. Bishop Thomas I received the arm of St Stanislaus (*brachium p. Stanislai*) for the Cathedral of Wrocław.[26] Later, for this precious relic he founded the altar of St Vincent and St Stanislaus and established the annual refection for canons and vicars on May 8th.[27] In 1465 Jakub Ketscher, a Wrocław canon, had a new reliquary made for a particle of the Holy Arm, which was exhibited and kissed during the medieval May services in honour of St Stanislaus.[28]

22 *Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej*, op. cit., p. 34; *Kronika wielkopolska*, op. cit., p. 101.

23 The following princes met at St Stanisalus's grave: Bolesław Chaste, Kazimierz of Kujavia, Przemysław of Great Poland, Władysław I of Opole and Ziemowit of Masovia. See: A. Dydycz, *Męczeństwo i kult św. Stanisława*, "Więź" 22 (1979), no. 4, p. 34.

24 J. Osiński, *Bolesław Rogatka: książę legnicki, dziedzic monarchii Henryków śląskich (1220/1225–1278)*, Krakow 2012, p. 234.

25 B. Nowacki, *Przemysł I 1220/1221–1257: książę suwerennej Wielkopolski*, Krakow 2013, p. 184 , transl. by WTR.

26 J. Kopiec, *Relikwie św. Stanisława – przyczynek do dziejów kultu świętego na Śląsku*, [in:] *Kult św. Stanisława...*, op. cit., p. 148; E. Wółkiewicz, *Kult św. Stanisława w księstwie biskupów wrocławskich w średniowieczu*, [in:] *Kult św. Stanisława...*, op. cit., p. 75; W. Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny św. Stanisława...*, op. cit., p. 16.

27 *...ante omnia fiat unum altare in ipsa ecclesia in honore bb. mart. Vincenc. levile et sti Stanislai pontif... preter hoc volumus, ut fiant due refecciones, una in festo s. Stanislai mense Mayo in quo secundum morem Wrat. in refeccionibus observatum, canonicis et vicariis congrue et honeste. Secunda vero fiat in anniversario nostro*. The original of the document can be found in the Capitular Library in Wroclaw, Dipi. E.E. 7, reprinted in "Zeitschrift für Geschichte Schlesien" 5 (1863), p. 382; W. Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny św. Stanisława...*, op. cit., p. 16.

28 On the reliquary there is an inscription: *Brachium S. Stanislai. Dominus Jacobus Ketscher Canonicus Wratislaviae me comparavit anno 1465*. H. Hoffmann, *Der Dom zu Breslau*, Breslau 1934, p. 53.

Pre-Canonization cult of St Stanisalus in Silesia

Bishop Thomas I's involvement in the successful completion of the canonization process of St Stanislaus was grounded in the already existing cult of the Saint in Silesia. The bishop may have come into contact with him during his adolescence. At the Silesian court, Duchess Jadwiga was an active venerator of St Stanislaus. This is shown in *Vita maior*, her biography, in chapter *De Spiritu prophetiae*. Fourteen years before the canonisation of Stanislaus, the Bishop of Krakow (*nihil adhuc de canonizacione sancti auditum fuerat Stanizlai*), St Hedwig indicated in the Trzebnica Basilica the place where an altar in his honour would be erected (*locus iste cuidam magno sancto deputatus est, in cujus honor e tandem construetur in eo altare*).[29]

Jan Długosz, the chronicler, wrote vaguely that the life and martyrdom of St Stanislaus were familiar in Silesia as early as the end of the 11th century. Długosz recalls the friendly ties that St Stanislaus had with Bishop Piotr I of Wroclaw (1073–1111). The saint was to be his co-consecrator. In the further part of the *Catalogus*, Długosz mentions the task entrusted to Bishop Piotr to watch over the observance of the interdict imposed on the whole Poland.[30] In his *Żywot św. Stanisława* (Life of St Stanislaus), he even claims that King Boleslaw II often visited Wrocław,[31] which could also testify to close political relations with this part of the Polish realm. Further traces of the existence of the cult of the Saint can be seen in the poem *Carmen Mauri* from the twelfth century, which tells of the war between junior princes and Ladislau II the Exile. The former attributed their victory to the bishop of Krakow, whom they loudly asked for intercession before the battle.[32]

29 Cf. *Legenda świętej Jadwigi*, transl. U.A. Jochelson, published by J. Pater, Wrocław 1993, p. 74: "Princess Jadwiga summoned a sister in a hurry in the church and, pointing to this place, said: 'Daughter Juliana, this place is intended for a saint in whose honour an altar will one day be built here, so whenever you walk by, do not fail to show respect for him.' (...) And after the death of the princess, after 14 years, when an altar was erected in this place for the glory of God and in honour of St Stanislaus, her prophecy was fulfilled," transl. by WTR; W. Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny św. Stanisława...*, op. cit., p. 15.

30 J. Długosz, *Catalogus Episcoporum Wratislaviensium*, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, Cracoviae 1887, p. 451; cf. C.I. Herber, *Silesiae Sacrae Origines*, Vratislaviae 1821, p. 48; J. Heyne, *Dokumentirte Geschichte des Bisthums und Hochstiftes Breslau*, Bd. 1, Breslau 1860, p. 175.

31 J. Długosz, *Vita Sanctissimi Stanislai*, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, Cracoviae 1887, p. 28; cf. P. Skarga, *Żywoty Świętych*, ed. 25, vol. 5, Krakow 1889, p. 134.

32 *Cronica Petri Comitis Poloniae*, together with the so-called *Carmen Mauri*, was published by M. Plezia, [in:] MPHns, vol. 3, Krakow 1951; K. Dola, *Kult świętego Stanisława...*, op. cit., p. 251.

The existence of the pre-canonization cult can be proved by Romanesque reliefs depicting the king and bishop, set on the walls of St Vincent's monastery in Ołbin, demolished in 1529. They dated from the mid-12th century.[33] These reliefs are lost; only copies of them with the explanatory inscription "Boles. III. Stanis." remained.[34] The great popularity of the figure of the saint among Silesian Cistercians is evidenced by the fact that he was nicknamed *sanctus* in *Rocznik Kamieniecki* (Annals of Kamienica), whose first part ended in 1165.[35]

We learn about yet another fact of invoking the intercession of St Stanislaus before his canonization from *Vita maior*. Wladyslaw (1246–1281), a Piast prince of Opole, fell ill during his journey to the colloquium in Krakow; he was cured thanks to St Stanisalus, and knelt shortly afterwards at the bishop's grave, thanking him for the grace he had experienced.[36]

Attempts to make the veneration more dynamic after canonization

After his return from Krakow, Bishop Thomas I made an attempt to promote the cult of St Stanislaus among the diocesans of Wroclaw. Above all, he was helped by the Dominicans, who were very strongly involved in the canonization of St Stanislaus and – from the beginning of their existence in Poland – quite deeply rooted in the history of the Church in Silesia. The organizer of the Polish Province, St Jacek Odrowąż (Hyacinth of Poland), was born in Silesia.[37] Bishop

33 M. Plezia, *Dookoła sprawy św. Stanisława*, Bydgoszcz 1999, pp. 42–44.

34 This interpretation is probable, although very problematic, in the opinion of A. Schultz, *Über einige Bildwerke des zwölften Jahrunderts zu Breslau*, [in:] *Schlesiens Vorzeit in Bild und Schrift*, Bd. 2, Breslau 1875, pp. 231–235; C. Buchwald, *Reste des Vinzenzklosters bei Breslau*, [in:] *Schlesiens Vorzeit*, Bd. 1, Breslau 1900, pp. 61–79; P. Bohdziewicz, *Zjazdy łęczyckie XII wieku a powstanie kultu św. Stanisława Biskupa*, "Roczniki Humanistyczne" 2–3 (1950–1951), pp. 252, 255–256. Both authors strongly reject such an interpretation.

35 J. Rajman, *Przedkanonizacyjny kult*, "Nasza Przeszłość" 80 (1993), p. 15; P. Bohdziewicz, *Zjazdy łęczyckie…*, op. cit. , p. 260, emphasises that "one of the earliest applications of the word 'saint' to the person of the Bishop of Krakow – the martyr – can be found in *Rocznik Kamieniecki* (Annals of Kamienica), where the last date of the first part is 1165… that additions later than 1165 are written on the margins or in the text after 1265… that we are dealing with the first chronological application of the word sanctus to the person of Saint Stanislaus."

36 *Vita p. Hedwigis, Miraculum XII*, A. Stenzel (ed.), [in:] *Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum*, Bd. 2, Breslau 1839, p. 47; *Vita maior p. Stanislai*, op. cit., pp. 406–407; J. Długosz, *Vita p. Stanislai*, op. cit., pp. 107–108.

37 J. Woroniecki, *Św. Jacek Odrowąż i wprowadzenie zakonu kaznodziejskiego do Polski*, Katowice 1947, pp. 23–25.

Prandot from the Odrowąż family, the promoter of the efforts to canonize St Stanislaus, was St Jacek's relative and a guardian of a young religious family. The *Rocznik Dominikański* (Dominican Annals) calls him *pater fratrum ordinis praedicatorum*.[38] The Dominicans slowly transferred their Krakow traditions to the Silesian region, where in the 13th century they had monasteries in Wrocław, Racibórz, Ząbkowice, Głogów, Bolesławiec, Cieszyn, Legnica, Opole, Lewin Brzeski and Świdnica.[39] This is evidenced by the dominant position of St Stanisalus among the patrons of the Dominican monastery. In Racibórz, according to a 1258 document, St Stanislaus takes his place even before St Dominic, the founder of the Order.[40] A strong link between this order and Silesia existed at the time of the beginning of the new cult because the Dominican Provincial at that time was Simon, a native of Wrocław, the former archdeacon of Wrocław.[41]

Also the Silesian Franciscans played an important role in promoting the saint's veneration. Even before the end of the 13th century, the monastery in Głogów, which belongs to the Gniezno Custody, chose St Stanislaus as its patron. According to E. Baran, until its fall in the 16th century, this convent was characterized by a strong attachment to Poland, subject to the clear influences coming from Gniezno and Krakow.[42] Therefore, it seems not accidental that this patron was chosen as a guardian.

The cult of St Stanislaus did not immediately meet with enthusiasm within the walls of Cistercian monasteries in Silesia. Although the records of *Rocznik kamieniecki* (Annals of Kamienica) and *Księga henrykowska* (The Henryków Book) (*Istius tempore passus est beatus Stanezlaus*[43]) and the resolution of the General Chapter of the Cistercians of 1255 ordered in all Polish Cistercian convents to venerate St Stanislaus with a twelve-year cult, with two Holy Masses,

38 Ibidem, p. 172; *Rocznik Dominikański*, A. Bielowski (ed.), [in:] MPH, vol. 3, Lwów 1878, p. 133.

39 J. Woroniecki, *Św. Jacek Odrowąż…*, op. cit., pp. 317–318; J. Kłoczowski, *Dominikanie polscy na Śląsku*, Lublin 1956, pp. 50 ff, 288 ff.

40 H. Neuling, *Schlesiens Kirchorte und ihre kirchlichen Stiftungen bis zum Ausgange des Mittelalters*, Breslau 1902, p. 250; *Urkunden der Klöster Rauden und Himmelwitz, der Dominicaner und der Dominicanerinnen in der Stadt Ratibor*, W. von Wattenbach (hrgs.), Breslau 1859; *Codex diplomaticus Silesiae*, vol. 2, pp. 107 ff; W. Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny św. Stanisława…*, op. cit, p. 18.

41 Szymon performed the function of provincial in the years 1250–1255 and 1260–1264; cf. J. Woroniecki, *St. Jacek Odrowąż…*, op. cit., pp. 176–177, 222; J. Kłoczowski, *Dominikanie polscy…*, op. cit., p. 319.

42 E. Baran, *Sprawy narodowe u Franciszkanów śląskich w XIII wieku*, Warsaw 1954, pp. 80–102.

43 *Księga henrykowska*, published by R. Grodecki, Poznań–Wrocław 1949, p. 372.

similarly as it was practised in commemoration of St Thomas of Canterbury,[44] but the precept was mostly ignored. Mularczyk has found out that in the obituaries of the Cistercian monasteries in Kamieniec and Henryków the name of St Stanislaus does not feature. The monks apparently neglected to pray for the intention of the Bishop of Krakow.[45] Mularczyk concluded that the mentions of St Stanislaus in the Silesian historiography of the 13th century are informative rather than reverential.

F.A. Wolnik put forward a different reason behind the slow development of veneration of the saint.[46] In 1255, the General Chapter of the Cistercians granted the request of Bishop Prandota and established the feast of St Stanislaus, ordering its celebration in all the monasteries under its jurisdiction in Poland, and the fact that the obituaries of the Cistercian monasteries in Kamieniec and Henryków do not mention St Stanislaus should be explained by the fact that an order was given to use the texts of St Thomas Cantenbury in the liturgy of the hours and in the Mass, with the exception of its own collector about St Stanislaus. This decision may have been dictated by analogous circumstances that accompanied the deaths of both martyrs. When, after the canonization of St Stanislaus in 1253, the liturgical texts were arranged for his feast, they were modelled on the already existing St Thomas formula, who was canonized in 1173, and whose cult had already been developed.[47] Such an arrangement led to the fact that French Cistercians associated Stanisław with Thomas, while Polish Cistercians could associate him with St Adalbert, whose memory was celebrated a few days earlier.[48] In the Kamieniec Ząbkowicki gradual, dating back to the years 1267–1290, we can already find the rubric where we can read *Stanizlai martiris totum de sancto Adalberto*,[49] which proves that religious spirituality was enriched by two great figures of great importance for the idea of the unification of Poland.

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44 J.M. Cantvez, *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1376 ad annum 1786*, vol. 3, Louvain 1933, p. 420, c. 48: *Petitio domini episcopi Cracoviensis exauditur in hunc modum ut festum beati Stanislai pontificis et martyris, cuius vitae meritis gloriosae Ecclesia sancta miraculis multiplicibus honoralur, cum duodecim lectionibus et duabus missis fiat per tolam Poloniam in domibus Ordinis nostri, et de eo fiat per omnia sicut de beato Thoma Cantuarensi fieri consuevil, hoc excepto quod collectae dicanlur de eo quas dominus Papa dandas instiluit et mandavit.*

45 J. Mularczyk, *Władza książęca na Śląsku w XIII wieku*, Wrocław 1984, p. 216.

46 F. Wolnik, *Kult świętego Stanisława...*, op. cit., p. 68.

47 D. Borawska, *Z dziejów jednej legendy...*, op. cit., p. 24.

48 F. Wolnik, *Kult świętego Stanisława...*, op. cit., p. 70.

49 Ibidem.

T. Silnicki[50] was right when he noticed the lack of immediate enthusiasm for the cult of the Saint after the canonization among the Silesian Cistercians. In general, the local monasteries were considered to be German centres, which could have been the reason for the unfavourable attitude towards the new cult. In 13th century, however, Cistercian monasteries in Silesia stopped being perceived as foreign. They slowly assimilated with this land, population and culture. They also joined in the life of the whole diocese of that time, becoming an important support for the pastoral ideas of Wrocław bishops.

The Silesian Piasts deserve special attention. They had no interest in supporting the cult of St Stanislaus, whose ideas were an important part of the political and social programme of Bishop Thomas I.[51]

The cult of St Stanislaus, which developed slowly in monasteries, reached different parts of Silesia. Already in the second half of the thirteenth century we meet many thirteenth century church institutions dedicated to him. The Franciscan churches in Głogów[52] and the Dominican churches in Racibórz[53] had the patronage of St Stanislaus. The churches in Buków (Strzegom),[54] Raszow (Opole),[55] Chrząszczyce (Opole),[56] Kwieciszow (Świdnica),[57] Ujów,[58] Świdnica[59] and Strzeganowice[60] were also dedicated to him.

50 T. Silnicki, *Dzieje i ustrój...*, op. cit., p. 105.
51 J. Mularczyk, *Władza książęca...*, op. cit., p. 216.
52 J. Heyne, *Dokumentierte Geschichte*, Bd. 3, Breslau 1868, p. 1033.
53 H. Neulling, *Schlesiens Kirchorte...*, op. cit., p. 250.
54 Ibidem, p. 22 (Bockau); B. Panzram, *Geschichtliche Grundlagen der ältesten schles. Pfarrorganisation*, Breslau 1940, p. 94, no. 122.
55 H. Neulling, *Schlesiens Kirchorte...*, op. cit., p. 244; B. Panzram, *Geschichtliche Grundlagen...*, op. cit., p. 98, no. 282; J. Jungnitz, *Visitationsberichte der Diözese Breslau* (hereinafter: *Visitationsberichte*), vol. 2, Breslau 1906, p. 67.
56 H. Neulling, *Schlesiens Kirchorte...*, op. cit., p. 42; B. Panzram, *Geschichtliche Grundlagen...*, op. cit., p. 96, no. 194; *Visitation reports* 2, p. 298.
57 H. Neulling, *Schlesiens Kirchorte...*, op. cit., p. 246; B. Panzram, *Geschichtliche Grundlagen...*, op. cit., p. 99, no. 315.
58 H. Neulling, *Schlesiens Kirchorte...*, op. cit., p. 329; B. Panzram, *Geschichtliche Grundlagen...*, op. cit., p. 118, no. 1065; *Visitation reports* 1, p. 293.
59 H. Neulling, *Schlesiens Kirchorte...*, op. cit., p. 291; B. Panzram, *Geschichtliche Grundlagen...*, op. cit., p. 93, no. 79; *Visitation reports* 1, p. 256.
60 H. Neulling, *Schlesiens Kirchorte...*, op. cit., p. 291; E. Wółkiewicz, *Kult św. Stanisława...*, op. cit., p. 74.

Objectives of spreading the cult of St Stanislaus

Bishop Thomas I, promoting the cult of St Stanislaus among the Silesian people, wanted above all to boost devotion, a deep faith in Jesus Christ and his Gospel. The Bishop was aware of the fact that in propagating the principles of the Christian faith, role figures were very important. The Silesian people now had another personality who, although having great power, offered his own life in unity with the sacrifice of the Cross, and thus achieved full communion with God here on earth, as well as in the future. Encouraging his veneration, Thomas I also showed the great role of the bishop as a shepherd who was willing to give his life for his sheep. Were the theological premises the only ones for a bishop so strongly committed to the veneration of this saint?

The analysis of the available source material shows that he had yet another purpose, and that it was, above all, a desire to implement his programme of emphasizing the importance of ecclesiastical authority in social life. He knew perfectly well the accounts of Gall Anonymus[61] and Wincenty Kadlubek.[62] From their narratives he drew the justification for his position. The latter of the chroniclers mentioned above presented the assassination of Bishop Stanisalus by King Boleslaw II the Generous/Bold in the convention of a clash between a wicked ruler and a church dignitary defending justice, who suffered a martyr's death as a sacrifice to gain peace and social order in the country. The end of this heinous act was the punishment of the perpetrator and his son Mieszko.[63] Wincenty Kadłubek – the father of Polish culture – and the historiographer of Great Poland told in their chronicles how the Krakow bishops Gedko and Pełka turned out to be the highest authorities in the state, authorities who dethroned the rulers, appointed them to the throne, admonished them, interpreted the law and nominated officials.[64] The author of *Kronika wielkopolska* (The Chronicle of Wielkopolska)[65] included also Bishop Thomas I of Wrocław in this outstanding group of defenders of the rights of the Church.

61 *Galla Kronika* [*The Gesta principum Polonorum* (English: *Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*)], published by A. Bielowski, [in:] MPH, vol. 1, Warsaw 1960, p. 422.

62 *Mistrza Wincentego Kronika polska*, published by A. Bielowski, [in:] MPH, vol. 2, Warsaw 1962, p. 296.

63 Ibidem, p. 299: *Non multo vero post, inaudito correptus lanquore, Boleslaus sibi mortem conscivit; sed et unicus filius eius Mesco in primo pubertatis flore veneno emarcuit. Sic tota Boleslai domus sancto poenas Stanizlao exsolvit: quia sicut nullum bonum irremuneratum, sic nullum malum impunitum.*

64 Ibidem, p. 385; *Kronika wielkopolska*..., op. cit., pp. 56 ff.

65 *Kronika wielkopolska*..., op. cit., p. 105.

Bishop Thomas I based his struggle for the position of the Church in Silesia on the assumptions formulated by Wincenty Kadlubek, who claimed that the ruler was not the only master in the state, but a co-ruler;[66] that he did not rule alone, but by officials.[67] For this reason, later historiographers from Great and Little Poland preached the slogans of the superiority of *sacerdotium* over *regnum*. The cult of St Stanislaus – the opponent of the tyrant king, a martyr who died for his loyalty to the principles proclaimed by the Church – played a major role in the realization of these principles. In order to achieve the intended goal, Master Wincenty began to promote the figure of the Bishop of Krakow in his conflict with King Boleslaw the Bold in a completely different light than Gall Anonymous. This reflected the tendency of certain circles and the chronicler himself, who placed the Church and her dignitaries at the top of the national hierarchy. After all, Master Wincenty himself, after Pełka's death in 1207, took over the function of the bishop of Krakow. It was then that he felt very strongly the mutual competences and relations between the prince and bishop. Therefore, his taking up the problem of the conflict between secular and clerical power on the example of St Stanislaus was also a response to the demand of the Krakow Church, which tried to implement its own plans. In this situation, also Bishop Thomas I saw for himself an important role, to which end he cooperated with some canons, e.g. Goćwin and Jakub of Skaryszew, as well as Dominicans who actively joined in the canonization process.[68]

The events following the success of diplomatic efforts to obtain the Pope's consent for the canonization of St Stanislaus revealed yet another goal, which was to be pursued by Bishop Thomas I in spreading the cult of the Saint. One cannot overlook the fact that he declared himself a supporter of the idea of the unification of the Polish state, which he pursued after his own fashion. I believe he saw a way to achieve this goal by uniting Polish princes, initially under the Czech ruler, and later on, by elevating a dominant person from among the Polish power elite, capable of taking over the helm of the royal power with his own strong hand. Bishop Thomas I, equipped with a new weapon, started to be more active in the realization of his plans on the political level than before. Above all, he became an inspirer of the idea of establishing contacts between Krakow and the Czech ruler Přemysl Otakar II, who took

66 *Mistrza Wincentego Kronika polska*, op. cit., p. 255: *Se non regem, sed regni socium pollicetur, si se deligant*.

67 Ibidem, p. 431.

68 T. Silnicki, *Dzieje i ustrój*..., pp. 161 ff; W. Schenk, *Kult liturgczny św. Stanisława*..., op. cit., pp. 17 ff; Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Jakub zwany Weksa*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 10, Krakow 1962–1964, pp. 346–347.

over power after the death of his father Wenceslas I (died September 22, 1253[69]), using the cult of St Stanislaus. This monarch, having a desire to strengthen himself on the international arena, began to win for his plans those rulers who had previously favoured Bela IV of Hungary. The Czech monarch knew that that when he had gained them, he would significantly weaken his opponent politically. It is believed that it was Thomas I who made him think that after the canonization celebrations of St Stanislaus in Krakow, which took place on May 8, 1254, Přemysl Otakar asked the Bishop Prandota of Krakow to send the relics of the Saint to Prague. There is no doubt that this was a very skilful move. Not only did Prandota respond favourably to this request, but he also ceremoniously handed over the relics of St Stanislaus to the Prague Cathedral on 22 October 1254,[70] but he himself became a mediator between the Czech ruler and Bolesław V the Chaste.

In order to take advantage of such a successful development as well as to deepen relations, on July 20, 1255 Přemysl Otakar sent a letter of thanks for the relics of St Stanislaus.[71] He also offered to help the Bishop in any need. The bishop himself, on the other hand, undertook to take steps to achieve the reunification of all Polish princes with the King of Bohemia *indissolubilis federis et amicicis vinculo*.[72] And the princes who would express their willingness to join him would have a guaranteed defence against all attacks, especially from pagans and schismatics. The efforts made by Otakar did not ultimately bring the expected results. This was due to the fact that Boleslaw the Chaste had no interest in joining the alliance with the ruler of Bohemia, as the latter assigned himself a dominant role in this alliance.[73] This in consequence, confirmed Boleslaus to

69 B. Włodarski, *Polska i Czechy w drugiej połowie XIII i początkach XIV wieku (1250–1306)*, Lwów 1931, p. 18; W. Dworzaczek, *Genealogia*, Warsaw1959, tab. 82 on 23 IX.

70 See: B. Włodarczyk, *Polityczna rola biskupiów krakowskich w XIII wieku*, "Nasza Przeszłość" 27 (1967), p. 45; Z. Jakubowski, *Polityczne i kulturowe aspekty kultu biskupa krakowskiego Stanisława w Polsce i Czechach w średniowieczu*, Częstochowa 1988, pp. 62–65; J. Kopiec, *Relikwie św. Stanisława…*, op. cit., p. 148.

71 *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry krakowskiej*, F. Piekosiński (ed.), Krakow 1874, no. 44, under the date 19 July 1255; in many other editions it also carried the dates 4 and 11 October 1255, which B. Włodarski explains, *Polska i Czechy…*, op. cit., pp. 25–26, note 3.

72 In the long run, Ottokar was striving for the hegemony of Bohemia and for Poland to be united with it, see: W. Urban, *Nieudane starania Przemyśla Ottokara II o metropolię czeską na tle jego rządów i krzyżackiej polityki*, "Nasza Przeszłość" 6 (1957), p. 314; T. Löschke, *Die Polityk König Ottokars II. gegenüber Schlesien und Polen, namentlich in den letzten Jahren seiner Regierung*, "Zeitschrift für Geschichte Schlesiens" 20 (1886), p. 99.

73 R. Grodecki, *Dzieje polityczne Śląska do roku 1290*, [in:] *Historia Śląska od najdawniejszych czasów do roku 1400*, P. Kutrzeba (ed.), vol. 1, Krakow 1933, pp. 252–253.

uphold the alliance with Hungary,[74] although many influential personalities insisted on changing the decision. The efforts of the ruler of Bohemia led only to winning the favor of Prandota and few supporters of such an alliance at the court of Krakow, among whom were, for example, Castellan Michael and Voivode Klemens from the Gryfit family. From the bishop's surroundings one should mention the influential Franciscan Bartłomiej from Prague.

Undoubtedly, the cult of St Stanislaus had been known in the Diocese of Wroclaw since the end of the 11th century. However, none of the decision-making and pastoral centres took proper action to strengthen it in all spheres of life, especially pastoral. It was only Thomas I who took up this task with great interest as he was very much concerned about the salvation of the diocesan souls entrusted to his care. By joining the great project of Bishop Prandota, he wanted not only to achieve a devotional effect, but also the realization of his life's political program.

His death in 1268 arrested the process of popularizing the cult for some time. Few newly built churches chose the patronage of the Saint. Also Silesian monasteries, which by their very nature should be lively and dynamic centres of veneration of the Saint, promoted him but on the margins of their tasks. Sources remain silent when it comes to the question of the degree of interest of Silesian princes in learning about know and cultivating the figure of the martyr. A story by Ottokar, Bishop of Styria, has survived, suggesting that Prince Henry IV, while staying in Krakow, probably acquainted himself with *The Life of St Stanislaus*. This probably prompted him to make efforts around 1280 to get the royal crown,[75] that is long before he occupied Krakow. And when he did this, one of his first moves was the imprisonment of Bishop Paul of Przemankow,[76] which certainly ran counter to the ideological meaning of

74 W. Urban, *Nieudane starania…*, op. cit., p. 316; B. Włodarski, *Polska i Czechy…*, op. cit., p. 25.

75 J. Baszkiewicz, *Powstanie zjednoczonego państwa polskiego na przełomie XIII i XIV wieku*, Warsaw 1954, p. 444; idem, *Polska czasów Łokietka*, Warsaw 1968, p. 51; W. Schenk, *Kult liturgczny św. Stanisława…*, op. cit., p. 19; Z. Boras, *Książęta piastowscy Śląska*, Katowice 1974, p. 148.

76 In 1289, Bishop Paweł of Przemankowo lost his freedom in a dispute with the ruler of Krakow, Henryk Probus. The bishop supported Henry's rival, Prince Bolesław of Płock, in the fight for the throne of Krakow. He was captured and thrown into prison after the victorious Henry had conquered Krakow. See for example: *Rocznik Traski*, A. Bielowski (ed.), [in:] MPH, vol. 2, Lwów 1872, p. 852; *Rocznik Sędziwoja*, A. Bielowski (ed.), [in:] MPH, vol. 3, Lwów 1878, p. 879; see: W. Karasiewicz, *Paweł z Przemankowa biskup krakowski*, "Nasza Przeszłość" 9 (1959), p. 228; J. Maciejewski, *Episkopat polski doby dzielnicowej 1180–1320*, Krakow–Bydgoszcz 2003, p. 133.

the cult of St Stanisalus. Secondly, the legend of St Stanislaus envisaged the crown only for the one who would unite the country and obey the clergy.[77] In the context of these events, it is difficult to assume that the behaviour of Henry IV was the result of pious reading. As J. Mularczyk rightly suggests, in the politics of Henry IV the Righteous, there are no signs of his taking over the ideas expressed in the cult of St Stanislaus.[78] A man charmed by the figure of the Saint would not have had such a long-lasting dispute with the Ordinary of the Diocese of Wrocław, Thomas II, and consequently with the entire Polish Episcopate. Undoubtedly, Duke Henry IV was one of those Polish rulers who were convinced of their unlimited and sovereign authority. He was enchanted by court life, knightly tournaments and even devoted himself to literary work.[79]

Neither Thomas I nor II managed to effectively spread the cult of St Stanislaus among Silesian diocesans. It was necessary to wait until a quarter of a century later Bishop Nanker came from Krakow to Wrocław and played a significant role in spreading the cult.

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78 J. Mularczyk, *Władza książęca...*, op. cit., p. 195.

79 E. Maleczyńska, *Próby odnowienia...*, op. cit., p. 144; J. Baszkiewicz, *Polska czasów Łokietka*, op. cit., pp. 43 ff; idem, *Rola Piastów w procesie zjednoczenia państwowego Polski do roku 1320*, [in:] *Piastowie w dziejach polski*, R. Heck (ed.), Wrocław–Warsaw–Krakow–Gdańsk 1975, p. 62.

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The History of the Jesuit Post in Opava in Cieszyn Silesia in the Years 1625–1773

Dzieje placówki jezuickiej w Opawie na Śląsku Cieszyńskim w latach 1625–1773

Abstract: Until the dissolution in 1773, the Jesuits in Silesia were involved in the intense re-Catholicised activity. Their institutions had the rank of colleagues, residences and missions. The largest establishments – the Jesuit colleges – were founded in the following Silesian cities: Głogów, Legnica, Nysa, Opava, Opole, Świdnica, Wrocław, Żagań, and Kłodzko. Nevertheless, one of the most critical Jesuit institutions in this area – the college in Opava – has not been monographed. Therefore, the article aims to bring closer its fate, as well as to lead other researchers to Latin, Czech and German sources concerning the college. Its history is rich. The Jesuits were appointed to Opava by Prince Charles I Liechtenstein in 1625. Five years later, they established a college. In 1635, Charles Eusebius Liechtenstein, son and successor of Charles I, donated the Jemetice estate to the Jesuits in Opava. In 1642 the institution acquired the rank of a college. There was a boarding school of St Ignatius for students from the impoverished nobility and four Marian sodalities for townsmen, young craftsmen and Czechs. The Jesuits built a new church of St George and a college building in Opava. After the dissolution in 1773, their property was taken over by the state school fund.

Keywords: Jesuits, Silesia, Opava, college, gymnasium, boarding school, Marian sodality

Abstrakt: Do kasaty w 1773 roku jezuici na Śląsku prowadzili ożywioną działalność rekatolizacyjną. Ich placówki miały rangę kolegów, rezydencji oraz misji. Największe z nich – kolegia założyli w miastach śląskich: Głogowie, Legnicy, Nysie, Opawie, Opolu, Świdnicy, Wrocławiu i Żaganiu czy Kłodzku. Mimo to jedna z ważniejszych placówek jezuickich w tym rejonie – kolegium w Opawie – nie doczekała się monografii. Stąd celem niniejszego artykułu jest przybliżenie jej losów, a także naprowadzenie innych badaczy na łacińskie, czeskie i niemieckie źródła dotyczące kolegium. Jego dzieje są bowiem bogate. Do Opawy w 1625 roku jezuitów powołał książę Karol I Liechtenstein.

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Pięć lat później utworzyli kolegium. W 1635 roku Karol Euzebiusz Liechtenstein, syn i następca Karola I, podarował opawskim jezuitom majątek ziemski Jemetice. W 1642 roku placówka osiągnęła rangę kolegium. Działał przy nim konwikt św. Ignacego przeznaczony dla uczniów z ubogiej szlachty oraz cztery sodalicje mariańskie dla mieszczan, młodych rzemieślników oraz Czechów. Jezuici wybudowali w Opawie nowy kościół św. Jerzego oraz gmach kolegium. Po kasacie w 1773 roku ich majątek przejął państwowy fundusz szkolny.

Słowa kluczowe: jezuici, Śląsk, Opava, kolegium, gimnazjum, konwikt, sodalicja mariańska

Introduction

The Jesuits' history and activities in Silesia and Kłodzko County until the dissolution have already been quite well recognized. Both German, Czech and Polish researchers wrote about them. Bernhard Duhr, Herman Hoffmann, Alois Kroess, Anna Fechtnerová, Joannes Schmidl, Józef Kiedos and Zdzisław Lec belong to the most deserving. However, one of the most significant Jesuit institutions in Silesia, namely the Jesuit College in Opava, has not yet received a relevant monograph. Therefore, this article sets itself the primary task of presenting the history of the Jesuits in Opava. The second goal is to encourage researchers with knowledge of Latin, German and Czech to address this interesting research problem thoroughly and comprehensively.

Colleges, residences and Jesuit missionary station in Silesia until the dissolution

Silesia was the European province where the Evangelical reform quickly found the right conditions for development. It took root in cities that not only supported the widespread Lutheranism there but also gave refuge to other evangelical, more or less radical, communities. Politically, in the years 1526–1741, Silesia was under the rule of the imperial Habsburg dynasty,[1] but it was only during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) that they began a decisive

[1] The list of rulers from the Habsburg dynasty (1526–1790) during the time of the Society of Jesus in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia is as follows: Ferdinand I (1526–1564); Maximilian II (1564–1576); Rudolph II (1576–1611); Matthew (1611–1619); Ferdinand II (1619–1637); Ferdinand III (1637–1657); Leopold I (1657–1705); Joseph I (1705–1711); Charles VI (1711–1740); Maria Theresa (1740–1780); Joseph II (1780–1790). See: Z. Lec, *Jezuici w Kłodzku (1597–1776): katalog osób i urzędów, materiały źródłowe, literatura*, Szczecin 2013, p. 35.

re-Catholicisation of Silesia, mainly using the Jesuits.[2] That is why the Jesuits conducted a lively activity in the whole Silesia until 1740. Then, until the dissolution in 1773, they had to reckon with a very repressive – especially for them, but also for all Catholics – religious policy of Frederick II of Prussia (ruling in the years 1740–1786).[3]

The Jesuit institutions had the rank of colleges, residences and missionary stations. The rectors directed the colleges, and they were under the supervision of the provincials. We are interested in the provincials of the Czech Province,[4] to which the Jesuit post in Opava and the associated residence in Cieszyn belonged throughout its existence, and the Silesian Province,[5] to which the other Silesian posts of the Order in question belonged since 1755.

The colleges that always had a salary, usually in the form of a foundation, usually ran a junior high school with a boarding school for young people studying. Other monks of the college were engaged in pastoral work, some of them carried out apostolic activities among prisoners, the sick and dissenters. Jesuits set up the most important institutions – colleges – in larger cities. They were established

2 Z. Lec, *Jezuici w Legnicy (1689–1776)*, Wrocław 2001, p. 269.

3 J. Huber, *Der Jesuiten-Orden nach seiner Verfassung und Doctrin, Wirksamkeit und Geschichte*, Berlin 1873, pp. 53–55, 78–79; S. Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce*, vol. 1, part 1, Lviv 1900, pp. 89–96; H. Hoffmann, *Die Jesuiten in Oppeln*, Breslau 1934, pp. 15–16; J. Poplatek, *Studia z dziejów jezuickiego teatru szkolnego w Polsce*, Wrocław 1957, pp. 6–9; L. Grzebień, *Organizacja bibliotek jezuickich w Polsce od XVI do XVIII wieku*, „Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne" vol. 30 (1975), pp. 239–241; *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy 1564–1995*, developed by L. Grzebień et al., Krakow 2004, pp. 291, 427, 568–569.

4 The following fathers were provincials of the Czech province since 1623, i.e. from the beginning of its existence: Gregorius Rumer (1623–1627); Christophorus Grensing (1627–1633); Daniel Kirchner (1633–1638); Martinus Stredonius (1638–1641); Gregorius Schelizius (1641–1644); Joannes Dakazat (1644–1648); Martinus Stredinius (second time) (1648–1649); Blasius Slaninus (1649–1652); Andreas Schambogen (1652–1655); Henricus Lamparter (1655–1658); Joannes Possmurnius (1658–1661); Joannes Saxius (1661–1665); Daniel Krupsky (1665–1670); Simon Schürer (1670–1673); Georgius Hohenegger (1673–1676); Mathias Tanner (1676–1679); Wenceslaus Sattenwolff (1679–1682); Bartholomaeus Christelius (1682–1686); Mathias Tanner (second time) (1686–1689); Joannes Waldt (1689–1693); Jacobus Willi (1693–1697); Georgius Hiller (1697–1699); Ferdinandus Rudolphus Waldthauser (1699–1703); Joannes Miller (1703–1707); Jacobus Stessl (1707–1712); Franciscus Fragstein (1712–1715); Jacobus Stessl (second time) (1715–1718); Franciscus Retz (1718–1722); Jacobus Stessl (third time) (1722–1723); Franciscus Retz (second time) (1724–1725); Julius Zwicker (1725–1729); Joannes Seidel (1729–1732); Norbertus Streer (1732–1735); Franciscus Wentz (1736–1739); Joannes Roller (1739–1743); Leopoldus Grim (1743–1746); Franciscus Xaverius Heisler (1746–1749); Balthasar Lindner (1749–1755). See: Z. Lec, *Jezuici w Kłodzku…*, op. cit., pp. 37–38.

5 The following fathers were provincials of the Silesian Province: Matthäus Weihnacht (1755–1764); Karl Troilo (1764–1768); Joannes Gräbner (1768–1776).

in the following Silesian cities: Głogów,[6] Legnica,[7] Nysa, Opole,[8] Świdnica,[9] Wrocław[10] and Żagań.[11] In the south, Kłodzko County was then connected with Silesia. Also, in its capital, Kłodzko, the Jesuits founded a significant college.[12]

Residences and missions led by superiors appointed by the provincial occupied a hierarchically lower place. They were intended for the missionary and pastoral friars and those living on alms as a rule. The residences, however, sometimes had their own foundations. At that time, they were considered a college during the process of organizing. Sufficiently equipped residences were usually raised to the rank of independent colleges. The residences, consisting of a small group of Jesuits working in the broadly understood apostolate, were usually subordinated to the rectors of the nearest colleges, and missionary houses to the nearest colleges or residences. In the period in question, the residences only exceptionally ran a school, usually limited to the initial classes. The Jesuits had then six residences in Silesia, namely: in Brzeg,[13] Cieszyn,[14] Jelenia Góra,[15] Otyń,[16] Piekary Śląskie[17] and Tarnowskie Góry.[18]

A missionary station was made up of one or more Jesuits. Its purpose was to carry out activities either in the Jesuit church or, based on a foundation, in the diocesan church. It was usually of a pastoral character. The post in Twardocice had the status of the missionary station.[19]

All the afore-mentioned Silesian Jesuit posts belonged to the Czech Province, which also included Jesuit posts located in Bohemia and Moravia. From January 1, 1755, in addition to the college in Opava and the residence in Cieszyn,[20] the Silesian institutions were forced to establish a Jesuit Silesian province at the request of Frederick II of Prussia. It existed until 1776.[21]

6 See: H. Hoffmann, *Die Jesuiten in Glogau*, Breslau 1926.
7 Z. Lec, *Jezuici w Legnicy (1689–1776)*, Wrocław 2001.
8 H. Hoffmann, *Die Jesuiten in Oppeln*, Breslau 1934.
9 Idem, *Die Jesuiten in Schweidnitz*, Schweidnitz 1930.
10 Z. Lec, *Jezuici we Wrocławiu (1581–1776)*, Wrocław 1995.
11 H. Hoffmann, *Die Saganer Jesuiten und ihr Gymnasium*, Sagan 1928.
12 Z. Lec, *Jezuici w Kłodzku…*, op. cit.
13 H. Hoffmann, *Die Jesuiten in Brieg*, Breslau 1931.
14 J. Kiedos, *Jezuici cieszyńscy i ich działalność do roku 1773*, Skoczów [n.d.].
15 H. Hoffmann, *Die Jesuiten in Hirschberg*, Breslau 1934.
16 Idem, *Die Jesuiten in Deutschwartenberg*, Schweidnitz 1931.
17 Idem, *Die Jesuiten in Oppeln*, op. cit., pp. 213–275.
18 Ibidem, pp. 176–212.
19 Z. Lec, *Jezuici w Legnicy,* op. cit., pp. 101, 296–316.
20 The towns of Opava and Cieszyn remained beyond the reach of Frederick II of Prussia during his struggle with the Austrians for Silesia in 1740–1763. Therefore, they did not enter the Silesian province, remaining in the Czech province in 1773. See: Z. Lec, *Jezuici w Legnicy*, op. cit., p. 74.
21 See: H. Hoffmann, *Friedrich II von Preussen und die Aufhebung der Gesellschaft Jesu*, Roma 1969.

Missionary activity of Jesuits in Opava. Establishment of the residence

In Opava (Czech Republic) in Cieszyn Silesia, on the border with Moravia, less than 46 miles[22] from Olomouc, the Evangelical reform developed so rapidly that in 1580 there were only 18 Catholics. Due to their strong opposition to the clerical and secular Catholic imperial power of the Habsburgs, the inhabitants of Opava attracted more attention on 20 October 1603. It was only after several years, after a long siege lasting 43 days, that on 22 September 1607 the town was captured by the Catholic imperial army under the command of Colonel Friedrich von Gaisberg. The inhabitants were disarmed, and their church and school were closed. Then, on 1 February 1608, the Catholic parish priest, Father Nicholas Sarkander,[23] sent from Olomouc by the local bishop Franz Dietrichstein,[24] arrived. On 10 October 1608, two Jesuits, Marcin Ignacy Sarkander,[25] the parish priest's brother, and Hieronim Amberger[26] came to help. However, they could not function in the local public space as representatives of the Jesuit Order, but only as priests, collaborators of that parish priest. Soon Fr. Amberger was replaced by Fr. Balthazar Gulden from Silesia.[27]

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22 According to current maps, the distance from Opava to Olomouc is 74 km.

23 In 1596, Father Nicholas Sarkander as a young priest introduced Catholicism in Moravia in Groß Meseritsch. He came from Skoczów in the then Duchy of Cieszyn in Silesia. Apart from Marcin Ignacy, his brother was Jan Sarkander, who was cruelly murdered by Protestants in a prison in Olomouc in 1620. See: A. Kroess, *Geschichte der Böhmischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu*, vol. 1, Wien 1910, p. 639. John Sarkander was canonized on 21 May 1995 in Olomouc by John Paul II.

24 Francis Dietrichstein was born on 22 August 1570 in Madrid. His father Adam was a high-ranking official at the Imperial Court in Spain. Francis studied in Vienna, Prague, and Rome. He enjoyed the friendship of Pope Clement VIII. Ordained in 1597, he became a cardinal two years later. In May 1599, he was appointed Archbishop of Olomouc. He was governor of Moravia. He was responsible for the re-Catholicisation of Bohemia, which he supported on and carried out with the help of Jesuits. He also introduced the Jesuits to Ihlava, Opava, Znojmo, Kroměřice. In 1635 he lost the imperial grace for a short time, but returned to it the same year. He died in Brno in 1736. See: M. Pojsl, *Počátky církevní spravy na Moravě, biskupství a arcibiskupství v Olomouci*, Uherské Hradiště 2015, pp. 214–217.

25 Fr. Marcin Ignacy Sarkander preached in Czech.

26 Fr. Hieronim Amberger, of Austrian origin, was a very good preacher from the Church of St Maurice in Olomouc. In Opava, he quickly gained numerous listeners to the sermons he preached in German. See: A. Kroess, *Geschichte*…, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 795.

27 Gulden Baltassar was born around 1574 in Świdnica. He joined the Society of Jesus on 26 November 1596 in Vienna. After studying philosophy and theology he was ordained a priest. He took the vows of a spiritual coadjutor on 21 June 1621 in Vienna, died on 2 August 1638 in Bohemia at the college in Znoymae. He was active in the Society of Jesus: 1610/11: Kłodzko

The results of their activity were insignificant, as only seven Protestants applied to learn religion and change their religion to Catholic. Since the reaction of the townsmen to the Jesuits was reluctant, the fathers left the town after half a year of activity on 8 May 1609 and returned to Olomouc. It took almost two decades for the Jesuits to return to Opava again. This return was made possible by Albrecht von Wallenstein[28] in 1625, after taking over the town.[29]

In 1625, the Jesuits were appointed to Opava by the Prince of Opava and Karniów Karol I Liechtenstein.[30] However, the new Provincial of the Czech Province, Father Christopher Grenzing,[31] decided to recall the Jesuits from Opava due to a problematic situation. The case with their dismissal and reappointment was still pending in the second half of 1629. The three fathers finally returned to Opava at the end of that year – on the last Sunday of Advent they started sermons and other works in the parish church which had been closed so far.

However, from 1630 the Teutonic Knights were claiming the rights to the parish church and the presbytery. The Jesuits tried to agree with the Teutonic Knights without a positive effect. The imperial commission took possession of the church on 22 July 1634. On 20 November 1635, Prince Cardinal Franz von

(without destiny), 1611/12: Kłodzko, preacher, 1612/13: Kłodzko, preacher in Parstorff (Starków), 1613/14: Kłodzko, mission in Racibórz, missionary, 1614/15–1615/16: Kłodzko, preacher, prefect of construction, 1616/17: Kłodzko, preacher, prefect in the monastic school for the poor and non-locals, 1623/24: Kłodzko, preacher, 1628/29–1631/32: Żagań, missionary, superior of the residence. See: Z. Lec, L. Grzebień, *Biogramy jezuitów działających na Śląsku i w hrabstwie kłodzkim w XVI–XVIII wieku*, vol. 1: *A–Ł*, Szczecin 2018, p. 118.

28 Albrecht von Wallenstein, of Czech origin, was born on 24 September 1583 in Heřmanice. He came from a Protestant family. He was an outstanding military commander during the Thirty Years' War. He was on the side of the Catholic imperial dynasty. A well-known strategist and politician. He was murdered by imperial officers in Cheb on 25 February 1634.

29 J. Schmidl, *Historiae Societatis Jesu provinciae Bohemiae*, vol. 2, Pragae 1750, pp. 520–524; A. Kroess, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 794–797; G. Biermann, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreichisch-Schlesien*, Calve, Prag 1897, pp. 26–28; B. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, vol. 2, part 1, München 1915, pp. 362–363.

30 He was born in 1569. In 1599 he converted to Catholicism, in 1613 he became the ruler of the Duchy of Opava and in 1623 the Duchy of Karniów. He died in 1627.

31 Grenzing Christophorus (Christianus) belonged to the outstanding Jesuits. He was born in 1567 in Feldkirch. He joined the Society of Jesus in 1584. After studying philosophy and theology he was ordained a priest. He made his fourth vow on 6 December 1601, and died on 4 August 1639 in Warsaw. He conducted important and responsible activities in the Order. He was a German provincial from 1618–1624 and a visitor of the Lithuanian Jesuit Province. He held the office of the Jesuit Provincial of Bohemia from 1627 to 1633. Then, from 1638 to 1639, in the college in Nysa, he served as a clergyman. See: Z. Lec, L. Grzebień, *Biograms of Jesuits…*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 113.

Dietrichstein wrote to the Jesuit, imperial confessor Fr. Henry Lamormaini,[32] that the Teutonic Knights did not forgive and defended their rights in all ways. Eventually, the Jesuits were given the small church of St George and three houses near it. It was not until 30 April 1642 that the college foundation for 19 people was established. The same year, due to the arrival of the Swedes, the Jesuits had to flee from Opava; however, they returned a little later, namely in 1644.[33]

The Jesuits are getting stronger in Opava. The establishment of a college

The existing residence in Opava gained the status of a college[34] thanks to the foundation of Prince Charles Eusebius von Liechtenstein,[35] who was the son and successor of Prince Charles I. In the foundation document of 1642

32 Lamormaini Henricus, Rev., born on 28 October 1575 in La Moire Mannie-Dochamps (Belgium), entered the Order on 26 January 1596 in Vienna, took his fourth vote on 20 May 1618 in Kłodzko, died on 26 November 1647 in Vienna. Activity: 1617/18: Kłodzko, prefect of schools and congregation, confessor. See: Z. Lec, L. Grzebień, *Biogramy jezuitów…*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 209.

33 B. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, op. cit., pp. 363–365; A. Fechtnerová, *Rektoři kolejí Tovaryšstva Ježíšova v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku do roku 1773*, part 2, Praha 1993, p. 461.

34 The rectors of the college in Opava were the following Jesuit fathers: Adalbertus Martinides (1646–1649); Joannes Severini (1649–1652); Joannes Geller (1652–1655); Melchior Budaeus (1655–1658); Christophorus Winckler (1658–1660); Vitus Unger (1660–1663); Adalbertus Martinides (second time) (1663–1666); Michael Pertsch (1666–1667); Adamus Marstadt (1668–1671); Joannes Kastel (1671–1674); Tobias Gebler (1674–1677); Marcus Schwartz (1677–1680); Wenceslaus Scheligowsky (1680–1684); Samuel Höppel (1685–1688); Wenceslaus Schönfelder (1688–1691); Wenceslaus Milinsky (1691–1695); Leonardus Reil (1695–1698); DPhil, DTheol Joannes Capeta (1698–1701); Andreas Ridel (1701–1704); DrPhil. Carolus Pfefferkorn (1704–1707); Ernestus Schambogen (1707–1710); DPhil Fridericus Knittig (1710–1714); Dr. Godefridus Weidinger (1714–1719); DPhil Fridericus Knittig (second time) (1719–1722); Carolus Scholtz (1722–1727); Carolus Lutticz (1727–1731); Franciscus Lechner (1731–1734); DPhil Henricus Gottwaldt (1734–1740); Josephus Biuk (1740–1743); DPhil Henricus Gottwaldt (second time) (1743–1745); DPhil DTheol Carolus Troilo (1746–1749); Josephus Biuk (second time) (1749–1752); DPhil Joannes Haan (1752–1756); DPhil, DTheol Petrus Janowka (1756–1758); Joannes Fleischer (1759–1760); Joannes Rirenschopf (1761–1764); Thadaeus Schluderbach (1764–1767); DrPhil Matthaeus Chmel (1767–1769); Carolus Pischinger (1769–1772); DPhil Joannes Schram (1772–1773). See: A. Fechtnerová, *Rektoři…*, op.cit., part 2, pp. 462–472.

35 He was born on 11 May 1611, died on 5 April 1684. It was not until 1632 that Charles Eusebius was declared to be of full age and in the same year he received a fiefdom from the Duchies of Opava and Karniów. Moreover, in the years 1639–1641, he served as the starost of Silesia.

the Duke of Opava (Troppau) and Karniów (Jägerndorf), Karol Eusebius gave testimony to the Jesuits. He claimed that the college would contribute to the strengthening of the Catholic faith and attract young people thirsty for knowledge. Let us also add here that the ordinance of the Duke of 16 May 1657 was crucial for the re-Catholicisation of the area of under discussion. However, the re-Catholicisation often encountered considerable difficulties, as shown by Jesuit Fr. George Prescher's[36] report from his four-year mission to the Gotschdorf estate owned by Baron Kryštof Bernard Skrbenský of Hříště around the year of 1664.[37]

The Jesuits in Opava conducted, among other things, school activities in their own junior high school. The Rector's plenipotentiary in management was the school prefect. He was a Jesuit with extensive didactic and sometimes scientific experience. He controlled the observance of school regulations. Every month he inspected all the teachers in the school. He accepted new students, organized disputes and examinations, promoted students to higher grades. Teaching catechism occupied an important place. One of the main goals of the school was to master the Latin language in the best possible way. The Jesuit junior high school was divided into classes. These were, starting from the youngest: *principia*, *rudimenta*, grammar, syntax, poetry, and rhetoric.

In November 1630, the Jesuits in Opava opened a secondary school, and a year later they were already in charge of the third form of the junior high school. In 1632 a class of syntax, 1634 of poetry, and in 1635 of rhetoric were created. The number of students increased from 150 in 1634 to 300 in 1638. In 1639, two priests and four students taught in six junior high school classes. Between 1645 and 1650, there were usually five or six junior high school classes

36 Prescher Georgius was born on 18 April 1628 in Kladrau, Bohemia. He joined the Society of Jesus on 4 October 1650 in Brno. After studying philosophy and theology he was ordained a priest. He took his fourth vow on 2 February 1672 at the college in Opava. He died on September 14th 1692 at the college in Kłodzko. He conducted his teaching activities in Jesuit secondary schools in the following colleges: 1656/57: Wrocław, a teacher of rudimentary class, 1660/61: Kłodzko, a teacher of grammar class, 1661/62: Nysa, a teacher of poetry class. In the years 1675/76–1676/77 he was the rector of the college in Kłodzko. Later, in the years 1679–1683, he held the office of a preacher in the college in Nysa. Then in 1684/85 in Jelenia Góra he was a superior; 1685/86 in Otyń he was a prosecutor and confessor; 1686/87–1687/88 in Kłodzko he was a regent of the boarding school; 1691/92 in Wrocław he was the second person after the college's rector, i.e. a minister. See: Z. Lec, L. Grzebień, *Biograms of Jesuits…*, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 85.

37 He was born in 1615, died in 1686. See: B. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, vol. 3, München 1920, pp. 225–228; G. Loesche, *Zur Gegenferormation in Schlesien Troppau Jägerndorf Leobschütz*, Leipzig 1915.

in Opava. In 1649, the college amounted to 19 people; among them, there were ten priests, three students and six friars.[38]

The Jesuits in Opava attached great importance to the apostolate of the word of God. Believing that ignorance can be diminished by instructions tailored to the understanding of the unconscious, they tried to show the Christian truth in catechesis, sermons, clerical exercises, through distributing good prints and other forms of preaching the word of God. In 1635, the fathers catechised in three places. The afternoon catecheses were popular, because, among other things, religious performances were held there. Sermons were preached in German and Czech.

The number of conversions in the years 1631–1642 varied between 30 and 200. Their considerable number was a sign of acceptance of the Jesuits' lifestyle and their teaching. The number of the Holy Communion under one species increased from about 5000 in 1636 to about 14 000 in 1640; between 1647 and 1650 there were about 22 000–24 000 of them. These numbers are also a very positive testimony to the progress of Catholicism in the city.

In Opava, the Jesuits took care of four Marian congregations. The objective of the Marian congregation has always been the formation of lay people that are aware of their vocation in the Church. Mary served as an example for the members. These were the following congregations: the Latin Congregation for disciples (founded in 1637), which had 100 members in 1639, the German Congregation for townsmen (1635), and the Congregation for unmarried craftsmen (1637) (grouping working young people). The fourth congregation was for Moravians.[39] In 1642, this institution in Opava was home to famous Polish Jesuits: Father Mikołaj Łęczycki[40] and Father Tomasz Elżanowski.[41]

[38] B. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, vol. 2, part 1, op. cit., p. 365.

[39] Archdiocesan Archive in Wrocław (hereinafter: AAW), *Tabulae exhibentes sedes antiqua Societatis Jesu, missionum stationes et collegia, 1556–1773*, sign. V B 13a, k. 8r; B. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, vol. 2, part 1, op. cit., pp. 365–366.

[40] Mikołaj Łęczycki (born 1574) came from the Calvinist family. In the years 1593–1601, he studied rhetoric, philosophy and theology in Rome. In 1601, he was ordained a priest. In later years he lectured in Vilnius and Lviv. He was a rector in Kalisz and Cracow. He was a Lithuanian provincial. He stayed in the Czech Province. He returned to Poland in the 1740s. He is the author of many ascetic and polemical works written in Latin. He died on 30 March 1653 in Kaunas. See: *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach…*, op. cit., p. 388.

[41] He was born in 1592, died in 1656 and joined the Society of Jesus in 1606 in Vilnius. He studied theology in Rome from 1612 to 1616. He taught philosophy and theology in 1618–1631 in numerous colleges. He was associated with the Bohemian province from 1636 to 1645, serving, among others, as a court chaplain to Felicjana Studnicka. See: *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach…*, op. cit., p. 147.

The location of the college in Opava together with its junior high school was very beneficial for the faithful coming from the Duchy of Racibórz. It should be remembered that every Jesuit college, including the one in Opava, always had a boarding school which was closely connected with the junior high school. The boarding school provided the students with collective accommodation, subsistence, and educational activities. The school admitted poor students free of charge, and those who paid for their stay in part or total. The boarding school ran a regent that was responsible for economic affairs of this institution, and its alliance that supported the regent in the care and upbringing of the youth staying there.

The matter went so far that the boarding school of this college was founded by Matthias Sendecius, a Racibórz inhabitant, councillor and town writer.[42] He allocated 6000 thalers in the form of a loan to the city of Gliwice for this foundation.[43] This sum supported nine young people: three from the founder's family, three from Racibórz, and three from Gliwice. On 1 June 1652, an agreement was concluded with the city of Gliwice, which undertook to pay regular percentages on this sum for the Opava boarding school. Moreover, brothers Andrzej and Jan Sendecius, both canons of the collegiate church in Racibórz and the founder's relatives, inherited 1000 thalers from him, which they also donated for the Opava boarding school.[44] Besides, one of them donated 300 florins to the boarding school in 1648. In 1649, also the custodian of the Chapter of Racibórz, Jerzy Matthäides, in his last will, inscribed several hundred florins to the Opava boarding school.[45]

In the second half of the 17th century, the college in Opava had its previous six classes together with six teachers, as well as four Marian congregations. The number of students increased on average from 300 to 400. The most significant number of students, namely 442, was recorded in 1690; in 1699 there were 438 of them. In the boarding school of St Ignatius, which began its activity in 1653 at Pentecost, there were 43 students in 1681 and 21 in 1693. The number of pupils was gradually decreasing due to the lack of means of subsistence for them.[46]

42 J. Schmidl, *Historia Societatis Jesu Provinciae Bohemiae*, vol. 4, part 2, Praga 1759, p. 857; H. Hoffmann, *Die Jesuiten in Oppeln…*, op. cit., p. 41.

43 The Chancellor of the Cathedral Chapter in Wrocław, Jan Stephetius of Gliwice, did otherwise. This prelate, who died in 1647, allocated 2000 thalers that the city of Gliwice had at its disposal to support two students who were educated in a junior high school. Before the Jesuits established a college in Opole, these scholarship holders had studied at a junior high school in Wrocław or Nysa, or the Jesuit university in Prague. See: H. Hoffmann, *Die Jesuiten in Oppeln…*, op. cit., p. 41.

44 J. Schmidl, *Historia Societatis Jesu Provinciae Bohemiae*, vol. 4, part 2, op. cit., pp. 872–873; H. Hoffmann, *Die Jesuiten in Oppeln…*, op. cit., p. 41.

45 H. Hoffmann, *Die Jesuiten in Oppeln…*, op. cit., p. 41.

46 B. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, vol. 3, op. cit., p. 223.

The Jesuits managed to obtain ownership of St George's Church that had belonged to the Teutonic Knights, and the parish church. It happened so that on 16 January 1655 first the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, Archduke Leopold,[47] allowed the Jesuits to continue using it, and then, after his death, on 4 June 1672, in a document of the Order, it was stated that the church of St George was given to the Jesuits. Besides, Archduke Leopold confirmed that the Jesuits could continue using a preacher in the parish church until the Teutonic Order presented its suitable preacher.[48]

Development of Christian ministry and construction activities

In the years 1675–1680, the Jesuits built a new church of St George in Opava. At that time, after the demolition of the old one (1676), they used the church of St John the Baptist that belonged to the Joannites. The order of the bilingual sermons encountered different opinions and actions. In 1658, sermons were preached by four preachers – two in German (that is, one in the parish church and the other at St John's), two in Czech (that is, before noon and in the afternoon in the church of St George). In addition, St George taught religion in Czech, while in German it was taught in the parish church and St John's church. This was also the case in the following years.

However, in 1683, there was a sermon in German after the first Holy Mass that was regularly celebrated at 5.30 a.m. in the church of St George; in St John's after the mass at 6.00 a.m. and at 8.00 a.m. in Czech, and in the parish church after the mass of German. In 1685, in the triduum before Shrove Tuesday in the church of St George, the sermons were preached in both languages, while in the octave of Corpus Christi in German. On 2 November 1686, the Czech Provincial, Fr. Matthew Tanner (1686–1689),[49] ordered that both Czech sermons and all Czech services should be transferred from the old church of St George to the new church of St George and the German morning sermon to the church of St John. Then the visitor Willi ordered the German sermon

47 Archduke Leopold William Habsburg was the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order in the years 1641–1662. Moreover, in the years 1655–1662 he was the Bishop of Wrocław. He had no higher orders. See: J. Mandziuk, *Historia Kościoła katolickiego na Śląsku. Czasy wczesnonowożytne*, vol. 2 (from 1520 to 1742), Warsaw 2011, pp. 226–227.

48 B. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, vol. 3, op. cit., p. 223.

49 H. Hoffmann, *Die Jesuiten in Oppeln…*, op. cit., p. 240.

to be preached again in the church of St George. Nonetheless, his order was not immediately implemented.[50]

The staff of the college in Opava consisted of 28 people in 1701.[51] The number almost did not change throughout its further existence – in 1772 it amounted to 26 persons.[52] Five-six teachers, i.e. two priests and four masters, still worked in six junior high school classes in 1772. The number of students (in 1720 – 495, 1740 – 623) decreased in 1751 to 403 in the effect of a Prussian decree, which ordered all students to return to their own families in Silesia that had been conquered by Prussia. In 1735, St Ignatius's boarding school consisted of 26, 1748 – 28, 1769 – 27 pupils, who, together with students from outside, received due education, and at the end of the year performed a French comedy, to which the nobility from all over the region was invited.[53]

The pastoral ministry was also maintained at its current level. Six fathers preached in the parish church, in St John's and St George's on Sundays and feast days. In three languages: Latin, German and Czech, they preached and taught religion.[54] The number of received Communions increased from about 73 500 in 1720 to about 86 300 in 1769. Four congregations, one for pupils, one for townsmen, one for young craftsmen, and one for Czechs, were active until the end, i.e. until the dissolution in 1773. It should be added that three fathers were responsible for those who were kept in prison and for the sick in the hospital.[55]

The construction activity, which the Jesuits usually planned on a grand scale,[56] was also continued in Opava. Work on the foundations of the new college building began in the spring of 1711. In 1712, the roof was placed, and in 1713 the lowest floor accepted for use; a further wing was covered in the autumn of 1723. In 1736, the old school building threatening to collapse was. It was finally accepted by school children in autumn 1739. New churches were built in the following towns belonging to the estate of the Opava college: Schillersdorf (1713), Hatz (1729), and Markersdorf (1746).[57]

50 B. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, vol. 3, op. cit., pp. 223–224.
51 Archive of the Society of Jesus in Rome (hereinafter: ARSI), *Bohemia Catalogi Breves*, sign. Boh. 91/II, k. 267v–268.
52 Ibidem, sign. Boh. 92a, k. 114.
53 B. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, op. cit., vol. 4, part 1, p. 457.
54 Latin was the teaching language of the Jesuit secondary school. Hence sermons, ascetic conferences and catechesis for students were delivered in Latin.
55 B. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, vol. 4, part 1, München 1928, p. 457.
56 See: *Silesia Jesuitica. Kultura i sztuka zakonu jezuitów na Śląsku i w hrabstwie kłodzkim 1580 –1776*, D. Galewski, A. Jezierska (eds.), Wrocław 2012.
57 B. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, vol. 4, part 1, op. cit., pp. 457–458.

Decadence. The Jesuits in Opava after 1741

After the death of Emperor Charles VI on 20 October 1740, various European rulers, including Frederick II of Prussia, laid claim to his succession. On 16 December 1740, Prussian troops entered Silesia, and, until 8 February 1741, given weak resistance on the part of Austrian troops and passive attitude of the Silesian population, they conquered almost the whole Silesia. The first Silesian war ended on 11 June 1742 with the signing of the peace agreement between Prussia and Austria in Wrocław. At that time, about 80% of Silesia and the Kłodzko County was taken over by Frederick II, and only the Duchy of Cieszyn, the southern parts of the Duchy of Nysa, and most of the Duchies of Opava and Karniów remained in the imperial hands of Maria Theresa. The borderline then established has survived to this day, although for almost 280 years it separated various countries from each other. In 1742, the part of Silesia that remained in the hands of the Habsburgs created a province under the name of Bohemian Silesia and from 1749 – Austrian Silesia. The Royal Office in Opava headed it. Let us add that the second war for Silesia, which ended with peace in Dresden, took place between Prussia and Austria from August 1744 to 25 December 1745, and the third and last one from 30 August 1756 to 15 February 1763. However, both the Second and Third Silesian Wars did not change the previously established borders between Prussia and Austria in Silesia.[58]

These war unrests and the substantial financial burden transferred to the Prussian army had a significant negative impact on the Jesuits in Opava, thus leading in consequence to their decadence. In 1741, shortly before the Prussian soldiers left, the rector of the college in Opava, Father Józef Biuk (1740–1743)[59] was imprisoned by the Prussians, because it was believed that an escaped Catholic soldier was hiding with the Jesuits. He was released only after the payment of bail by an envoy of the national states. In 1742, the college had to pay the Prussians 12,000 florins of war contributions and deliver products in kind of the same

58 A. Galas, A. Galas, *Dzieje Śląska w datach*, Wrocław 2001, pp. 142–145, 147–149, 151–156.

59 Biuk Josephus, Rev., was born on 24 October 1688 in Nysa. He joined the Order on 22 October 1704 in Brno, he took his fourth vows on 2 February 1722 in Wrocław; he died on 5 June 1752 in Opava (Tropau). Activity: 1709/10: Wrocław, Prof. of rudiments, 1710/11: Wrocław, Prof. of principles, 1711/12: Wrocław, Prof. of grammar, 1712/13: Wrocław, Prof. of syntax, 1713/14: Nysa, Prof. of poetics, 1719/20: Brzeg, Prof. of school, 1720/21–1722/23: Wrocław, a preacher, an opera, 1730/31–1732/33: Kłodzko, a preacher, a labourer, 1736/37–1738/39: Legnica, Rector 16 May 1736, 30 October 1743–1745/46: Nysa, Rector, 10 October 1746–1748/49: Wrocław, Rector. See: Z. Lec, L. Grzebień, *Biogramy jezuitów…*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 35.

amount. According to a moderate estimate, the losses suffered by the Jesuits in Opava in 1745 during the Second Silesian War due to the presence of Prussian troops amounted to over 5660 florins. Similar losses were recorded by the Jesuits in Opava during the Third Silesian War, especially in 1758 and 1762. Therefore, it is not surprising that the positive balance of 1761 to keep 26 people in college was only 658 florins. In 1773, when counting 200 florins per person, 4600 florins were necessary for 23 people, while only 3895 florins of income were available, with a debt burden of more than 120 000 florins. At the dissolution of the college in Opava in 1773, Frederick II of Prussia did not transfer the estate of the college called Schillersdorf that was situated on the other side of the border in the principality of Racibórz to the Silesian Jesuits but to his tax office (28 September 1773).[60]

Conclusion

Finally, the Catholic imperial Habsburgs decided during the Thirty Years' War that Protestantism was to be expelled from the Empire. Therefore, the introduction of Catholicism was carried out with great determination in Bohemia, Silesia, and other provinces. The Jesuits were ideally suited to these activities as they were very well educated, organized, and obedient. For this purpose, they were introduced to the capital of the Opava Principality – Opava – by order of the Emperor.

The activity of the Jesuits in Opava brought the expected results until the end of 1740 when they enjoyed the administrative support of the imperial authority and the prevailing peace. Then, until 1763, war unrests and struggles between the imperial army and the troops of the liberal and pro-Prussian Protestant Frederick II of Prussia continued in Silesia, which also had a negative impact on the activities of the Jesuits in Opava. Eventually, after three Silesian wars, Opava remained in the hands of the imperial army; however, already ten years later, the Jesuits were removed, and with them, the college in Opava ceased to function.

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Seals of Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna (1301–1319)

Pieczęcie biskupa Henryka z Wierzbna (1301–1319)

Abstract: Did Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna use his seals only for legal and political purposes? Establishing this is the purpose of the article. For this purpose, the extant seals were analysed for the sealed image and legend. When analysing Bishop Henryk's seals, we notice that they have the features of a prince's seal; the round shape was characteristic of secular power. The Bishop's seal was greatly influenced by Arnold of Zwrócona. The bishop used the seal for three purposes: to confirm the authenticity of the issued documents (a legal purpose), to emphasize the divine origin of the received power and to emphasize the old power of the Wrocław bishops.

Keywords: Henryk of Wierzbna, seals, bishop's power, Arnold of Zwrócona

Abstrakt: Czy biskup Henryk z Wierzbna wykorzystywał swoje pieczęcie tylko dla celów prawnych, ustrojowych? Ustalenie tego to cel artykułu. Aby go zrealizować, zachowane pieczęcie zostały przeanalizowane pod kątem użycia wizerunku napieczętnego i legendy. Dokonując analizy pieczęci Biskupa Henryka, zauważamy, że mają one cechy pieczęci książęcej; okrągły kształt charakterystyczny był dla władzy świeckiej. Duży wpływ na pieczęcie biskupa miał Arnold ze Zwróconej. Biskup używał pieczęci do trzech celów: potwierdzenia prawdziwości wystawianych dokumentów (cel prawno-ustrojowy), podkreślania boskiego pochodzenia otrzymanej władzy i wiekowości władzy biskupów wrocławskich.

Słowa kluczowe: Henryk z Wierzbna, pieczęcie, władza biskupia, Arnold ze Zwróconej

Introduction

The seals of the Wrocław bishops who were in charge of the Diocese of Wrocław in the Middle Ages have been subject to many monographic studies. Among the German-speaking scholars we might mention P. Bretschneider,

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J. Busching, H. Krahmer, L. Schulte, W. Schulte, P. Pfotenhauer, and A. Schultz.[1] They have systematised the seals in quite a detailed way, defined the years of use, (all of them) presented their exact shapes, described images and legends. Their studies preserved reproductions or drawings of most of the seals under examination. It is worth noting that P. Bretschneider and L. Schulte dealt with heraldic elements appearing on bishop's seals, such as lilies, which became the coat of arms of the bishopric of Wrocław.[2]

Also Polish researchers took up the theme of the seals of the medieval bishops of Wrocław. Of late, P.J. Jóźwiak undertook to work out the issues connected with a detailed analysis of the meaning of the seals, paying particular attention to their legal and cultural features.[3] A. Tarnas-Tomczyk, on the other hand, dealt with Bishop Nanker's court seal and interpreted the meaning of the coats of arms placed on the seal of Henryk of Wierzbna, one of the Wrocław bishops.[4] Earlier it was Franciszek Piekosiński and Marian Gumowski, who, however, did not present all the seals used, limiting themselves to a description of their shape, images and legend characteristic of the execution and type of the seal.[5]

M. Gumowski posited that Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna was the first among the Polish bishops to use the round seal. Much of the information provided by German scholars has been verified by more recent research, especially by R. Żerelik,[6] who, while studying the bishops' chanceries in Wrocław until 1301, analysed the coroborations of the bishop's documents and the seals appearing there. In his opinion, the gradual unification of the coroborations proves

1 J.G. Busching, *Von schlesischen Siegeln*, Breslau 1824; A. Schultz, *Die schlesischen Siegel bis 1250*, Breslau 1871; P. Pfotenhauer, *Die schlesischen Siegel von 1250 bis 1300 beziehentlich 1327*, Breslau 1879; W. Schulte, *Die Siegel des Bischofs Lorenz von Breslau*, "Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens" (hereinafter: ZVGS) 42 (1908); L. Schulte, *Die Siegel der Stadt Neisse und das Breslauer Bistumswappen*, [in:] idem, *Kleine Schriften*, Breslau 1918; H. Krahmer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des geistlichen Siegel in Schlesien bis zum Jahr 1319*, [in:] *Vorarbeiten zum Schlesischen Urkundenbuch* 1, ZVGS 69 (1935).

2 P. Bretschneider, *Das Breslauer Bistumswappen*, ZVGS 50 (1916), pp. 235, 241.

3 P.J. Jóźwiak, *Pieczęcie biskupów wrocławskich do 1376 roku*, [in:] *Studia historycznoprawne*, A. Konieczny (ed.), "Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis" 2144 (1999): *Prawo* CCLXIV, pp. 25–56.

4 A. Tarnas-Tomczyk, *Znaczenie herbów umieszczonych na pieczęci biskupa wrocławskiego Henryka z Wierzbnej. Przyczynek do genezy godła diecezji wrocławskiej*, "Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis" 2306 (2011): *Historia* CLII, pp. 100–118.

5 F. Piekosiński, *Studya, rozprawy i materiały z dziedziny historyi polskiej i prawa polskiego*, vol. 3: *Pieczęcie polskie*, Krakow 1899; M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie śląskie do końca XIV wieku*, [in:] *Historia śląska od najdawniejszych czasów do r. 1400*, vol. 3, part 2, Krakow 1936.

6 R. Żerelik, *Kancelaria biskupów wrocławskich do 1301 roku*, "Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis" 1258 (1991): *Historia* XCII, p. 98.

a better organization of the chancery's work.[7] W. Fabijański compared the heraldic elements on the seals of bishops Nanker and Henryk with the seals of bishops of Krakow.[8]

The purpose of this article is to examine the use of the seal by Wrocław Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna.[9] On the one hand, they were used for legal and constitutional purposes, on the other hand, as a means of communication. It will be important to look at the seals as one of the bishop's many tools in the realization of his main task, i.e. the Christian preaching, so often overlooked by researchers. The preserved seals will be examined in terms of the use of the image and legend, in which the expression *ecclesia*, the number XVII and the sign of the eagle as symbols of independent power, equal to that of the duke, were given prominence.

Seals of Bishop Henryk

The bishop's chancery was an indispensable institution to manage the diocese of Wrocław. Ordinary Henryk of Wierzbna employed well educated clergymen – mostly at foreign universities – to run the diocese. They were tasked with the correct and professional preparation of documents, which in the Middle Ages had to be provided with a seal to be credible. Only a document with an affixed seal had legal force, constituted a legal relationship, and was protected from doubts about its authenticity. Breaking the seal invalidated the information contained in the document. The affixed seals replaced the signatures of the witnesses present at the preparation of a document and listed therein.

Also Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna was in possession of a seal. The validity of seven documents from the years 1305–1318[10] is confirmed with the words *In cuius rei testimonium*...[11] In nine documents from the years 1303–1318 we find the sentence *In cuius rei testimonium et evidentiam*...[12] Among the formulas

7 Ibidem, pp. 97–99, 176–177, 231–232, 286–287.

8 W. Fabijański, *Dawne pieczęcie na Dolnym Śląsku*, Wrocław 1980, pp. 28–30.

9 A monograph on Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna is in preparation.

10 The formula of the sigilla was discussed in quite a detailed way in the analysis of the documents of the Wrocław bishops by P.J. Jóźwiak, *Pieczęcie biskupów wrocławskich*, op. cit., pp. 27–32.

11 See: the State Archive in Wrocław (hereinafter: AP Wr.), rep. 76 no. 19, rep. 88 no. 86, rep. 107 no. 5, 7, rep. 121 no. 10, 11, rep. 123 no. 9; Archdiocesan Archive in Wrocław (hereinafter: AAW), EE 20ab, K5.

12 AP Wr., rep. 83 no 26b, rep. 88 no 69, rep. 102 no. 8, 10, 16, rep. 121 no. 14; AAW, Ql; DmWr. (30 IV 1318).

of Henryk of Wierzbna's documents from the years 1307 and 1308 there are two more forms: *Cum (cuius) insignum evidens et in robur firmitatis perpetue nostrum sigillum duximus appendendum*.[13]

In the chancery of Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna (1302–1319), a total of six types of seals, three larger and three secret ones were used.[14] The main seals stand out in many respects from those used so far by the bishops of the diocese of Wrocław. They have a round shape, while the previous ones had the shape of a halo or aureole. Of the preserved seals only the *sigillum* of Bishop Żyrosław (1170–1198) was round.[15] The size of the Henryk seals was quite considerable: 70 mm. They are adorned with new iconographic elements: one features a throne, replacing the previous chair, and a curtain, which was replaced by the earlier canopy. The other features kneeling figures at the side of the bishop, and the third one – an escutcheon with a coat of arms.[16] Bishop Henryk also used a smaller secret or signet seal for impressing "contrasigilla." They appeared in the bishop's sigillography (sphragistics) already in the second half of the 13th century. Bishop Thomas II's chancery was the second one in Poland to introduce a secret seal, round in shape and 19 mm in diameter.[17] The *contrasigillum* preserved on the seals of Bishop Henryk was larger: 32 and 33 mm in diameter.[18] The bishop had three such seals. Two of them featured the eagle of St John the Evangelist and the third a bust of the diocesan.[19]

During the period in question, we encounter various ways of affixing the seal to the document, which can be reduced to two basic, most commonly used ways: 1) *sigillum impressum* – an applied seal, a seal attached to the face f the document; 2) *sigillum appensum* – a pendent seal, a seal attached to the document by means of cords or ribbons. The binding may have been made with parchment strips, cords or thongs.[20] In the chancery of Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna, as shown by P.J. Jóźwiak in his research, the most common colour of tying material was red (nine times). In six documents the colour was red-yellow,

13 AP Wr., rep. 79 no. 4; documents of the town of Świdnica, U 14.

14 See: H. Krahmer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte*..., op. cit., pp. 11–12, 27–29; M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie śląskie*..., op. cit., pp. 308–313; P. Jóźwiak, *Pieczęcie biskupów wrocławskich*..., op. cit., pp. 43–44, 48–50, 52.

15 See: A. Schultz, *Die schlesischen Siegel*..., op. cit., no. 22; W. Fabijański, *Dawne pieczęcie na Dolnym Śląsku*, Wrocław 1980, p. 25, photo 14.

16 A. Tarnas-Tomczyk, *Znaczenie herbów*..., op. cit., p. 101.

17 R. Żerelik, *Kancelaria biskupów wrocławskich*..., op. cit., p. 232.

18 AP Wr., rep. 79 no. 4, rep. 83 no. 34, rep. 88 no. 69, 82, rep. 102 no. 14, rep. 123 no. 9, rep. 125 no. 149.

19 R. Żerelik, *Kancelaria biskupów wrocławskich*..., op. cit., p. 313.

20 S.K. Kuczyński, *Pieczęcie książąt mazowieckich*, Warsaw 1978, p. 103.

in three documents – red-green, in two documents green. Once the brown colour occurred, similarly to yellow.[21] Cords or parchment strips were threaded through the holes specially punched for this purpose in the document and the tab, which all documents had. Usually the size of the tab depended on the size of the affixed seal.[22] In order to affix a seal, the ligaments were threaded through the holes in the tab. In the documents of Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna, a simple slit was used for the cords intertwined through the documents,[23] in which there were holes in the shape of a triangle, diamond and circle. The cords were threaded through them. Most often the seal was placed in the middle of the cord. Out of 45 documents issued by Bishop Henryk, 31 were found to have such a seal.[24]

During the reign of Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna, the chancery used three types of throne seals. The first larger seal, which was in use between 1301/2 and 1319, depicts the seated figure of the bishop on a chequered background from the waist upwards. The seat has a footstool in the form of canine heads. The clergyman wears an alba and chasuble and has a mitre on his head. His right hand is raised in a gesture of blessing, his left hand holds the pastoral with its crosier head facing inwards. The middle of the crosier contains a lamb, and right behind it a spread banner. On both sides of the sitting bishop and above him there is a curtain raised to the height of his forehead and the top of the mitre, featuring decorations in the form of stripes running around the head and vertically to the top of the mitre. A line of pearls surrounds the whole figure.[25]

It can be concluded from P.J. Jóźwiak's research that the bishop's chancery had to use several matrices of this type of seal at that time, but with different details.[26] This researcher stated that in the case of two seals there were two sashes on the chasuble, on the chest and that further on one vertical stripe ran down the chasuble. At the junction of the sashes you could see a Greek cross.[27] The two seals attached to documents from the years 1304 and 1308 had a crosier at the same level as the mitre. The last imprint of this type of seal was preserved on a document dated March 14, 1310.[28]

21 P.J. Jóźwiak, *Pieczęcie biskupów wrocławskich…*, op. cit., p. 36, table.
22 M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie śląskie…*, op. cit., p. 147; S.K. Kuczyński, *Pieczęcie książąt mazowieckich…*, op. cit., p. 104.
23 See for example: AP Wr., rep. 116 no. 66.
24 P.J. Jóźwiak, *Pieczęcie biskupów wrocławskich…*, op. cit., p. 41.
25 AAW, EE20abc, K5; AP Wr., rep 67 no. 131, rep. 76 no. 18, 19, rep. 83 no. 25, 26b, rep. 88 no. 66, 69, rep. 123 no. 9, 10, rep. 125 no. 149; documents of the town of Świdnica (6 III 1308).
26 P.J. Jóźwiak, *Pieczęcie biskupów wrocławskich…*, op. cit., p. 43.
27 AP Wr., rep. 91 no. 146, rep. 102 no. 10.
28 Reproduction of this seal was published by M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie śląskie…*, op. cit., no. 97; quite accurate archival signatures concerning preserved seals were included in the

The second seal, used between 1314 and 1317, also features a bishop sitting on a throne and granting his blessings, in the company of with columns and a footstool on which nine carved stars are depicted. Compared to the previous image, the *sedilia* on which the bishop sits were more extended, with a kneeling clergyman on both sides with visible creases on the robes. The figures were placed against a chequered background. To the right and left of the seated bishop, there is a curtain suspended at the level of the shoulder, forehead and the end of the mitre. The right hand of the bishop is raised in a gesture of blessing, the left hand holds the pastoral staff at shoulder height, facing outwards and ending at forehead height. Radius lines are visible on the curve of the pastoral. The whole is surrounded by a double line of pearls. The alba, chasuble and their refractions are perfectly visible. There is a Greek cross on the chest and a mitre on the head.[29]

R. Żerelik, noting the unique features of this seal,[30] made an assumption about the possibility of its execution outside the diocese of Wrocław, since it was first used to authenticate a document issued by the bishop on 25 August 1314 in Hildesheim.[31] It would be highly probable because, as we know, Henryk spent four years (1310–1314) outside Silesia, forced to appear before the papal court in Avignon. Most historians, such as H. Krahmer or P. J. Józwiak,[32] agree on the acceptance of 1314 as the initial date of use of this seal.[33]

The throne seals of Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna had peripheral inscription surrounding the image. The inscriptions separated from the field by a continuous

work by A. Tarnas-Tomczyk, *Znaczenie herbów*..., op. cit., p. 101, note 6. For the described type of *sigillum* see: AP Wr., rep. 67 no. 131 (23 IV 1302), rep. 76 no. 18, 19, 21, rep. 79 no. 4, rep. 83 no. 25, 26a, 26b, rep. 88 no. 66, 69, rep. 91 no. 146, rep. 102 no. 8, 10, 11, 14 (14 III 1310), rep. 107 no. 7, rep. 121 no. 5, rep. 123, no. 9, 10; rep. 125 no. 149; documents of the town of Świdnica (U 14); AA Wr., KK 32, EE 20abc, F 41, K 5, KK 2; *Regesten zur schlesischen Geschichte* (hereinafter: Regesten), C. Grünhagen, K. Wutke et al. (hrsg.), [in:] *Codex diplomaticus Silesiae*, Bd. 16, 18, Breslau 1892–1898, Nos 3002, 3100, 3109.

29 AP Wr., rep. 67 no. 157, rep. 83 no. 33, 34, rep. 88 no. 82, 86, rep. 102 no. 16, rep. 121 no. 10, 11, 14, rep. 125 no. 157; AAW, KK4; documents of the Świdnica parish (1) (12 August 1315).

30 R. Żerelik, *Arnold ze Zwróconej. Archidiakon głogowski i kanonik wrocławski*, [in:] *Ludzie śląskiego Kościoła katolickiego*, K. Matwijowski (ed.), Wrocław 1992, p. 23, note 16.

31 See: Regesten, no. 3414; T. Silnicki, *Dzieje i ustrój Kościoła katolickiego na Śląsku do końca XIV wieku*, Warsaw 1953, p. 209, note 5.

32 H. Krahmer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte*..., op. cit., p. 11; P.J. Jóźwiak, *Pieczęcie biskupów wrocławskich*..., op. cit., p. 43.

33 Regesten, no. 3414 (25 VIII 1314), 3446, 3471, 3493, 3495, 3496, 3500, 3570, 3579; AA Wr., KK4; documents of the Świdnica parish (1) (12 VIII 1315); AP Wr., rep. 67 no. 157, rep. 83 no. 33, 34, rep. 88 no. 82, rep. 102 no. 16, rep. 121 no. 10, 11.

perimeter line were commonly called legend.[34] The bases of the letters pointed towards the centre of the seal, thus creating a certain harmony of expression. In all three seals, the inscription started from the upper periphery of the seal with the sign of the cross or the one-letter abbreviation "S," meaning *sigillum* or, less commonly, *secretum*. The legend on the first of these three seals read: HENRICUS + DEI + GRA[TIA] + WRATISLAVIENSIS + ECC[LESI]E + EP[ISCOPU]S + XVII,[35] where the abbreviation *ecclesia* (ECCE) appeared the legend of the second seal read: S + HEINRIC + DI + GRA + EPI + VRAT; S + HENRICI + DI + GRA + EPI + WRAT,[36] and the third read: SECRETI + DI + GRA + EPI + WRAT without the name of the owner.[37]

A Greek cross starting the legend was a symbol placing the seal into the context of Christian culture, where an important element was the placement of the cross over the head of the figure depicted in the field of the seal. The cross symbolized the divine origin of power and dignity exercised in the Church by the owner. The verbalization of the invocation expressed by the cross later appeared in the devotional formula DEI GRATIA. This formula not only verbalized the invocation but also had a deeper reference. Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna was perfectly aware of the principle uttered by St Paul about the establishment of authority by God (Rom 13,1-2) and therefore ordered the placing of the cross as a visible sign that defined not only the meaning and purpose of the bishop's mission, but also predestined him to power over all souls. This will become apparent later on when the great persecution of heretics begins in Świdnica and Wrocław.

Analysis

It is now worthwhile to focus on analysing the information provided by the legend and iconography contained on the throne seals. When we do this, we get a coherent picture that clearly shows that Henryk's seals have the features of

[34] From the formal point of view, it was the first type of seal legend, dominating among the seals of Wrocław bishops. The second type is field legend, located next to or instead of images in the field of the seal. See: S.K. Kuczyński, *Pieczęcie książąt mazowieckich…*, op. cit., p. 176.

[35] AP Wr., rep. 67 no. 157, rep. 83 no. 33, 34, 42–44, rep. 88 no. 82, 86, rep. 102 no. 16, rep. 121 no. 10–11, 14, rep. 125 no. 157; AAW, Ql, KK4; documents of the Świdnica Parish (12 August 1315).

[36] AP Wr., rep. 83 no 34, rep. 88 no 82, rep. 102 no. 14, rep. 123 no. 9, rep. 125 no. 149.

[37] AP Wr., rep. 88 no. 69; AAW, EE20 abc.

a prince's seal. Its round shape, unique among bishops, was characteristic for seals of secular rulers.[38] Two of them from 1314–1319 were titled: +HEINRICUS · DEI · GRA(TIA) · WRATISLAVIENSIS · ECC(LESIA)E · EP(ISCOPU)S · XVII. The legend was taken from the catalogue of Wrocław bishops.[39] The appellation of Henryk as the seventeenth diocesan gave him dignity, legitimized his power and proved the ancient metric of the Wrocław bishopric, which was as old as the Piast dynasty. The older seal depicts the image of the bishop sitting on the throne, against the background of a curtain (canopy), with clergymen kneeling on both sides. The throne figure of the bishop against the backdrop of a spread curtain gives the impression that we are dealing here with princely majesty. It was the first throne seal of a Silesian bishop. The design of the seal indicates that the author must have been well acquainted with the Italian or French sigillography (sphragistics), which had a strong influence on him. M. Gumowski sees here references to Italian engravers brought to Silesia by the bishop himself.[40] On this seal we see the bishop sitting on the throne; so portrayed are the princes on their seals. On both sides there are shields with the coats of arms of the Wrocław bishopric and the Wierzbna family.[41]

After analysing their legend, R. Żerelik drew some interesting conclusions.[42] First of all, he called our attention to the rather special role of Arnold of Zwrócona, which he played by the bishop's side. Probably on his order Arnold made a documentation form. He probably also made a collection of documents, letters and mandates later called *Acta Thomae*, which was used by Wrocław Bishop Nanker (1326–1341) in his fight against John of Luxemburg, King of Bohemia.

Arnold is believed to have graduated from Bologna, where he came into contact with the heritage of Italian culture. Its influence was reflected in Henryk's second seal.[43] And finally, Arnold, as an outstanding lawyer and expert in the functioning of the bishop's chancery and archives, could have been the

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38 Z. Piech, *Ikonografia pieczęci Piastów*, Krakow 1993, illustrations.

39 R. Żerelik drew attention to the possibility of using catalogues of dignitaries in the practical activities of medieval chanceries, *Praktyczne wykorzystanie katalogu dostojniczego w kancelarii Henryka z Wierzbna biskupa wrocławskiego*, "Sobótka" 1 (1993), pp. 65–69.

40 M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie śląskie…*, op. cit., p. 323.

41 H. Krahmer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte…*, op. cit., p. 24; M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie śląskie…*, op. cit., p. 323, table 120, no. 100 and 101; see also: P.J. Jóźwiak, *Pieczęcie biskupów wrocławskich…*, op. cit., pp. 43–44, 54; A. Tarnas-Tomczyk, *Znaczenie herbów…*, op. cit., p. 111.

42 R. Żerelik, *Arnold ze Zwróconej…*, op. cit., p. 23; idem, *Kancelaria biskupów wrocławskich…*, op. cit., p. 286; J. Mandziuk, *Historia Kościoła katolickiego na Śląsku. Średniowiecze*, vol. 1, part 1 (until 1417), Warsaw 2010, p. 269.

43 R. Żerelik, *Kancelaria biskupów wrocławskich…*, op. cit., p. 290.

co-author, "if not the originator, of Henryk's ideological programme."[44] This programme was connected with the efforts to obtain the princely rights in the duchy of Nysa-Tmuchów. Henryk defined these aspirations by adding an ordinal number to his name, following the example of princes, as the seventeenth bishop of Wrocław: WRATISLAVIENSIS ECCLESIE EPISCOPUS XVII.

Of course, Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna was not the first Wrocław bishop to use a numerator on his seal. It was Bishop Thomas II († 1292) who used this type of inscription for the first time. There is a significant difference, though. Thomas II used it to distinguish himself from his predecessor of the same name, Thomas I.[45] Emphasizing on such a repetitive medium the fact that Henryk was the seventeenth bishop of the Church of Wrocław could not be accidental. Historians agree that the reason for using a numerator in his name should be sought in the characteristics of his politics. Furthermore, great disputes between 13th-century Wrocław bishops and Silesian princes led to the conviction that there should be created a model of Church-state relations, a model which would not lead to such antagonisms in the future as those between Bishop Thomas II and Prince Henryk IV the Righteous.

There is no doubt that Arnold of Zwrócona made quite a significant contribution to this programme. After all, for a long time he had had the opportunity to observe the matters taking place in the dispute of the century, and being so close to the bishop, he also had a significant influence on him. He assisted Bishop Tomasz II in executing this programme of full independence from the Silesian dukes when he obtained a great privilege in 1290 valid for the areas of the castellany of Milicz, Nysa-Otmuchów and estates located in Silesia. Immunity was undoubtedly a significant legal and material impulse to begin efforts to make the Nysa-Otmuchów land fully independent and to obtain the title of prince there. The castellany of Milicz was sold in 1358. The financial resources obtained from this sale enabled the purchase of property lying near Otmuchów. Another sign showing that bishops of Wrocław were becoming independent was replacing the customary term *ius ducale* with the expression *ius ducale seu ducis* in the papal approval of the will of Henryk IV the Righteous, Duke of Wrocław.[46]

Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna's independence – quick and unexpected as it was – was occasioned by the weakening of the ducal power in the Duchy of

[44] Ibidem.

[45] Ibidem, pp. 231–232.

[46] Z. Wojciechowski, *Ustrój polityczny Śląska*, [in:] *Historia Śląska od najdawniejszych czasów do roku 1400*, vol. 1, S. Kutrzeba (ed.), Krakow 1933, p. 748.

Wrocław. The bishop skilfully took it to his advantage by subduing the Otmuchów castellany, and later entering into defensive alliances with Henryk VI, the Duke of Wrocław.[47] This happened shortly after the consecration ceremonies. In fact, Bishop Henryk took over not only the rule over the Wrocław Church, but also the political rule over the duchy. It happened so because in November 1301 Bolko I, Duke of Świdnica and Jawor, a defender of Silesian independence against the Czech onslaught, died. He had ruled over the territory administered from Wrocław and Legnica from 1296 on behalf of the underage sons of his brother, Prince Henryk V the Fat.[48] After Prince Bolko's death there remained the problem of who was going to take care of the underage orphaned children. The knights together with the Wrocław burghers entrusted the care of Henryk V's children to the newly elected Ordinary of Wrocław, Henryk of Werzbna. By this choice, the Wroclaw elite wanted to block the personal aspirations of the House of Přemyslid to take over the rule in Wroclaw too soon. The bishop's consent could also have been the result of his desire to represent the local Silesian raison d'état or perhaps reflected his own political aspirations.[49] After all, many times he acted independently of the Přemyslids.

So long as Henryk wielded independent power at the turn of 1302/1303, he came into some kind of conflict with Herman von Barby, the Brandenburg starost in Świdnica, who was the governor of the Brandenburg margrave Herman, the guardian of the underage children of the late Bolko I.[50] The dispute with an official of the margrave, who was one of the King of Bohemia's close allies, leads to the conclusion that Henryk of Wierzbna often conducted his own policy.

He exercised this rule for a year and then, on January 8th 1303, he handed it over to Wenceslas II,[51] who from then on managed the Duchy of Wrocław

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47 K. Orzechowski, *Dzieje i ustrój księstwa biskupiego na Śląsku*, [in:] *Szkice Nyskie*, vol. 3, Z. Kowalski (ed.), Opole 1986, pp. 10–11.

48 Henryk V the Fat died on 22 February 1296 and was buried in a Poor Clare convent in Wrocław. Henryk V was married to Elżbieta, daughter of Bolesław the Pious, Duke of Great Poland, with whom he had three sons (Bolesław III the Wasteful, Henryk VI the Good and Władysław) and five daughters (Jadwiga, Euphemia, Elżbieta, Helena and Anna). See: Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Henryk V Brzuchaty*, [in:] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 1, Krakow 1935, p. 119.

49 J. Powierski, *Studia nad polityką Krzyżaków i ich sąsiadów w początkach XIV w.*, [in:] *Ludzie – władza – posiadłości*, idem (ed.), part 1, Gdańsk 1994, p. 151; T. Jurek, *Dziedzic Królestwa Polskiego. Książę głogowski Henryk (1274–1309)*, Poznań 1993, p. 51.

50 Regesten, no. 2736

51 Wenceslas II was born on September 17, 1271, and died on June 21, 1305; since 1278 the King of Bohemia, since 1291 the Duke of Krakow, since 1300 the King of Poland; son of Przemysl Ottokar II. He reorganized the Polish administration by introducing the chancery of starost, favoured cities and sought to create his own party among the Polish

through his starost.[52] This moment of political power was not wasted. Since then the Bishop's prosecutors started to call him *venerabilis dux noster*. They stated that *habet omnia iura tamquam dux, habet dominus episcopus omni iure sicut princeps*. Henryk of Wierzbna himself ordered to write in his ritual: *Hunc Henricus ego, qui principis ordine dego librum mente pia tibi confergo, Virgo Maria*.[53]

The efforts of the bishops of Wrocław to achieve full independence finally brought results. First of all, Bishop Przecław sold the castellany of Milicz in 1358, and with the obtained funds he purchased the town and castle of Friedeberg, thus enlarging the bishops' lands of Nysa-Otmuchów,[54] which in turn led to the recognition of the bishop as a secular prince of the area.[55]

The desire of Wroclaw's hierarchs to become politically independent, to gain position and dignity among Silesian princes, was the basis for introducing a numerator on the bishop's seals. R. Żerelik rightly stated that additionally

> it legitimized his power and was a testimony to an ancient metric of the Wrocław bishopric, equal to the antiquity of the Piast dynasty. The repetitiveness of this information carrier (seal) made it a serious propaganda instrument, especially as it reached the most enlightened and opinion-forming circles of Silesian society.[56]

The second seal, on which the shields of the coats of arms were placed, which made it similar to the duke's sigillia, strengthened the ambition to gain dignity and position in the political arena of Silesia.[57]

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clergy, headed by Jan Muskata, by filling in church posts. He died suddenly on 21 June 1305 and was buried in Prague.

52 B. Nowacki, *Czeskie roszczenia do korony w Polsce w latach 1290–1335*, Poznań 1987, p. 60.

53 Z. Wojciechowski, *Ustrój polityczny Śląska*..., op. cit., p. 748; A. Franz, *Das Rituale des Bischofs Heinrich I. von Breslau*, Freiburg 1912, p. 57.

54 *Lehns,- und Besitzurkunden Schlesiens und seiner einzelnen Fürstentümer im Mittelalter*, C. Grünhagen, H. Markgraf (eds.), vol. 2, Leipzig 1883, no. 26, p. 219; J. Gottschalk, *Beiträge zur Rechts, -Siedlungs, -und Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Kreises Militsch bis zum Jahr 1648, Darstellung und Quellen Schlesische Geschichte* (hereinafter: DQGS), vol. 31, Breslau 1930, p. 42; S. Frelek, *Władztwo biskupstwa wrocławskiego w kasztelanii milickiej*, "Sobótka" 18 (1963), no. 1–4, p. 402; T. Silnicki, *Dzieje i ustrój Kościoła*..., op. cit., p. 256; idem, *Biskup Nanker*, Warsaw 1953, p. 111; *Urkundensammlung zur Geschichte des Fürstentums Oels bis zum Aussterben der Piastischen Herzogslinie*, W. von Haeusler (ed.), Breslau 1883, p. 228; W. Haeusler, *Geschichte des Fürstenthums Oels*, Breslau 1883, p. 342; *Urkunden zur Geschichte des Bistums Breslau im Mittelalter*, G.A. von Stenzel (ed.), Breslau 1845, pp. 358 et al.; M. Kogut, *Kasztelania milicka jako własność Kościoła wrocławskiego do r. 1358*, Kluczbork 1996, pp. 91–92.

55 K. Orzechowski, *Dzieje i ustrój księstwa biskupiego na Śląsku*, op. cit., p. 11.

56 R. Żerelik, *Praktyczne wykorzystanie*..., op. cit., p. 67.

57 Ibidem.

The fact that by the legend WRATISLAVIENSIS ECCLESIE EPISCOPUS XVII is accompanied by a numerator shows that Bishop Henry of Wierzbno may have had some source from which he knew how many predecessors he had. The chronicles, biographies, obituaries preserved to this day do not offer complete lists of bishops. With their help it was not possible to establish the actual order of the pontificates. Undoubtedly, this knowledge could have been obtained from one of the catalogues of Wrocław bishops. Here, too, we have a problem. For the catalogues of the bishops of Wroclaw were subject to numerous modifications in the 13–14th centuries and have been preserved in many copies.[58] Therefore, it is necessary to determine from which copy the data about Henryk's pontificate could be included in the bishop's legend.

As early as at the end of the 19th century Wojciech Kętrzynski[59] and Aleksander Birkenmajer, and recently Rościsław Żerelik, addressed this problem. First of all, they rejected the Henryków Catalogue brought to 1268 because it could not be used later.[60] Analysing the Lubiąż catalogue, we notice that Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna appears in it as the eighteenth bishop. Probably this shift occurred only in the times of Bishop Henryk by adding the apparent bishop Magnus.[61] This took place in the Cistercian monastery in Lubiąż, which proves that this catalogue was supplemented by the monks themselves.[62] There is a so called

58 Much research into the catalogues of Wrocław bishops was done by W. Schulte, *Zu den Breslauer Bischofskatalogen*, ZVGS 44 (1910), pp. 207–234; O. Schmidt, *Untersuchungen zu den Breslauer Bischofskatalogen*, DQGS t. 25; J. Szymański, *W sprawie genezy rocznikarstwa śląskiego*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze" 22 (1977), pp. 77–82.

59 W. Kętrzyński, *Katalogi biskupów wrocławskich*, [in:] *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. 6, Lwów 1893, pp. 534–594.

60 Ibidem, pp. 558–559. The Henryków catalogue listing bishops from Jeronim to Thomas I (1232–1268) was published by A.G. Stenzel [in:] *Liber fundationis claustri s. Mariae virginis in Heinrichow*, Breslau 1854, pp. 123–127, who on p. 123 explained the purpose of his publication: *Quia claustrum de Heinrichow in dyocesi Wratislaviensi est situm vel fundatum et quorundam patrum, eiusdem videlicet dyocesis episcoporum donatione gloriosissime sublimatum, dignum est, ut nos dicti claustri primi monachi benefactorum nostrorum successoribus nostris scribendo memoriam commendemus. Ut ergo ad Dei omnipotentis sanctique Iohannis Baptiste honorem loco in isto divine laudationis gloria tempore futuro magis magisque cottidie multiplicetur et venerande matri nostre ecclesie Wratizlaviensi honorifica semper proveniant incrementa, volumus huius dyocesis reverendorum patrum episcoporum scribendo nomina enucliare, quatinus successores nostri benefactorum suorum ex hoc scripto nomina cognoscentes pro ipsis devotione ardentissima semper studeant orare.*

61 See: M. Cetwiński, *Biskup wrocławski Magnus: amplifikacja i metafora jako sposoby narracji dziejopisarskiej*, [in:] *Tysiącletnie dziedzictwo kulturowe diecezji wrocławskiej*, A. Barciak (ed.), Katowice 2000, pp. 53–65.

62 Ibidem, pp. 560–564. The Lubiąż catalogue contains a list of bishops from Hieronim to Henryk of Wierzbna. It was published by Wattenbach in *Monumenta Lubensia*,

Wroclaw group of catalogues of Wroclaw bishops. It consists of four copies: the Krakow (Birkenmajer),[63] *Series episcoporum Wratislaviensium*, containing the list of bishops from Hieronim to Przecław of Pogorzela (1341–1376),[64] the Krzeszów catalogue (from Hieronim to Peter II – 1447–1456), and the catalogue of the Wrocław Cathedral including bishops from Hieronim to Jodok from Różemberk (1456–1468).[65] All of them give the name of bishop Henryk on the seventeenth place. Each of them could be a potential source for the seal legend of Bishop Henryk. It was probably the Krakow Catalogue because it came from the second half of the 14$^{\text{th}}$ century.[66]

W. Kętrzynski and A. Birkenmajer, on the other hand, went even deeper in their analyses and they noticed a common source of the above-mentioned Wroclaw group, called *Chorus Wratislaviensis novus*. This catalogue was supposed to be kept in the times of Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna in the Cathedral of Wrocław and was probably lost in 1342. The authors of later catalogues of the Wrocław group used it until it was lost.

Certainly, due to his chancery functions, Master Arnold had to know about the existence of the *Chorus Wratislaviensis novus* catalogue stored in the Wrocław Cathedral from which he must have learnt about the numerator of Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna in the Wrocław bishopric. R. Żerelik put forward an interesting thesis that he was a continuator of this catalogue. This is indicated by the time of his death (the last information comes from 11 December 1342), coinciding with the discontinuation of this catalogue.[67]

The third, main seal used by Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna is also worthy of detailed attention. It shows the bishop's majesty, sitting in front of a hanging curtain. It does not feature two kneeling clergymen. Instead, there are coats of arms on the sides, at knee height. The right one features six lilies in three rows

Breslau 1861, pp. 10–13. It features a sentence that is difficult to verify: *Hic videtur falli chorus Wratislaviensis, quia Franco episcopus in cronica dicitur fuisse ante Magnum*. See: W. Kętrzyński, *Katalogi…*, op. cit., p. 543.

63 A. Birkenmajer, *Nowy katalog biskupów wrocławskich*, [in:] *Studia historyczne ku czci Stanisława Kutrzeby*, vol. 2, Krakow 1938, pp. 29–40.

64 It was published by A. Kaffler in the first volume of "Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens," pp. 213–225; W. Kętrzynski, *Katalogi biskupów wrocławskich*, op. cit., pp. 566–571.

65 It was published by A.G. Stenzel, *Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum*, Bd. 2; W. Kętrzyński, *Katalogi…*, op. cit., pp. 566–571.

66 W. Kętrzyński, *Katalogi…*, op. cit., pp. 538–540; R. Żerelik, *Praktyczne wykorzystanie…*, op. cit., p. 68.

67 R. Żerelik, *Praktyczne wykorzystanie…*, op. cit., p. 69.

of three, two, and one; the left one features a crossed arrow at a slant.[68] Krahmer believed that the bishop used this seal from 1 April 1318 until his death in 1319.[69] However, the oldest preserved image of the seal can be found in the document of April 30, 1318, and the last one of August 30, 1318.[70] Given the time of use of all three of Henryk's main seals, it could be assumed that the ordinary did not use them simultaneously. As they were worn out, he systematically replaced the old matrices with new ones.[71]

German historian W. Wattenbach, following the opinion of P. Bretschneider, challenges this statement. They posited that the seal with lilies was already affixed to the diocesan constitutions of September 1, 1316 announced by Bishop Henryk.[72] Contemporary researchers of the problem have a different opinion, mainly due to the fact that at present only a small part of the seal is preserved which could correspond to both the seal with two figures of the clergymen and the seal with the coats of arms.[73] A. Tarnas-Tomczyk states that the preserved part of the legend does not resolve anything. Both seals have the same legend arranged in the same way.[74] Probably, W. Wattenbach had the opportunity to see the whole item intact. Apparently, the C. Grünhagen and K. Wutke had no such opportunity, so they did not specify the type of seal. They unanimously confirmed that only part of the seal's impression was preserved.[75] A. Tarnas--Tomczyk was of the opinion that the description of the seal with the coats of arms placed in the regesta of the document of 1 September 1316, which is in the manuscript inventory prepared for the documents of the collegiate church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Głogów, could be considered decisive in this matter.[76] In this case, it can be assumed that in 1316 this seal was already made, but it was used only once in the chancery because the previous one, well preserved at that time, was used.

68 AP Wr., rep. 83 no. 42–44; DmWr., 30 IV 1318; AAW, Ql; M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie śląskie…*, op. cit., p. 311.

69 H. Krahmer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte…*, op. cit., pp. 11–12.

70 Regesten, no. 3771. Reproduction is contained [in:] F. Piekosiński, *Studya, rozprawy…*, op. cit., part 1, p. 187, fig. 207; M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie śląskie…*, op. cit., no. 101; J. Pater, *Poczet biskupów wrocławskich*, Wrocław 2000, p. 46 (enlargement).

71 A. Tarnas-Tomczyk, *Znaczenie herbów…*, op. cit., p. 102.

72 *Das Formelbuch des Domherrn Arnold von Protzan*, W. Wattenbach (ed.), [in:] *Codex diplomaticus Silesiae*, vol. 5, Breslau 1862, p. 157, footnote 1; P. Bretschneider, *Das Breslauer Bistumswappen*, ZVGS 50 (1916), p. 234.

73 AP Wr., rep. 76 no. 37.

74 A. Tarnas-Tomczyk, *Znaczenie herbów…*, op. cit., p. 103.

75 Regesten, no. 3610.

76 AP Wr., rep. 76.

The third seal contains quite interesting iconographic elements – shields of coat of arms, rarely used by Polish bishops of that particular period.[77] There were two, each with a different coat of arms. Their appearance can be combined with the fact of using two different coats of arms in the family from which Henryk descended. On the first one there was a crossed arrow, in the shield on the left side. This coat of arms is one of the oldest in the family. It appeared as the coat of arms of the Wierzbna family in 1226 on the seal of Stefan of Wierzbna, in a slightly different form than that of Henryk. The arrow was crossed twice and its arrowhead pointed upwards.[78] The second emblem of Bishop Henryk's family was six lilies, which were used for the first time by his father Jan of Wierzbna on the seal from 1261. The lilies were arranged in three rows (three, two, one), between the first and second one there was a stripe and a number of rhombuses on it.[79]

In the years 1306–1310, Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna used a secret coat-of-arms seal, on which there was an eagle with wings spread, with full, quite visible plumage. Between the legs, under each wing and between the head and the left wing a five-pointed star was placed. The head of the eagle was raised and turned to its left. The head of the bird is surrounded by a halo.[80] As P.J. Jóźwiak stated in his research, this seal contains an autonomous image of the emblem directly in the field of the seal, as opposed to the Nanker's throne seal, on which two of the bishop's axes are visible. On the seal of Przecław there are lilies as the coat of arms of the Wrocław bishopric and shields with three castle towers.[81]

The placement of the coat of arms on seals is something new. Already at the beginning of the 13th century we can see them on the seals of the Pomeranian

77 See: K. Bobowski, *Dawne pieczęcie na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, Szczecin 1989, pp. 109–111; E. Gigilewicz, *Pieczęcie biskupów warmińskich jako źródło heraldyczne*, [in:] *Pieczęć w Polsce średniowiecznej i nowożytnej*, P. Dymmel (ed.), Lublin 1998, pp. 73–75; A. Morawiecka, *Wyobrażenia i legendy na średniowiecznych pieczęciach biskupów krakowskich*, [in:] *Sprawozdania z posiedzeń Komisji Naukowych PAN, Oddział w Krakowie*, vol. 23, part 1, Wrocław 1981, pp. 1–3; J. Pakulski, *O najstarszych przedherbowych pieczęciach arcybiskupów gnieźnieńskich*, [in:] *Homines et societas. Czasy Piastów i Jagiellonów. Studia historyczne ofiarowane Antoniemu Gąsiorowskiemu w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin*, Poznań 1997, p. 430; E. Gigilewicz, *Pieczęcie biskupów warmińskich jako źródło heraldyczne*, [in:] *Pieczęcie w Polsce średniowiecznej*..., op. cit., pp. 73–75.

78 See: *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Śląska*, vol. 3, published by K. Maleczyński, A. Skowrońska, Wrocław 1964, no. 310, p. 318, footnote 310; M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie śląskie*..., op. cit., pp. 438 and 327 (fig. c).

79 See: M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie śląskie*..., op. cit., p. 436 and no. 105.

80 AP Wr., rep. 79 no. 4; rep. 88 no. 69; rep. 102 no. 14; rep. 123 no. 9; rep. 125 no. 149.

81 P.J. Jóźwiak, *Pieczęcie biskupów wrocławskich*..., op. cit., p. 48.

and Silesian dukes, and it was connected with the popularization among dukes and their knights of the knightly custom, which led to the individualization of coats of arms.[82] A manifestation of this process was the adoption of the image of the eagle by the Silesian Prince Henryk the Pious and Kazimierz of Opole (1222).[83] The placement of the eagle itself was, as in ancient times, allegorical in nature. The eagle was the epitome of divine power, generosity, strength, courage, justice; it was a sign of the supreme power of Zeus and Jupiter. The Piast princes did not reach for this symbol by accident. For just like in the case of Charlemagne, it became a distinguishing mark of the authority of the duke's power and ideological and political needs. This symbol corresponded to the ambitions of one of the oldest European dynasties, especially since it was a recognized symbol of the highest secular power, independence and sovereignty.[84]

The placement of the eagle sign by the Bishop of Wrocław on his seal was deeply justified here. Just like the number XVII, the eagle also shows the bishop's deep intentions to become independent of the duke's power and create his own duchy. For the coat of arms on the shield was an attribute of the knightly state. Already in the 13th century, Silesian dukes refer to this sign by placing their coat of arms on a shield, which was usually held in one hand together with a sword and pennant. It was often placed next to the ruler as a purely heraldic element.[85] An attempt to transfer this element can be found on the seal of Bishop Thomas II, on which lilies were placed on both sides of the figure as a heraldic element of the bishopric. Similar lilies can be found on the seals of Bishop Jan III Romka and Bishop Nanker. The seals of the latter apart from lilies feature an axe, while the seal of Przecław has lilies and three castle towers. These were the motifs used as representative elements presenting the bishop.[86] The placement of the eagle on Bishop Henryk's seal changed the meaning and sense. It is not merely a matter of style and aesthetics of the coat of arms. Rather, it signifies a transition from merely representative elements to those symbolizing real and strong power. This change was effected after 1290, when the Wrocław bishops gained immunity in their lands, after tragic disputes.

82 S.K. Kuczyński, *Pieczęcie Książąt Mazowieckich…*, op. cit., p. 155; M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie śląskie…*, op. cit., p. 261.

83 M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie śląskie…*, op. cit., p. 424; A. Schultz, *Die schlesischen Siegel…*, op. cit., no. 9, 15.

84 M. Kaganiec, *Heraldyka Piastów śląskich 1146–1707*, Katowice 1992, pp. 16–25: Z. Piech, *Ikonografia pieczęci Piastów…*, op. cit., pp. 78, 80.

85 Z. Piech, *Iconography of the seal of the Piasts*, op. cit.; M. Kaganiec, *Heraldyka Piastów śląskich…*, op. cit., pp. 82–85.

86 P.J. Jóźwiak, *Pieczęcie biskupów wrocławskich…*, op. cit., p. 49.

The eagle's sign raised the bishop's dignity and put his political authority on an equal footing with that of a prince.

The third secret seal features a bust of Bishop Henryk:[87] the bishop dressed in a chasuble with a Greek cross on his chest. The right hand is raised in a gesture of blessing, and the left hand holds the pastoral staff at shoulder height, which faces outwards. The pastoral ends at forehead level. The head is surmounted with a mitre. The elements of the seal emphasized the unique features of the bishop's chancery and his dignity. The chasuble is a vocation and readiness to perform the most sacred rites, for the good of the people. The imprint of the seal is preserved on three documents from 1315 and 1316.[88]

Conclusions

In summarizing the results, it should be emphasized that the seals served the bishop for three main purposes. The first one is the legal system. It was used to authenticate the confirmation of issued documents in matters concerning, for example, tithing disputes, imposition of excommunication, interrogation, deprivation of the right to a funeral, granting statutes to the monastery. Seals were used to confirm the bishop's official court judgments.

The seals used by Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna – in my opinion – had an important spiritual value: they emphasized the divine origin of his power. By using the word *ecclesia*, he made visible his link with the Church of the Apostles and his bishopric ministry. WRATISLAVIENSIS implies the area of evangelistic mission. The third goal was expressed on two seals from the years 1315 and 1318. The number XVII contained in the legend was to emphasize the agedness of power of the bishops of Wroclaw, which was equal to that of the Piast dynasty. This number was part of the great plan of Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna to gain independence in the duchy of Nysa-Otmuchów. The source of inspiration for such a legend was probably the lost catalogue of Wrocław bishops (*Chorus Wratislaviensis novus*). Arnold of Zwrócona could have been the author of this idea, an experienced lawyer of long standing from the bishop's chancery.

87 Ibidem.

88 AP Wr., rep. 83 no. 33–34; rep. 88 no. 82.

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Lecture: What is Missing in Contemporary Sacramental Ministry? Pope Francis' Option[*]

First a few words to justify the title. By the term "sacramental ministry" I mean the whole life of the Church as a community of faith gathered around Jesus Christ, whose presence determines the administration of the sacraments. In the Church, they have their own names, but, in a broad sense man as the temple of God and his child is also the sacrament; the sacrament, or sign of life and sign of love. However, I intend to take a specific perspective on analysis, namely follow Pope Francis' attitude. Just as John Paul II introduced into pastoral practice the concept of the "new evangelization" to shake up the ossified structures of mission, so the call of the present Pope to go out towards man and the absolute respect for him is, in my opinion, another call of the Church to undertake the work of evangelization in a new way.[1] In the Francis' option the Church is poor, for the poor, and with the poor (see: EG 198). However, it is not in the sense of a charitable organization but in taking up a life lived in poverty of spirit – as St Brother Albert, for example, expressed by living among the poor instead of "helping" them.

Therefore, the presentation is an attempt to make a kind of "ruckus" about how we used to consider pastoral care, bearing in mind that no general answer to the question asked in the title exists – for there is only the reality of specific parishes in which Christians form the Church. Pastoral ministry (which also involves the way we usually think about it) consists in "giving Christ" to people

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1 Cf. J. Szpet, *Inspiracje katechetyczne Evangelii gaudium. Wybrane aspekty*, "Katecheza" 11 (2013), pp. 49–63.

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through the sacraments that are simply signs behind which the supernatural reality is hidden. The Church is also called a sacrament (the presacrament). The whole theology is an operationalization of the fundamental truth that Jesus Christ is the sacrament (presence) of God. It is therefore crucial for the sacramental ministry to strive for Jesus Christ to be with us and to lead us to the Father in heaven. The problem that requires "ruckus" in this context is *sacramentalism*, which boils down to "distributing" graces and – as Fr. Blachnicki called it – making the parish a "service institution." This sacramentalism of pastoral ministry manifests itself primarily in the "technical" approach to the sacraments (since we are dealing with the real effectiveness of the sacraments and the disposition of the receiving subject is difficult to say). However, such "observing the norms externally only would be contrary (...) to the essence of the sacred liturgy in which Christ the Lord wishes to gather his Church" (*Redemptionis Sacramentum* 5). It is not only a problem of our time but today the ease of access to other paths of "salvation" – which seem not only attractive but above all "credible" – leads to a departure without regret from the Church (its proposal of a sacramental approach to God). In many situations, as pastors report, participation in the sacraments is linked to well-established custom or family pressure ("we cannot get married now because I would like to have a nice wedding party;" "the child must have a godfather").

Thus, what is missing in today's sacramental ministry? My answer is this: we lack the path of sacramental initiation (in a strict sense, it is the catechumenal model of the service of the Church and the catechumenal form of catechesis). To explain this answer, I will try to make a brief reflection on three concepts: Church – catechesis – relationship. So, I want to answer the questions in short: What Church? What catechesis? And what relation?

What Church?

I will start with a quote:

> He to them: brothers and sisters! They to him: Your Excellency! Would he be pleasantly surprised to hear: Brother Bishop? Therefore, a strange brotherhood, only one-sided? The easy answer is: in both directions, but the title is to express respect for the office held among brothers and sisters. Depending on its rank, the expressions are graded – from numerous reverends and most reverends to a few dozen eminences and one His Holiness. These dignities are also recalled by the separate costumes and insignia worn daily or at the altar. Is not a lawyer also

> known as an attorney, a doctor – a physician, and a pharmacist – a master? Does not a judge or professor wear a gown and chain to mark the official or solemn character of their speech? (…) [And yet] the Church was not born in purple but social lowlands. The Apostles set out into the world from the Cenacle without pastorals, mitres, golden chains and rings. (…) Titles and ornaments spread when in the 4th century the Church gained the status of a state religion in the Empire, hence becoming a powerful and privileged institution. (…) The previously modest liturgy reached for the ceremony of the imperial court, modelling the costume of the celebrant on gala robes of the highest state dignitaries. Candles, incense, canopies, candles taken from secular and sacred pagan rhythms, as well as the richness of colours, ornaments, gold and silver of church vessels, were to overshadow the rites of the old religion. (…) The Church grew into feudalism. (…) In 428, Pope Celestine I, chastised the Bishop of Arles that his clergy, wanting to look different from the laymen, was wearing tunics and belts. *We should distinguish not by our clothes, but by our knowledge* he wrote. (…) If tradition is to remain authentic, and thus avoid being overloaded with the ever--increasing baggage of temporary adaptations, absolutizing relativity and falling into traditionalism, it must continuously orient itself on two lines of reference: The Gospels and the present day. The place where these lines intersect creates a meaningful sign appreciated by the post-conciliar Church: the sign of the times.[2]

Therefore, the poor Church that Pope Francis wants – believing that God is calling again: “Rebuild my Church!” – should, on the one hand, be as *simple* as the Gospel says about it, and on the other hand, *close to* the people among whom it is built. Simple and close, that is, understandable, legible, transparent, credible. It will not definitely be so unless it understands the meaning of the present time: “Now we do not need *ordinary administration*” (EG 25) – we must move “from the pastoral care of maintaining the status quo to the missionary one” (EG 15) – writes Francis. Karl Rahner already diagnosed:

> Such pastoral ministry that knows only one recipe, that wants to open all doors with one key that holds in its hands the fixed point of Archimedes based on which it can easily move the world stumbles on the most straightforward ontological reflection, namely, that it is not possible, despite the unity of human being, and in the interest of man, to cancel its multiplicity.[3]

2 J. Kracik, *Wielebni, przewielebni, najprzewielebniejsi*, “Tygodnik Powszechny” 18 (2014), pp. 35–37. Unless otherwise noted, all English translations are by the WTR.

3 K. Rahner, *O możliwości wiary dzisiaj*, Krakow 1983, p. 163.

Such a poor Church – poor in its form, also visually, and in its ability to communicate the faith – is present in many places worldwide. The point is for the world to see that this is its general model!

Specifically, what model is it? Before we define it, let us remember what the Church is and why. The dynamics of the Holy Spirit, in whose era the Church lives, indicate a continuous gathering (convening) of a community that wants to live together with the presence of God (not the majestic God, but God *with us*). That is the etymology of the word Church in Hebrew (*kahal*) and Greek (*ekklesia*);[4] that is the etymology of the word *liturgy*.[5] The Church gathers together to experience the presence of the Risen Jesus: in the liturgy, it is manifold and requires the presence of sisters and brothers.[6] If in the Cenacle Jesus – before he called bread and wine his Body and Blood – washed his disciples' feet, he intended (once again) to prepare them for the shock of God's emptying (see: Phil 2:7). Nevertheless, according to Francis' conviction, leaving the Cenacle is key: *ite missa est* ("go, you are sent"). The Church is not called to stay together for longer but, filled with the life of God, resume its journey. In this sense, neither can the sacramental ministry stop nor want to manage man's life, but take the form of accompaniment along the way.[7]

> The Church, therefore, in addition to being a place (experience) of encounter, is also a place (experience) of support (…) so that a person can trust someone who has experienced a personal transformation in his life and has changed his thinking as a result of an Event that has shown him a broader perspective on life.[8]

We will return to this thread in a moment. Francis writes in his last exhortation:

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4 To emphasize the dynamics of community, it is necessary to understand this word in a verb, not a noun sense. See: W. Kasper, *Kościół katolicki. Istota, rzeczywistość, posłannictwo*, Krakow 2014, pp. 199–202.

5 See: K. Filipowicz, *Poszukiwania misteryjnego charakteru liturgii*, "Studia Theologica Varsaviensia" 2 (2014), pp. 189–205.

6 See: Benedykt XVI, *Z wielką miłością do Chrystusa i Kościoła. Na zakończenie spotkania z duchowieństwem diecezji rzymskiej*, "L'Osservatore Romano" 7–8 (2005), p. 15.

7 See: G. Strzelczyk, *Wolność, wiara, Bóg. Rozmowy o chrześcijaństwie*, Krakow 2018, pp. 256–257; A. Przybecki, *Kościół musi wyruszyć w drogę. Polskie duszpasterstwo w poszukiwaniu duchowych korzeni*, "Teologia Praktyczna" 13 (2012), pp. 33–41.

8 D. Kurzydło, *Pedagogia przyjaźni. Katechumenalny model przygotowania do przyjęcia sakramentu bierzmowania jako wyraz odpowiedzialności, wierności i posłuszeństwa w Kościele*, the article in print.

> Jesus had unconditional trust in the Father, he cared for his friendship with his disciples, and even in moments of crisis he remained faithful to it. He showed deep sympathy for the weakest, especially the poor, the sick, sinners and the excluded. He had the courage to face the religious and political authorities of his time; he experienced a sense of incomprehension and rejection; he experienced fear in the face of suffering and knew the weakness of the Passion; he looked to the future, entrusting himself to reliable hands of the Father and the power of the Holy Spirit.[9]

Exactly: He had the courage that we are only just gaining on the way – and this is the road to Emmaus.[10] The Church is being formed on the way. In the Exhortation of *Lumen Fidei*, Francis shows the Church to which people want to belong – which they actually desire.

What catechesis?

The pastoral work (not the Church) is definitely in crisis today. One can put forward a hypothesis that it is primarily a crisis of catechesis,[11] but partly because it was "expelled" from the parish, which immediately affected also the sacramental life. For it is catechesis, and not the level of "services offered" in the parish, that has a direct impact on the perception and understanding of faith: the personal faith and the Church's witness. The task of catechesis is to build up the community of faith – with an adult Christian being its most crucial addressee. If we talk about adult catechesis, we ask about ways in which people who, according to the International Commission for Catechesis, are formed, i.e. have problems and experiences that require extensive discernment. Secondly, they are lay people – i.e. they devote most of their time and energy to work and family. Thirdly, they are educated – i.e. they are not looking for systematic formation, but rather the possibility of solving and talking about immediate problems (see: CCC 26–30); fourthly, they can take responsibility

9 *Dokument końcowy XV Zwyczajnego Zgromadzenia Ogólnego Synodu Biskupów*, 63, [in:] *Christus Vivit* 31.

10 See: A. Draguła, *Emaus. Tajemnice dnia ósmego*, Warsaw 2015, pp. 61–64.

11 I do not mean school teaching of religion – although this assessment is also negative, it is impossible to underestimate the work of thousands of teachers who, in conditions inadequate to the times in which young people live, must find themselves in the daily reality of teaching. Catechesis is the work of the parish community and its important function is the process of Christian initiation at every stage of the journey of faith.

for their own development and supporting others if they are given a real opportunity to become involved in community life. It is evident that the adult formation takes place effectively in communities and ecclesial movements as long as they are catechetical (i.e., they fulfil at least some of the tasks of catechesis, see: DOC 85–86). Given the above-mentioned characteristics of the recipients and the need to accompany them on their way, it seems necessary to organize the so-called thematic groups that allow adult Christians to support each other when facing an experience that unites all participants, such as the death of a parent or child, betrayal of a spouse, or addiction.[12] That is why the Church needs a mature catechesis of adults so that they can take responsibility for conducting sacramental ministry in a parish to the extent that it does not manifest signs of sacramentalism or legalism.

It seems that good catechesis – i.e. one that is adapted to the spiritual needs of the recipient (in the broad sense) and that initiates into the life of Christ who transforms the human heart – constitutes a true antidote to the crisis of pastoral ministry. Symptoms of the above can easily be seen in Christians' complaints, whether justified or not, about its functioning (in a sense I expressed at the beginning), or in the helplessness associated with incompetence or unwillingness to be in the Church. Today sacramental ministry is a special kind of missionary pastoral care that goes with Christ from Jerusalem to Galilee, into everyday life – in human doubts, on a dark night, in the feeling of rejection by the Church's teaching.[13]

Three years ago, together with my students, we asked people who were leaving the Church after the Eucharist what they thought was the most significant spiritual problem/worry for adult Christians today.[14] I want to quote here some of them, which in my opinion are an excellent illustration of the cry of adult Christians for catechesis in its various forms – if it is still not too late (see: ChV 202).

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12 See: D. Kurzydło, *Formacja dorosłych w dojrzałej wspólnocie chrześcijańskiej. Współczesna perspektywa*, [in:] *Problemy dorosłych ludzi. Formacja chrześcijańska dorosłych a codzienne trudności życia*, D. Kurzydło (ed.), Warsaw 2014, p. 18.

13 See: P.P. Ogórek, *Mistyka codzienności*, [in:] *Duchowość współczesnego Kościoła*, S. Urbański (ed.), Warsaw 2002, pp. 19–21.

14 See: D. Kurzydło, *Formacja do nadziei. Próba diagnozy problemów i potrzeb duchowych dorosłych chrześcijan*, "Studia Katechetyczne" 14 (2018), pp. 67–110. The research was carried out on a sample of over 15 thousand adult Christians living in different places in Poland, as well as in Belarus and England.

I used to hope to hear in the Church a reflection – an in-depth reflection – on reality, as it is. I needed this reflection, support, and I looked for it everywhere. Unfortunately, the Church takes care of itself, its fear that it will have no money, that people will manage without it. I met infantile, emotionally immature clergymen. Was I supposed to go to them with my doubts? I was scared. Today I am on the outside. I keep a tradition, but I have nowhere to deepen my faith. Maybe someday, when people see through their eyes and leave, the Church will understand that it must first take care of educating masters, guides in the faith. I have less and less of this hope (a 41-year-old woman).

I think that the problem is the lack of baptismal awareness, that is, we do not know who we really are and what happened to us at baptism. We do not have any religious experience of the Holy Spirit. Then, Jesus' teaching is a few phrases. In the past, the expression of religious experiences was beautiful art; today you can mainly see kitsch. It is a pity, because beautiful music could rebuild my tired heart. Meanwhile, in my church, devotees wail, while singing about their (or someone else's) grief, which makes me even more tired (a 29-year-old woman).

It seems to me that we cannot give in to God's love. We can't be amazed at how it affects us. God is a distant and strange person. I don't know what would bring us closer together. I feel like time is running out, and nothing is changing. I have the impression that the Church speaks to us in some foreign language that doesn't reach me at all (a 31-year-old woman).

It seems to me that the biggest problem for adults is that we don't know how to live the faith every day. We try to follow the Church's instructions, but life has its priorities. What the Church says – how can this be applied to life? For example, how can I go to the retreats if I have no one to leave my children with? I understand that I could learn something, something deeper. But when? (a 33-year-old woman).

I will say briefly: The joy of faith, prayer, and God has "dried up" for me. Today the world has answers to everything, so religion seems superfluous. It would be necessary if it showed the mystery of life, its depth, etc. I don't see it, I don't see the difference between science and religion. I have the impression that the priest in his sermons wants to prove the faith and orders to believe in God, as one believes in Pythagoras' statement: you must act like that otherwise it will be bad for you. Only that people around me live without God, even immorally, but they are doing well, they are healthy and happy. When I tried to talk to the priest seriously about my faith, he had no time. And I think he was afraid of my questions. I'm in the Church, but I don't feel connected to anyone here (a 38-year-old man).

I believe that the vast majority of the problems and discussions currently underway are due to ignorance and lack of experience of the living God. All these speculations about doctrine or the constant emphasis that we must defend the teaching of the Church overlook the fact that Jesus had no initial requirements and that He saw no problems where we see them always. We demand that people be perfect without seeing their dramas. We give ready-made solutions without giving them any challenges. Jesus showed the way, today's preachers have only "good advice" (a 46-year-old man).

What would have to change to make me a better Christian? I think it would help a lot if someone treated me like an adult. But that is not so. I don't think anyone noticed that I've grown up. There's so much talk about freedom, and at the same time, it's carefully specified what to do, what not to do. And where am I? Where is my faith? I have many doubts about the teaching of the Church, but I have no one to talk to about it. As I asked a difficult question among my Catholic friends, I was considered a heretic (a 44-year-old man).

I am struck by the poor treatment of the liturgy, which then translates into poor quality of contact with another person. The beauty of the liturgy requires listening and the answer of the heart, not a rigid and carefully filled celebration. If a bishop, not Jesus, is the most important at a mass (which can be seen from the praises given in his honour, as if he had done something extraordinary), then this hypocrisy continues to be well in life. Man is no longer a work of "art of love," but of material art – an object that cannot be pushed around as one wishes. I am worried that we are at the liturgy like in the theatre, and then at home, we write reviews: "it was nice" or "it was boring." Fortunately, there are still places that make me leave the liturgy as a beautiful person! (a 47-year-old man).

I miss a priest – a man who could come and ask "How are you?" Who'd like to talk, have tea with us. To be closer to us, not so dignified, inaccessible. I'd also like to show him my support and cordiality. But it is what it is. We are a family, but what family? (a 35-year-old woman).

I think that if the Church were more silent, it would have more to say (a 50-year-old man).

> Our times are full of hatred. People even hate God. But first they hate their children, other people. I was left alone with my husband after the stroke. I have a very difficult life, and I have a feeling that since I have been taking care of him, people have stopped noticing us. I'm thinking more and more about where the church is (a 48-year-old woman).

> Why does the priest or the Church know how to live? Why not me? As I thought about it, I concluded that someone decides for me because I don't care about myself. I don't mean that I want to live contrary to the commandments, but that I don't understand the teachings of the Church since I let myself be treated like a child. And, in reality, I have to deal with adult matters. I know some learned formulas, I repeat what someone has taught me, but nothing comes of it. I can't translate it into a normal life (a 48-year-old man).

What relation?

The above (selected) statements have one common denominator: hunger for relations, hunger for a meeting, hunger for conversation. In times when the most frequent reason for suicides is the feeling of loneliness – and this in times of multiple forms of communication, living in a global village – close relations, mature bonds (but not ties) are the real "peak of dreams" (see: Apostolic Letter *Misericordia et misera* 3). At the same time, it is an excellent challenge for the Church, which was sent into the world not [only] to increase the number of souls, but to listen (see: ChV 291–298) and tell a story that gives hope (see: EG 286).[15] However, "to develop maturity, that is to say, to reach the ability to make truly free and responsible decisions, time and great patience are essential" (EG 171). It is said that in Alaska, before the priest starts preaching, he first listens to people for one year. Not only does listening (*hearing*) give birth to faith but also creates a relationship that can develop into friendship over time. Jesus talked to Peter about such a friendship when entrusting him with building the Church.

Building relations – healthy human relationships from the earliest years of life – is a priority for catechesis and the entire sacramental ministry. The goal in both cases is communion with Jesus, which does not seem possible without communion with another person. The model that would pastorally respond to this need and at the same time meet the call for the new evangelization is

15 Francis: "Mary is the one who can transform a stable for animals into the house of Jesus, with poor diapers and with great tenderness" (EG 286).

the catechumenal model – recognized as fundamental in the Church documents. The reasons why this is considered the case are primarily related to the nature of the maturation: the education and formation of man to a mature faith requires *gradation* (see: DOC 89, OCWD 12–39). When adapting it to the stage of development, possibilities of candidates or their spiritual needs is a way to individualize the path of faith without giving up the participation of the community and in the community. The baptismal catechumenate is an inspiration for catechesis in general, at any age and in any situation – obviously concerning the pace and scope of matters to be considered *on the way*. Receiving each sacrament requires a long journey of initiation. However, the condition for preparing for the sacrament and living it out in a community of faith is the ability of that community to accompany candidates in conditions of their lives. That means, among other things, always being aware of a different context of life (see the conditions of adult catechesis mentioned above). The accompaniment does not force anything; it demands patience and mercy, as well as the witness of one's life – so that the candidate can say: "I see that Christ lives in you." Preparation in the community is not the same as the preparation of a group, but it is always an experience of a personal relationship with Christ in the continuity of the Church's tradition. The only exception here is the sacrament of the sick.

However, the catechumenal model is not exhaustive in the preparation and administration of the sacrament; the practice of mystagogic catechesis and the process of continuous conversion and deepening awareness of baptism (see: DOC 56–57) prove that both accompaniment and discernment require an individualised approach and continuous witness on the part of the ecclesial community. Being concerned with the relationship of friendship with all and guided by the dynamics of departure, journey and gift Francis evokes the image of *a polyhedron* (see: ChV 207), which the Church should be like (EG 21).[16] Such is the way of holiness: "let Him shape in you that personal mystery which reflects Jesus Christ in the modern world" (GE 23), "do not fear holiness" (GE 31).

In this way of deepening faith, the Eucharist is a particular time for building relationships – the Eucharist builds the Church.[17] Daily life is different, and we often have the impression that strangers, random people, uninitiated in the stage of faith in which they find themselves, have met with each other, and therefore do not experience joy in living the sacrament together. Many of them look down on others (either ungodly or devoted), profaning the presence

16 Cf. A. Durak, *Duchowość eucharystyczna*, [in:] *Duchowość współczesnego Kościoła*, op. cit., p. 31.

17 See: Z.J. Kijas, *Mistyczne Ciało Chrystusa*, "Życie Duchowe" 70 (2012), pp. 28–30.

of God-Love. Some feel unworthy of receiving the Cure, others feel unworthy of receiving the Cure, others do not care if they are taking communion, and yet others do not intend to do so. A large part is still made up of those to whom the so-called spiritual communion is offered, without inviting them to accompany or discern. Nevertheless, frequently there is also a community in the Eucharist that has undergone a profound initiation. Perhaps the difference in life explains why the Eucharist is not the sacrament of unity. That is what our Church today is like, this 'field hospital" in the midst of which the Divine Doctor lives – and we, like nurses, bustle about (or not) sustaining the spirit of the afflicted. However, we cannot complain because we can be together to "bring the experience of God into the directness."[18] God builds His tent in this reality: in everyday human life.

Since sacramental ministry incorporates us into the life of God, into His beauty, it bases on a liturgy that is full of *admiration*. What does that mean? People want and seek a beautiful liturgy. They want to be enchanted by the liturgy – it is for our body because we are carnal: it is supposed to "take over" us through signs, music, light, scents. Liturgy touches our *senses*: there are sounds, colours, smells, clothes, movements, attitudes, gestures, symbols (wine, water, bread, fire) – the liturgy embraces the whole of creation, the visible world. The beauty and vastness of the universe.[19] The liturgy embraces sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch. The liturgy is beautiful, and thereby it can be the liturgy of the whole day: "the liturgy of the hours." Why do we have so little liturgy in churches? Why do we limit pastoral ministry to the Eucharist itself? Why do we not allow everyone to participate in the Liturgy of the Hours?

The catechumenal model I have indicated is present in the Light-Life Movement. However, it must be remembered that it constantly requires adaptation to new conditions, new moderators, and a deep awareness that the Church of Jesus Christ is a community of service. It is a path that we follow together, one by one and with the other, to believe that HE is with us all days until the end of the world.

[18] R. Hajduk, *Apologetyka pastoralna*, Krakow 2009, p. 171.

[19] See: ibidem, pp. 177–191; A. Skowronek, *Wcielenie i Eucharystia*, "Życie Duchowe" 70 (2012), pp. 19–20.

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Review: C. Mitch, E. Sri, *Ewangelia według św. Mateusza. Katolicki Komentarz do Pisma Świętego* (orig. *The Gospel of Matthew: Catholic Commentary on Sacred Scripture*), transl. E. Litak, W drodze, Poznań 2019, pp. 428

The development of Bible studies in recent decades, especially after the Second Vatican Council, has led to a deeper understanding of many biblical texts and to the encouragement of Scripture reading. The interpretation was, however, at times erroneous. While some of such instances have been almost eliminated (e.g. materialistic reading of the Bible or reading in the spirit of liberation theology), others are still present, and new directions of interpretation are emerging that can lead to a dead end. It is often the case that while the radical form of the proposed interpretation method or approach to an inspired text must be rejected, the moderate mode of the method or approach may prove enriching for Bible studies. Examining these interpretations and selecting what is useful for Bible studies and in line with the Church's centuries-old tradition is one of the challenges faced by theologians, Biblicists, exegetes.

Undoubtedly, this task was met by the authors of the commentary to the Gospel according to St Matthew: Curtis Mitch and Edward Sri, American Catholic Biblical scholars. The book is intended not only for biblicists or theologians engaged in scholarly work, but above all for people involved in pastoral ministry. It is dedicated to the Gospel according to St Matthew, the first book in the canonical order of the New Testament. This Gospel was one of the most read books of the Bible in the first centuries of Christianity. The inspired author addressed his work to Christians of Jewish origin. Realizing the importance of the Pentateuch for the Judaic religion, he included in his Gospel five great speeches of Jesus. The very idea of the five speeches already

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carries a message: the good news of salvation becomes a new Torah (the Pentateuch), while Jesus becomes a new Moses – the Lawgiver. While the first Law was brought by Moses, who received it from Yahweh in the Sinai theophany, the new Law is revealed by Jesus.

The authors of the commentary already in the introduction refer to these five speeches of Jesus as a structuring element for the whole Gospel. In addition, they discuss the problem of authorship, the recipients, the dates and places of origin and emphasize the essential message of the Gospel of Matthew. The introduction therefore includes a discussion of all the introductory points that should be included in the complete commentary to each of the Bible books. The novelty is the emphasis put on the Gospel message for the contemporary reader, which is an outstanding testimony to the pastoral value of the commentary.

After the pattern of the Gospel of Matthew was determined, the authors proceed to systematically comment on individual pericopes based on the devised structure. The commentary to each of the fragments has been arranged according to a clear plan: (I) a short introduction; (II) translation of a Gospel text; (III) its explanation; (IV) reflection on it and practical application. The clarity of this plan makes the reading much easier. In their explanations, Mitch and Sri reach for the latest developments in Bible studies. The reader will find here threads referring to the history of ancient Israel, archaeology, geography, and the religion professed by Jesus as well as references to social customs and everyday life in Palestine of the first century are frequent. Very helpful in understanding some parts of the Gospel are etymological explanations. Some terms occurring in the text have been highlighted, which makes it easier to grasp the essence of the message of individual pericopes.

The book is written in beautiful, understandable and very communicative language. Credit for it is due not only to the authors, but also to the translator, Eliza Litak.

At the end of the volume there is a dictionary of the most important terms that were understandable to the original recipients of the Gospel of Matthew (Christians of Jewish origin), and may be difficult for today's readers, who do not necessarily know all the customs, practices and beliefs of the followers of Palestinian Judaism of the first century. The bibliography at the end of the book is also valuable. For more attentive readers, it indicates sources where they can find more information on topics of interest to them, which were raised by Mitch and Sri. For pastoral purposes, an *Index of Pastoral Topics* and an *Index of Highlighted Texts* were added. The graphic beauty of the publication is enhanced by the inclusion of seven carefully selected illustrations.

The Second Vatican Council encouraged frequent reading of Sacred Scripture "to promote that warm and living love for scripture" (SC 24), so that all could "hold fast to the Sacred Scriptures through diligent sacred reading and careful study, all who are legitimately active in the ministry of the word (...) so that none of them will become 'an empty preacher of the word of God outwardly, who is not a listener to it inwardly'" (DV 25), while "the treasures of the bible are to be opened up more lavishly, so that richer fare may be provided for the faithful at the table of God's word" (KL 51). The book prepared by the always reliable publishing house W drodze definitely meets this conciliatory encouragement.

During the meeting with the Pontifical Theological Commission John Paul II said:

> The People of God need such exegetes who, on the one hand, will do their scholarly work very honestly, on the other hand, will not stop halfway, but, on the contrary, will continue their efforts until the treasures of light and life contained in the Scriptures are fully revealed, so that the shepherds and the faithful have easier access to them and benefit more abundantly from their fruits (11 April 1991).

There is no doubt that the commentary to the Gospel according to St Matthew will be of great help to biblicists, theologians and exegetes, as well as to the faithful wishing to learn more and more about the content of Revelation contained in Scripture, either alone or in study groups.

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Review: T. Tułodziecki, *Tożsamość nowego Izraela w Księdze Zachariasza* (New Israel's Identity in the Book of Zechariah), serie: *Scripta Theologica Thoruniensia* 33, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń 2014, pp. 342

The Second Vatican Council, whose proceedings came to a close over half a century ago, insisted that the frequent reading of Sacred Scripture "is essential to promote that warm and living love for scripture" (SC 24) so that none of those who "are legitimately active in the ministry of the word (...) will become an empty preacher of the word of God outwardly, who is not a listener to it inwardly" (DV 25), and "so that richer fare may be provided for the faithful at the table of God;s word" (SC 51).

Fr. Tułodziecki's book is a search for and an analysis of the motives that constitute the identity of the chosen nation against the background of the *Book of Zechariah*. The subject of the work was formulated as follows: *Tożsamość nowego Izraela w Księdze Zachariasza* (The Identity of New Israel in the Book of Zechariah). The topic has been little discussed by Polish scholars, nor are there many relevant publications in the entire world bibliography, so there is no doubt that it deserves to be the subject of a habilitation thesis.

Apart from the list of abbreviations, bibliography, introduction and conclusion, the work is made up of the following parts: *Problem tożsamości Izraela w okresie przedwygnaniowym i w czasie niewoli babilońskiej*, *Problemy literackie za 1-8* oraz *Podstawy tożsamości nowego Izraela w cyklu nocnych wizji Proto-Zachariasza (1,7-6,14)* (The Problem of the Identity of Israel in Pre-Exile and Babylonian Period, Literary Problems in Zech 1-8 and The Fundamentals of the Identity of New Israel in the Proto-Zechariah Night Visions Cycle [1:7-6,14]).

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The proposed structure of the work seems logical and does not raise objections. The structure of individual chapters is extremely clear.

In the introduction, the Author specifies the purpose of the publication in the following words:

> The basic issue, to which we will try to find an answer in this work, is to find in individual [Zechariah's – MR] visions the elements that constitute the identity of Israel. This is primarily the Law of the Torah, which in fact represents Yahweh itself. Some of the visions refer directly to this great gift that was the fruit of Yahweh's Holy Alliance with Israel (e.g., the vision of a flying scroll; Zech 5:1-4), in other images the relationship to the Torah is hidden under the cover of symbols and mysterious expressions, the discovery of which will be the main purpose of these analyses.

Such a precise goal seems clear and its formulation does not raise any objections.

In the introduction, the Author specifies the method of the thesis in the following words:

> The combination of historical and theological reading of the biblical text requires the use of the historical-critical method, which combines two levels of analysis: diachronic and synchronic. Although different procedures of the historical--critical method will be used to properly show the message of the individual texts that make up the night cycle of Zechariah's vision, the whole study will rather be based on a different kind of theological study, which – in brief – can be described as conceptual.

The instruction of the Pontifical Biblical Commission on the interpretation of Scripture highly appreciates the combination of synchronic and diachronic methods. The historical-critical method commonly adopted by biblical scholars until recently today seems to be insufficient in many cases. The Papal Biblical Commission states:

> To be sure, the classic use of the historical-critical method reveals its limitations. It restricts itself to a search for the meaning of the biblical text within the historical circumstances that gave rise to it and is not concerned with other possibilities of meaning which have been revealed at later stages of the biblical revelation and history of the church. Nonetheless, this method has contributed to the production of works of exegesis and of biblical theology which are of great value (*Interpretacja Pisma Świętego w Kościele A* [The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church A]).

Therefore, it is important that in Fr. Tułodziecki's work the historical-critical method in the diachronic aspect has been complemented by the synchronic aspect because it is only thanks to this approach that the theological message of particular texts of the Book of Zechariah can be properly extracted.

In the first chapter of his work, the Author presents the problem of Israel's national identity in the pre-exile period and during the Babylonian captivity. In his research he reaches back to the time of the patriarchs and the period of Exodus and settlement of the Israelites in Canaan, he writes about the crisis of Israel's identity in the monarchical era, and about the struggle for that identity waged by the pre-exile and exile prophets (Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Deutero--Isaiah). The whole reflection of the first chapter ends with a short summary.

The second chapter deals with literary issues in Zech 1-8: the historical context of Zechariah's speech, the validity of the division of the book into Proto- and Deutero-Zechariah, the formal and substantive relations between the Book of Haggai and Proto-Zechariah and the role of night visions in Zech 1-8. This part of the work also ends with a short summary.

In the third chapter the Author discusses extensively these night visions, which were described in Zech 1:7-6,14. These include analyses of visions one (1:7-17) and seven (6:1-8) understood as "preparing God's space;" analyses of visions two (2:1-4) and six (5:5-11) as "purifying God's space;" visions three (2:5-9) and five (5:1-4) as "strengthening God's space;" and a discussion of vision four (4:1-14) understood as showing God who is "the living space of the New Israel." It is the category of space that has become the dominant category in the analyses carried out by the Author and it seems to be a kind of novelty of the work.

The last part of the work – the summary chapter – is its conclusion. Generally speaking, the results of the conducted analyses can be summed up by the Author's own words:

> The novelty of the Book of Zechariah in showing the identity for the New Israel is to underline even more strongly the message that its adoption is not limited only to Jews, but that, according to the words of 8:20-23, it should become a program of life in a universal perspective (p. 321).

It should be noted that the analyses performed in particular chapters are extremely reliable because they do not overlook the historical, religious and literary context of the individual texts. The analyses have strongly benefited from the linguistic competence of the Author, who studies the etymology and semantics of the most important terms appearing in Zechariah's visions.

Fr. Tułodziecki uses correct and rich vocabulary, the language of the dissertation is scientific, although not inaccessible. The specific ease of using the written word results, as one can suppose, from the fact that the Author is very well-read in the literature on the subject matter. The conclusions of the dissertation are formulated in an understandable and competent manner; they are well argued and justified in the contents of the text. They are characterized by the logic of the argument. They result directly from the conducted research and are not – as it sometimes happens – too far-reaching or unsubstantiated in the conducted research.

The collected literature is very abundant. The Author has reached many publications that are not easily available in many foreign languages, which is commendable. Of course, it is possible to supplement the bibliography with a few more items, but today the biblical literature is so rich that it is impossible (and sometimes simply not necessary) to include all the publications in a given field.

The work contains a lot of footnotes, sometimes very extensive, which indicate skilful use of the literature. However, on very few pages, where there are no footnotes, the Author shows his excellent independent thinking and the ability to make a logically correct argument. This lack of footnotes in some parts is therefore not a shortcoming, but – on the contrary – it proves that the work is creative. All the footnotes are edited correctly. The list of abbreviations is also extensive.

It should be emphasized that the Author not only moves perfectly well along the meanders of the Hebrew language (which is absolutely necessary in this type of work), but also reaches for English, German and Italian literature, which significantly increases the value of the analyses made. It is a pity that a short summary in a foreign language has not been attached to the whole book. This would make the results of the research of the Polish biblical scholar accessible to foreign readers.

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Review: G. O'Collins, *Inspiration. Towards a Christian Interpretation of Biblical Inspiration*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2018, pp. 222

Two years after the *Revelation. Towards a Christian Interpretation of God's Self-revelation in Jesus Christ* book was published, Gerald O'Collins offers the reader yet another interesting position. This time, the former professor of systematic and fundamental theology at the Gregorian University is dealing with inspiration, an issue that remains in the obvious – through in need to be clarified – relationship with the previous area of research. The Australian theologian reminds us in his opening preface that the authoritative role of the Bible for the faith and life of Christians is linked to the fact that God has engaged in a unique way in the creation of the inspired books. Interestingly enough, scholars marginalize or even ignore the question of biblical inspiration (indeed, the list of literature given by the author in which the reader expects in vain to have this issue addressed is impressive). Therefore, the work of the Jesuit aims at making up for the lack of an adequate scholarly study.

Already in the foreword the author stresses that a better insight into inspiration can be expected not from abstract considerations, but from a study of the history of the inspiring influence of Scripture. The Bible itself provides a limited knowledge of the Divine causality involved in its creation, while more information would be provided by the inspirational effect; more visible is the mysterious inspiration of the Holy Spirit resulting in the creation of the inspired books and their inspiring properties. In the epilogue O'Collins emphasizes that his work sought primarily to distinguish (but not to separate) the biblical inspiration as an impulse of the Holy Spirit to write holy texts, divine self-revelation as a source material for inspired testimonies, and the biblical truth as a consequence of inspiration. The value of this publication would be

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determined by distinguishing between the inspiration as the cause, i.e. the activity of the Holy Spirit, and the inspiration as the effects or results of that activity. Instead of focusing on the limited knowledge of how inspiration as a cause works, the focus is on the fragmented history of the influence of biblical texts. It is not so much about reception history which emphasizes the subjective element of reception as about *Wirkungsgeschichte*, effective history or a history of effects which indicates the objective inspiring power of the Spirit acting through biblical texts.

Between this framework, which is marked by the preface and the epilogue, the reader is offered ten chapters. The first one is preceded by a table of contents and a list of abbreviations. Due to the lack of contemporary studies on inspiration, the Australian theologian refers to older literature in the first chapter entitled *The Inspiration of the Bible: Two Accounts*. The dialogue with Protestant and Catholic theologians – Karl Barth (1886–1968) and Raymond F. Collins (b. 1935) – enables the identification of more important topics for further study of biblical inspiration. Especially the latter indicates the direction in which this publication under review is organized. O'Collins points out five principles that should shape scholarly elaborations on inspiration. "First, revelation precedes and extends beyond biblical inspiration. Hence revelation and inspiration should not be identified" (p. 17). This means that the examination of inspiration must be subordinated to the concept of revelation. Secondly, inspired Scripture bears witness to the words and events of revelation, but it can also bear witness to other matters rather loosely related to revelation. Thirdly, the formation of inspired Scripture ends with the end of the apostolic era: in other words, the gift of biblical inspiration was only appropriate for foundational revelation. Fourthly, it is emphasized that although the Spirit is the primary author, still the Bible, which is the Word of God, is also the fruit of true human creation. And finally, "the activity of the Spirit also ensures that the inspired Scriptures have remained inspiring – in the proclamation and public worship of the Church and in the individual lives of men and women" (p. 18).

In the second chapter – *Four Old Testament Books as Inspired and Inspiring* – the Jesuit, convinced that an authentic study of inspiration must be firmly anchored in the Scriptures themselves, deals with several books of the Old Testament. In them, he seeks above all what we know about the human side of the composition of the Bible books, without considering why the vision of inspiration should remain detached from reality. The process of creating Old Testament books shows that the Holy Spirit influenced everyone involved. An interesting case for researching the nature of inspiration is the Book of Syrach. Its author, besides being inspired by the Holy Spirit (which he did not seem to be aware of), was also, as he himself admits, influenced by many factors (studying, travelling, human experiences). In turn, we learn from the books of the prophets that the Advocates of the Divine Word were mostly inspired not to write, but to speak and to act.

In the next chapter O'Collins analyses the inspiring influence of Old Testament books on the authors of the New Testament and on Jesus Himself: hence the title of this part of the book: *The New Testament as Inspired by the Old Testament*. The theologian documents the use of the Old in the New Testament on the example of St Matthew and St Paul along with the author of the Book of Revelation. For all of them, the Old Testament has an inalienable role in expressing and interpreting the central mysteries of the Christian faith. It is significant that only the author of the Apocalypse „is conscious of being inspired and of his God-given, prophetic authority (Rev 10:11; 22:9). Revelation ends with a solemn warning against altering the text (Rev. 22:18-19). Divine authority stands squarely behind the whole message" (pp. 59–60). The information contained in 2Pt 1:20-21 indicates that the Holy Spirit moved people, not taking away their freedom, but including the human will as a secondary cause of 'prophecy' (broadly understood as all scriptural texts of the Old Testament). In turn, the statements in 2Tm 3:16-17 emphasize the usefulness of all Scripture. For the Apostle Paul they are more than that: they help to form his thought and equip him with an apostolic ministry when he interprets it in the light of Christ's event. Also the vision of Jesus' identity and mission turns out to be 'inspired' by the Scripture. O'Collins mentions here as examples the parable of the vineyard; the use of the term "Son of Man;" Christ's prayer (especially the Psalms); the comparison of prophets to martyrs; the reformulation of the commandment of love (the innovation of combining a vertical relationship with God and a horizontal relationship with the neighbour – to be distinguished but not separated – and the broadening of the definition of neighbour). The theologian devotes relatively much space to the expression "Son of Man," which is the self-description of Jesus taken from the inspired books and creatively transformed by the Incarnate.

In chapter four – *The Reception and Inspiring History of the Scriptures* – the author takes a look at the history of Christianity and explores the inspiring influence of Scripture. "Often described as the 'reception of the Bible,' this scriptural impact may also be better characterized as the 'inspiring history of the Bible'" (p. 61). In this story "all Christians inhabit the 'history of effects (*Wirkungsgeschichte*)' caused by biblical inspiration" (p. 63). O'Collins starts with the liturgy for which the Bible is the heart. The impact on the celebration of the sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation and Eucharist is highlighted. Then the role of inspired books in the liturgy of the hours, church chants and theatrical performances (*drama*) is discussed. Also "preaching or proclaiming the Word of God involves or should constantly involve the powerful presence of the Scriptures" (p. 71). Scripture, of course, also influences the personal prayer of Christians; especially the Lord's Prayer is of great importance here (the Jesuit quotes as an example the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola). The sacred texts also played a decisive role in the formation of Christian doctrine and in theological development. As an illustration, O'Collins recalls the influence of the Apostle Paul; the following are mentioned as examples: Pelagius' debate with Augustine, Martin Luther's interpretation, And Karl Barth's emphasis on revelation as a fundamental category of theological thinking. Mention is made of the influence of the Scriptures on literature and art. At the end of the chapter the theologian also discusses the misuse of the Bible, which must neither undermine the importance of the inspired books nor obscure their positive use:

> Preachers, church officials, artists, political leaders, and other Christians have repeatedly misappropriated and misinterpreted the Scriptures in all manner of bad causes. But *abusus non tollit usum* (abuse does not take away use), or, as we might put it, diseased and destructive abuse does not rule out a healthy and life-giving use of the Bible (p. 89).

The purpose of the fifth chapter entitled *Revelation, Tradition and Inspiration* is to examine the relationship or to show the interconnections, but also to identify the difference between revelation, tradition and inspiration. It is intended by the author to be a preparation for deeper characteristics of the inspiration itself. O'Collins emphasizes that revelation primarily refers to "personal self-manifestation of God, the divine Truth (upper case and in the singular), who invites and enables the human response of faith" (p. 89), and only secondarily "revelation also encompasses the communication of hitherto unknown truths (lower case and in the plural) about God, human beings and the created universe." A distinction should also be made between foundational, dependent and final revelation: "the New Testament presents the divine self-revelation as something that has happened (past or 'foundational'), that is happening (present and experiential), and that will happen (future and in hope)" (p. 93). Some members of the apostolic community, inspired by the Holy Spirit, wrote down the history of the foundation's tradition. The tradition not only precedes but also goes beyond the inspired books: "Tradition transmits, interprets, and applies the inspired texts, but it also hands on much more besides – in the vital and varied ways of worshipping, living, and believing of the whole community" (p. 94). So we are dealing with the following sequence: revelation – tradition – inspired Scripture. The Jesuit tries to express the complex relationship between them in several ways. There is a difference between revelation as a living reality and Scripture as testimony about it: "The scriptural witness remains distinct from the experience of revelation itself, just as a written record differs from any reality we live through." (p. 96). Similarly, tradition does not coincide with revelation – it can transmit revealed truths (propositional revelation), but it does not convey the personal experience of God's self-revelation. The tradition evokes, interprets and offers means to experience revelation, but remains different from it.

The Inspired Scriptures: Formation, Content, and Five Characteristics is the title of the sixth chapter in which the author examines the relationship between revelation and inspiration. O'Collins proposes to begin by considering the formation of the Bible and the reflect on its contents in relation to revelation. Once again the difference between revelation as a living interpersonal event and the written testimony of this in the Bible is emphasized (p. 102: "The Scriptures differ then from revelation in the way that written texts differ from something that happens between persons"). In the history of Bible composing it is also necessary to distinguish and even separate the gift of divine revelation from the special impulse leading to the creation of the inspired Scriptures. God's self-communication concerns every believer, and the charism of inspiration was given only to those who contributed to the holy texts. God's self-revelation functioned throughout the apostolic era, and the gift of inspiration only in a certain period in the history of the hagiographer. On the question of biblical inspiration, the Australian proposes the following term:

> a special impulse from the Holy Spirit, given during the long history of the chosen people and the much shorter apostolic age, to set down in writing both experiences of the divine self-revelation and other things which are not necessarily closely tied to revelation. This distinguishes biblical inspiration from prophetic inspiration, a God-given impulse to speak (and act symbolically) in certain ways (p. 108).

When asked what form this special impulse of inspiration from the Holy Spirit took, the theologian proposes a five-point characteristic of inspiration; it is rather an attempt to define what is not to be expected from inspiration. First of all, inspiration must not be equated, as it was done, with a theory of verbal dictation that would reduce the participation of the human author to the role of a stenographer of the Holy Spirit. Secondly, inspired authors would write in various, but definitely not in all literary genres; it is therefore difficult to expect their works to meet, for example, historical standards expected today. Thirdly, the theologian emphasizes the general principle that the action of the Holy Spirit does not elevate the inspired authors' literary style: "The special impulse from the Holy Spirit did not miraculously raise (but rather respected) the writing talents of those who received it" (p. 114). The same is true for the criterion of spiritual influence (fourth characteristic): inspiration does not guarantee a high religious influence on the reader.

> A striking and enduring spiritual impact is not necessarily the result of some text having been written under the influence of biblical inspiration, nor is limited spiritual impact an index that a text could not have been inspired by the Holy Spirit (p. 114).

Fifthly, there was a remark about the uneven degree of inspiration enjoyed by hagiographers; just like other charisms (e.g. of prophecy or apostolate), the gift of inspiration is not monolithically the same: actually there are similarities and differences that allow us to speak of the analogy of inspiration (p. 117).

For no apparent reason the list of inspiration properties is continued in a separate chapter *Five More Characteristics of Biblical Inspiration*. Again, most of the talk here is about what inspiration does not entail. First, the charism of inspiration does not require inspired authors to be aware of the special divine influence with which they collaborated in the creation of sacred texts. Secondly, because of the need to take into account the contribution of many people to the composition of the inspired writings, it is more appropriate to speak of impulses (plural) rather than a single impulse (singular) coming from the Holy Spirit. Thirdly, the difference between biblical authors and contemporary writers should be highlighted. The former usually remain anonymous, they build on the tradition and experience of other believers and create works that serve the faith community (religious purpose). The latter write in their own name and articulate personal experiences and are often appreciated for their artistic skills and ability to express human experience (non-religious purpose).

The professor of theology makes a caveat – as if to justify his previous negative characteristics – that it is impossible to understand the dynamics of biblical inspiration that makes biblical texts the Word of God in human words because it belongs to the unexplained mystery of Christ, God and man. In my opinion, this does not justify a leap from Christology immediately to ecclesiology: "Nevertheless, we can offer a positive, if limited, summary of inspiration's function in founding the Church" (p. 126). The fourth characteristic of inspiration therefore emphasises that the creation of a community of the Church also includes the creation of Scripture, and God as the film director of events also remains the author of the Bible. The fifth – in this chapter and the tenth in the whole book – mark of inspiration is linked by O'Collins' to the Inspiring Quality of the Inspired Bible. God can communicate through the Scriptures His revelation, and the inspired books have proved inspiring, as discussed in previous chapters. The Australian even claims that this ability to inspire is the most important characteristic of inspiration.

The next chapter entitled *The Truth and 'Canonization' of the Scriptures* focuses on the consequences of inspiration, on the biblical truth and the 'canonization' of the inspired books. The author of this publication prefers to use the positive and biblical term "truth" over inerrancy. The main purpose of the inspired writings is to give a salutary testimony of the truth about God and about people (I). Biblical truth must not be reduced to its intellectual dimension (propositional truth) (II). The aspects of biblical truth that are related to its interpersonal character should be emphasized (III). The progressive nature of biblical truth must be taken into account (IV). From a progressive understanding of biblical truth it follows that we must also speak of "canonical truth" found in the Bible as a whole (V). The truth of the Bible is primarily in the person of Christ (VI). The biblical truth must be lived – it is experienced in action (VII).

The canon is defined by O'Collins as a closed list of holy books (finally confirmed by the Council of Trent), considered by the Church to be inspired by God and enjoying normative value for Christian faith, worship and practice. The criteria used by the Church to establish canonicity were: apostolicity ("canonicity implies apostolicity" – p. 144) related to the origin of a given book from the period of Foundational Revelation; orthodox teaching, i.e., the theological criterion verifying compliance with *regula fidei*; Catholicity, i.e., constant and widespread use, especially in public worship. Then the author gives several reasons for the closed nature of the canon. He also stresses that the canon enjoys a *de jure* authority that is proper only to it, which must be seen in connection with faithfulness to Christ as the Redeemer and the Savior and with the action of the Holy Spirit who guides the inspired authors in a special way (the Bible "shares in the authority of Christ and his Holy Spirit" – p. 148).

Three 'Intentions' are Respect, chapter nine – O'Collins begins it by saying that we need a vision of biblical inspiration based on the Word of God expressed in human words, which turn out to be inspired when they are read, interpreted, preached, and applied in life. "No text, not even an inspired text, can speak for itself; it always needs interpreting" (p. 150). The Holy Spirit who gives the charism of inspiration to hagiographers is the same Spirit who enlightens the eyes of the heart during reading. However, understanding and interpreting inspired books also involves human action. The Australian theologian believes that an integral interpretation requires the consideration not only of the author's intention (*intentio auctoris*) but also of the reader's intention (*intentio legentis*) and the intention of the text itself (*intentio textus ipsius*). This part of the text aims at

> upholding the claims of (a) the intentio auctoris against those who flatly ignore the intentions of the original authors, of (b) the intentio textus against those who deny the control that the texts should exercise over readers, and of (c) the intentio legentis against those who play down subjectively and allege an illusory, 'scientific' objectivity (p. 164).

In the last chapter of the book (*Ten Principles for Theologians Interpreting the Scriptures*), O'Collins gives an interesting list of principles to guide theological approaches to Scripture. The purpose of this chapter is to help theologians to avoid misinterpretations of the Bible and to make the proper transition from inspired books to systematic theology. In a way that is still a bit far-fetched, the author claims that "like a golden thread, Christocentrism binds together all these ten principles" (p. 193).

The first principle, the principle of faithful hearing, instructs theologians to become listeners of the word sensitive to the meaning discovered in the text, in obedient openness without imposing their own interpretations or their little "orthodoxy." The principle of active hearing, the second principle complementing the first, recommends that the reader should respond actively to the text that he interprets; it is not about pure receptivity, which will be expressed later in the repetition of biblical phrases, but about their fresh assimilation and creative use by 'answerable' interpreters. The third rule – the principle of the community and its creed – indicates the need to read the texts in a living community of faith and in continuity with the creed of the undivided Church. The fourth rule – the principle of biblical convergence – underlines the need to search for a diversified dimension of scriptural testimonies on a particular theological issue so as not to lose the unity of the Bible on the one hand, and to base the theological search on as much data as possible on the other. The fifth rule – the principle of contemporary consensus – the application of which permeates O'Collins's entire legacy consists in taking into account the contemporary consensus of respected scholars (or at least most of them). In sixth place the principle of metathemes and metanarratives is mentioned. Theological success will consist in incorporating and combining themes that permeate the entire Bible, such as creation, covenant, sin (especially idolatry), mercy, liberation, *exodus*. "These metathemes and metanarratives make the Bible into one cumulative story" (p. 179). In this way the Bible interprets itself, and theologians receive both patterns of divine activity and the continuity and discontinuity in the realization of God's plan that are worth considering. This is what rule seven entitled the principle of discontinuity within continuity says. As the eighth one, in connection with the previous one, O'Collins mentions the principle of eschatological provisionality. From the very future-oriented nature of God's self-revelation it follows that both the first-order language (the Bible) and the second-order language (theology) are only a partial vision (cf. 1 Cor 13:12). The ninth principle of philosophical assistance draws attention to the role of philosophy in theological reflection. Philosophy allows for a sharp and clear formulation of the issue, helps to develop a method and organize the material studied, and allows for the formulation of a concept carried by the pre-philosophical biblical texts. Philosophical hermeneutics must also be taken into account while interpreting the inspired books. The last one on the list was the principle of inculturation encouraging bold inculturation and reflective enrichment by different cultures. "There is one Christ and one Bible, but there are many cultures" (p. 188). Inculturation presupposes the belief that the Word is already in some way present in every human culture through the Holy Spirit, and that the Bible, of which Christ is the centre, is the book of all cultures. In turn, the inculturated dialogue will probably shed new light also on Scripture.

This publication also includes an appendix entitled: *Critiquing the Sensational*. Although I generally appreciate such 'bonuses,' I was not quite convinced by O'Collins of the need to put this part in the book. It seems that it would be better if the appendix's content were included in chapter ten, since it is intended by the professional theologian to answer the question of how theologians and exegetes should respond to sensation-seeking writers (e.g. Reza Aslan and his *Zealot: The Life and Times of Jesus of Nazareth*) who refer to the Bible without seeing inspired texts in it and ignoring mainstream scholars (principle 10 above).

The book contains a select bibliography – three pages of literature, which the author probably views as the most important for the issue addressed in the book; an index of names, in which, what an omission!, there is no place for Joseph Ratzinger (Benedict XVI); and an index of biblical references, occupying almost eight pages.

* * *

The concept adopted and known from other Gerald O'Collins's publications should perhaps be called systematization by differentiation. Such differentiation has their advantages, but also disadvantages: it systematises the material reliably, but is far from being systematic theology. The reader is puzzled by this escape from theology, especially there where the author stands at the threshold of a mystery, but refrains from looking inside (e.g. when it comes to the mystery of the relationship of inspiration to the mystery of the Incarnation – pp. 125–126). A fundamental theologian will also find fault with the text: he can read the "good news" about what he cannot expect from inspiration, and thus it is only indirectly suggested to him what apology one should expect (or rather: to give up). Surely, the reader receives a well-arranged content within the framework of the consecutive points, which, however, require thorough theological deepening. Those interested in further exploration of the subject are referred to the literature in numerous footnotes. They often include previous positions by our author. It is not a sign of scholarly integrity that the author fails to admit that the entire parts of the book under discussion are a repetition of already published works, especially *Revelation* (even real-life examples are repeated unchanged – cf. p. 102), but also *Rethinking fundamental theology. Toward a New Fundamental Theology*, Oxford 2011.

Let us point out the remaining weaknesses of the book. First, the incomprehensible lack of reference to *Verbum Domini* (or, more broadly, to Joseph Ratzinger's legacy), in which the Holy Father expected the issue of inspiration and truth to be deepened (no. 19). If the author of the reviewed position was not a respected professor of theology, one would have to consider it discrediting to write about the interpretation of the Bible without referring to the principles given in the exhortation, or to refer to the limits of the historical-critical method without mentioning the battle fought in this matter by Joseph Ratzinger; this should probably be seen as a conscious anti-Ratzinger decision, which would need to be justified. Second, the characteristics of inspiration prove to be primarily negative, and therefore not sufficiently elaborated on. Then there comes this unbearable manner of repeatedly emphasizing the author's theses, which have already been put forward in earlier publications (e.g., the ubiquitous references to the need to take into account the inspiring influence of the Bible; the repetition that inspired Scripture bears witness not only to revelation, but also to matters loosely related to it; or that the prophets were inspired not to write, but to speak and act). Fourth, at times, the reader has the impression that O'Collins simply rewrites the material developed somewhere else, and does not offer anything new (cf. e.g. p. 49, where he refrains from offering evidence precisely in those cases which he cannot 'copy' from himself). And fifth, the Australian theologian is probably given to an overly polemical tone, as if the rank of his discoveries depended on the listing of disputable statements of e.g. the Pontifical Biblical Commission (cf. e.g. pp. 106–107). Sixth, I would mention minor editorial errors: some references for no reason whatsoever are in the main text instead of in a footnote (cf. e.g. p. 174); there are also too many repetitions that could be eliminated.

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Review: M. Prusak, *Bioetyka dla farmaceuty* (Bioetics for Farmacist), Bernardinum, Pelplin 2018, pp. 165

People involved in the preparation of medicines have always been subject to high requirements regarding professional qualifications and moral attitudes. It is not without reason that a certain stereotype of a pharmacist as a model of honesty and diligence has been formed. Pharmacists themselves also express concern for the decent name of their profession in the content of formulated pharmacy vows and the principles contained in deontological codes, among which, care for the good of patients comes first. Undoubtedly, the mission and calling of a pharmacist are consistent with the ethos of medical professions focused on protecting a patient's health and life. Simultaneously, the role of a pharmacist is not limited to issuing medicines – pharmacists can and should even play an educational role towards patients and whole society. In addition, Catholic pharmacists are encouraged to witness faith and uphold Gospel values.

A pharmacist working in a pharmacy is, by his/her profession, an intermediary between a doctor and a patient. This relationship requires extraordinary delicacy and respect from both sides. A pharmacist, like other health care professionals, must meet high expectations and obligations of society, which were expressed in regulations and laws relating to the medical professions. Ultimately, however, he/she is an independent moral subject, responsible in a specific situation, also professional, for learning the truth about the good and realizing it in his/her life. Occasionally, a conflict may occur between requirements of a pharmacist's conscience and expectations of a patient, doctor or society.

Ethical aspects of a pharmacist's profession are presented in the book by Małgorzata Prusak *Bioetyka dla farmaceuty* (Bioethics for Pharmacist). The author is a Doctor of Theology on moral theology and a Master of Pharmacy. She worked for several years in pharmaceutical industry, and currently is a head

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of a pharmacy and at the same time the President of the Association of Polish Catholic Pharmacists. Therefore, it was not difficult for Małgorzata Prusak to identify and collect in the book numerous questions about professional ethics. Answers may not always be unambiguous, but the author pays significant attention to all issues, not only using her experience and thoughts but also knowledge gained in academic work in the field of moral theology.

The book comprised of seven chapters. It is significant that the very first pages of the first one chapter contain imperative words about the calling of a pharmacist. It is a calling to serve people in the field of health, care for it, prevention and help. Then the author emphatically emphasizes that the pharmacist is a "servant of life." Working in a pharmacy, laboratory or pharmaceutical industry, he/she should protect everyone's life from conception to natural death, especially those affected by suffering and illness. According to M. Prusak, the Pharmacist's Code of Ethics constitutes a significant signpost for a pharmacist. Pharmacists should be conscious what is important, desirable, good, moral and right in their profession, and what is reprehensible. The principles contained in the Code de facto do not guard a pharmacist's morality, but are a reflection on how he/she should work to best serve a patient and not be susceptible to the danger of following his/her own (or other) interests instead of the good of a patient.

The second chapter of the work is entirely devoted to the issue of the beginning of human life. The author answers the question, when does human life begin, what are the effects of the confusion about the definition of the beginning of life and what is pregnancy. She also discusses activities leading to termination of pregnancy, especially the use of the intrauterine device. The issue of the effects of so-called tablets after and pharmacological abortion is also presented. In the publication, the author also addresses an ethical evaluation of the use of cell lines obtained from aborted human foetuses and artificial insemination.

M. Prusak also presents issues related to the natural end of human life, which is death. Man should be guaranteed a dignified death. Medical personnel should consider patient's spiritual needs, demonstrate him assistance and support in overcoming emerging difficulties and accompany him in growing to his death. No wonder the author negatively evaluates participation of medical staff and pharmacists in the so-called assisted suicide. The involvement of pharmacists in euthanasia is closely related to this issue. The third chapter ends with a reflection on a role of a pharmacist in palliative care.

Practicing the profession of a pharmacist includes the provision of pharmaceutical care consisting of a documented process in which a pharmacist, working with a patient and a doctor, and if necessary with representatives of other medical professions, monitors the proper course of pharmacotherapy. An important element of a pharmacist's cooperation with a patient – as emphasized in the following chapter of the book by the author – is monitoring of taking medicines and compliance with medical recommendations, as well as education in the field of lifestyle modification in selected clinical entities. As a part of health education, a pharmacist can give instructions on how to use medical devices such as inhalers, insulin pens and glucometers. M. Prusak also assesses the issue of drug abuse by patients. Therefore, she answers the question: what is the role of a pharmacist in reducing the risks associated with it? She also devotes a lot of attention to counterfeiting medicines.

The fifth chapter of the reviewed book is significantly thought-provoking, dedicated to the role of a pharmacist in relation to addiction problems. The chapter starts with a definition of addiction. M. Prusak presents various forms of addiction faced by pharmacists and describes how they should be responded to. The author introduces a reader to the issue of legalizing drugs. And here comes the next question: how to assess issuing drugs to addicts and how to reduce drug dependency? The author also addresses problems of non-medical use of medicines.

Chapter six is entitled *Farmaceuta wobec medycyny alternatywnej* (Pharmacist and Alternative Medicine). M. Prusak first discusses the issue of medications of unproven efficacy, including homeopathic products. She presents the position of the medical community and pharmacists on homeopathy. She also considers the relationship between homeopathy and magic; raises the question: whether its use may pose a spiritual threat to a patient? Dietary supplements are another issue related to the use of medicines. The author argues that frequent thinking "certainly will not hurt" can be deceptive. Using too many supplements at the same time can adversely affect the medications taken or lead to overdose. Concurrently, she warns against false supplements that may appear, e.g. when buying online or in a bazaar.

The conflict that occurs when a pharmacist is obliged to sell medicaments, the use of which is immoral, according to his/her conscience, seems to be particularly difficult to resolve. It is therefore no surprise that the author in chapter seven discusses a pharmacist's right to the conscience clause. In this connection, she first introduces a reader to the concept of conscientious objection. It is a non-aggressive, individual action of a pharmacist, consisting in refusing to perform a specific professional obligation imposed by law, undertaken due to requirements of conscience, both ethical and religious. The notion of "conscientious objection" is associated with the functioning concept of "conscience clause," which is often treated as synonymous, although there is a difference between them. The conscientious objection is more related to the moral dimension, and the conscience clause – to the legal area. Małgorzata Prusak attempts to answer currently bothering questions: can a patient, referring to the conscience clause, be sent to another pharmacist or pharmacy?; what is the difference in the responsibility of an employee and pharmacy manager refusing to sell a condom compared to the situation of a seller at a gas station, supermarket, kiosk or store?; does the conscientious objection concern a pharmacist working in industry? In the current legal order, the pharmacist's freedom of conscience is not limited by an act, thus he/she can take advantage of it if it does not endanger a patient's life. The difficulties of pharmacists in exercising the freedom of conscience – argues the author of the reviewed book – do not result from the lack of legal regulations, but from social pressures trying to limit the freedom of a pharmacist, including those from circles that do not lean towards discovering the truth about the effectiveness and consequences of morally questioned medicaments.

It is to be congratulated on the achieved effect of the publication, which – in a fascinating and transparent way, with elegant graphic and editorial design – touches the most significant and cardinal issues that a pharmacist as a person remaining in the service of his/her neighbour and pharmacy as a science must face in contemporary reality.

The book under review should be a must-read for both pharmacists who search for answers to bothering questions and for those who believe that there is no room for ethical questions in medical professions. This is a valuable and extremely needed publication, which responds to expectations of employees of the broadly understood pharmacy, but is not limited to this group. Reading the content of the book can be beneficial for medical students, representatives of medical professions and specializations, as well as patients or pharmacy clients themselves.

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Review: J. Merecki SDS, *Osoba i dobro. Szkice o teologii i filozofii osoby Karola Wojtyły – Jana Pawła II* (Person and Good. Sketches on the Theology and Philosophy of Person According to Karol Wojtyła), John Paul II Institute, Wydawnictwo KUL, Lublin 2019, pp. 264

On the one hand, the statement that the reflection on man, his personal good and acting in the light and on the basis of truth is an absolute priority is a truism, on the other hand, it is a very current and extremely important postulate. This observation has a particularly rich historical resonance, but at the same time it is an articulation of the need for a profound and constantly repeated reflection on the most fundamental issues related to the anthropological as well as the ethical context of life and functioning of the human person. In spite of the great legacy of reflection on man, despite many attempts to interpret his essence, dignity, destiny and the dangers and deformations associated with it, a thorough philosophical and theological reflection in this area seems to be a fundamental task.

In the light of the above remarks, it should be stressed all the more that it is very beneficial that Rev. Dr. Hab. Jarosław Merecki SDS, a long-term student of Rev. Prof. Tadeusz Styczeń SDS who was a "direct student and friend" of Karol Wojtyła (p. 23), adds a new publication to an exceptionally proliferate scholarly output, mainly in the field of philosophical anthropology and ethics and an extremely valuable translations. This publication: *Osoba i dobro. Szkice o teologii i filozofii osoby Karola Wojtyły – Jana Pawła II* (Person and Good. Sketches on the Theology and Philosophy of Person According to Karol Wojtyła – John Paul II) has been published as part of the works of the John Paul II

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Institute, a meritorious institution. The new book includes seventeen scholarly articles previously published in renowned journals.

The book in question consists of three clearly composed parts. The first of them (entitled *Karol Wojtyła – filozof osoby* [Karol Wojtyła – the Philosopher of the Person]) presents a gamut of contents that reveals both the sources of Karol Wojtyła's anthropology – mainly its embedding in Thomism (here the primordial meaning of realistic metaphysics of St Thomas of Aquinas and the Lublin School of Classic Philosophy – pp. 39 ff) and phenomenology (mainly in the area of the use of methods and analyses connected with the understanding of human consciousness – pp. 25 ff) – as well as showing man in his spiritual--corporeal integrity, with accompanying dangers (the problem of alienation) and his final fulfilment. Therefore, the contents of this book bring closer and explain the shape, cogency and originality of anthropological and ethical personalism of Karol Wojtyła (pp. 48 ff).

Osoba i miłość (Person and Love) is the title that familiarizes us with the contents of another set of articles. They are initiated by a text devoted to the theology of the body and its philosophical background. A proper, personalistic understanding of human carnality allows us to treat it as a "sign of the person" (p. 96) and therefore, in the proper sense of the word, ennoble it as sui generis "sacrament of the person" (p. 104). Closely related to this issue is the question of the personal understanding of human sexuality (pp. 107 ff), which communicates the necessary relationship with love. In this analytic field the author also includes the issue of contraception as an "act" of the person(s) remaining in conflict with nature (p. 113). The reflections undertaken here combine the thought and teaching of Karol Wojtyła – John Paul II with the message of Paul VI's encyclical *Humanae Vitae*. This research is complemented by a synthetic approach to the theology of matrimony and the family (p. 125), which includes such issues as the understanding of the person as a subject and a part of a community at the same time. Then there is the problem of "ontological difference" and "sex difference" (p. 131) and, against this background – consistently – again "sex difference" and transcendence "towards the third" (p. 134). The richness of this set of contents is further supported by reflection on the person and this dimension of a person's existence, which is the family (p. 139). The latter is presented here as "a community of persons open to bringing forth offspring," that is, a community "which lives by the principle of the gratuitous and irrevocable gift" (p. 170). From this plan of reflection, which the "family pope" is making in his teaching (ibidem), it is concluded that it is an inalienable space of "human maturation and fulfilment" (pp. 171 ff). The family is a place to learn "to transcend oneself towards the truth," the main one being "the truth about another" (p. 178).

The whole content of the reviewed item is closed by the part entitled *Człowiek wobec wartości* (Man in relation to values) (pp. 179 ff). At the beginning of this collection of articles there appears a text devoted to the ministry of John Paul II understood as the advocacy of "universal values" (p. 181), where (after the main message of the first encyclical *Redemptor hominis*) the first step is to draw the significant attention to the fact that man-person is "the way of the Church." The person-oriented papal teaching at the centre of every step of its realization puts man himself, his natural and supernatural relationship with God, also in the area of social and political life.

Personalizm Jana Pawła II a rozwój nauki Kościoła o karze śmierci (John Paul II's personalism and the development of the Church's teaching on the death penalty) (p. 199) is yet another portion of the reflection submitted by J. Merecki, where the author points to a certain evolution in the field of considering the approach to conditions for applying or abandoning the death penalty. He shows this process on the example of John Paul II's statements and changes in the provisions of subsequent editions of the Catechism of the Catholic Church.

The next text presented in this volume is once again a study of the issue of freedom, but this time in its strict correspondence to "truth and good" (pp. 209 ff). It is therefore an analysis of the "philosophy of the will" in the perspective of the "moral experience" (ibidem). Here, as in every area of reflection of Karol Wojtyła – John Paul II, the personal character of "freedom of will" plays a key role (pp. 216 ff). It is also a convenient starting point for the next part of the contents, namely the analysis of "the truth as a political problem" (pp. 221 ff). A reliable and legitimate solution to this issue is again personalistic norm, that is "the truth about man as the foundation of the political order" (pp. 224 ff).

A *sui generis* added value of these contents are articles on anthropology and ethics of the direct master of Fr. J. Merecki – Rev. Prof. Tadeusz Styczeń SDS. The first of them is entitled *Osoba jako byt i norma. O antropologii ks. Tadeusza Stycznia SDS* (Person as an entity and norm. On the anthropology of Rev. Tadeusz Styczeń SDS) (pp. 237 ff) and contains comments on the anthropologically oriented personalism of the successor of Karol Wojtyła in the Chair of Ethics of KUL. The second one: *Etyka jako objawienie osoby. Kilka uwag o etyce ks. Tadeusza Stycznia SDS* (Ethics as a revelation of a person. A few remarks about the ethics of Fr. Tadeusz Styczeń SDS) (pp. 249 ff) is a synthetic presentation of the most important points of Rev. T. Styczeń's scholarly and didactic path with an indication of the sensitive and original components of his ethical and anthropological thought.

In the light of the content elements quoted briefly, it should be stated that the book by Fr. Jaroslaw Merecki SDS is an excellent example of the realization of the wise vision of philosophy, where the idea of the master-student relationship comes to the fore. The book essentially reveals the path of the personalistic thought of Karol Wojtyła – John Paul II in its various dimensions and aspects, but at the same time it shows its continuation in the heritage of an outstanding student, Rev. Prof. Tadeusz Styczeń. Here again, it should be emphasized with great satisfaction that both the development and depth of the anthropological, ethical and pastoral genius of the Master as well as his creative reception in the writings and lectures of his Student are presented by an outstanding expert, continuator and populariser of the thoughts of both of them – Fr. J. Merecki.

Despite the seriousness and depth of the problems discussed here, the book is written in an extremely communicative and beautiful literary language. The added value of this publication is its erudite, didactic aspect substantiated by sources. Thus, it constitutes a reliable, documented and synthetic study of the thoughts of the most important and outstanding Polish personalists and, as such, is worth recommending to all people looking for and concerned about personal freedom, truth and good.

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FOREWORD

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17. Redakcji Wrocławskiego Przeglądu Teologicznego zależy na odpowiednim tytule każdego artykułu, gdyż stanowi on niejako „wizytówkę" nie tylko tekstu, ale i czasopisma. Od właściwie dobranego tytułu zależeć może, czy potencjalny czytelnik zdecyduje się sięgnąć po artykuł. W związku z tym poleca się, by tytuł był dobrym podsumowaniem głównej idei przyświecającej autorowi. Oznacza to, że musi zawierać tyle słów, aby adekwatnie oddawać zawartość i cel pracy. Winien uwzględniać jak najwięcej informacji oraz zachęcać do przeczytania artykułu.
18. Artykuł powinien zostać poprzedzony streszczeniem o długości nieprzekraczającej 200 słów. Abstrakt jest kluczowy dla potencjalnego czytelnika, który zwykle

rozpoczyna swój kontakt z tekstem od tytułu i właśnie od streszczenia. W wielu bazach danych czy wyszukiwarkach będzie to jedyny dostępny dla użytkownika fragment pracy, a dla czytelnika zagranicznego – być może jedyna zrozumiała część. W związku z tym zaleca się, aby abstrakt został przygotowany bardzo solidnie. Należy wziąć pod uwagę, że winien on być zwięzłym „wyciągiem" z całego artykułu. Jest to jak gdyby „spis treści" – odzwierciedlenie głównych myśli tekstu. Powinien zawierać wszystkie słowa kluczowe oraz te użyte w tytule manuskryptu. Oczekuje się w tym fragmencie pracy prostych konstrukcji zdań, tak aby streszczenie było łatwo zrozumiałe dla potencjalnego czytelnika.

19. Równie ważny jest wybór tzw. słów kluczowych. Redakcja czasopisma oczekuje od autora doboru najbardziej adekwatnych do treści pracy wyrażeń. Mają one zawierać wszystkie istotne terminy z tytułu i abstraktu pracy. Należy uwzględnić, że słowo kluczowe w rzeczywistości może składać się z kilku wyrazów (np. „papież Franciszek", „teologia kontekstualna" itd.). Przyjęta we Wrocławskim Przeglądzie Teologicznym liczba słów kluczowych wynosi od 5 do 10, jednak preferuje się tę drugą, gdyż zwiększa ona szanse na trafienie na tekst w wyszukiwarkach internetowych czy bazach danych.
20. Autor winien dołożyć wszelkich starań, by zapobiec rozpoznaniu jego tożsamości przez recenzenta. W tym celu powinien podjąć odpowiednie kroki w odniesieniu zarówno do tekstu, jak i właściwości pliku. Wytyczne te zostały opisane w okienku „Zapewnienie ślepej recenzji", które pojawia się w czasie deponowania manuskryptu (krok 2. w procesie przesyłania tekstu).
21. Redakcja Wrocławskiego Przeglądu Teologicznego wymaga od autorów ujawnienia wkładu wszystkich, którzy przyczynili się do powstania deponowanej pracy. Autor publikacji winien mieć świadomość obowiązku ujawnienia, kto jest autorem pomysłu publikacji, zastosowanych przesłanek, metody, planu itd. Główna odpowiedzialność za wyjawienie pełnej informacji spoczywa na autorze. Redakcja wdraża tzw. zaporę *ghostwriting* (autorstwo ukryte), *guest authorship* (autorstwo pozorne) i *gift authorship* (autorstwo grzecznościowe):
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Aby zapobiec wszystkim wyżej wymienionym przypadkom autorstwa ukrytego (*ghostwriting*) i pozornego (*guest authorship*), redakcja Wrocławskiego Przeglądu Teologicznego prosi Autorów o zapoznanie się z treścią oświadczenia:

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22. Autor zobowiązany jest również do ujawnienia źródeł finansowania publikacji, pochodzących od instytucji i towarzystw naukowych, środków ministerialnych etc. Wymóg ten wychodzi naprzeciw zasadzie „jawności finansowania".
23. Autor artykułu otrzyma drogą elektroniczną opinie i uwagi recenzentów, które powinien uważnie przeczytać, a następnie się do nich odnieść. Rozumie się przez to albo wprowadzenie poprawek zasugerowanych przez recenzentów, albo złożenie wyjaśnienia co do zasadności odstąpienia od nich. Poprawiony manuskrypt należy odesłać redakcji w oparciu o internetowy system.
24. Autor artykułu ponosi odpowiedzialność wynikającą z praw autorskich i praw wydawniczych (przedruk ilustracji, tabel, zdjęć, cytowanie z innych źródeł).

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